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CHAPTER NINE"FOR SCHOLARS...AS A MEMORIAL":TWO FURTHER CONCEPTS OF THE SCHOOL LIBRARY

The great majority of school libraries studied came within the ambit of one or more of the categories examined in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight. There exist in addition two further categories: the school library as a scholars' library; and the school library as a memorial. While each of these contains a relatively small number of examples, each has existed long enough, and is represented by enough significant libraries, to merit discussion.

1. THE SCHOOL LIBRARY AS A SCHOLARS' LIBRARY

Libraries of scholarly works have existed in some schools in Britain from at least the fourteenth century. Established to provide a basis for the intellectual life of a school or college, such libraries were not intended to serve the needs of the whole school population, but to be the mainstay of scholarly activity within the school, or in the college of which the school was part. Unlike curriculum-oriented school libraries, or school libraries designed to provide for the recreational reading needs of the pupils, these libraries were usually restricted to a very small group of users. Many of them, including some of the earliest, are still in use, as at Eton and Winchester, though other libraries for general use have long existed in those schools. While never very numerous, scholarly libraries stood out as a distinct group in the evidence collected by

the Clarendon Commissioners¹ investigating public schools and colleges in 1864, and the Schools Inquiry (Taunton) Commissioners² investigating endowed grammar schools in 1868.

Among the earliest scholars' libraries associated with schools were the college libraries of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, open, as at Eton³ and Winchester,⁴ to the fellows of the college, and sometimes to senior masters of the school as well, though assistant teachers were usually excluded.⁵ In some early grammar schools, libraries served the governors or trustees, as at King Edward's School at Birmingham, where a library was available to the Governors in the seventeenth century and housed in their meeting room.⁶ In other schools,⁷ including Sunday schools in the nineteenth

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1. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges: Report..., (London, 1864).
 2. England. Schools Inquiry Commission, Report of the Commissioners, (London, 1868).
 3. Sir Robert Birley, "The History of Eton College Library", The Library, fifth series, 11(1956), p.231.
 4. The Warden and Fellows' Library, meant for the use of resident Fellows and Chaplains. Paul Yeats-Edwards, "Portrait of a College Library: A Brief History of Warden and Fellows' Library of Winchester College", Antiquarian Book Monthly Review, 3(1976), p.172.
 5. Sir John Taylor Coleridge complained to the Public Schools Commissioners that at Eton the assistant masters could not use the College Library, and the Rev. Charles Kegan Paul, a former assistant master, indicated that even after "some years' application", he could use this library only by borrowing the keys of a Fellow. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.3, p.197 and Vol.3, p.205.
 6. T.W. Hutton, King Edward's School Birmingham, 1552-1952, (Oxford, 1952), p.42.
 7. Lillian Ione MacDowell, "A Public School Library System", Educational Review, 34(1907), p.374.

century,¹ libraries existed for the benefit of the teachers. These usually included pedagogical, philosophical, or religious works, and reference works for the advanced study of curriculum-related subjects. Other libraries existed for the use of a particular group of pupils within the school: for the prefects;² or for foundation scholars;³ or for those in the most senior class.⁴

Such specialised school libraries, catering to a limited clientele, have continued to exist into the twentieth century, since they still served a need in some schools and colleges for a scholarly library. The headmasters of Eton, Winchester, Rugby, and other famous schools in England, have commonly been chosen from among distinguished scholars, who often moved there from a post at Oxford or Cambridge. Fellows, and sometimes senior masters, were chosen

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1. See Chapter Three, pp.159-160. Examples of such libraries are the teachers' libraries at Portmahon Baptist Sunday School in Yorkshire and at Attleborough Baptist Sunday School in Warwickshire. See Portmahon Baptist Sunday School Library, Teacher's Catalogue, (Sheffield, n.d.); Warwickshire County Record Office, Attleborough Baptist Sunday School Library Record, "Teacher Books", MS, CR992/12.
 2. At Winchester a library was available for the use of prefects and commoner prefects in the nineteenth century. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.2, p.187. At Merchant Taylors, the Monitors and Prompters (or the two higher divisions of the Head Form) had libraries too, ibid., Vol.2, p.267, as did the Monitors (the fifteen upper boys in the school) at Harrow, ibid., Vol.2, p. 279.
 3. As in the Lower School of Dulwich College. England. Schools Inquiry Commission, Report, Vol.10, pp.170-171.
 4. At St. Paul's School in 1864 the six senior boys used the library during school time; out of school hours the eighth class had access to it. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.2, p.241. At Shrewsbury the upper forms had access to a library in the head room, ibid., Vol.2, p.326. The library at Bury St. Edmunds Grammar School in 1868 was available only to the sixth form. England. Schools Inquiry Commission, Report, Vol.13, pp.258-259.

from men of the same type. For these scholars, a "learned" library would have been essential. Public schools, and some of the better-known grammar schools, would always have had a small number of boys preparing specifically for university study, encouraged by special links between many of these schools and particular university colleges; in the case of joint foundations like Winchester and New College, Oxford, and Eton and King's College, Cambridge, these links were particularly strong. The library needs of these pupils would have been quite distinct from those of the great mass of the pupils in these schools. In addition, special teachers' libraries within schools, or provided by an outside authority for the staff of several schools in an area, have filled a need, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for opportunities for professional development for teachers.

Eton College Library, founded probably in the 1840s¹ as a library serving the six Fellows of the College, the Provost, and possibly the Chaplains,² occupied various rooms in the College until

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1. Sir Robert Birley, The History of Eton College Library, (Eton, 1970), p.3, and Birley, "The History of Eton College Library", p.231. The latter article was written from a lecture to the Bibliographical Society, given in Election Hall, Eton College, in 1954, and was subsequently expanded into the book published in 1970. Subsequent research undertaken in preparing the present catalogue of the library has made some details in Birley's book inaccurate now (Letter from Patrick Strong, College Archivist, Eton College, 23 April 1978), but basically this material, by a Fellow of the College with a long acquaintance with the Library collections, is sound.
 2. Birley found evidence of a Head Master using the Library in a slip of paper among the College records, on which it is written "Jacknowledge yt I have borrowed of Mr. Hales Cataneus upon Plinies epistles, being a book belonging to the college library. Nicolas Graye." Birley identifies Gray as the Head Master from 1642 to 1648, and Hales as a Fellow. Birley also suggests that Chaplains may have been able to use the Library too. Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.71; note 21/5.

the eighteenth century, when its present accommodation was specially built for it. The first library room was built in 1446, since in that year a payment is recorded for "floryshid" glass for its windows.¹ In 1465, when the first list of "Bokys in the liberary" was drawn up, there were only forty-two volumes in the collection,² including concordances or commentaries on books of the Bible, Christian classics, books on law, natural science, grammar, and copies of Latin classics. A brief outline of the subsequent history of this College library and its collection will give an idea of the richness and variety of the resources which such libraries have accumulated over the centuries for the use of scholars.

Between 1517 and 1521 a new library, later known as the Election Hall, was built to house the growing collection³ of around five hundred books.⁴ At the death of William Horman, a former Head Master and Fellow, in 1535, the library received a notable collection of both manuscripts and printed books, which substantially increased its stock and altered its character. The manuscripts are such as would have been found in a great many medieval scholars' libraries: works by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory the Great; commentaries on the Book of Proverbs and the

1. Ibid., pp.3-4.

2. MS "Inventory of Bokys in the liberary", 7 September 1465. Printed by M.R. James in Etoniana, Number 28, pp.441-444. A facsimile copy of the first section is printed in Birley, The History of Eton College Library, plate I. Birley notes, in regard to the size of this library that in 1452 King's College, Cambridge, Library had 175 books in its catalogue.

3. Birley, The History of Eton College Library, pp.8-9.

4. N.R. Ker, in Eton College Quincentenary Exhibition, June 1947, Section B, The College Manuscripts, p.3, quoted by Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.8. The purchase of forty-three dozen chains between 1521 and 1524 suggests the total of about 500 books in the collection.

Book of Revelation; Aristotle's Ethics; William Lyndwood's work on English canon law; and two collections of medical tracts including works by Hippocrates, Galen, and Philaretus, all recognised works of the medieval ars medicina.¹ The printed books which he left, however, represent the "new learning" of the Renaissance, with works like the Rudimenta Hebraica of Reuchlin, the German humanist; the Rerum Venetarum decades of the contemporary Venetian historian Sabellicus; the works of Silius Italicus, rediscovered by Poggio; the Institutiones of Quintilian; and the Liber anatomie of the late fifteenth century Venetian medical writer de Zerbis.²

The library was moved from the Election Hall in 1550, and possibly again in 1553,³ but apart from the provision of further chains and locks for the doors, and the acquisition of a few new books,⁴ it seems to have received little attention for almost fifty years. However in 1596, when Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, became Provost of Eton, the library moved again, to the north side of School Yard.⁵ The College Audit Book for 1596/1597 records expenditure on dozens of chains, staples, swivels, and rings for the library, which apparently now had the same arrangements and fittings as the library Savile had known at Merton, with the books placed upright in shelves rather than flat on reading

1. M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College, (Cambridge, 1895), numbers 145, 48, 80, 119, 79, 24, 122, 98, 126, 127.

2. Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.10.

3. Ibid., p.12.

4. Birley suggests that only five books can be said with any certainty to have been acquired by the College between 1548 and 1596. Ibid., p.13.

5. Ibid., p.18.

desks, as they had been previously.¹ This new arrangement at Eton meant that many more books could be stored in the room used to house the library than had previously been possible.² During the twenty-six years when Savile was Provost, 510 books, some of them in more than one volume, were acquired for the library, doubling the size of its collection; in addition, substantial sums were spent on binding. The library seems to have been built up systematically, with regard to the needs of the Fellows, with works of the early Christian Fathers and of the classical Latin and Greek authors being purchased in the first two years; then attention being given to the acquisition of works of the theologians of the Reformation; followed by works of scholastic theology; then historical works of the more recent times. At a time when the Colleges at Oxford³ and Cambridge,⁴ after a brief spell of book buying in the middle of the sixteenth century, were relying on donations to build up their collections, this deliberate creation of an institutional library to support the scholarly work of a small group of men was "an astonishing performance".⁵ Some donations were also made during the period, so that by the time of Sir Henry Savile's death in 1622 the

1. Ibid., p.19.

2. N.R. Ker, "Oxford College Libraries in the Sixteenth Century", The Bodleian Library Record, 6 (1959), pp.507-508, gives information about the library at Merton College.

3. Ibid., p.498.

4. With the exception of King's College during the time of Provost George Goad, 1570-1610, who spent money on books and on moving and fitting up the library there. W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, "Notes on King's College Library, 1500-1570", Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 11(1954), pp.50-51; and J.C.T. Oates, "The Libraries of Cambridge 1570-1700", in Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright (eds), The English Library Before 1700: Studies in its History, (London, 1958), pp.215-216.

5. Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.19.

the College had a library of more than one thousand volumes.

From the death of Provost Savile until 1676, when the library was moved again, this time to the South Gallery of the Cloisters,¹ there are only occasional references to it in the College Audit Books. These chiefly relate to some book purchases, the acquisition of new presses, and repairs carried out. The library was, however, enlarged by three substantial donations which also added to the subjects represented in the collection: the Italian manuscripts, including one from the tenth century, of former Provost Sir Henry Wotton in 1639;² the scientific collection of former Head Master and Fellow John Harrison in 1642;³ and a large collection of more than two hundred broadsheets and 555 pamphlets, including works from the early London Royalist underground press between 1636 and 1643.⁴

Henry Godolphin, who became Provost in 1695, encouraged the further development of this library, in much the same way as Savile had done very early in the seventeenth century. Money was made available for the purchase of books, many of the manuscripts were

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1. This building was demolished when the present library was built.
 2. Birley, The History of Eton College Library, pp.26-27. The range of manuscripts in this collection was wide, with some very beautiful Renaissance manuscripts being included. One of these was a fifteenth century copy of the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy, at the beginning of which was a miniature of Ptolemy, holding in one hand a circular planisphere, kneeling before a turbaned king, for Ptolemy, it was realised, was an Egyptian. Sir Robert Birley, Eton College Library: One Hundred Books Selected and Annotated, (Eton, 1969).
 3. This collection of about 120 works included Copernicus' De revolutionibus orbium (1543), William Gilbert's De magnetete (1600), Tycho Brahe's Works (1610), Kepler's Dioptrice and Mathematica Strena (1611), and John Napier's Mirifici logarithmorum canonicis descriptio (1614). The collection also included some scientific instruments.
 4. Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.30.

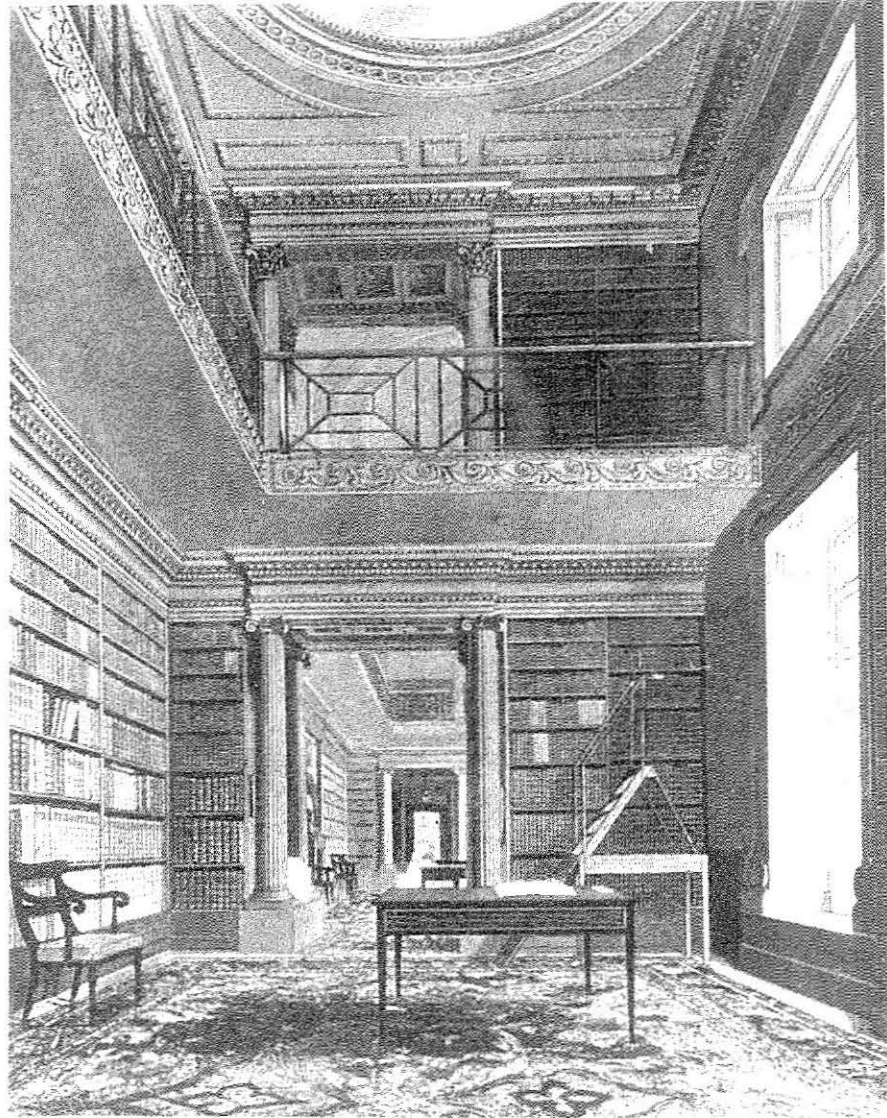
rebound, and in 1719 the chains were removed from the books, giving freer access to them. In 1725 Thomas Rowland, the Clerk of Works of nearby Windsor Castle, was commissioned to build a new library, with the Provost Godolphin providing £200 towards the total cost of £3200, and giving in his Will some 150 books and a further £200 for the purchase of new books.¹ At a time when the collection could not have contained more than 2500 volumes, this new library, consisting of three rooms with galleries and providing space for more than 20,000 books, was "remarkable".² However, possibly because of its splendid new accommodation, the library soon received some important bequests which greatly increased its size. In 1731 the collection of Edward Waddington, comprising over 2500 volumes, chiefly of seventeenth and early eighteenth century theology, doubled the size of the library collection. Since Waddington's collection included more than 4000 sermons, tracts, and pamphlets, especially works of religious controversy, it greatly augmented the already substantial holdings of the library in theology³ and current religious and political history. Godolphin's own bequest, which came to the library in 1733, consisted mostly of the classics and theological works. In addition, the books bought with his £200 legacy, probably reflecting the interests of the Fellows of the time, included works of classical literature and antiquities, architecture, and natural history.⁴ In 1736 the College received another substantial bequest, the library of Richard Topham, Keeper

1. Ibid., p.33.

2. Ibid., p.34.

3. Ibid., pp.34-35.

4. Including the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society from 1665 to 1713. Ibid., p.36.



Eton College Library: an 1816 view of these rooms, which were built under Provost Henry Godolphin in the 1720s. (From: Rudolph Ackerman, History of the Colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster, (London, 1816).)

of the Records in the Tower, who had been at Eton from about 1685 to 1689. It "contained just under 1500 books, along with a superb collection of drawings of Roman antiquities".¹ This gift augmented the library collection in new areas, since it included, apart from classical texts, books on classical antiquities and numismatics, and a collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century guidebooks to towns in France and Italy.

Not only did the Topham collection provide the library with books of a sort it had not had before, but it also led to the alteration of the library in other ways. For while Topham gave to the Provost and Fellows all his "books, prints and drawings,...to be delivered...to the said Provost and Fellows as soon as they shall have finished and fitted up a safe and convenient repository in their new library for receiving and keeping them...", he also stipulated that "all learned persons at convenient seasons may have recourse to and reasonable use of the said books, prints, and drawings...".² When the books came to Eton they were housed in the lower part of the middle room of the library, the Provost and Fellows having accepted Topham's requirements for access to the books, since they agreed to "appoint one or more proper person or persons who shall reside and attend in the said College for the taking care of the said books, prints and drawings and for the shewing thereof to all learned and skillful persons who shall desire to see the same".³ In 1741 the

1. Ibid., p.37.

2. Will of Richard Topham, printed in Etoniana, Number 63, p.202; Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.39.

3. The Indenture, dated 27 December 1736, is in the College Muniment Room. See also Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.39.

Conduct Master was appointed to open the library to visitors "at hours proper and convenient", and it seems probable that at least until the middle of the eighteenth century the library could be used by other scholars.¹

Other substantial bequests were received in the eighteenth century. One of these was the library of Dr. John Reynolds, which came to the College in 1751; while it included works on theology, literature, and science, the bulk of the collection of almost 1500 books was an accumulation of classical texts, including thirty-five incunabula and hundreds of sixteenth and seventeenth century school textbooks.² Three years later the College received the library of Nicholas Mann, a King's Scholar at Eton and for some years an assistant master. The 1200 books in this collection included historical and scientific works.³ In 1790 the Pote Collection of Oriental Manuscripts was divided between Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and in 1773 the collection of William Hetherington added to the library about 450 books, mainly English classics.⁴ In 1799 the College received its most important donation, the library of Anthony Morris Storer, who had been at Eton from 1760 to 1764, and who subsequently became known as an athlete, politician, diplomat, and writer. He bequeathed nearly 2800 books, including incunabula printed by Caxton, Jenson, and Aldus Manutius. The books included a comprehensive collection of the Greek and Roman classics, Italian literature, early English plays, and the writings of Horace Walpole

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1. Ibid., pp.39-40.
 2. Ibid., pp.41-42.
 3. Ibid., pp.44-45.
 4. Ibid., p.46.

and his circle.¹

While the acquisition of this collection marked the end of the library's "great days of expansion",² there were some further gifts during the nineteenth century, one of the most important of which was a copy of the Gutenberg Bible. When Francis St. John Thackeray described the College Library in 1881³ it had a collection of around 23,000 books, the most important sections of which were the manuscripts; the Bibles, theological works, and tracts; the Caxtons; the early printed and other editions of the classics; the rare books in the field of history, political tracts, and travels; and the early English and foreign publications.⁴ The library, still housed in its eighteenth century rooms, has received some smaller gifts in the twentieth century, but Thackeray's description still remains essentially true of the collection. And while it remains basically a scholars' library for the Provost and Fellows, it has been opened to other scholars and to members of the school⁵ by a succession of twentieth century librarians.

As well as this scholars' library in Eton College, a general library was established in the school under Head Master John

1. Ibid., p.49.

2. Ibid., p.55.

3. Thackeray wrote some articles on the history of the College Library and its collection for Notes and Queries; these articles were subsequently collected and published in a book, Eton College Library, in 1881. He was an assistant master at Eton from 1858 to 1883, though, as Birley (The History of Eton College Library, p.57) notes, "not a Fellow".

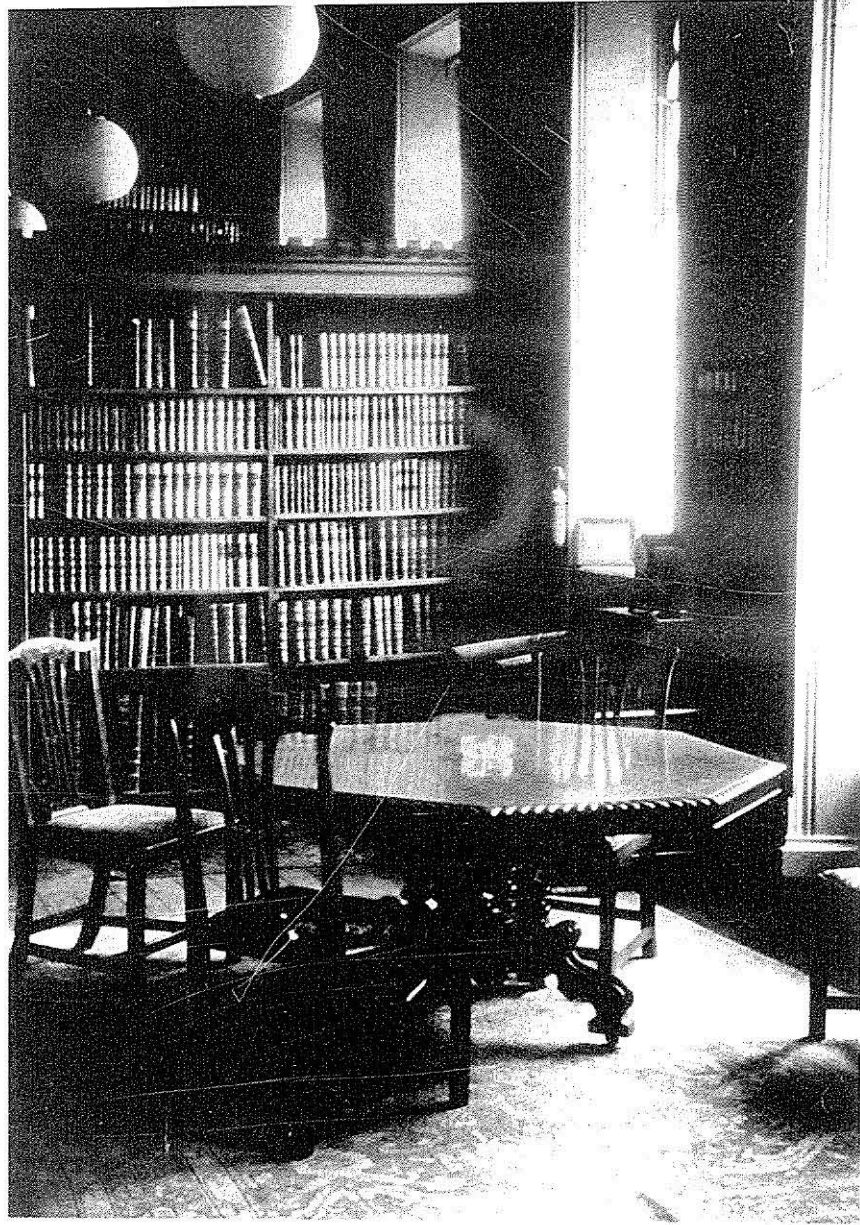
4. Rev. Francis St. John Thackeray, Eton College Library, (Eton, 1881), p.11.

5. Letter from Patrick Strong, College Archivist, Eton College, dated 23 April 1978.

Newborough in the early years of the eighteenth century; in 1710 it was described as having fifty books.¹ This library apparently fell into disuse when a new Head Master was appointed in 1711; it was not until 1821 that a new Boys' Library was begun, under the leadership of the poet Winthrop Mackworth Praed while he was a pupil at the school. This has remained a separate and substantial library, unrelated to the College Library,² and housed today in a building opened in 1911.³

At Winchester College a library similar to the Fellows' Library at Eton, the Warden and Fellows' Library, has existed since the foundation of the College in 1382. This library was intended for the use of the resident Fellows,⁴ ten in number, and the Chaplains, though in the twentieth century, as at Eton, the collection has been more widely used.⁵ Again like the library at Eton College, the Warden and Fellows' Library at Winchester had in earlier centuries been a chained library, furnished in the seventeenth century on the stall system,⁶ and housed then in the ground floor

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1. See Birley, The History of Eton College Library, p.32, and p.75, and note 32/4.
 2. See Eton School Library, Eton School Library: A Short Survey, (Eton, [1943]); and Eton College, Catalogue of the Books Forming the Boys' Library, Eton College, Easter 1888, with the Library Rules, (London, 1888).
 3. Letter from Patrick Strong, College Archivist, Eton College, dated 23 April 1978.
 4. Yeats-Edwards, "Portraits of a College Library", p.172.
 5. Walter Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1700", The Library, fifth series, 9(1954), p.1. Also as at Eton, a library for the use of the boys was established early in the nineteenth century (c.1833), known as the Moberly Library, and housing today approximately 40,000 volumes. See J.M.G. Blakiston, "Forgotten Libraries", The Wykehamist, Number 1263, 22 February 1978, p.143; Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1700", p.1.
 6. Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1700", p.3.



A section of the Warden and Fellows' Library, Winchester College.
(Photograph taken in 1980 by the author.)

room of Fromond's Chantry.¹ The books were unchained about twenty years after those at Eton College, probably in about 1739,² and wall shelving was subsequently provided for them. The library, consisting of some 30,000 books, has a collection of medieval manuscripts,³ including a 1450 Book of Hours, a Wyclif Bible, the works of Roger Bacon, and a life of Thomas Becket by William of Canterbury; several incunabula and early printed books, including works from the presses of Wynkyn de Worde, Aldus Manutius, Christopher Plantin, Johannes Froeben, and John Baskerville; many Reformation era books, including the works of Sir Thomas More, Calvin, Luther, Erasmus, Jewell, and Bishop Stephen Gardiner; many valuable classical texts; a collection of early atlases, road books, and rare maps; sixteenth century theological works encompassing both Roman Catholic and Church of England religious sympathies; a substantial collection of English literature, particularly works of Old Wykehamists; and science and mathematics books bought in the early days of the Royal Society.⁴

Westminster School, too, had an early library, developed to meet the needs of scholars and unrelated to the day-to-day work of the school, which was given by a former headmaster, Dr. Busby. Many of the more than 2000 volumes came from his own collection, and most were published before 1700, with some dating from the fifteenth century and earlier. Very few of the works were in English, the majority being in Latin and Greek, with some in Hebrew, Arabic,

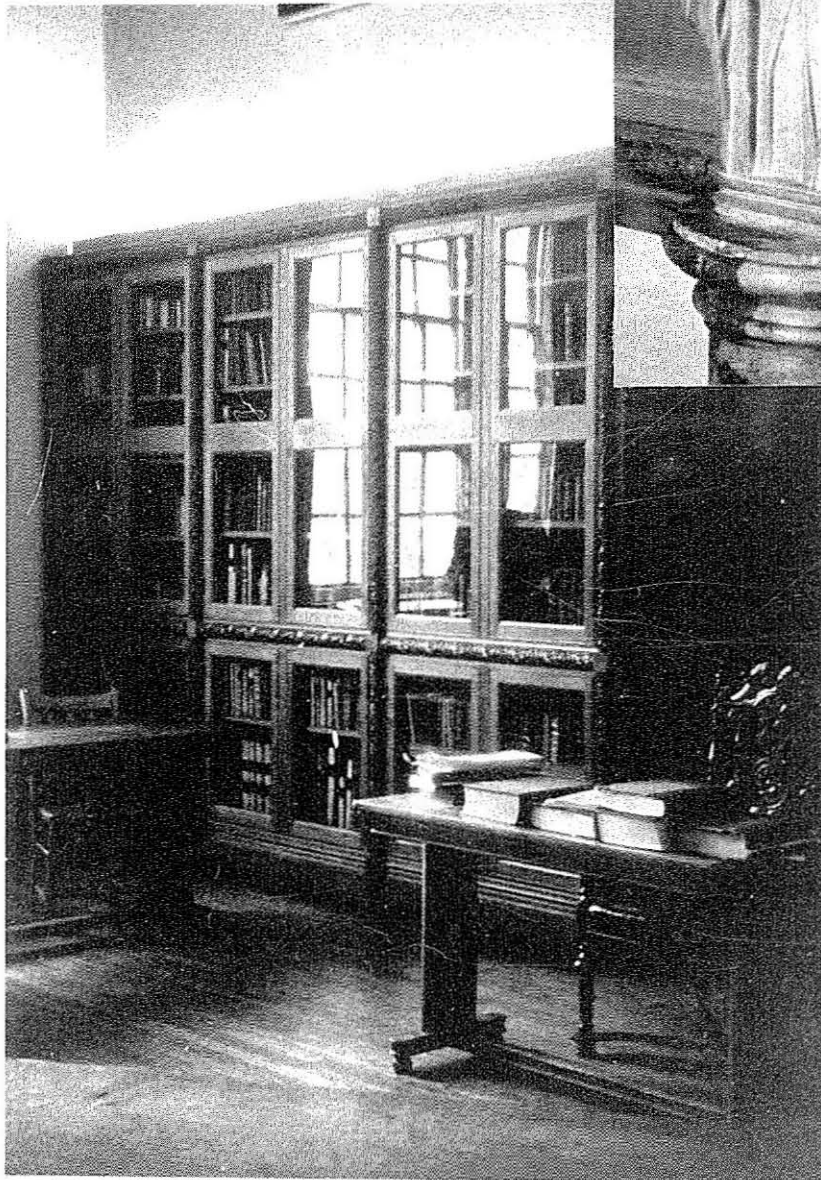
1. Ibid., p.5.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Paul Yeats-Edwards, Winchester College (Warden and Fellows' Library) Mediaeval Manuscripts Collection: A Brief History and Catalogue, (London, 1978).

4. Yeats-Edwards, "Portrait of a College Library", passim.

The Busby Library, Westminster School, in 1980, and its founder, Dr. Busby, a former headmaster. (Photographs taken by the author in 1980.)



Bengalese, and in "Red Indian" languages.¹ This collection is still being added to today, and is in use by scholars, but, as at Winchester and Eton, a separate library collection was developed in the school in the nineteenth century which more closely reflected the needs of the boys.²

At King Edward's School, Birmingham, founded in 1552 as a grammar school, the earliest library was a library for the use of the Governors of the school, housed in the original school in New Street, Birmingham.³ Credit for the actual establishment of the library is usually given to Francis Roberts, a Birmingham priest, and to Thomas Hall, assistant Master and later Rector of Kings Norton and Headmaster of Kings Norton School, who gave many books;⁴ collection and purchase of works for the library began as early as 1642. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Governors made substantial grants towards the upkeep of the library and for the purchase of new books. It seems to have consisted chiefly of works in Latin and Greek, though mention is made in the school records of works as diverse as Knolles's History of the Turks and "a set of the Classics".⁵ The building of a library room to house

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1. Westminster School, Westminster School Library, (London, 1933), p.7.
 2. Ibid., p.10. This library was named the Scott Library after a headmaster who retired in 1883. The collection consisted chiefly of English books, with around 2000 volumes in 1888 when the first librarian was appointed. The school still, today, has a system of subject and special collections, including the Busby and Scott Libraries, rather than a centralised school library.
 3. This school building was demolished in 1936. Hutton, King Edward's School Birmingham, 1552-1952, p.42.
 4. Ibid., p.42.
 5. Ibid., p.43.



The Library at King Edward's School, Birmingham, from an eighteenth century water-colour sketch by Samuel Lines.

the collection was authorised in 1655, and in 1656, of the total school income of £229, £129/2/9 was paid out "for Building the Library, repaynting the Schoole and Schoolemasters' Houses".¹ However it is not known where this original library was located within the school. In the building erected in the early eighteenth century to house part of the school, the library was a long, narrow, but spacious room on the first floor; but while a surviving water-colour drawing by Samuel Lines suggests that it was a handsome room, not a single book is shown in it!² The room was, in fact, large enough to serve as the English School, or classroom, for which purpose it was appropriated, the books being transferred to a room on the ground floor which was also subsequently appropriated for a classroom, and then to the Governors' Room.³ A catalogue was made of the collection in 1737,⁴ and in 1772 the Chief Master's Assistant was given £10 in addition to his salary for taking care of the library; other members of staff seem to have had the task in later years. However the library was apparently given poor treatment by Masters in the school who had access to it,⁵ for when preparations were made in the 1930s for demolishing the eighteenth century building, many volumes were found to be missing, most believed to be "in the possession of Masters or lent out by them".⁶ When the

1. Quoted by Hutton, ibid., p.43.

2. Sketch reprinted in Hutton, ibid.

3. Ibid., p.44.

4. By Thomas Wearden, Assistant Master, who was paid £2/12/6 for his work. Other catalogues date from 1788, 1796, and 1821, being small manuscript volumes. There are more recent catalogues held in the Birmingham Reference Library: one made by Isaac Bradley, City Coroner and a Governor of the school, in 1926; and one made by George Craig (O.E.) in 1933.

5. Hutton, King Edward's School Birmingham, 1552-1952, p.44.

6. Ibid., p.44.

school moved to its new quarters in 1936, what was left of the Governors' Library was donated to the Birmingham Reference Library, where the collection has now been dispersed.¹ T.W. Hutton, describing the library in his 1952 history of the school, written for the four-hundredth anniversary of its foundation, indicated that such libraries established for the governing body of a grammar school (even though used later by masters of the school as well), were comparatively rare.² Since this was, however, the first library to be established in Birmingham, predating even the famous Chetham foundation in Manchester, it could be argued that this was an attempt by the Governors, mainly professional men of the city, to fill what was for them a real need for scholarly reading materials.

A library similar to those at Eton, Winchester, and Westminster developed at the Sorø Akademi in Denmark, a school founded in 1586 by the Danish King Frederic II, and housed in the appropriated buildings of a former Cistercian monastery. In 1623 an unsuccessful attempt was made to add an academy to the school for the higher education of sons of the nobility; after more than forty years in existence, the academy closed in 1665. Two further attempts to add an academy to the school to provide various forms of higher education, in 1747 and in 1822, also failed. Since the 1840s, Sorø Akademi has been a secondary school,³ at first for boys only though now some girls are enrolled. While the history of the library is as old

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1. Letter from S.M. Widgery, Foundation Librarian, Schools of King Edward VI, Birmingham, dated 8 May 1979.
 2. Hutton, King Edward's School Birmingham, 1552-1952, p.42.
 3. L. Balslev, "The Library of Sorø Academy, Denmark", The School Library Review and Educational Record, new series, 5(1951), p. 160.



A bay of shelves in the library at Sorø Akademi, Sorø, Denmark, photographed by the author in 1979, showing the floor-to-ceiling shelving and part of the collection of scholarly works on literature.

as that of the school, a fire in 1813 destroyed the then considerable collection of old books and manuscripts, some of which had originally belonged to the Cistercian monks. However this scholarly collection formed the model for the new library, established shortly after the fire. As long as the academy existed, the library had adequate funds for development, but when it was finally closed in 1849 the regular income was much reduced. Gifts, however, have brought many early printed books into the library, including six incunabula. Among the most valuable gifts was that of the Holberg Collection, containing the works of the Danish satirist and playwright Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), and the library of Johan Bulow (1751-1828), a squire, courtier, and collector of books and art. Today the library contains more than 75,000 books on all subjects, but chiefly fiction, history (with emphasis on Danish history at the end of the eighteenth century), French fiction, and the Greek and Latin classics.¹ While the library is used mainly by pupils and masters of the school, it is open to, and is used by, scholars from the University in Copenhagen, and by the general public.

Another type of scholarly library developed in the English Roman Catholic colleges of the nineteenth century. Here too, as at Sorø, the collections were designed to serve not only the school pupils and masters, but also those engaged in study and research at the tertiary level. At Stonyhurst College, a Jesuit boarding school near Preston in north-east Lancashire, the library was chiefly designed to serve schoolmasters and "philosophers", those young men resident in the College and engaged in higher studies. It appears

1. Ibid., p.161.

to have been open also to at least some of the school pupils, and to scholars, particularly members of the order. The philosophers, numbering about thirty, were aged from seventeen to twenty-five years; their position corresponded roughly to that of undergraduates at Oxford or Cambridge. They followed a comprehensive tertiary curriculum at a time when the major universities of Great Britain were not open to Roman Catholics. After 1839, when the College became affiliated with the University of London, some of the members of the philosophers' class were prepared for the degree examinations of that University.¹ However even after Acts of Parliament in 1854, 1856, and 1871 removed the religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge, opening up the bachelor's degree to Catholics and Dissenters, the form of tertiary education offered at colleges like Stonyhurst was still considered by many Catholic families to be a desirable alternative to that offered at the major universities. The philosophers occupied private rooms in the College, came and went freely,² and while forming a distinct community, they lived on congenial terms with their Superiors. They had Reading, Smoking, Billiards, and News Rooms, and as well as a general and reference library designed for their use, they, with others in the school, had the use of the College Library, which in 1878 contained about 30,000 volumes.³

Much of the collection which filled the floor-to-ceiling

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1. Vincent Alan McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903, (Oxford, 1973), pp.28-45.
 2. Percy Fitzgerald, Stonyhurst Memories; or, Six Years at School, (London, 1895), pp.353-388. In this work, Fitzgerald is describing his schooldays at the College in the 1840s.
 3. A. Hewitson, Stonyhurst College, Present and Past: Its History, Discipline, Treasures and Curiosities, (2nd edn, Preston, 1878), p.55.

shelves of the series of spacious, galleried rooms housing the library was donated. The "coin room", holding the general library of religion, literature (including ancient and modern classics), fiction, history, antiquities, biography, art, philology, philosophy, political economy, and science, was described in 1878:

Along the base, on one side, there are recesses, with central desks, for the accommodation of readers; and in the gallery above there are similar arrangements. Several very large books and periodicals occupy the lowest shelves....Every volume appears to be in very good condition. The bindings of some are most substantial and costly; and in no case has expense been spared.¹

It was, however, the books in the other rooms of this library which made this collection remarkable. They included "...the rarest of books...the finest of missals...illuminated manuscripts..."² from England and Europe. The library had the Homilies of Pope Gregory, by Simon, Abbot of St. Albans, a richly illuminated manuscript written between 1168 and 1183; missals of the Low Countries, written in the fifteenth century; Froissart's Chronicles, in manuscript, of the same century; several illuminated missals and a psalter of the fourteenth century; a manuscript copy of the Gospel of St. John of the same century, found in the tomb of St. Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral; numerous incunabula; about one thousand books printed in Gothic letter, before 1551; many of the works of Cicero, printed between 1506 and 1568; and a variety of other books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including a first folio Shakespeare.³

At Ushaw College, Durham, like Stonyhurst a Catholic college, with pupils receiving a secondary education and "philosophers"

1. Ibid., p.111.

2. Ibid., p.87.

3. Ibid., pp.88-110.

engaged in tertiary study, there was a similar, though smaller, library in 1899.¹ Containing 20,000 volumes, this library was housed in a long room, described as "perhaps the finest one in the North of England".² Beneath it was a "study-place" for the use of all members of the school. Libraries such as these reflect the keen desire of the Roman Catholic Church, and particularly of the Jesuits, to foster and encourage scholarship from the preparatory school through to the advanced research of subject specialists, at a time when it was difficult for Roman Catholics to enter English universities.

Dissenters, excluded like the Roman Catholics from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, also developed their own schools, colleges, and academies, some of which offered courses at the tertiary level.³ The "great and primary object" of these institutions, it was stated in 1769, "was the education of youth in general; as well as those who intended for civil, active and commercial life; as those who are designed for any of the learned professions".⁴ While a liberal education was normally provided for young boys in these Dissenting schools, the tertiary-level curriculum of the academies was probably more narrow than this claim would indicate. Certainly at Warrington Academy, near Liverpool, in the late eighteenth century, "the only

1. A.G. Johnston, "Life at a Catholic College", The Grammar School Magazine (Aberdeen Grammar School), new series, 3(1899), p.51.

2. Ibid., p.48.

3. Irene Parker, Dissenting Academies in England, (Cambridge, 1914), p.51.

4. Warrington Academy, A Report of the State of the Warrington Academy, by the Trustees at their Annual Meeting, June 29th, MDCCLXIX, ([Warrington], 1769), p.1.

learned profession which [the] institution [was] calculated to fully prepare gentlemen for [was] the Christian Ministry".¹ The older students, living in furnished rooms in the Academy, or in lodgings nearby, undertook a five-year course of studies which included philosophy, Hebrew, logic, ethics, scripture criticism, belles lettres, ontology, pneumatology, Church history, "Pastoral Office", and "Evidences of Revelation". Both the senior boys in the school who were destined for civil or commercial life (studying history, modern languages, and English grammar), and the young men studying the tertiary-level course, paid "not less than one guinea" a year "for the use of the Library"² in 1769. Established in 1757 by the founders of the Academy at Warrington, who aimed "to collect a library in some degree correspondent to the extensive plan contemplated in the institution of the Academy",³ this library had grown in size and scope as a result of "several private benefactions of considerable value", including the theological libraries of Richard Grosvenor and the Rev. Samuel Stubbs.⁴ When a "select catalogue" of the collection was published in 1775, it recorded more than six hundred titles in around 1300 volumes, including many volumes of sermons, and a large number of work on history, philosophy, science, theology, and scripture criticism.⁵ Some valuable fifteenth and sixteenth century books were listed, including a few manuscripts and incunabula. When Warrington Academy closed in 1786, this library

1. Ibid., p.2.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Rev. William Turner, The Warrington Academy, (Warrington, 1957), p.7.

4. Ibid., p.8.

5. Warrington Academy, A Select Catalogue of Books in the Library Belonging to the Warrington Academy, ([Warrington], 1775).

became part of the collection at Manchester Academy;¹ later still it was incorporated in the collection of a Dissenters' Academy at York.²

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholarly libraries catering to the professional reading needs of the teachers, as distinct from the needs of the pupils, were developed in some secondary, elementary, and Sunday schools. Of these, the teachers' libraries provided in some of the English Sunday schools in the early years of the nineteenth century were generally older than those in week-day schools; they were made necessary because the Sunday schools often had to utilise teachers with very limited education.

At Great Horton, near Bradford, the Wesley-Place Sunday School established a teachers' library in 1852;³ it also had a substantial library for the pupils. The 1862 published catalogue of books available for loan in this Teachers' Library shows that the collection included 349 volumes, chiefly of religious works. The Table which follows illustrates the distribution of books by subject classification.⁴

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1. Manchester Academy, Prospectus, April 1789.
 2. Turner, The Warrington Academy, p.8.
 3. Great Horton. Wesley-Place Sunday School, The Catalogue of Books in the Teachers' Library, (Bradford, 1862), title page.
 4. The figures are taken from the 1862 catalogue cited above.

TABLE XXXVIII

GREAT HORTON:

WESLEY-PLACE SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS' LIBRARY, 1862

Subject Class	Number of Books	Percentage of Collection
History	41	11.75
Biography	69	19.77
Theology, etc.	87	24.9
Education	13	3.7
Arts and Sciences	14	4.01
Voyages, Travels, etc.	12	3.44
Miscellaneous	113	32.38
TOTAL	349	

At first sight, this would appear to indicate a fairly liberal general collection for a mid-nineteenth century Sunday school, with only a quarter of the books being theological works. However the "History" section included only a few general historical works, such as Athens, its grandeur and decay and Dawn of Civilization; the others were mostly church histories or Biblical histories, including titles like The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, Fox's Book of Martyrs, Blakie's Bible History, The History of the Sunday School Union, and the two volumes of McCrie's Sketches of Scotch Church History. The same emphasis on religion is also apparent in the biographical works. While Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson and the Lives of Illustrious Greeks were listed among the sixty-nine volumes in this section, the others were generally biographies of ministers and Christian workers, including sixteen volumes in the "Christian Biography" series, the Memoirs of Christian Females, and Eminent

Sunday School Teachers. Under "Voyages, Travels, etc.," we find titles like Moffat's Missionary Enterprises and three volumes of Wesley's Journal. Many of the works under "Miscellaneous", too, were religious works, including bound volumes of journals like the Sunday School Magazine, volumes of religious poetry, and guides to living a Christian life. This emphasis is, of course, understandable, since this library was intended purely for the guidance and personal development of the Sunday school teachers, to prepare them for, and to sustain them in, their instructional role. No attempt was made to supply recreational reading material, even of a Christian nature, as libraries intended for Sunday school pupils often did by the 1860s. With this in mind, what is perhaps a little surprising is the small number of books listed under "Education" - just under four percent of the total. The works in this section were mainly fairly simple "helps" for teachers, rather than works on pedagogy or educational principles; titles included Ephraim Holding's Homely Hints for Sunday School Teachers, Collins' Teachers' Companion, and Todd's Sunday School Teacher.

The teachers' library of the Portmahon Baptist Sunday School, near Sheffield, contained 115 volumes in the latter part of the nineteenth century,¹ forming a collection remarkably similar to that at Great Horton. With the exception of a History of the Roman Republic, Rollins' Ancient History, and possibly Tour Through Hawaie, the books consisted of theological works, bound volumes of religious magazines, biographies of Christian men and women, church history, and sermons, with a few teachers' "helps" like The Sabbath School

1. Portmahon Baptist Sunday School Library, Catalogue (Sheffield, n.d.), pp.14-16, "Teachers' Catalogue".

Teacher and The Teacher's Manual. At Attleborough Baptist Sunday School in the 1890s, too, the collection of fifty-two teachers' books was very similar in scope. The first volume listed was Aids to Teaching; with the exception of a Class-Book of English Prose, the others were religious biographies, church and Bible histories, lectures and sermons, and theological works.¹ So while libraries for pupils in Sunday schools in the second half of the nineteenth century were generally attempting to meet the recreational needs of children as well as supplying material relating to the instruction given in the Sunday schools,² the teachers' libraries were intended simply to aid the teachers in their development as Christians, and in becoming more adequate as teachers.

In 1905, Benjamin Carter put the arguments for the provision of libraries for teachers in elementary and secondary schools:³

A select library of books on the science of education for the use of teachers is very desirable. There is hardly any class of workers which has a greater need for books: in a progressive science like education it is absolutely necessary if the teacher is to keep himself abreast of the times, and it is all to the advantage of the State that he should do so, that he should have access to the best books.⁴

Such libraries were, in fact, being provided in some parts of the

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1. Attleborough Baptist Sunday School Library, Book Record, MS, at Warwickshire County Record Office, CR992/12.
 2. See Chapter Three, pp.157-164.
 3. Benjamin Carter, "School Libraries", Library World, 8(1905), pp. 32-33.
 4. Carter went on to suggest ways in which such libraries could be provided (ibid., p.33):

Such a library could be kept at the County Education Office, and regulations made for the delivery of books to teachers on application, and their return. Or the County Council might very well arrange with the committee of a Public Library in its area for the housing and distribution of the books: they could be kept in the reference department, and those not on loan be available for consultation by the general public.

United States in the first decade of the twentieth century. Lillian Ione MacDowell, writing about the New York public elementary and secondary school system in 1907, noted that "one of the most successful innovations in school organization and administration has been the introduction of school libraries", with "a complete system" providing "a small reference library for teachers" in each school, "and a central pedagogical library for the advancement of the teacher's professional interests and intellectual attainments" as well as class libraries for each class in the schools.¹ MacDowell noted that the aims of the teachers' libraries were to aid the teacher in the work of educating the pupil, and to furnish the teacher with the means of her own improvement. She suggested that, to achieve these ends, the library within the school should be "limited in size and strictly pedagogical; a non-circulating library ...open for reference and use during the entire school day".² In his 1909 Report, the Director of the New York Public Library indicated that "large reference libraries for the use of teachers" were established in many schools³ in accordance with the principles outlined by MacDowell.

In England in 1909, Cyril Norwood and A.H. Hope presented a case for the establishment of teachers' libraries, based on overseas experience, on the need to encourage masters to read, and on the financial situation of schoolmasters generally, which rendered them

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1. Lillian Ione MacDowell, "A Public School Library System", Educational Review, 34(1907), p.374.
 2. Ibid., p.374.
 3. New York Public Library. Travelling Libraries Department, "Travelling Libraries for Schools in New York City", Library Journal, 35(1910), p.162.

unable to purchase for themselves all the books which it would be desirable reading for them:¹

We would...commend foreign example in the equipment of Common School Libraries for the masters. Abroad we find everywhere an admirable collection of books on the theory and practice of Education in all its branches, and of educational journals and reviews in several languages. And we find that masters read them. In England there is rarely seen in the masters' room more than a few specimen copies, and the Schoolmasters' Year Book, which, however excellent, hardly pretends to be exhaustive. As a result of this lack of professional food, there is little professional spirit. Schoolmasters are poor men, and books on education are often expensive; but they are necessities, and here again the town or Governors might help to provide them. They would amply repay the cost by improving the teaching.

In Australia in 1970 Cecily Brown was still writing that the professional reading habits of teachers left a great deal to be desired. She cited surveys which indicated that "most teachers read very little, own few professional books, and subscribe to few professional journals".² Further, it was found that teachers had little or no access to professional reading within their schools. Brown felt that school libraries in the 1960s largely ignored this need, and suggested that it was time that this concept of school library service underwent a revival.³

By the twentieth century in Great Britain, the United States, and Australia, those professional libraries which had been supplied for teachers were generally being provided, not in individual schools, as had been the case earlier, but on a regional or city

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1. "School Libraries", in Cyril Norwood and A.H. Hope, The Higher Education of Boys in England, (London, 1909), p.486.
 2. G.M. Gaverick, an American educational psychologist, is quoted by Cecily Brown, "Libraries and Education", Quarterly Review of Australian Education, 3,3(1970), p.6.
 3. Brown, "Libraries and Education", p.7.

basis, either through the public library, professional associations, or education authorities.¹ While this has meant that larger, more varied, and more up-to-date collections could be made available to all teachers in an area, it has also meant that access is more difficult.

A further type of academic or scholarly library was located within a school and available only to certain members of the school population - the top form, or the prefects or monitors, or the foundation scholars. One such library was described by Nicholas Carlisle in his survey of the endowed grammar schools of England and Wales, published in 1818.² At Wigan Free Grammar School in Lancashire, access to the Library was restricted to a small group of boys: the Act of Parliament to incorporate the school, which received the Royal Assent on 9 June 1812, states that

...the Master and Usher for the time being, shall, from time to time appoint such or so many Scholars as he or they know fit to make use of the said Library books, or so many of them as shall be useful for their better profiting in their respective way of learning..³

This restriction was based partly on the desire to preserve the collection from the consequences of contact with boys who might "write in, or scratch, or deface with pen, or otherwise"⁴ the books,

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1. As, for instance, in the Education Library provided for the use of teachers by the London County Council in the 1920s, and the small teachers' collections developed in some New South Wales country areas by local teachers' groups, as, for example, at Wagga Wagga in 1921. See London County Council, Schools and Libraries: An Account of the Development of Library Activities in the London Education Service, (London, 1925), pp.3-4; New South Wales, The Education Gazette, 1 February 1921, p.36.
 2. Nicholas Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales, (2 vols, London, 1818).
 3. Ibid., Vol.1, p.727.
 4. Ibid., Vol.1, p.727.

and partly on a recognition of the fact that a library of advanced Latin and Greek texts would only be used with profit by a small proportion of the pupils in that school.

At Winchester in 1864 there was a library for the prefects, to which the commoner prefects also had access;¹ at St. Paul's the eighth class only had access to an "excellent" library of mostly French literature and science when the room in which it was housed was not being used as a classroom;² at Harrow there was a library for the monitors, that is, the fifteen upper boys in the school;³ and at Dulwich College Lower School there was a library available for the foundation scholars.⁴ The Schools Inquiry Commissioners, who in 1868 produced the Taunton Report on the endowed grammar schools of England, found that nine out of the 147 libraries in the grammar schools having a full classical curriculum were open only to the top class in the school, or to the prefects, or to foundation scholars. In the semi-classical schools, two out of the fifty-nine school libraries were to be used only by a small group of pupils. And in the "non-classical and elementary" schools eight of the seventy-eight libraries were restricted to a particular group. This meant that in 4.5% of all libraries in endowed grammar schools, access to the collection was restricted to a small group of pupils.⁵ At

1. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.2, p.187.

2. Ibid., Vol.2, p.214.

3. Ibid., Vol.2, p.279; and Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools, Vol.1, p.153.

4. England. Schools Inquiry Commission, Report, Vol.10, pp.170-171.

5. Ibid., passim. For an analysis of conditions of access to the school libraries of these schools generally, see Chapter Three, pp.123-128, and Appendix A.

Guildford Grammar School, a classical school, only the prefects could use the library,¹ at Bury St. Edmunds Grammar School, only the sixth form.² These libraries generally comprised scholarly works, of little use to junior pupils, and, at some of the public schools, little used by even the boys to whom they were available.³ The point of the library access privilege was, in these cases, usually a way of distinguishing a particular group by giving them a key to a special room of their own.

The nature of the provision of scholarly libraries in schools has changed greatly over the years. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries writers have stressed the need for the provision of teachers' libraries in order to encourage the professional development of teachers. This need was particularly apparent in the Sunday schools, where untrained and often poorly-educated teachers were used. The older specialised and scholarly college libraries, as at Eton and Winchester, have been opened up, particularly in the twentieth century, to readers other than Fellows: to scholars from outside, and to the masters and pupils of the school. It is this trend towards freer access for all to specialised collections which has led to the provision in the twentieth century of general school libraries for the whole school rather than libraries for special groups within the school population. While libraries for prefects, senior

1. Ibid., Vol.11, pp.208-209.

2. Ibid., Vol.13, pp.258-259.

3. At St. Paul's, for instance, though the top class had access to an "excellent" library for French literature and science, the Public Schools Commissioners questioned whether it was used by the boys, or would be of much use to them if they did try. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.4, p.85, q.372-383.

students, and other small groups were provided in many schools in the nineteenth century, by this century such libraries were difficult to find. In part, the public library movement in England and America from the 1870s, with its emphasis on access to information and recreational reading for all, has been responsible for this opening up of collections in schools. Other strong influences have been the growth of democratic sentiment from the late nineteenth century onwards, and from the 1920s an emphasis in education on the individual and individual differences; these in turn have led to a concern for the rights of all children to an adequate education and educational facilities.

2. THE SCHOOL LIBRARY AS A MEMORIAL

The connection between libraries or books and both religion and the Church is an old one. Raymond Irwin has remarked that books in the ancient world were always associated with temples, shrines, or holy places, or with the palace residences of divine kings; the importance of this association derived from the permanence which these books gave to the religious texts and the records of the deeds of the kings. In the Christian world, too, the association of libraries with ecclesiastical institutions has always been close, as in Britain where "from the coming of Saint Augustine to the fifteenth century it would be hard to find any library which was not directly or indirectly connected with the Church".¹ For both pagan and Christian, then, religion and learning had always been inseparably connected, and

1. Raymond Irwin, "General Introduction" to Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright (eds), The English Library Before 1700, (London, 1958), p.4.

there is a real sense in which their libraries have been religious institutions: storehouses in which national traditions are enshrined in stone or wood or papyrus or parchment, and from which there radiates the intellectual and spiritual power or superstition or magic that binds the nation together into a unity. The spiritual power of the book has always been a force to be reckoned with.¹

As we have seen when discussing school libraries as suppliers of recreational reading, books have always had a mystique and a spiritual and moral association for people which is independent of their contents. In the Middle Ages, written records were associated intimately in people's minds with religion, with learning, and with civil authority; they continued to be thought of in these terms even after the spread of literacy among lay people in the fifteenth century² made the possession of a few books, including secular works,

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1. *Ibid.*, p.4. The idea that books possess a mystique which had little to do with literary expression is also referred to by John Harthan in his Books of Hours and Their Owners, (London, 1977), p.12.
 2. The case for the spread of literacy in the fifteenth century has been argued by J.W. Adamson, "The Extent of Literacy in England in the 15th and 16th Centuries", The Library, fourth series, 10(1929-1930), pp.163-193; H.S. Bennett, "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular MSS in the 15th Century", The Library, fifth series, 1(1946), p.175; and Irwin, "General Introduction", pp.5-7. Sir Thomas More estimated in 1523 that "farre more than four partes of the whole dyvyded into tenne, could never read englishe yet", which has been taken to mean that more than half the population could read (Apology, E.E.T.S., 1930, p.13); over a century earlier another estimate suggested that over eighty-five percent were illiterate (William Thorpe in 1407; see A.W. Pollard, Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse, (Oxford, 1903), p.139). While both these estimates were guesses, that of More has been given great weight, though H.S. Bennett notes that it would be rash to deduce from it that up to sixty percent of the population could read. H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475-1557, (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1970), p.28. Many considerations, however, support the increase in literacy in this period, including the fact that lay people were beginning to own books, to set a proper value on them, and to mention them in their Wills. See C.L. Kingsford, Prejudice and Promise in 15th Century England, (Oxford, 1925), p.40, and Thomas Kelly, Early Public Libraries, (London, 1966), p.27. The latter estimates that twenty percent of London Wills of personal property in the fifteenth century mentioned books.

not uncommon among the middle classes.¹ It is not surprising, then, that books and libraries, with their spiritual and cultural connotations, preserving as they did the thoughts, actions, and religious quest of man, should be seen as a suitable form for a permanent memorial to the dead, or to commemorate a great event or deed. And since books carry knowledge, ideas, and thoughts over time and distance, there is in this a hope that a memorial associated with books may perpetuate a person's name down the ages. Libraries were associated, for instance, with some medieval chantry foundations, where a priest was maintained to say masses for the soul of the founder and his family, and in which books were made available. In the twentieth century many school libraries have been built as memorials - memorials to people in some way connected with the school, or as war memorials.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the "chantry library", in which the chantry priest both said masses and opened the "library" at certain hours, was an established type of library. In Bishop Carpenter's mid-fifteenth century² foundation at Worcester, for example, books were kept chained in the chapel of Saint Thomas the Martyr (a detached building on the north side of the cathedral), and made accessible for four hours daily; in addition, the priest/

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1. This connection still carries some force today. Sir Paul Hasluck, for instance, in his autobiography, has commented that "a library, like a church, is a shrine for the traditions and truths of centuries...". Sir Paul Hasluck, Mucking About: An Autobiography, (Melbourne, 1977), p.163.
 2. J.W. Clark, who was the first to print an account of this library, gave the foundation date as 1464. J.W. Clark, The Care of Books, (London, 1909), pp.121-123. However Thomas Kelly suggests that the dates 1459 or 1461, given by other writers, might be more reliable. Kelly, Early Public Libraries, p.32.

librarian was required to give a public lecture once a week.¹ Rotherham was another example of such a library. It was established in 1500 for the use of the clergy and fellows attached to the chantry and school, by the patron of the school, Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York.²

At Winchester College, Fromond's Chantry was completed in 1446,³ eighteen years earlier than Bishop Carpenter's foundation. It was a two-storey building, built in the middle of the cloister garth, with its upper room designed, as the foundation deeds of the fifteenth century make clear, as a library.⁴ This chantry was built by the executors of John Fromond, Stewart of the College Manors, who died in 1420; masses were to be sung in it for the repose of his soul and the souls of his wife and friends. While the upper room was designed to be used as a library, it was, however, not used as such in the fifteenth century: the foundation documents show that it was already "destructa et deturpata per columbas et alios volucres" in 1457-1458. In the twentieth century, after being used for various purposes, including a granary,⁵ this room has been restored for use, as it was originally intended, as a library; it now houses the "Wiccamica" collection of documents and books relating to the history of the school. Meanwhile the lower room was used from the start for

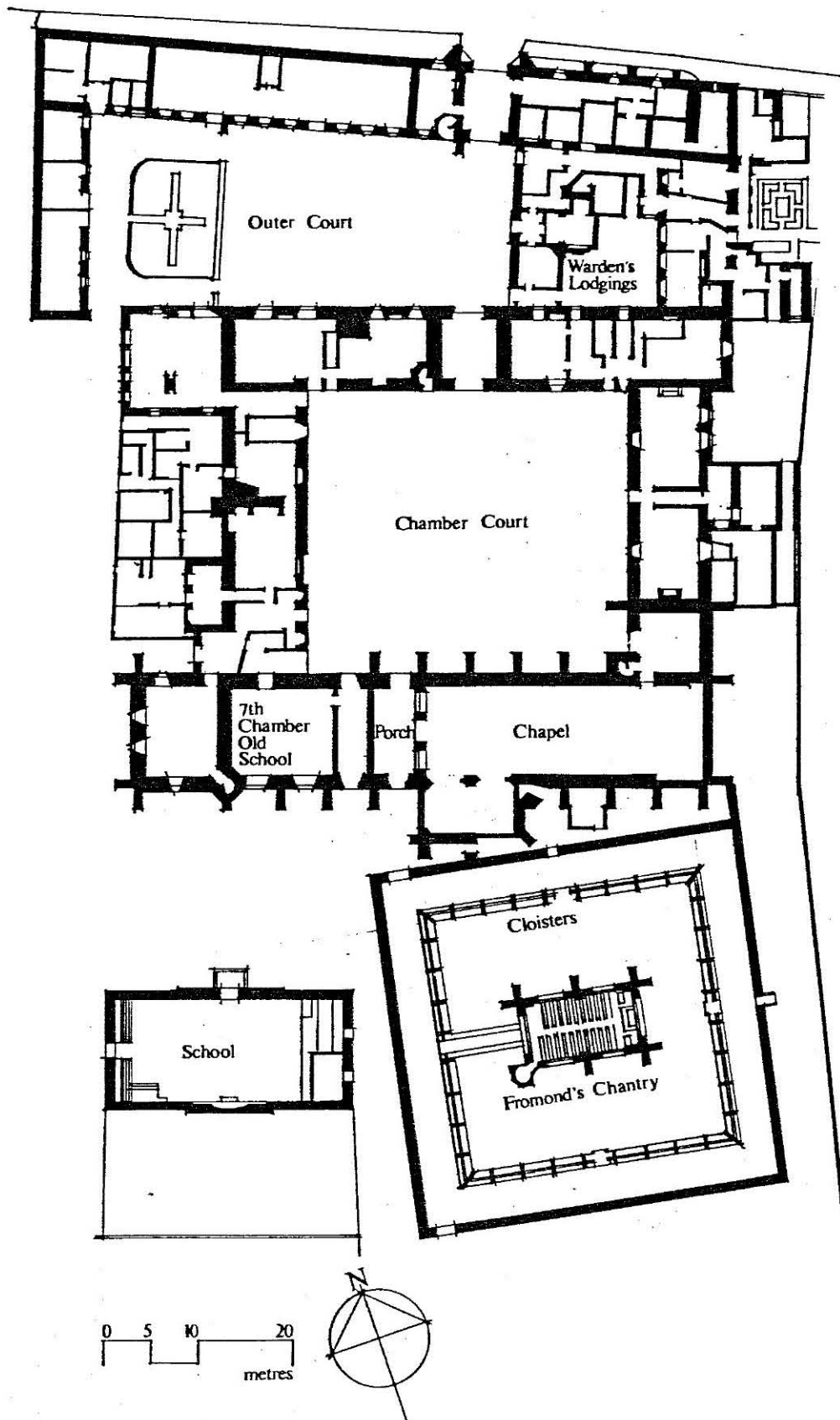
1. Clark, The Care of Books, pp.121-123.

2. Kelly, Early Public Libraries, p.16.

3. This chantry was built between 1420 and 1445. It is believed to be the only example in England of a chapel inside a cloister. Winchester College, Winchester College: A Guide, (Winchester, 1977), p.8.

4. Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", p.6.

5. Ibid., p.6.



Plan of Winchester College, showing Fromond's Chantry in the Cloister. Based on a plan in Winchester College, *Winchester College: A Guide*, (Winchester, 1977), and on others appearing in various Winchester city and tourist guides, as well as on notes taken by the author on a visit to the College.

saying masses, and also apparently for reading, since it seems probable that some chained books were kept permanently in it. In addition, its decoration suggests use as a reading room. A visitor to the school in 1684 described figures which were then in the windows and which no longer survive:¹ a bishop writing in a book; the bibliophile Robertus Lincolniensis (Bishop Grosseteste); and two "doctors" writing. And sculptured figures of Fromond and his wife, on either side of the west door, each hold a book.² In the school accounts at certain times the books of the chapel were reckoned as part of its furniture; at other times as library books. If chained books were, as Oakeshott suggests,³ kept in the lower room of Fromond's Chantry from 1446 onwards, then the transition from chantry chapel to library proper at the Reformation, when chantry foundations were broken up, may have been an almost imperceptible one - a matter of degree, not of kind. Certainly for more than two centuries after the Reformation the lower room was the main library of the College.

From the Reformation to the early nineteenth century, no instance is known of a school library being established as a memorial, though an affinity can be seen between the impulse which founded a chantry chapel before the Reformation and that which led to major benefactions to school and college libraries in later centuries. Many memorial libraries, however, were established in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These can be divided into

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1. The present east window, though medieval, was moved from Thurbern's Chantry, part of the College Chapel, in 1772, and was not originally part of the Fromond's Chantry glass. Winchester College, Winchester College: A Guide, p.9.
 2. Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", p.6.
 3. Ibid., p.6.

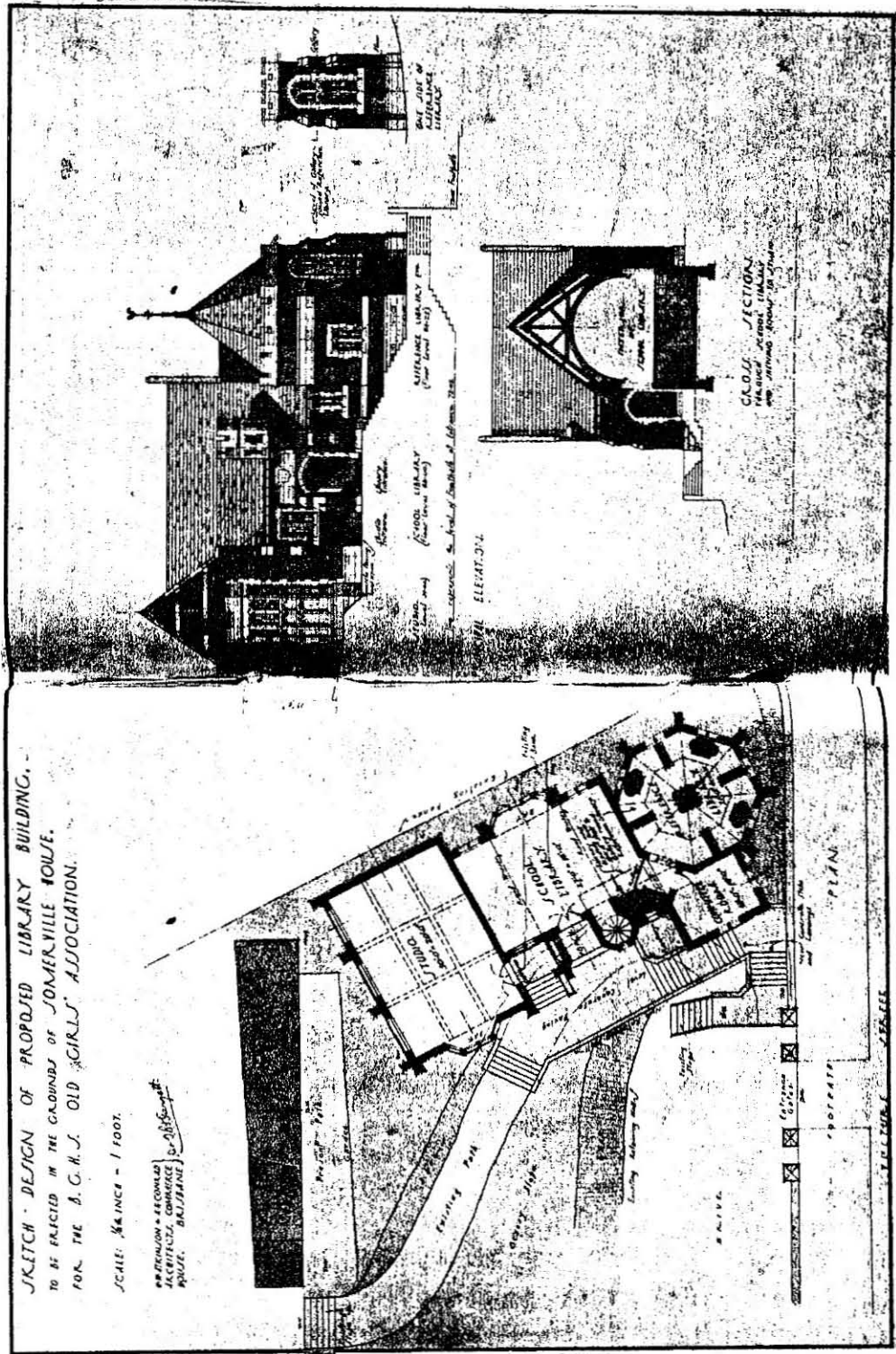
two main types: those commemorating a particular individual associated with the school; and war memorial libraries. The latter can be divided again into those in which the memorial purpose so predominated that the building functioned only briefly, if at all, as an effective library; and those which were functionally adequate for a reasonable period.

In 1842 Archibald Campbell Tait, later Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed Headmaster at Rugby School. Early in his mastership a fund was raised by subscription to commemorate the work of his predecessor, Dr. Thomas Arnold; part of this fund "was laid out in the construction of a Library, over the writing school, called the Arnold Library". The work of a later Headmaster of Rugby, Dr. Frederick Temple, (Headmaster 1858-1870), who subsequently became successively Bishop of Exeter, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury, was also commemorated through the building of a library, completed in 1877, and known as the Temple Reading Room.¹ At Harrow, a school library was built in 1861-1863 as a memorial to the retiring headmaster, Dr. Vaughan. The small Monitors' Library which had existed for many years formed the nucleus of the new library's collection, which was soon augmented by bequests and donations from Old Harrovians.² And in 1883, when it was announced that Dr. Scott would be retiring as Headmaster of Westminster School, money was raised to finance the development of a library as a memorial to him.³

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1. Information from manuscript notes in the archives of Rugby School.
 2. Harrow School, "The Vaughan Library", School Library Review and Educational Record, new series, 5(1950), p.2.
 3. Westminster School, Westminster School Library, (London, 1933), p.9.

Commemorative libraries were also built in some Australian schools in the twentieth century, usually, as in the case of the English libraries cited above, to mark the work of a former principal of the school. One such library, opened in 1934 at Somerville House (The Brisbane High School for Girls), Queensland, as a memorial to Miss C.E. Harker, co-principal of the school for twenty-two years,¹ is a particularly striking example. The free-standing building, "designed in the style of late fourteenth century Gothic architecture",² housed a lending library and a reference library, with provision being made in the plans for the subsequent addition of a studio.³ The octagonal reference library provided seating at a large matching octagonal table, and above it a gallery four feet wide provided accommodation initially for Old Girls' records, later for books. The approach to this gallery was by a spiral concrete stairway within a turret rising above the foundation stone. In both the rectangular lending library, with its wide bay window, and the reference library, the furniture was designed to harmonise with the wood of the gallery and the entrance stair; the floors were of polished hardwoods, and the steel-framed windows were glazed with leadlights.⁴ In the lending library each of the five windows had an emblem of particular significance for the school: the central window had the school badge in stained glass; the other four windows had emblems "suggestive of the light of truth, the source of

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1. Phyllis G. Freeman (ed.), History of Somerville House (The Brisbane High School for Girls) 1899-1949, (Brisbane, 1949), p. 27.
 2. Ibid., p.27
 3. See architect's sketches, reproduced from The Brisbane High School for Girls Magazine, June 1932.
 4. The Brisbane High School for Girls Magazine, December 1934, p.25.



The architect's sketches for the Memorial Library at Somerville House, Brisbane. (From Brisbane High School for Girls Magazine, June 1932.)

knowledge, and wisdom itself",¹ in leaded coloured glass. Beneath this group of windows was the bronze commemorative tablet. Memorial windows were first placed in the reference library in 1937 to commemorate the life of a pupil who had died the previous year.² The subject of the pair of windows, "The Raising of Jarius' Daughter", and the subsequent use of Biblical subjects for other windows, recalls the profound connection between religion, libraries, and memorials postulated by Raymond Irwin; it also clearly demonstrates the direct influence of several centuries of unbroken tradition in church memorials. The result is that the high, octagonal room, with its tall, pointed window spaces, has a chapel-like atmosphere.³

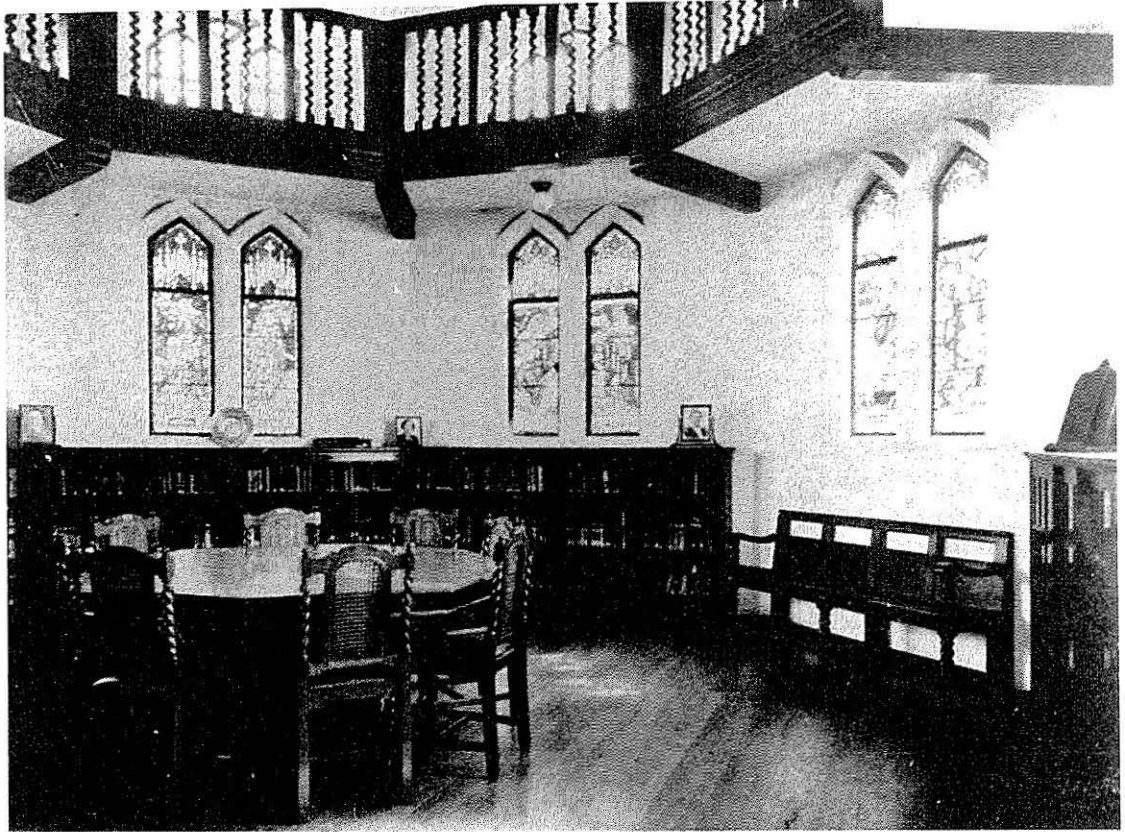
The commemorative function of this library was particularly important in planning stages, since the Old Girls would never have raised the necessary money without the desire to honour a woman for whom they felt so much affection.⁴ Great attention was obviously paid to furniture and fittings, with the intention of creating as beautiful a memorial as possible. Nevertheless in its early years

1. Ibid., December 1934, p.25.

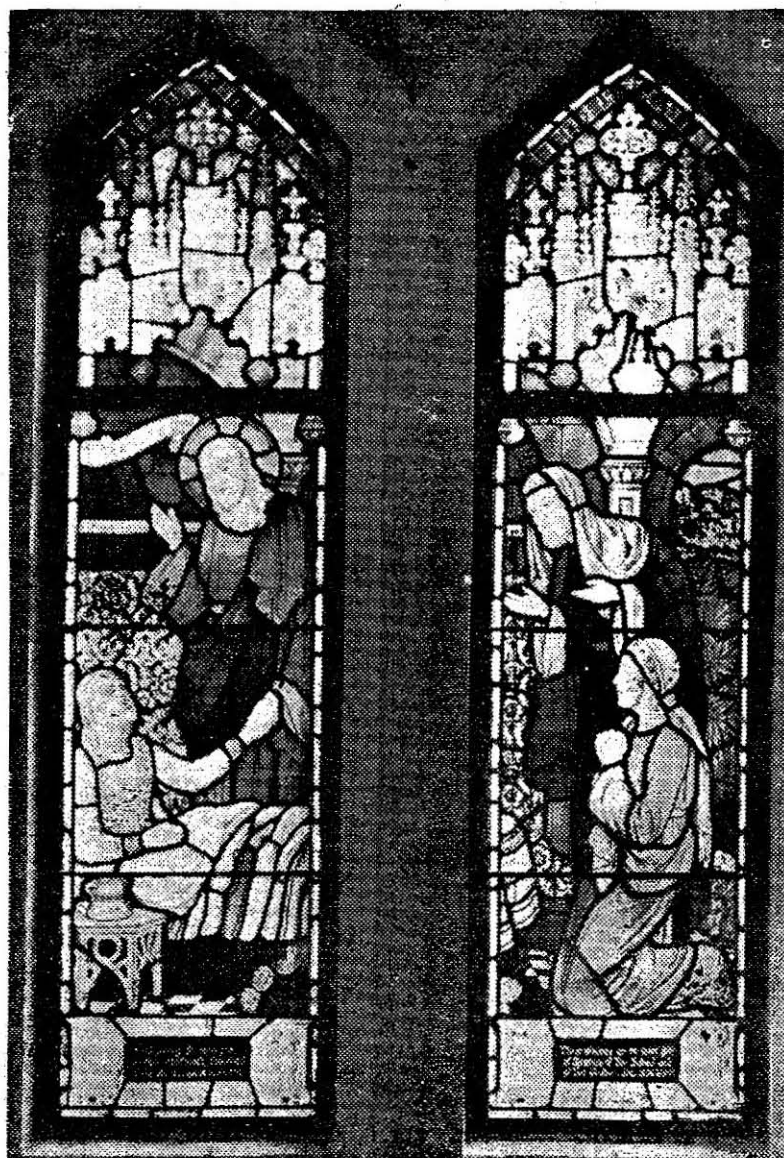
2. Another pair of memorial windows was added in 1949, as a memorial to Miss M.K. Jarrett, Co-Principal and then Principal of the school. (The Brisbane High School for Girls Magazine, December 1949, pp.28-29). This pair of windows also had a Biblical subject, "Jesus at the Well, talking to the Woman of Samaria", as did a further pair, again a memorial to an Old Girl who had died, which showed Ruth and Naomi. Freeman, History of Somerville House, p.27.

3. This atmosphere is still apparent when one enters this room, even though in 1978 it was a trifle dusty and used only for housing a collection of materials relating to the history of the school. In fact, simply because the atmosphere suggested it, a wedding and other services have been held there in the past.

4. Brisbane High School for Girls Magazine, December 1934, p.20.



Somerville House, Brisbane: the octagonal Reference Library in 1949, showing the memorial windows, the octagonal reading table, and the gallery above. (Photograph from the School.)



Somerville House, Brisbane: the Joan Palmes memorial windows, with the theme "The Raising of Jarius' Daughter", which were placed in the Reference Library in 1937. (From the Brisbane High School for Girls Magazine, June 1937, p.21.)

the building functioned well as a library, with shelf space initially for more books than the school seemed likely to possess, and seating in both rooms for more than thirty pupils. However in the 1950s the library collection expanded; to make more space available the history books had earlier been moved to the History Room, and in 1953 the sociology books joined them.¹ By 1956 collections had also been built up in the science laboratory, the geography theatre, and in classrooms.² By the 1960s, as in so many other schools, this library building was extremely crowded, with inadequate shelving space and inadequate space for readers. In September 1973 a new library, built with the assistance of Commonwealth Government funds, was opened. The memorial library is now used as a classroom for language teaching and as a store for material relating to the history of the school.

There are many other schools in Australia in which libraries have been built at least partly to commemorate the work of a person associated with the school. These include St. Peter's College, Adelaide, where the Stow Memorial Library was converted from the old "Big School Room" in 1937 in memory of a distinguished Old Scholar;³ the Cathedral School of St. Anne and St. James, Townsville, where the John Oliver Library, opened in 1970, is a memorial to a former Bishop of the Diocese of North Queensland, the Blessed John Oliver Feetham, who was responsible for the establishment of the school;⁴

1. Ibid., December 1953, pp.90-93.

2. Ibid., December 1956, pp.49-50.

3. M.A. Ketley, "The Stow Memorial Library in the Collegiate School of St. Peter, Adelaide, South Australia", The School Library Review and Educational Record, new series, 5 (1951), p.80 and p.110.

4. Alex Byrne (ed.), North Queensland Libraries: A Directory, (Townsville, 1981), p.33.

the Toowoomba Grammar School, where the M.W. Baynes Library, named for the then Chairman of the School's Board of Trustees, was opened in 1971;¹ and St. John Fisher's Christian Brothers Boys' School, Townsville; where the Brother P.I. Hodgkinson Library was opened in 1972.² While at Somerville House the commemorative features included stained glass windows and plaques, in these more modern libraries the "memorial" is usually a single small tablet at the entrance, as at Frensham at Mittagong, New South Wales, where the Esther Tuckey Library commemorates the work of a former English mistress and librarian in the school.

As well as commemorating past principals, staff members, founders, and other people associated with the school, school libraries have also been built, in several countries, as war memorials for former pupils who served in the First and Second World Wars. In some of these the commemorative purpose so predominated, from the earliest planning stages, that the building never really functioned effectively as a library. In such buildings, as in the war memorial libraries of Lancaster Royal Grammar School in England and the Brisbane Grammar School in Australia in the 1920s and 1930s, the books and other materials were simply intended to provide an appropriate background for a memorial.

It is worth looking at the reasons given for establishing such libraries, since they help to explain the physical form which the libraries took. In 1919 the General Committee administering the Brisbane Grammar School War Memorial Fund decided, after much

1. Rupert Goodman, Toowoomba Grammar School 1875-1975: A Centenary History, (Toowoomba, 1976), p.123.

2. Byrne, North Queensland Libraries, p.47.

discussion, that

a Memorial Building should be erected on the School grounds, to be used as a Library, Committee Room, and War Relic Room. In this would be placed the Honour Board and other memorials of the heroes of the War. The Golden Book...to record the part played by our Old Boys in the war, would be placed there.

They suggested that such a building would be "a constant reminder of the courage and patriotism of our predecessors in the School, and an inspiration to all coming generations at the school".¹ Beyond the initial mention of the use of the room as a library, no consideration was given at this stage to the form the library would take; the important aspect of the building was its use as a memorial to influence and inspire later generations. This is illustrated clearly in the Annual Report of the Headmaster, Mr. F.S.N. Bousfield, in 1918. He felt that the proposed memorial should be "serviceable rather than merely commemorative or triumphal",² but he went on:

At the same time it would be inconsistent with the reverence we feel for those who have made the great sacrifice, and our own respect for those who have returned, that our building should be devoted to any but the highest service. I can think of no other building which would combine reverence for our heroes and service to the school so fitly as a library where the elder boys, surrounded by memorials of their honoured predecessors, might drink in the noble thoughts of the great writers of the world.³

The library, then, was to be chiefly a memorial; it would be used by only a few privileged members of the school who would respect it; the activities taking place there would be unrelated to the daily life of the school and the instruction given in it; it would be a place which, by its associations and through its bookstock, would ennoble those who used it; and it would gain prestige as a memorial

1. Brisbane Grammar School Magazine, 22 (June 1919), p.13.

2. Quoted in Keith Willey, The First Hundred Years: The Story of Brisbane Grammar School 1868-1968, (Melbourne, 1968), p.72.

3. Ibid., p.72.

through its association with the work of great men of the past. In a speech during the ceremony to lay the foundation stone of the War Memorial Library, on Anzac Day 1923, Mr. Bousfield affirmed this concept of what the library was to be:

I cannot think of this building as anything but a sanctuary. When I think of the use of this library, I think not at all of a storehouse from which ephemeral books shall be issued for the amusement of our lighter hours. I think a bit, but not altogether, of the assistance it will give to our studies by the placing in it of works too costly for individuals to purchase. But what I think and believe will be its main use to the school will be that it will afford an opportunity for the choicer spirits in each generation to commune with the great and the wise in their books, and thus to strengthen their character and enrich their spiritual life and give them inspiration to become worthy successors of the men whom we are met here to honour.¹

And the Chairman of Trustees of the school, Mr. John L. Woolcock, on the same occasion, supported this view of the library's function, stressing that the building would "not be a mere adjunct of ordinary class teaching or a building for common resort", but a "memorial of devotion and sacrifice. It is a memorial which will build up character, if anything in the world will build up character".²

At Lancaster Royal Grammar School, too, the War Memorial Library was planned to be primarily a memorial and a sanctuary, a place apart from the day to day life of the school. When the Library Committee first met to plan the library, on 27 November 1928, the Headmaster stressed to the Committee that "their object was primarily a War Memorial....The school had no Chapel, and a library, failing a chapel, was an ideal memorial to those Old Lancastrians

1. Ibid., p.74.

2. Ibid., p.271.

who had fallen....The library would be an enduring tribute".¹ Here again, as at Fromond's Chantry at Winchester, we have the association of libraries and books with a lasting memorial, and with religion, though here the library is a substitute for a chapel, not a part of it. The use of this library was also to be restricted to the upper school,² as at Brisbane Grammar School; it was to include a shrine with a Lamp of Remembrance, a Roll of Honour, various plaques,³ and stained glass windows, so that it "would always be an inspiration to all who used it".⁴

At the Southport School in Queensland⁵ after the Second World War, similar ideas motivated those who wanted to provide a memorial to Old Boys who had served in that War. On laying the foundation stone, Bishop Dixon said:

Here may the true faith and fear of God ever abide and may the building to be erected hereon be a centre of wisdom, learning and culture for all those who are or shall be members of this school. May it be a perpetual memorial of the sacrifices made by those who offered their services to the King for the preservation of the freedom and welfare of their country.⁶

This building, too, was to have special furniture and six stained glass windows,⁷ but when it was finally opened, on Anzac Day 1957, the

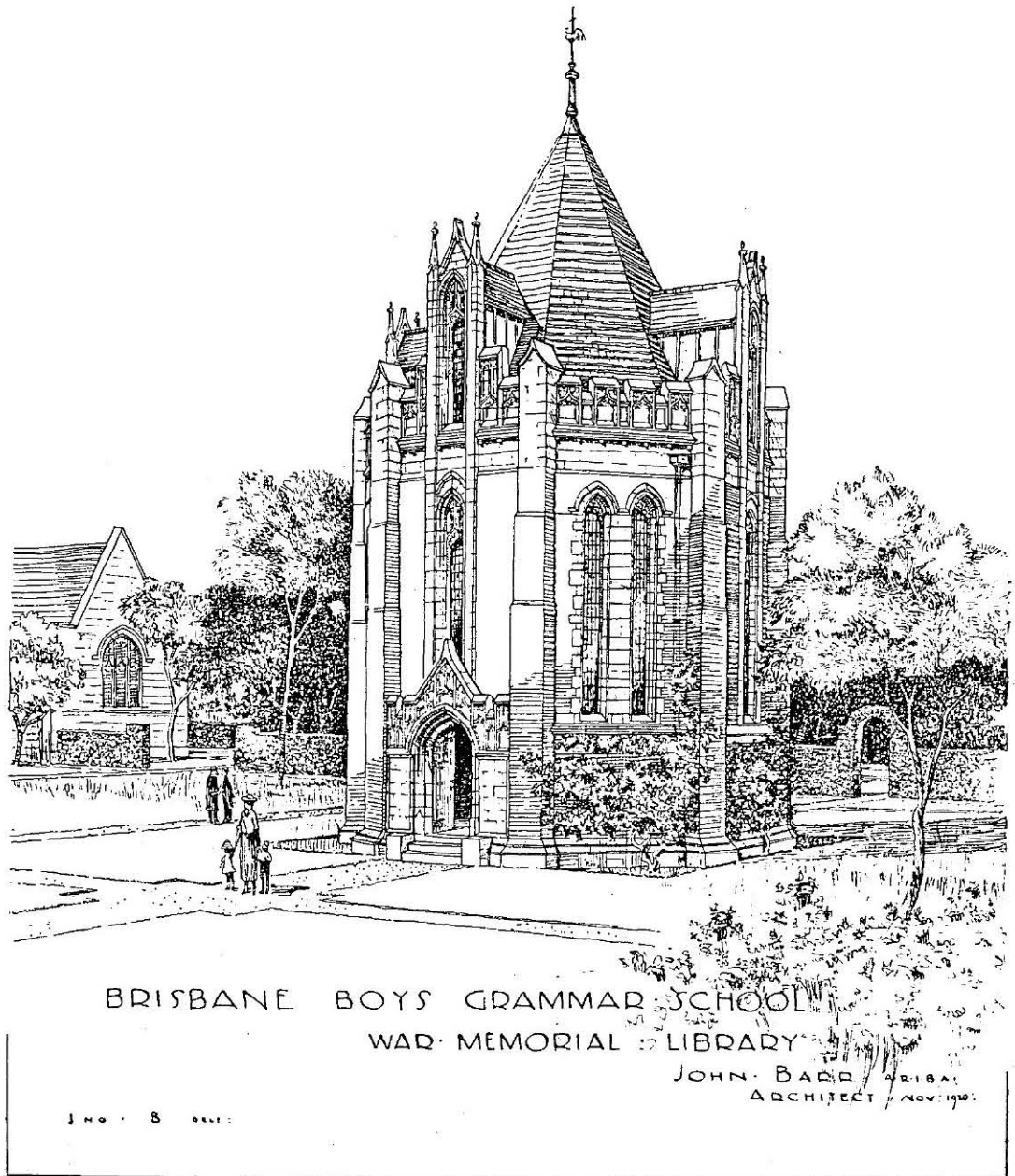
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1. Lancaster Royal Grammar School, Minutes of the Library Committee, MS, 27 November 1928.
 2. A junior library was also to be formed separately for the lower school. Ibid., 12 February 1929.
 3. Lancaster Royal Grammar School, The Lancastrian, 12 (April 1930), pp.60-64.
 4. The Bishop of Stepney, the Right Rev. C.E. Curzon, M.A., at the Dedication of the War Memorial Library, 3 March 1930. Reported in The Lancastrian, 12 (April 1930), pp.60-64.
 5. An Anglican secondary day and boarding school for boys at Southport on the Gold Coast.
 6. The Southport School, The Southportonian, June 1949, p.6.
 7. Ibid., June 1956, p.17.

priorities in construction had shifted towards greater emphasis on its function as a library rather than as a memorial, though the commemorative plaques and windows were retained.¹

What were these memorial libraries like? In general the concern that they be beautiful as memorials rather than functional as libraries produced small but attractive rooms, on the design of which much care had been lavished, and which contained specially-built furniture, stained glass windows, and other commemorative features. The sketch which follows shows the exterior of the free-standing War Memorial Library building at Brisbane Grammar School: a building in the Gothic style, structurally akin to English cathedral chapter houses, and, with its extreme height in relation to its floor size, having much in common with the Sydney Anzac Memorial in Hyde Park and the Hall of Memory in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. This resemblance to ecclesiastical buildings, and the common features it shared with other war memorial buildings, is not likely to have been entirely accidental. The library, octagonal in shape, was lit by twelve tall "peace windows". In the main windows the designs represented "Victoria" and "Pax"; in the others "Aequitas", "Magnanimitas", "Fides", "Humanitas", "Honestas", "Fortitudo", "Reverentia", "Officium", "Pietas", "Veritas" were depicted.² Carved wooden shelving projected from the walls, and a few armchairs provided seating, as the photograph on page 682 shows. A central octagonal cabinet held a "golden book" which contained the name and record of every Old Boy who served in the 1914-1918 War. And around

1. Ibid., June 1957, p.6.

2. Brisbane Grammar School Magazine, 27(June 1924), p.24, p.27.



The War Memorial Library, Brisbane Grammar School: architect's sketch, 1920. (From the School.)

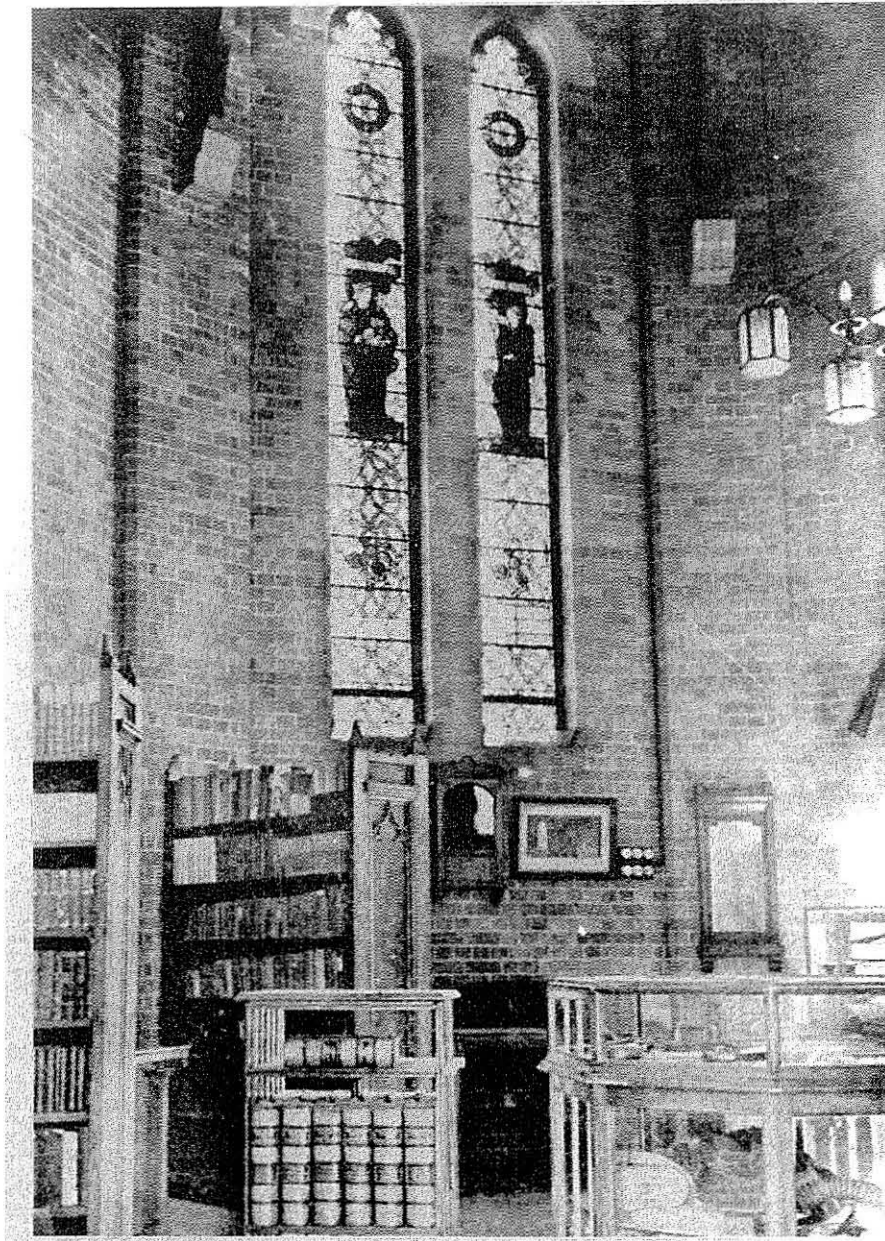
the walls were photographs and a collection of military relics, mainly donated by Old Boys. The atmosphere conveyed by the photograph of the library is rather more that of a chapel than a library in the usual later twentieth century sense of a school library. The book collection initially housed in this library, consisting as it did chiefly of the classics of English literature, history, biography, and military works, reflected the aims of the founders. Much of the collection was donated; few works in it were directly related to the school curriculum of the 1920s.¹

At Lancaster Royal Grammar School the Memorial Library room, still in use today, was on the first floor of a new building erected in 1930. Even by the standards of the day the room was small,² being nine and a half metres by seven. The south wall opposite the double entrance door was mainly occupied by windows, of which the centre one was a bay window containing stained glass panels with the arms of the school and of the county. Light was provided by these windows, by glass in the ceiling, and by a decorative lantern over the doorway, in addition to ordinary lights over the side aisles. The walls were finished with a light oak panelling to a height of ten feet, ornamented with carved scrolls, and a border of fruit and leaves in deep relief.. Above this was a broad frieze, in plaster moulding. In the centre of the east wall was a shrine, containing the Lamp of Remembrance,³ and facing this, on the west wall, as one

1. *Ibid.*, 30(June 1927), p.15; 30(November 1927); 31 (June 1928); 32(November 1929), p.3.

2. Joan M. Potter, *Old School Libraries of Lancashire: A Continued History 1885-1978*, (M.A. thesis, Loughborough University of Technology, 1979), p.97.

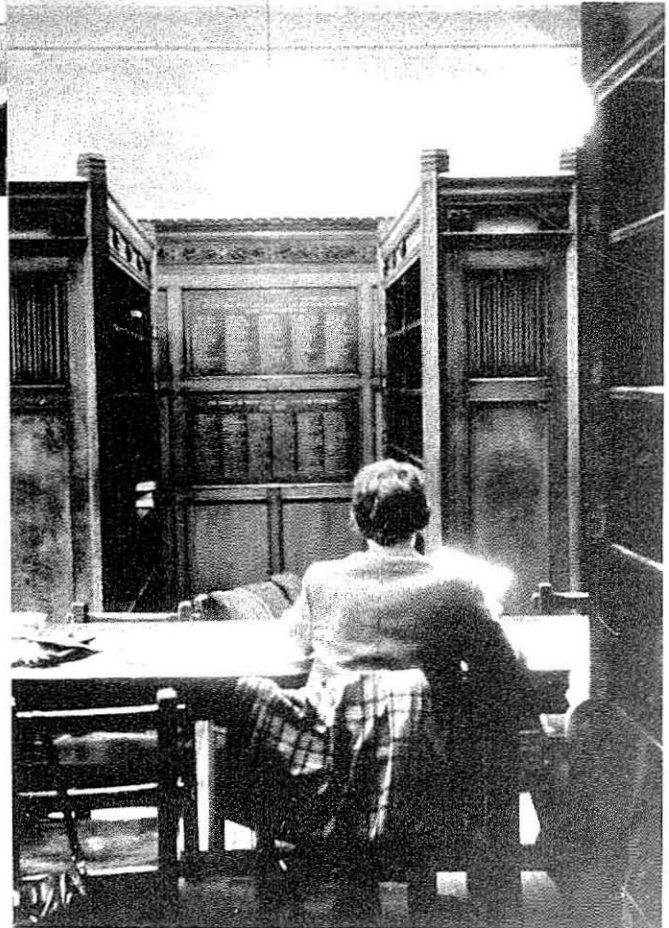
3. The lamp was subsequently removed after an accident in which it was knocked over and a fire started.



The interior of the War Memorial Library at Brisbane Grammar School, showing two of the stained glass windows, the carved bookcases extending from the walls into the centre of the octagonal room, some of the collection of photographs and memorabilia, and the octagonal glass case in which the "Golden Book" and various war relics were kept. The photograph was probably taken in the 1930s. (From the School.)

of the accompanying photographs shows, was the brass tablet with the names of "those to whose enduring memory this library is dedicated".¹ In each of the four corners of the room were two double-sided bookcases, of walnut, about three metres high, with carved cornices, and linen-fold panelling on the ends to match that of the walls. Originally two tables of oak were provided, one long and one short, with seating for eleven people.² The nature of the room has brought its problems for library development, the principal one of which is lack of space. When the library was opened in 1930 there were already 500 boys in the school, and so space for 6000 books and eleven readers was clearly going to be inadequate. Added to this the bookcases were of necessity placed fairly close together so that there would be a clear view through the aisles to the windows, the shrine, and the plaques; as a result a person of average height can barely see the books on the top shelves, let alone read them. In the Quincentenary history of the school, R.R. Timberlake commented that while the library fulfilled the aims of the founders in being "a worthy memorial to the fallen", the memorial character which dictated its form "has prevented [it] from developing into the workshop that modern ideas demand" and kept it as what in fact its sponsors wanted it to be, "a thing apart".³ This is reflected in the sombre, chapel-like atmosphere which still

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1. The Lancastrian, 12(April 1930), pp.60-64.
 2. There is now one long table, which may or may not be the original one, which a librarian's desk across the top of it in front of the bay window. There are fourteen chairs (not the originals), though the room could not comfortably seat more than ten people.
 3. R.R. Timberlake, "The Twentieth Century", in J.L. Spencer (ed.), The Royal Grammar School Lancaster: Quincentenary Commemorative Volume, (Edinburgh, 1969), p.24.



The War Memorial Library at Lancaster Royal Grammar School. Photographs taken by the author in 1979, showing the memorial tablets, and part of the stained glass in the bay window.

pervades the room, and in the fairly lavish spending on ornamentation rather than on fittings of a more functional character.¹

In these war memorial libraries there was often little or no allowance made for the growth of the collection; little provision of space or facilities for readers; and none at all for the librarian or for the day-to-day work which a lending library in a school normally involves. When schools in the second half of the twentieth century have attempted to turn such memorial libraries into curriculum-related resource centres, or to centres for recreational reading, they have generally been less than successful, since the buildings, appropriate as memorials or shrines, were not really intended for heavy library use. Often in these memorial libraries a great deal of money was spent on decoration appropriate to the person or event which the building commemorated, including stained glass windows and elaborate lighting; on furniture and other fittings; on glass cases, honour rolls, plaques, and other commemorative furniture. On the other hand, comparatively little money was spent on books or on equipment related to the buildings' function as a library. These libraries, then, were often very beautiful, but when schools attempted to make them serve other than decorative and commemorative purposes within the school, they naturally proved inadequate.

The library at Lancaster Royal Grammar School is the only war memorial library so far mentioned which is still in use today. In 1979 lack of space for both books and readers was creating severe

1. The School Minute Book in 1928 records that the fittings alone cost £1400. (MS, at the School.)

problems for school administrators, staff, and pupils, and the library could not be used for class work. A new split-level library resource centre, incorporating the older memorial in some way, reached final planning stages in 1963. Since the school was voluntary-aided, an eighty percent grant was expected from the County Council, subject to Department of Education and Science approval. This approval was withheld by the new Labour Government in 1964, and building plans lapsed.¹ At Brisbane Grammar School the War Memorial Library had effectively ceased to function as a school library by 1933.² By the early 1930s a new lending library had been formed, including works particularly related to the English syllabus; this library, having more space than the War Memorial Library, grew, while the older library became the preserve of the Sixth Form.³ Today the very attractive room is used as a school museum. Overcrowding soon became a problem in the memorial library at the Southport School too, despite the greater attention to the needs of library users given in the planning. By 1967 large form libraries had been established to augment the main library;⁴ in 1975 a new library, the "Harley Stumm Centre", was under construction, to include a media centre, the "Chauvel Centre".⁵

In the twentieth century, after both the First and Second World Wars, other war memorial school libraries were established, in the planning of which the library purpose was not subordinate to the

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1. Potter, *Old School Libraries of Lancashire: A Continued History*, p.100.
 2. *Brisbane Grammar School Magazine*, 36 (June 1933), p.61.
 3. *Ibid.*, p.61.
 4. *The Southportonian*, June 1967, pp.22-23.
 5. *Ibid.*, 1975, pp.24-26.

commemorative purpose, as it had been at both Lancaster Royal Grammar School and Brisbane Grammar School. Some have features like stained glass windows, statues, war memorial plaques, and other decoration, but generally these are less elaborate and less conspicuous than in the libraries at Brisbane Grammar and Lancaster, and they do not obscure the library function of the building.

At the Ravensbourne School for Boys, at Bromley in Kent, formerly a grammar school and now comprehensive,¹ a committee was formed in 1926 to plan a school war memorial, and to carry out the work involved. Members of the committee represented the Borough Council, the Education Committee, the school staff, the parents, and Old Boys, who would all be involved in the fund-raising.² Early in the 1920s the school library, which had been formed in 1911, the first year of the school's existence,³ was appealing for books to fill its new bookshelves;⁴ by 1924 a small non-fiction section had been started, and the library collection, housed in a classroom, needed more space.⁵ It was natural that, in response to this need, the committee should decide to ask the Borough Council and the Education Committee to allow a memorial library to be added at the end of the school hall. The planned room, fifty-one feet by twenty-five feet in size,⁶ was to cost £850 to £900 to build; in addition there would be

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1. Established in 1911 as the County School for Boys, Bromley, in 1945 it was renamed the Bromley County Grammar School. See Bromley County Grammar School, Bromley Grammar School for Boys 1911-1961, Jubilee Brochure, (n.p., 1961), p.14 and p.18.
 2. Ravensbourne School for Boys, The Bromleian, Summer Term 1926, "BGS War Memorial", n.p.
 3. Ibid., 1 (Autumn Term 1911), p.15.
 4. Ibid., 5 (Summer Term 1922), p.280; 5 (Autumn Term 1922), p.312.
 5. Ibid., 6 (Autumn Term, 1924).
 6. Ibid., Lent Term 1934, p.5.

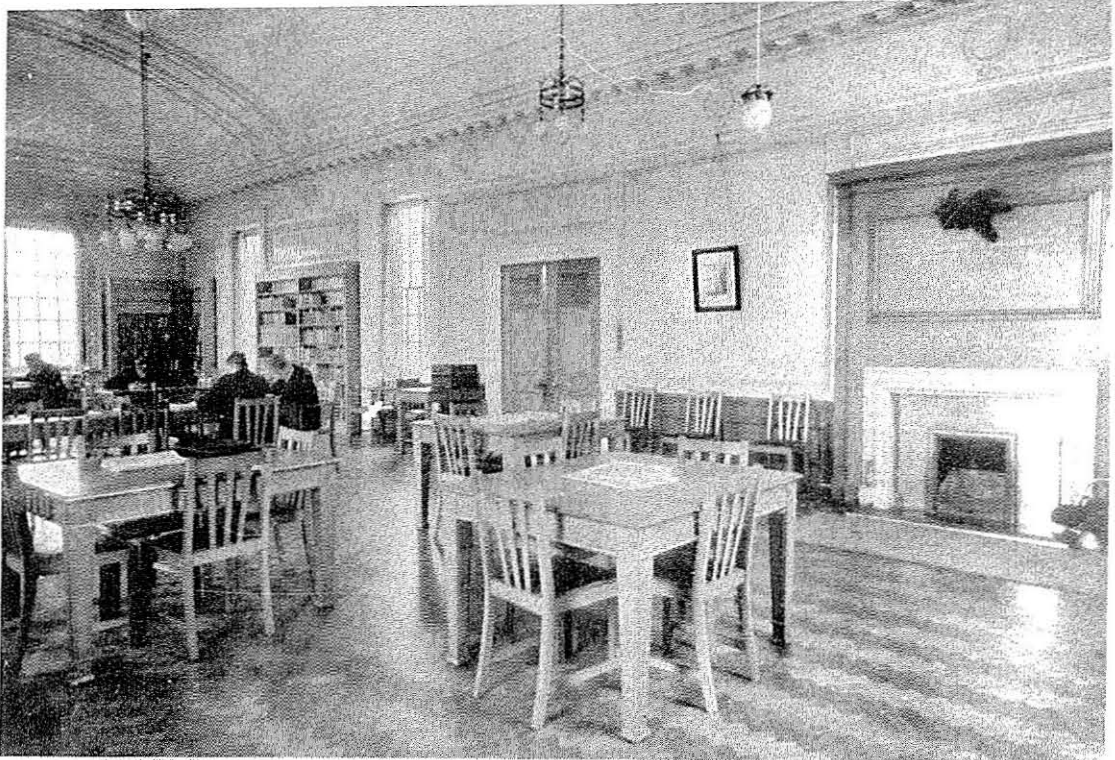
the architect's fees and fittings. This room, then, was to be considerably larger than that at Lancaster Royal Grammar School, but the whole construction was to cost less than the memorial fittings alone had cost at Lancaster.¹

This library, opened on 30 November 1933, is an attractive room, functional as a library, with shelving in 1979 for 6000 books and with seating for approximately forty boys. The memorial to the Old Boys of the school who fell in the First World War, which can be seen in one of the accompanying photographs, consists of a commemorative plaque, and beside it a large wooden Honour Roll. Beneath this plaque have been added two plaques referring to the 1939-1945 World War, and beneath them in a glass case the Honour Roll for that war. The area surrounding the memorial is kept free of books and library furniture, and occasional displays of war artifacts are mounted there. Around the upper walls of the room are decorative wreaths of remembrance, clearly visible in the first photograph, which shows the memorial in 1935 or earlier, before the Second World War additions. The later photograph shows the library in 1979, more crowded with extra shelving and other furniture, but still functional.²

In Australia, a Peace Memorial Library was opened at Fairholme College, an independent girls' day and boarding school at Toowoomba, Queensland, in 1954. The library, in a room which had formerly been a classroom and "Dorm 3", was furnished by the Old Girls' Association as a tribute to those Old Girls who had served in the forces

1. *Ibid.*, Summer Term 1926, "BGS War Memorial", n.p.

2. Information collected on a personal visit to the school in December 1979.



The Ravensbourne School for Boys at Bromley in Kent. Above: the school library in the 1930s, from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust report on Libraries in Secondary Schools, (Edinburgh, 1936). Below: the library, photographed by the author in 1979.



during the Second World War.¹ War memorial libraries were also established at, among other schools, St. Ignatius' College, Riverview, Sydney, where the library was converted from the Study Hall in 1959,² and at The Hermitage School, Victoria, where the library was built as a memorial to girls of the school who served in the Second World War, with money from Old Girls, parents, and the school itself, in 1953.³

The establishment of war memorial libraries has not been restricted to England and Australia. Given the number of endowed memorial libraries which exist as independent entities in the United States of America, it is probable that memorial libraries have been established in schools. However the source material available to me usually did not note this aspect of school library provision in America. In New Zealand a free-standing library was built at Takapuna Grammar School, Auckland, as a memorial to ex-pupils who died in the Second World War.⁴ And in Natal, South Africa, in the

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1. Anonymous, "Peace Memorial Library for Fairholme College", Toowoomba Chronicle, 19 July 1954, p.1. This library was replaced in 1970 by a new and much larger library, erected with the assistance of Commonwealth Government funds. Fairholme Magazine, December 1970, pp.12-13.
 2. Rev. John W. Doyle, "Saint Ignatius' College Library, Riverview", Australian Library Journal, 13(1964), pp.156-158.
 3. K.R. Wagstaff, "The Organisation and Development of School Libraries in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa at the Secondary Level", Educational Libraries Bulletin, 13(1962), p. 21. This article was based on a dissertation submitted to the Birmingham Institute of Education as part of its courses on school librarianship, and written in 1958. It appears to have been compiled from information collected by correspondence rather than from visits, and the author's descriptions of the libraries appear to be taken directly from the descriptions supplied by the schools concerned. They are, then, probably more reliable than the later generalisations which the author makes from the information.
 4. Ibid., p.22.

mid-1950s, schools were officially encouraged to build libraries as war memorials, the Province contributing up to £2000 for each library on a pound for pound subsidy basis. ¹

1. D.M. Turner, "The Development of School and Children's Libraries in South Africa", South African Libraries, 12(1952), p.137.