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PART III

CONCEPTS OF THE SCHOOL LIBRARY

Chapter 6:  "The Workshop of the School": The School Library as a Resource to Support Teaching and Learning.

Chapter 7:  "Encouraging the Love of Good Books": The School Library as a Centre for Recreational Reading.

Chapter 8:  "Serving the Whole Community": School/Community Libraries and Library Services.

Chapter 9:  "For Scholars...As a Memorial": Two Further Concepts of the School Library.

Conclusion
CHAPTER SIX
"THE WORKSHOP OF THE SCHOOL":

THE SCHOOL LIBRARY AS A RESOURCE TO SUPPORT TEACHING AND LEARNING

School libraries, as has been seen, existed in England at least as early as the eighth century A.D.: they may well be as old as schools themselves. In the succeeding twelve centuries, school libraries have increased enormously in number, in size, and in complexity of organisation and facilities. But at all times, and in all countries, the reasons for which libraries have been established and maintained have changed but little, though the importance of one reason relative to another has certainly varied. Among the purposes which school libraries have served are to support teaching and learning in the school; to provide recreational reading; to provide library services for the community surrounding the school; to meet the academic needs of the teachers in the school, fellows, or some other select group; to serve as a memorial to the founder, or to some person or persons connected with the school. In Part Three, Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight will each examine one of the principal reasons for establishing school libraries in relation to actual school libraries from the eighth century to the present; two further reasons will be examined in Chapter Nine. It should be noted, however, that there is a risk of over-simplification in this approach, since libraries in some schools were clearly set up for more than one reason, and many came in time to serve purposes other than that for which they were originally founded.
The picture of pre-twentieth century school libraries most commonly presented by historians of libraries and education has been of places "very like a museum, [with] a librarian...a mouser in musty books, and visitors [looking] with curious eyes at ancient tomes and manuscripts".¹ They have been seen as collections of old-fashioned books, totally unrelated to the teaching programme of the school or the age and interest level of the pupils, and little used. But while this was certainly true of some early school libraries, it is scarcely a fair picture of school libraries generally. Even from the eighth century, school library collections were often closely related to the teaching programme of the school, particularly when the library collection had grown through purchase rather than through donations.² It can often be shown that the book collection was closely related both to the subject content of the instruction given in the school, and also to the method of instruction employed. There is ample evidence from earlier periods that books in many school libraries were selected as far as possible with regard to both the age and interests of the pupils, as well as to the needs of the master.


2. Where the donations were of the book collections of schoolmasters or of the schoolbooks of former pupils, they were, however, often very closely related to the instructional programme of the school.
The clearest and most frequent expressions of the idea that the library is essentially a teaching aid, "a laboratory for all the curriculum subjects,"¹ the "workshop of the school, to which the class teachers can refer and where pupils can find material for their individual work",² date from the twentieth century. In 1945 Frank C. Kirby, writing on secondary school libraries in Victoria, noted that "the library...should be the central source of information for the whole school - for pupils and teachers alike. In fact the library should be a laboratory in which practical work is done in syllabus subjects..."³ two years later, Cecil Stott, Librarian at Aldenham School in England, noted that the library should "provide material to supplement and enrich work done in subjects taught in the classroom".⁴ Many people who saw the library as "a source of books and other materials which will support and enrich the teaching-learning programme in the school",⁵ also saw it as enabling "the child to explore and develop beyond the confines of the curriculum";⁶ such a comprehensive view of the school library's role is probably best summed up by Geoffrey Atkinson in a recent article:⁷

School Libraries exist, as both an economic and an educational necessity, with the purpose of supporting, extending and enriching the teaching and learning programme of the school community.

Not only are these statements all from the twentieth century, but they also express a view thought by most writers on the subject to be peculiar to the twentieth century, when in fact the school library has always, since the days of Alcuin at York, had a role in curriculum support and enrichment in many schools. It has been a source of books and other materials for use in classroom instruction; it has provided materials for further reading for pupils; it has been a source of materials for the teacher's preparation of his course and lessons in the school; and it has provided resources and often facilities for pupils' individual work on topics related to the curriculum.

The eighth century school at York which Aelbert handed over to Alcuin was provided by the secular clergy of York Minster as a boarding school both for the youth intended for Holy Orders, and for youth of the city intended for public life.\(^1\) In his long poem \textit{Of the Bishops and Saints of the Church at York},\(^2\) Alcuin said of the school under Aelbert, "whatever youths he saw of conspicuous intelligence, those he joined to himself, he taught, he fed, he loved; and so the teacher had many disciples", both "in the sacred volumes" and "advanced in various arts".\(^3\) A further picture of the school can be

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2. See Chapter Two, page 66, for details of this poem, and the history of the manuscript through which we know it today. It is also discussed by George F. Browne, in Chapter Four of his work \textit{Alcuin of York}, (London, 1908), pp.71-86.

found in a "life" of Alcuin, by Sigulf, who claims to have been one of his pupils. He quotes what he says is a passage from Alcuin's poem, which no longer survives in the work we have, indicating that Egbert had at the school "a crowd of scholars, noblemen's sons, some of whom were taught and instructed in the rudiments of the art of grammar, others in the discipline of liberal arts, and some in Holy Scripture". Latin language, literature, and theology, then, obviously formed the basis of the curriculum in Alcuin's school; however in his poem Alcuin himself enlarged on the subjects taught:

There he moistened thirsty hearts with divers streams of teaching and varied dews of study; busily giving to some the arts of the science of grammar [grammaticae rationis artes], pouring into others the streams of the tongues of orators; these he polished on the whet-stone of law, those he taught to sing in Monian chant, making others play on the flute of Castaly, and run with lyre over the hills of Parnassus. But others, the said master made to know the harmony of heaven and the sun, the labours of the moon, the five belts of the sky, the seven planets, the laws of the fixed stars, their rising and setting, the movements of the air and the sun, the earth's quake, the nature of men, cattle, birds, and beasts, the different kinds of number and various [geometrical] figures; and he gave sure return to the festival of Easter; above all, revealing the mysteries of holy writ, for he opened the abysses of the old and rude law.

The school was in fact, then, Encyclopaedian, with the one master teaching all aspects of the curriculum: the trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy; together with law, and "above all" divinity. The "catalogue", included in Alcuin's poem, of the library under the

supervision of the schoolmaster at York, which listed authors
drawn from the Latin literature of Rome and early mediaeval Europe,
Greek writers in Latin translation, the Hebrews, and the writers of
North Africa, seems to reflect the variety of topics studied in the
school, though since only authors are listed, and many of those were
prolific writers on a wide range of subjects, it would be impossible
to see just how closely the contents of the library did reflect the
curriculum.

The catalogue, or list, which follows, shows that the library
collection included:

What Father Jerome, what Hilarius, bishop Ambrose, Augustine,
Saint Athanasius felt, what old Orosius published, whatever
the chief doctor Gregory teaches and Pope Leo, what Basil and
Fulgentius, while Cassiodorus, Chrysostom and John also shine.
Whatever Aldhein taught and Bede the Master, what Victorinus
and Boethius wrote; the ancient historians, Pompeius, Pliny,
keen Aristotle himself and the mighty orator Tully. What
also Sedulius, and Juvencus himself sings, Alcimus and
Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator; what Fortunatus and
Lactantius produce; what Virgilius Maro, Statius, and Lucan
the historian, what too the masters of the art of grammar have
written, Probus and Phocas, Donatus, Priscian, Servius,
Eucticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.¹

Alcuin goes on to indicate that there were many other writers
represented in the collection, in "the schools, in art, and in
oratory, who have written many a volume of sound sense",² whose
names could not be recorded within the metrical structure of the
poem.

Theological writers are listed first in the catalogue, reflect-
ing the importance of theology or divinity as a subject of study for

１. Alcuin, Of the Bishops and Saints of the Church at York, trans-
lated in Leach, Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909,
p.17.

². Ibid., p.17.
all. Those listed are all Doctors of the Church who wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries in Latin; many of them wrote also on a variety of subjects other than theology, and since titles of works are not given, it is impossible to say how much of their work could be included under "liberal arts" as well as "theology". Most of the Fathers listed wrote at least one work related to the great theological controversies of their day - the Arian, Apollinarian, Macedonian, and other heresies which disputed the accepted Western doctrine of the equality of the Godhead in the Trinity. These works were valuable inclusions in an English library of the eighth century, since the same controversies had affected the Church in that land, sometimes dividing Celt and Saxon, and English Churchmen were required to be able to recognise false teaching. The theological writers included were Saint Jerome, who in the late fourth and early fifth centuries produced commentaries on books of the Bible, and who, in 405/406 A.D., from his monastery in Bethlehem, issued his Latin translation of the Bible;¹ Hilarius of Poitiers, one of the most eminent Gallic bishops of the fourth century, who wrote expository works and books on the controversial issues of the day, and who was the first known author of Latin hymns;² Ambrose, fourth century Bishop of Milan, a hymn writer whose works were in wide use in his own time amongst the western churches, though only five or six authenticated hymns of his have survived to the present, including

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1. J.N.D. Kelly, Jerome; His Life, Writings, and Controversies, (London, 1975), p.284. Jerome's translation of the Bible was one of the principal sources for the Vulgate version, which was in common use in the Roman Catholic Church until the 1960s.
the still famous Veni Redemptor and Deus Creator Omnium; Saint Augustine of Hippo in North Africa (354-428/429 A.D.), whose most famous prose work, City of God (De Civitate Dei), was written about 413; Saint Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who opposed the heresy of Arianism both at the Council of Nicea in 325 and in his writings, including Apologia contra Arianos (350); Orosius, who studied in Africa under Saint Augustine at Hippo around 413-414 and then in Palestine under Saint Jerome, and who was deeply involved in the struggle against the heresy of Pelagius, playing a role in the Council of Jerusalem in 415, and later writing the first Christian universal history, Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem, which was used a great deal during the Middle Ages; Saint Gregory the Great (c.325–c.389 A.D.), Bishop of Constantinople, poet, orator, theologian, who wrote various lives of saints, and who supported the western doctrine of the Trinity against the Arian, Apollinarian, and Macedonian heresies; Pope Leo I (Pope 440-461 A.D.), some of whose

2. His Confessions, almost equally well known today, were written in about 397, shortly after he had become a bishop in Africa. Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo: A Biography, (London, 1967), passim.
3. Saint Athanasius, Select Treatises of S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, In Controversy with the Arians, translated, with notes and indices, (Library of the Fathers), (Oxford, 1844). Athanasius is chiefly remembered today through the Creed which bears his name, a Creed which makes a strong statement concerning the equality of the three persons in the Trinity (a doctrine disputed by the Arians and others in the fourth century).
5. F.H. Dudden, Gregory the Great, His Place in History and Thought, (2 Vols, London, 1905); Edward Spearing, The Patrimony of the Roman Church in the Time of Gregory the Great, (Cambridge, 1918).
sermons and letters survive, and who was active in opposition to the various fifth century heresies;\(^1\) Saint Basil, Bishop of Caesarea from 370 to 379, who composed, or reformed, at least one oriental liturgy, and who developed a monastic Rule in addition to writing dogmatic treatises and letters;\(^2\) and Saint John Chrysostom (c.347-407), Bishop of Constantinople, generally considered the most distinguished Doctor of the Greek Church, who wrote commentaries, homilies, and letters.\(^3\) Among the lesser-known theologians listed are Fulgentius (468-533),\(^4\) Bishop of Ruspe in Africa, who wrote treatises, sermons, and letters, including works on the Trinity and the Incarnation, such as his Liber contra Arianos; and a writer listed by Alcuin simply as "John", whom Leach has identified as a fifth century Bishop of Jerusalem.\(^5\) Also placed in this section as a theologian was Roman writer, statesman, and monk, Cassidorus (490-583), whose religious writings, including Institutiones

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1. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England, p.60, identifies Alcuin's "Pope Leo" as Pope Leo II (683 A.D.), another theologian; but this would seem to be inconsistent with the preceding listing of fourth and fifth century writers, chiefly apologists for the western doctrine by the Trinity. Pope Leo I is, by date of writing and by his interests, a much more likely candidate for inclusion.


4. A saint, Fabius Claudius Gordianus Fulgentius, who abandoned the Roman civil service for the monastic life. He was a scholar and follower of St. Augustine, and wrote treatises against Arianism and Pelagianism. Recent scholars have suggested that he lived c.462-527 A.D. Cross and Livingstone, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p.541.

5. It is impossible to verify this identification, since Leach in The Schools of Medieval England, p.60, gives no evidence to support it. There are many fifth and sixth century writers to whom Alcuin could be referring.
divinarum et saecularium litterarum (completed 555 A.D.), belong to his monastic retirement. His Reckoning of Easter was an important work in libraries because of the controversy between Eastern and Western churches, and in England between Celt and Saxon, over the date of Easter, a controversy which was reflected in the instruction given in Alcuin's school.¹

Following the theologians in the catalogue is a miscellaneous inclusion of four writers, apparently grouped together more for metrical convenience than for anything they all may have in common.² English scholarship is represented by Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, and Bede, with his histories and Biblical commentaries. Listed with them is Saint Victorinus of Pettau, martyr and author of Latin commentaries on passages from the Bible, his commentary on the Book of Revelation being the only one still extant.³ The fourth author in this section is Boethius (470 or 480-525), author of De Consolatione (On the Consolation of Philosophy) and De Arithmetica. Boethius was noted for his translations of Greek works into Latin, particularly Aristotle and works by other writers on mathematics and music.⁴

References to classical authors formed the next section of the catalogue. The Pompeius listed has been identified as Pompeius

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1. See quotation on page 389 above, from Alcuin's poem.
2. "Quidquid et Athelmuus docuit, quid Beda magister,/ Quae Victorinus scripsere Boetius atque;" included in Leach, Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909, p.16.
Trogus, the author of a *Universal History*, completed in 9 A.D., which now survives in a fifth century abridgement. Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) was certainly known to Bede in York through his encyclopaedic *Natural History*; Bede used it to support his interest in scientific subjects and chronology, interests which are reflected in the course of study at the school at York. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) is a representative of the Greek writers whose work was known through Latin translations. "The mighty orator Tully", the fourth on the list of "ancient historians", is the great Roman republican writer Marcus Tullius Cicero. Further down the list, after the poets, are three additional classical Latin authors: the poet Virgil; Statius, a poet of the late first century who completed the *Thebiad*, an epic poem on the fall of Thebes, in 92 A.D.; and Lucian, the second century Gracco-Syrian poet and historian.

The list of poets consists of the names of Christian Latin authors, writing from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D., whose works were used to support the teaching of grammar, or Latin language, in schools. The list includes Sedulius, who wrote in the fifth century on Biblical subjects, his best known poem being the

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3. Aristotle was chiefly known at this time by reputation and through minor works and fragments: he did not have, therefore, the towering position in education that he was to acquire in the High Middle Ages. The arrival in Europe of his major works through Arabic translations in the twelfth century was a major landmark in European intellectual history; so too was the discovery of authentic Greek versions at the time of the Renaissance.
4. There was a medieval tradition that Statius had been converted to Christianity which, while not appearing to have any foundation in fact, led to his acceptance in monastic and other libraries. The tradition was used by Dante in *Purgatorio*. Mackail, *Latin Literature*, p.248.
Carmen Paschale;¹ Juvencius, a fourth century Spanish deacon who "put the Gospel narrative into respectable hexameters";² Alcimus, whose work may have been used by Bede;³ Clemens, whose collected poems were made available at Rome in 404;⁴ Prosper of Aquitaine, who in the fifth century wrote prose and dogmatic poetry;⁵ Paulinus of Nola (353-431), who wrote, among other things, a Life of Saint Felix in verse;⁶ Arator, who in the sixth century rendered the Acts of the Apostles into verse;⁷ Fortunatus (c.530-c.603), who, also writing in the sixth century, produced eleven books of poetry and rhyming prose lives of several saints;⁸ and Lactantius, a fourth century rhetorician, converted to Christianity in mature life, who wrote various treatises including a history of the persecutions from Nero to Diocletian, De Mortibus Persecutorum.⁹

4. Mackail claims that with Clemens "Christian Latin poetry reached maturity" and he emphasises his importance, suggesting that before him Christian poetry was "slight in amount and rude or tentative in manner". Mackail, Latin Literature, p.271.
7. Arator was formerly a lawyer and comptroller of finances; in his writing he took as his model the poet Sedulius, who also appears in this list. J. Tixerant, A Handbook of Patrology, (London, 1946), p.356.
The grammarians listed include some whose works were in use in English schools as late as the seventeenth century. The first was (M. Valerius) Probus, of Beirut, who about 56 A.D. wrote a treatise on nouns and verbs, which he called "Catholica", a name which, from this work, came into regular use in the Middle Ages for a word-book or dictionary.\(^1\) Also on the list were two who were "great names" in grammar for a thousand years: Aelius Donatus and Priscian. Donatus was a fourth century Roman grammarian who wrote two grammars, the "Ars Major" in three books, and the "Ars Minor", most commonly used in schools,\(^2\) as well as commentaries on ancient writers. Priscian, who lived about 500 A.D., was most noted for his Institutiones grammaticae, a systematic exposition of Latin grammar in eighteen books, though he also wrote, among other works, treatises on weights and measures, and rhetoric.\(^3\) Other grammarians listed were Servius, a fourth century Roman who, as well as works on grammar, produced commentaries on ancient writers; Phocas, who wrote in the fifth century on genders; Eutychius, who in about 526 A.D. wrote on the aspirate; Pompeius, who wrote a commentary on Donatus in the sixth century;\(^4\) and Comminianus.

While some subjects taught in the school at York, such as theology, grammar, Latin literature (both classical and Christian),

\(^{1}\) Leach, The Schools of Medieval England, p.61.
\(^{4}\) Hadas, History of Latin Literature, p.376.
and oratory, appear to have been well catered for in Alcuin's catalogue for the library, others like law, music, astronomy, mathematics, and natural history appear to have been under represented. There are two major reasons which could account for this. Firstly, the list is of authors only, not titles; there is no indication how many books by any author were included, or even if his best-known works were in the collection. Many remembered as historians, theologians, rhetoricians, and poets, also wrote on natural history, mathematics, or music: Boethius wrote scientifically on music, grammar, arithmetic, and geometry, as well as on philosophy and theology; Bede, in addition to his histories and commentaries, wrote on natural history; and Priscian the grammarian wrote on measurement. Works such as these may well have been in the collection. Secondly, the concluding section of Alcuin's author list makes it clear that the list was far from complete. Some, perhaps many, authors were excluded because of the difficulty in fitting their names into the metre; again, we have no idea what subjects their works may have covered. There is evidence, too, that despite the wide range of topics which Alcuin indicated were covered by instruction given in the school, theology and a study of Latin language formed the basis of the curriculum, with even subjects like mathematics and natural science being related to theology. Peter Hunter Blair has suggested that "familiarity with the concept of the seven liberal arts deriving from classical antiquity, and emerging as the medieval trivium...and the more advanced quadrivium" could lead

to "exaggerated notions of the range of subjects which could be
taught in an Anglo-Saxon...school". He quotes a complaint of
Bede's older contemporary Aldhelm that at Canterbury where he was
studying at about the time of Bede's birth, many subjects which he
was trying to study were poorly treated in the school, including
music, arithmetic, and astronomy. Bede himself attached great
importance to the study of grammar "as unlocking the door through
which the pupil gained access to the Word of God",¹ probably a fair
indication of the instructional priorities of the schools of his
time. And T.L. Jarman, in his Landmarks in the History of
Education, supports this, suggesting that "the first, and main,
preoccupation of the grammar school boy was the learning of Latin,
and this must be mastered before much else could follow".² In a
collection closely related to the curriculum, therefore, grammatical,
classical, and theological works would preponderate.

This library at York, then, had a very comprehensive collection
of works, apparently closely related to the teaching programme of
the school which it served. Since the schoolmaster was the librar-
ian, having received from Aelbert "the sphere of wisdom, the school,
the master's chair, the books, which the illustrious master had
collected",³ obviously the books were easily available to him. What
is not known is the extent of the availability of this collection to
the pupils, but since the medieval instructional techniques were
chiefly oral, those of "disputation", access to a large collection

1. Ibid., p.248.
3. Alcuin's poem, Of the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York,
translated in Leach, Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909,
p.17.
of books was in any case less important for the pupil than for the master.

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Where the medieval curriculum, while emphasising language, literature, and divinity, had consisted of a general course in the seven Liberal Arts, constituting a round of general knowledge, the Encyclopaedia, and divided into the trivium of dialectic, grammar, and rhetoric, and the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, with specialist instruction in theology and law, the influence of the Renaissance from the sixteenth century, and the enormous increase of knowledge associated with the revival of learning, led to the break-up of the encyclopaedic curriculum, and by the seventeenth century the modern practice of differentiation of school subjects was accepted. This "differentiation of the curriculum into separate subjects of study, by the introduction of critical methods, and of close analysis, brought a wealth of detail before pupils, and a thoroughness of study into the study of classical language and literature such as was signally lacking in mediaeval times". While the breaking up of the quadrivium into the separate subjects of mathematics and the sciences, and the development within those subjects themselves which occurred through the work of men like Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo in astronomy, Cuthbert Tunstall and John Napier in arithmetic, and Thomas


2. Ibid., p.2.
Blundevile and William Oughtred in trigonometry, had little
influence on what was taught in the grammar schools, the case was
very different with the old subjects of the trivium. Here very great
changes occurred between the Middle Ages and the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries. In the Middle Ages, logic or dialectic had
been of great importance in the curriculum, certainly ranking with,
and in some cases above, grammar and rhetoric. The study of grammar,
too, had been partly related to dialectic, with medieval grammarians
like Eberhard of Bethune playing down the practical purposes of
grammar and introducing into it the methods of logic and metaphysics.
With the Renaissance this changed; grammar had become the first of
the school subjects, while logic had disappeared from the old range of
the trivium as studied in schools, just as music had disappeared along
with most of the quadrivium. Rhetoric, however, retained an important
place in the school curriculum, along with grammar. It must be noted,
though, that "grammar" had a very different meaning from that which it
has today: it was founded upon, and inclusive of, the study of
humanistic literature.

The enthronement of literature, and the minimising of
formalistic Grammar, was the position taken up in England by
Sir Thomas Elyot in the book called the Gouvernour (1531) and
in Roger Ascham's Scholemaster (1570).¹ Eventually, however
in English schools in the latter part of the sixteenth century


Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, or plaine and perfite way of
teachyng children, to understand, write, and speake, the Latin
tong, but specially purposed for the private brynging up of youth
in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, and commodius also for all
such, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would, by themselves,
without a Scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines,
recover a sufficient habilitie, to understand, write, and speake
Latin. John Day, London, 1570. See also Roger Ascham, The
Schoolmaster (1570), edited [with Introduction] by Lawrence V.
and in the seventeenth century, Grammar ordinarily became an entity in itself, of which literature was, as it were, a concrete manifestation, and a vast territory for illustration of grammatical rules.  

Where the medieval instructional methods had been chiefly those of the oral disputation, the later methods were those of the written Latin theme, verse and oration, and the encouragement of the pupil's utilisation in writing of all available Latin and Greek literature, not only for style, but also for subject matter. The aim of the grammar school was to make Latin available to the pupil as a standard language of communication, both in speech and in writing. Latin was still the language of scholarship, the language of a great deal of humane literature both classical and medieval including history, poetry, and letters, and it was essential for entry to the universities and so to the learned professions. Grammar was considered to be the most fundamental of all studies, and this is reflected in the foundation statutes of many grammar schools. Although "grammar" had come to have significantly different connotations, post-Renaissance schoolmasters would have assented unhesitatingly to William of Wykeman's view that it was "the foundation, gate, and source of all the other liberal arts, without which such arts cannot be known, nor can anyone arrive at practising them. Moreover by the knowledge of letters justice is cultivated and the prosperity of the human condition is increased".  


In offering an essentially classical curriculum oriented towards Christian education the grammar schools aimed to promote "godliness and good learning", or "pietas literata". Both parts of the formula were taken seriously; the assumption that the school was to serve what was, however imperfectly, a Christian society, was clearly made in the statutes on which the organisation of the school was to be based. The statutes for the Coventry Grammar School, founded by John Hales as King Henry VIII's School, require, for instance, that boys "be imbued with good learning till the end of the world, to the glory of Christ and the edification of the church".¹ The school day opened and closed with prayers; the members of the school attended the parish church as a group, having its own seating (sometimes in a gallery specially built for the purpose), and with the Master and the usher in charge; and religious instruction included the learning of the catechism, the study of the Bible, and questioning on and writing summaries of the sermon. The other half of the formula, "good learning", meant essentially a rigorous training in the classical languages, particularly Latin, through the study of "Grammar".

At its most elementary level, beginning even in the song or writing schools which provided basic education for very young children, "grammar" involved the correct spelling and pronunciation of Latin, the mastery of basic inflexions and constructions, and the acquisition of a basic vocabulary. At a more advanced stage, in the grammar schools, it included the art of composition, both in prose and in verse, and the development of a clear and elegant style.

Literary criticism was another branch of this study, which involved detailed reading and interpretation of Latin texts, with reference when necessary to related topics such as history, geography, and mythology. In many grammar schools the study of Greek, taught in the same way, was introduced when the pupil had acquired some facility in Latin; in some schools basic Hebrew, as the language of so many of the Biblical texts, was taught to senior boys. The study of grammar continued at the university where, at a more advanced level, it formed part of the arts course.

The Statutes of St. Paul's School, London, prepared by Dean Colet in 1512, set out "what shalbe taught of the Maistres and lernyd of the scolers" in the school. The pupils were to be taught "good litterature both laten and greke, and good autors suych as haue the veray Romayne eliquence joyned withe wisdome specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse or in prose"; every endeavour was to be made to see that boys in the school should "increse [in] knowledge and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff". Children were to learn "ffirst above all" the catechism in English, and after learning "the accidence" (the early steps in grammar), they were to be introduced to Latin speech through the reading of Latin authors, particularly Christian authors like Erasmus, Sedulius,

1. The statutes are printed as Appendix A in J.H. Lupton, A Life of John Colet, D.D., (London, 1887), pp.271-284. See also his Chapter 9, pp.154-162, for a summary of the evidence of Colet's foundation of St. Paul's as a new school or for his refoundation of it based on an earlier school.
2. Ibid., p.279.
3. Ibid., p.279.
4. Ibid., p.279.
and Juvenius. In this school Greek was also to be taught as a written and spoken language, through "grammar" and literature.¹

Many schools had statutes which laid down what grammar or catechism was to be used, and what authors were to be read at each stage of a boy's education. However these are generally recorded as simply "Tully" (Cicero) or "Plautus"; only very occasionally does a slightly more definitive reference such as "Ovid's Metamorphoses" appear. So while we know from this source which authors the founders regarded as important, we have little indication of which works by an author, or which parts of those works, were generally read. The statutes for St. Paul's School list a "boke called Copia" (Copia Verborum) of Erasmus, but then simply "other Auctours Christian as lacancius prudentius and proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Manuanus. and other such as shalbe tought convienyent and moste to purpose unto the true laten spech...".² But while Dean Colet and humanist writers like Roger Ascham³ were insisting that a knowledge of Latin should be imparted through literature, in many schools the practice was apparently very different. Certainly between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries there were many educational writers who criticised those teachers who simply drilled children in rules and vocabulary, but failed to give them any experience of literature. In 1622 John Brinsley, in A Consolation for our Grammar Schools, urged better teaching in the schools, providing a critical look at what was then current practice so that "we may approve what

¹. Ibid., p.280.
². Quoted by Lupton, ibid., p.279.
is best, reforme what is amisse". As late as 1720 John Clarke was critical of the way Latin and Greek were taught in the schools from grammars alone, rather than from the reading of ancient or medieval authors. He also stressed that pupils needed to have some knowledge of history and geography in order to be able to fully appreciate the authors they were reading, indicating that any such general instruction, which often came through the reading of those authors, had been dropped with the study of literature in those grammar schools he criticises. It is quite probable that some of the seventeenth century grammar schools were inefficient and offered only a mediocre education. It has been claimed that little more than "lip-service" was paid to Greek and Hebrew in many of them, though there is evidence, particularly in their surviving book collections, that many schoolmasters were proficient in the three

1. John Brinsley, A Consolation for our Grammar Schools, or A Faithfull and most comfortable incouragement for laying of a sure foundation of all good Learning in our Schooles, and for prosperous building thereupon. More especially for all those of the inferior sort, and all ruder countries and places, namely, for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the...Islands, and for their more speedie attaining of our English tongue by the same labour, that all may speake one and the same language. And withall, for the helping of all such as are desirous speedilie to recover that which they had formerlie got in the Grammar Schooles; and to proceed aright therein, for the perpetuall benefit of these our Nations, and of the Chuches of Christ. Printed by Arthur Field for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater noster Row, at the signe of the Talbot, London, 1622.


ancient languages and widely read in the Greek and Roman classics.¹

The religious conflicts of the Reformation and immediate post-Reformation period may also have caused the teaching in some of the grammar schools to be modified.² Puritan teachers opposed the study of many classical authors, including Ovid and Virgil, because they would lead to a "decay of godliness".³ Laurence Humphrey, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, during the reign of Elizabeth I, suggested a Latin course in keeping with Puritan ideals, which included the rules of grammar in an abridged form, Cicero's Epistles, and Colloquies of Erasmus and of Castellon, a French educationist in Geneva at the time of Calvin who turned Biblical stories into dialogue form for use in the teaching of Latin. After these authors, when the pupil was of "riper years" and judgement, Terence could be read under the guidance of the teacher. This abhorrence of the "impurity" in classical literature was felt so strongly by some that by the 1630s John Amos Comenius was suggesting that Latin was to be learned only by studying those authors whose subject matter was useful in the sciences and arts.⁴ Because Latin was no longer used for Protestant liturgies there was some emphasis in the seventeenth

¹. One such collection, which included works in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, annotated by the master himself, was built up at Appleby by Reginald Bainbrig, Headmaster of Appleby Grammar School from around 1578 to 1613. By his Will, dated 11 May 1606, he bequeathed his library to the school, and a catalogue of it survives from 1656: "A perfect Catalogue of the bookes belonging to the Schole of Appulby entred upon by Robert Edmundson, Scholemr. ye 2d July 1656". Hinchcliffe, Appleby Grammar School, Appendix A: "The Bainbrigg Library", pp.131-136.
³. Ibid., p.93.
⁴. Ibid., p.95.
century on literature in English in the schools, and library
collections show an increase in the number of volumes written in
the vernacular at this time.\(^1\) Works in English, particularly those
relating to the religious and theological conflicts of the age,
sermons, and "apologies" for and defences of particular doctrines
and theories, were added to most school libraries. On the other
hand, the Protestant stress on the reading and detailed study of
the Bible, by lay people as well as the clergy, led to a demand for
the teaching of the "holy" languages, Greek, Hebrew, and also Latin.
The great controversies between Protestant and Catholic theologians
made Latin and Greek even more important studies in the grammar
schools, because appeals to the authority of patristic literature
could only be sustained when the original Latin or Greek could be
translated into English.

John Brinsley in 1612, in his book *Ludus Literarius*,\(^2\) discussed

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1. This was the case in the library of the King's School, Glouces-
ter, where towards the end of the seventeenth century a good
collection of "the fruits of English scholarship" and "products
of learned printing at Oxford" was built up. J.E. Vaughan, "The
Grammar School Library in the Late Seventeenth Century, The
School Librarian, 10(1961), p.517. It was also true of the
libraries at Hawkshead Grammar school and Appleby Grammar School.
Richard Copley Christie, The Old Church and School Libraries of
Lancashire, (Manchester, 1885), pp.146-162 for the 1867 cata-
logue of Hawkshead Grammar School, and Hinckcliffe, Appleby

2. John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, or, the Grammar Schoole; show-
ing how to procede from the first entrance into learning, to
the highest perfection required in the Grammar Schooles, with
ease, certainty and delight both to Masters and Schollars;
onely according to our common Grammar, and ordinary Classicall
Authours: Begun to be sought out at the desire of some worthy
favoures of learning, by searching the experiments of sundry
most profitable Schoolemasters and other learned, and confirmed
by tryall: Intended for the helping of the younger sort of
Teachers, and of all Schollars, with all other desirous of
learning; for the perpetuall benefit of the Church and Common-
Wealth. It offereth it selfe to all to whom it may doe good, or
of whom it may receive good, to bring it towards perfection.
in detail the teaching of grammar, using a variety of classical authors, and provided teachers with references to helpful works.

Ten years later, in *A Consolation for our Grammar Schools*, he gave teachers a further list of books and editions of classics which could be used for the teaching of Latin and Greek, vocabularies, grammars, dictionaries, books describing Greek and Roman antiquities, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and English, which should be available in the school for the use of both masters and pupils. He also provided a list of works which would assist in the teaching of religion.¹

This sort of guidance for the schoolmaster was taken a step further by Charles Hoole, a former headmaster of Rotherham Grammar School, in 1660, when he published the treatises comprising *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole*. He described what he saw as the ideal curriculum, form by form through the grammar school, indicating in some detail the areas of study, the method of instruction, the books to be used, and the daily schedule of the pupil. From Form One, where the child was introduced to the Latin tongue through the accidence, developing a vocabulary, and using Comenius' *Orbis Pictus*, a pictorial Latin primer, as a textbook, he moved on to translation from English into Latin in Form Two, the parts of speech, Lily's grammar, and Cato. In Form Three he repeated the syntax and accidence, read Aesop's *Fables*, Comenius' *Janua Linguarum*, and translated verses of the Proverbs into Latin. In Form Four rhetoric was added to the programme of the pupil, with William Dugard's *Elementa Rhetoricae*, and the study of Greek was begun, using Camden's *Greek Grammar*. In Latin, Cicero's *Epistolae* were read, with Ovid's *de Tristibus* and *Metamorphoses*. In Form Five

pupils read the Greek Testament, repeated Latin and Greek grammars, read orations from Livy and Isocrates, Justin's History, Caesar's Commentaries, Erasmus' Colloquies, some Virgil, Aesop's Fables in Greek, wrote Latin verse, and wrote themes in which were to be incorporated, in the most "elegant" Latin of which the pupil was capable, the fruits of his independent reading and research. In Form Six a beginning was to be made in Hebrew, with Buxtorf's Grammar; there were exercises in oratory in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and the pupils read Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, Lycophron, Xenophon, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Seneca's Tragedies, Martial, and Plautus; Cicero's Orations, Pliny's Panegyrics, and Godwin's Antiquities were to be read at leisure times.¹ Foster Watson comments that

the reading of the authors can only mean selections of their works, but the disciplinary aspect of the theme-writing and orations... show that the work contemplated and attempted in grammar schools was [when the school was a good one], severe and exacting, and required the exercise of a selective judgement in writing at every stage.²

Religious instruction, in addition to the weekday attendance at church, was also provided for by Hoole in his scheme. In Form One the principles of Christianity were to be taught on Saturdays. By Form Three the pupils were reading four to six verses from the Latin Testament every morning and learning the Assembly's Latin Catechism on Saturdays. In Form Four they progressed from the Latin to the Greek Testament; in Form Five to Nowell's Catechism, or the Palatinate Catechism; and in Form Six to the Church Catechism in Hebrew.

¹. Charles Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole..., (London, 1660), pp.130-201.
². Watson, The Old Grammar Schools, p.110.
In order that "the schoole may be furnished with all kind of subsidiary books for the general use of all the Scholars (to be laid up in Repositories or Presses...)", Hoole suggested that a school library be formed, to be maintained by a yearly contribution of twelve pence from pupils, or from donations, or through the allocation of part of the school's endowment if it had a sufficiently liberal one. Though each pupil was to have the prescribed textbooks (which could be selected by the teacher from a list of more than 250 School Books provided by Hoole), the subsidiary books, those which would be most helpful to children in performing their tasks with ease and benefit, should be "laid up in the Schoole-Library" where every Form could "make use on, as they shall have occasion". Some of these books, and Hoole names them in relation to each part of the course of study for Forms One to Six which he describes, "serve chiefly to the explication of Grammar...; some are needful for the better understanding of classical Authors...; and others are very requisite for the gaining of words, and phrases, and an ability for speaking or writing elegantly", and "such times" were to be "set apart for perusing of them as are commonly truanted away in idleness, or needlesse sport". The library, then, was to be well furnished with all sorts of Grammars; Phrase-books, Lexicons, Dictionaries, Orators, Poets, Histories, Herbals, Commentators, Scholiasts, Antiquaries, Criticks, and some of the succinctest and choicest Authors for matters of Humanity, Divinity, Medicine and Law; besides those which treat of every Art and Science, whether Liberal or Mechanical.

1. Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, p.289.
2. Ibid., p.205.
3. Ibid., p.206.
4. Ibid., p.206.
5. Ibid., p.290.
A total of 172 works was listed by Hoole for inclusion in the school library, but since such works were listed in relation to the actual course of instruction which he outlined, they include few works on medicine, law, or the sciences, except as those are covered in the classical authors. He does, however, give a comprehensive list of grammars, dictionaries, lexicons, commentaries, works of criticism, and helps for writing themes and verse, for those studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. There are few works in English or works related to divinity. Nevertheless Hoole's ideal school library collection can be seen as being related very closely to the formal instruction given in the school, since each recommended book was chosen to assist a pupil with a particular aspect of his work in the course. While Hoole certainly felt that a broader collection in a school, incorporating works on the "Arts and Sciences", was desirable, he recommended no specific works of this sort for inclusion.

At the time Hoole was writing about the ideal grammar school library, what were school libraries like in reality, and how closely were they related to the instruction given in the grammar schools in the seventeenth century? Ten years after Hoole's description was published, Christopher Wase at Oxford began his comprehensive survey of English endowed schools. Through this survey, and from other sources, catalogues or book lists are available of several late seventeenth century school libraries. Though most of these catalogues, like those of Gloucester School

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1. See Appendix B, below, for a list of these works, and an identification of them.
2. Ibid., p.290.
Library, Appleby Grammar School Library, Kings Norton Grammar School Library, and the 1636 catalogue of Shrewsbury School Library, are manuscripts in the possession of the schools themselves, or in other repositories, some have been published and some attempts made to identify the works listed in them. The seventeenth century catalogues of the grammar schools of Hawkshead, Heskin, St. Albans, and Bristol, are examples; through the work of the late nineteenth century Lancashire antiquarian and bibliographer William Copley Christie, we have more information about the collections listed in the first two, however, than in those from St. Albans and Bristol. Despite the work of scholars on these catalogues, it is still difficult to compare them to obtain information about the collections of grammar school libraries generally. The catalogues are arranged differently: the Shrewsbury School list of 1636, for instance, is arranged according to the "Classes" or bookcases in which the books were shelved; at Hawkshead Grammar School by donor; and at St. Albans by the size of the volume first, and within the general classes of octavo, quarto, and folio, by order of acquisition by the


2. Christie, Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire, passim.


library. Few seventeenth century catalogues give anything like full entries for each work: some use author, some a brief title, some a familiar designation, so that sometimes it is hard to tell if the same work is being referred to in different ways in different catalogues. A work described by Hoole as "Varro de lingua Latinâ", becomes in the St. Albans School catalogue "Terentius Donat:" and in the Bristol Grammar School catalogue "Terentius Varro". Since Hoole usually referred only briefly, and sometimes confusingly, to books he was recommending, as, for instance, to "Stockwood's Disputations" or "Alciat.", there are problems, too, in comparing the actual school catalogues with Hoole's list. However the works listed by Hoole have been identified by E.T. Campagnac in his edition of Hoole's A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole and by


4. Bristol Grammar School, "A Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Grammar School in the Bartholomews, taken September 23rd, 1725, by A.S. Catcott, LL.B., then Master of the said school", in Walter Adam Sampson, A History of the Bristol Grammar School, (Bristol, 1912), pp.108-112. A note at the end of the catalogue reads "This catalogue is very similar to those made in 1658 and 1687 by Mr. Stephens, the master of that time", and so it will be treated here as a late seventeenth century catalogue.


As the comparison Table in Appendix B shows, each of the four school libraries for which published catalogues are available, Hawkshead, Heskin, St. Albans, and Bristol, had a much broader collection than that recommended by Hoole. While the basis of the collection of 116 works at Hawkshead Grammar School was classical texts by such writers as Homer, Pliny, Cicero, and Ovid, commentaries such as that of Lambin on Horace, Casaubon on Persius, and Delrius on Seneca, grammars like that of "Wossius de Arte Grammatica, in 2 tomes, 4to", and dictionaries such as those of Rider, Cooper, and Goldman, many of the works in the collection reflected the general interest in the religious controversies of the day. The library had an English Bible, Fox's Acts and Monuments, Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Politie, Jeremy Taylor's Sermons, Archbishop Sand's Sermons, "Bishop Jewell's Dispute with Harding", and "A Book Against the Quakers" by John Stalham, the correct title of which gives a good idea of its contents: The Reviler Rebuked, or a Reinforcement Against the Quakers for their Contradictions of the Scriptures of God (1657). There were also many works in the collection only generally related to any teaching which may have gone on in the school - works on history, travel, and mathematics. Some of these were established standard works, and possibly reflect the interests of the various schoolmasters, though since the collection was built up entirely from

donations, they more probably reflect the personal reading tastes of the donors. Such works were Robert's Map of Commerce; Camden's Britannia in English; Sandys' Travels, an account of a journey through the Turkish Empire, Egypt, and Palestine; and Andrew Moore's History of the Turks.

The collections of the other three grammar schools show a similar pattern: a basic collection of classical and grammatical works, with theological and Biblical works, and books of general interest related only loosely, if at all, to the school course of study. In 1624, when its catalogue was made, the small collection of forty-eight volumes at Heskin Grammar School included only a few general works, such as Freigius' "questions geometricke" and speculu Astrologiae by the sixteenth century Italian astrologer Francis Giuntino, in its predominantly theological, classical, and philosophical collection. During the next fifty years, however, this small library both increased the size and broadened the scope of its collection; by 1673, when the headmaster replied to Wase's questionnaire, it included works like "Sr. Waltr. Rawleigh's History of Ye World" and "Sandys Travels" which had not been in the earlier catalogue.¹

While these four schools had generally similar collections, there were few works held by all of them. The only books recommended by Hoole which were listed in all four catalogues were Cicero's Orations and his Works, though in different editions.² Three of the

2. Since Cicero's works were read so frequently as part of the school course in "grammar", it is not surprising that all four libraries should have owned these works.
schools also had another popular text, Erasmus' *Adages*, a work not on Hoole's recommended list, but which was in fact a standard reference work recommended by Wase in his *Considerations Concerning Free-Schools*. Scapula's *Lexicon* was also listed in three of the catalogues, and by 1673 Heskin had also acquired this work. Hoole recommended 172 books in his text. Since the largest of the four library collections, that of Bristol Grammar School, had only 125 works, Hawkshead 116, St. Albans eighty-nine, and Heskin forty-eight, it is understandable that not many recommended works should be present in all four collections. The Bristol Grammar School Library had twenty-one of the works recommended by Hoole, comprising 16.8% of its collection, a percentage which does not vary significantly in the other libraries, as the Table below will show.

**TABLE XVIII**

**LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GRAMMAR SCHOOL COLLECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Total number of works listed in library catalogue</th>
<th>Number of books in library collection recommended by Hoole</th>
<th>Percentage of works in library collection recommended by Hoole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawkshead</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heskin</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Albans</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It needs to be remembered, too, that Hoole's list included only works related to the study and teaching of grammar, whereas these

collections also included large numbers of theological works and works related to history, geography, science, mathematics, so that inevitably the recommended books could form only a smaller part of the total collection.

While these collections were obviously built up to support the formal instruction given in the school in the classical languages and literature, they also aimed at promoting the "good" or "godly" learning which the various school statutes required. While Hoole did not recommend titles related to theology, he, too, saw this as an important part of the school programme. The religious upheavals of the age doubtless help to explain the theological emphasis in school collections. Some of the histories, books of travels, and other works, may have been useful in amplifying classical texts; others were there for the use of the master;¹ still others were probably there simply because they had been donated.

This general impression is confirmed by knowledge of other school library collections. In 1656, the date of the surviving catalogue of the Bainbrigg Library at Appleby Grammar School,² the library collection comprised 295 works, of which twenty-one were Latin, six Greek, and five Hebrew grammars; classical texts represented the work of nineteen Latin and five Greek authors. In addition there were vocabularies, dictionaries, phrase books, primers of logic, dialectic, and rhetoric, and aids to the writing of themes and letters. There were Biblical texts in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as

¹. Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, p.290.
². Appleby Grammar School, "A Perfect Catalogue of the Bookes...by Robert Edmundson...1656".
well as twenty-one theological and philosophical works. The interests of the donor were represented by twenty-seven medical works. The 1636 catalogue of the library at Shrewsbury School also listed classical authors in Latin and Greek, with dictionaries, grammars, and commentaries to aid in the learning of "grammar". It also listed a collection of Bibles in English, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; the writings of Church Fathers, including Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Anselm; Biblical commentaries; works on church history, including an account of the Council of Trent; and some works on law, philosophy, history and geography. Despite the large number of theological, philosophical, and historical works, this library of 413 volumes was still predominantly classical.

It is evident that these grammar school libraries were for the use of pupils as well as masters, although they contained few works which we would think of as children's books (as distinct from school textbooks). Hoole certainly assumed that the pupils would have free access to the school library collection, so that they would learn "to help themselves in their Lessons and Exercises". The library of the Grammar School at Heskin was seen by the Head Master

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2. Shrewsbury School Library Catalogue, 1636, MS, at the School.
3. The only works recommended by Hoole which would fit this category are Orbis Sensualium Pictus, an attractive illustrated primer by Johannes Comenius, which was translated into English by Hoole himself in 1659, and Aesop's Fables (Fabularum Aesopiarum) in its various editions. Hawkshead Grammar School had a copy of the latter, but none of the four library catalogues in Appendix B had Orbis Pictus.
4. Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, p.290.
as being "very usefull both for ye schollars & Masters". At Hawkshead it was considered desirable that youth [should] have opportunities of access to a variety of usefull Books, both as the only means of acquiring the General Knowledge which is absolutely necessary to the happiness and Respectability of their future years, and as furnishing in the meantime the strongest motive to Industry, and the best preventative of Idleness and consequent Viciousness...²

At Rivington Grammar School in Lancashire the school statutes required that pupils have access to the dictionaries and such "other books as are meet",³ under the supervision of the Master, a condition also imposed at Kings Norton.⁴ This is in keeping with the suggestions of Christopher Wase, who had urged that the librarian be "watchful" and "constant" in his supervision of the use of books.⁵ It is also apparent that many schools maintained a library for the master and usher, either in addition to, or instead of, the general school library.⁶

In many of the English grammar schools of the later seventeenth century, then, as in schools of the medieval period, the library was an accepted part of the school, used by masters and pupils, providing resources to support the instructional programme of the school, but usually with a variety of books on other subjects related to the

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1. Reply to Christopher Wase's questionnaire, Bodleian Library, MS.CCC. Oxon., 390/2, fol.8.
intellectual and religious controversies of the day and to the
interests of the masters, founders, or donors.

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For almost two centuries after 1670 the curriculum of the public
schools and many of the grammar schools continued to be dominated by
the study of Latin, and, to a lesser extent, of Greek. It was,
according to T.L. Jarman, "essentially linguistic and stylistic, and
did not reveal ancient life and thought".¹ The schools were
generally bound by their statutes to confine their teaching to the
classics and divinity - and there was, in any case, a great deal of
opposition to change from the schools themselves. B.H. Kennedy, the
Headmaster of Shrewsbury, told the Clarendon Commission in 1861 that
the natural sciences did not form "a basis for education" since they
were "not synthetical enough for elementary instruction". He felt
that the new utilitarian studies were "vulgar" and "banastic" (sic)²
and claimed that the classics alone could produce "mental discip-
line".³ Despite objections like these, a striking feature of the
history of the independent secondary schools during the late nine-
teenth century was the multiplicity of new subjects which came to be
adopted, completely transforming the old classical curriculum.
These wide changes in curricula were reflected to a very great
extent in the libraries of the independent schools.

¹. T.L. Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education: English
Education as part of the European Tradition, (2nd edn, London,

². The word intended is "banastic", pertaining to "rude mechanics";
in relation to education it has connotations similar to
"technical" or "vocational" as opposed to "liberal".

³. W.H.G. Armytage, Four Hundred Years of English Education,
The reform of these schools was brought about partly by the work and influence of great headmasters and partly by the interference of the State. The most notable headmaster was Dr. Arnold of Rugby, Headmaster from 1827 to 1842, and himself a product of Winchester,¹ whose influence was particularly strong and was carried into other schools when his assistant masters and old pupils began to obtain headships elsewhere. Under Arnold the curriculum at Rugby was widened, with French and mathematics becoming regular subjects instead of "extras"; with some history, even modern history,² being taught; and with an historical bias being given to the teaching of the classics.

As a result of the mid-nineteenth century commissions of inquiry into the public schools and other endowed schools, the Clarendon Commission of 1861-1864, and the Taunton Commission of 1864-1867 on the endowed schools, Acts of Parliament were passed which had a profound effect on the development of the public schools. These were the Public Schools Act of 1868 covering the seven "great public schools", Eton, Harrow, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Rugby, Westminster, and Charterhouse, and the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 covering the other endowed schools, and also St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors'. These Acts obliged the schools to modernise their statutes and make better use of their endowments, so that the way was open for curriculum changes. One result of these and other reforms of the public schools was a considerable increase in their number. Old grammar schools like Ripon, Sherborne, and Tonbridge

². "Modern" history at this time included our "medieval" history; some ancient history had previously been taught through the ancient Latin and Greek writers and as background to the study of their works.
became first-class public schools. Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham from 1853, turned a small country grammar school into a famous public school, where he introduced modern languages, craftwork, and music into the curriculum.¹ New public schools were founded, including Cheltenham (1841), Marlborough (1842), Rossall (1844), Wellington (1859), Beaumont (1861), Clifton (1862), Malvern (1862), and Cranleigh (1863).

Even by 1864 the Clarendon Commissioners were able to report that in the nine schools which they investigated, the course, having consisted only a short time before of two classical languages with a little history and geography, now included arithmetic and mathematics as well as classics.² At every school except Eton one modern language was included, either French or German. Rugby and Charterhouse offered both French and German, though at Rugby modern languages could not be taken as well as natural science. At Merchant Taylors', the curriculum included Hebrew and drawing. Lectures on natural science were given at Winchester and occasionally at Eton, attendance at the former being compulsory for foundation scholars and exhibitioners, though completely optional at the latter. There was a Lecturer in Chemistry at the Charterhouse, and there were periodic voluntary examinations in natural science at Harrow. Drawing was available as an extra at all the schools, and at most some instruction in music.³

¹ Armytage, Four Hundred Years of English Education, p.134.
³ Ibid., Vol.1, p.13.
Schools like Cheltenham, Marlborough, and Wellington College had boys who did classical work only and boys who did modern work. Cheltenham, in fact, consisted of two schools, which boys entered separately, "one of them a very efficient and successful classical school", and the other a school in which the boys learnt comparatively little Latin and no Greek, but where natural science was taught, and where there was a greater emphasis on modern languages. There were 276 boys in the Modern Department, almost equalling the number in the Classical. 1 At the school at King's College, London, about four hundred boys were organised in the same way as at Cheltenham College; again the number in the two departments were nearly equal. 2

The Clarendon Commission did not recommend the introduction at the older public schools of a system like that at Marlborough or Cheltenham, but it did recommend "that the general course of study in all these schools should not only be broader", but "should also be more elastic". 3 New subjects should be added to the curriculum, and there should be provision for some choice of subjects for the boys, as at Shrewsbury where "if a boy has decided powers and taste for mathematics with industry and conduct, and has no such taste for classics, he is frequently excused from verse and composition in order that he may do mathematical exercises instead". 4

Much time was still given in these schools to instruction in religious subjects, particularly on Sundays and the first lesson on Monday mornings. "At Westminster, for example, the whole forenoon on

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1. Ibid., Vol.1, p.37.
2. Ibid., Vol.1, p.37.
Mondays, and at the Charterhouse and Merchant Taylors', a great part of it, is given to lessons on religious subjects". At Harrow special prizes were given annually for Biblical knowledge. In the examination for the Newcastle Scholarship at Eton, the first of the four days was allotted exclusively to divinity; divinity likewise had a prominent place in the examination for the Goddard Scholarship at Winchester, where pupils were taught a good deal of sacred history, undertook a critical study of the Greek text of the New Testament, and were "very carefully prepared for Confirmation".

The change in emphasis in the curriculum of the public schools towards the end of the nineteenth century, from exclusively classical and theological studies, to a more "modern" general course of study, can be illustrated by the 1890 Prospectus of Liverpool College. The boys were offered English, French, Latin, science, and mathematics, while Greek was optional. An alternative course included German and extra physics and chemistry.

With the changes in curriculum in the independent schools in the nineteenth century came a corresponding development of school libraries to support the new courses. From the 1860s libraries in these schools generally had larger book collections, with much more variety in the subjects covered. The libraries were also generally much more carefully organised to allow for greater use by pupils and masters - greater use than had normally been possible in the libraries.

1. Ibid., Vol.1, p.45.
2. Ibid., Vol.1, p.45.
3. To support this wider curriculum, the school had a library of "about 7000 volumes" in 1890. Liverpool College, Prospectus, May 1890, p.3.
described to the Clarendon Commissioners in 1861.

The library at Sherborne School illustrates this process of growth and change. There had been a library in this school since at least 1670; the books, chained until 1725, were first stored in cupboards on the wall of the old school building, and after 1861 in a library room.¹ The collection, which had included 364 volumes in 1695, had by 1807 increased to 437 volumes; by 1894, however, the total number of volumes had increased spectacularly to 4922.² By 1880 the space in the library room was inadequate for the number of books, so the former "Big Schoolroom" of 1855-1879, "the finest room in Sherborne, or indeed in the west of England", was converted into a new library.³ The earliest catalogue of the library known to exist was made in 1695; at least part of this, however, was a copy of an earlier catalogue. Other catalogues were made in 1720, 1733, 1751, and 1807, in manuscript, while published catalogues of the collection exist for 1883 and 1894. Because the collection is more than three hundred years old, and because it has apparently always been well organised, as the catalogues indicate, it still had in 1883 a large collection of older books. In 1894 all books acquired by the library before 1861 were catalogued separately, and stored in a special place on the shelves. Since they did not form part of the day-to-day working collection of the library, they will not be included in the figures which follow, showing the number of books in each section of the library in 1894.

² Ibid., p.8.
³ Ibid., p.6.
### TABLE XIX

**SHERBORNE SCHOOL LIBRARY, 1894**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
<th>% of total titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section A: Books of Reference</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section B: Divinity and Philosophy</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>6.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section C: Classics</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>7.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section D: History</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>11.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section E: Travels</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>8.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section H: Biographies, Essays, etc.</td>
<td>589²</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>23.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section K: Poetry</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>7.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section L: Novels</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>17.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section M: Natural Science</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>8.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>2480</td>
<td>4401</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the eleven years between the publication of the two catalogues in 1883 and 1894 the total library collection increased by 64.35% to 4401 volumes in 1894. The Table shows that the collection at the end of the nineteenth century reflected the newer emphases in the public school curriculum. Divinity, philosophy, and classics together only formed 13.54% of the collection in 1894, reflecting

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2. This total includes three magazine titles. The "Volumes" count, however, does not include the more than 123 bound volumes of magazines, since the number of volumes in each series was not always recorded in the catalogue in 1894, and the number of volumes in each series was omitted altogether from the 1883 catalogue.

A CATALOGUE
OF THE
MODERN PORTION
OF THE
LIBRARY.

SHERBORNE SCHOOL.

1883.

Sherborne:
Printed by James Ellis, The Parade.
their decreased importance as subjects of study, while history, including biographies, and geography, travel, English literature, natural science, together formed a large part of the collection. Almost one quarter of the titles were fiction, reflecting the trend in the second half of the nineteenth century to accepting the reading of novels as a legitimate pastime for a gentleman. This trend is illustrated in the Clarendon Report itself: the Commissioners asked witnesses "do you think the majority of the boys have read the greater part of Sir Walter Scott's novels?";¹ "What sort of novels, Serial novels?...Thackeray's?";² and later "Do they read much poetry, novels or history?".³ And Leigh Hunt, an old Christ's Hospital boy, was able to admit in his 1850 autobiography that his classical education had helped him to enjoy "excursions...into the wide and healthy regions of general literature. I...buy as much Collins and Gray as I please, and get novels to my heart's content from the circulating libraries".⁴

The 1866 catalogue of Tonbridge School library illustrates the same trends as had been shown in the library at Sherborne.⁵ The library contained 646 titles, in 1162 volumes, with almost thirty percent of the titles representing works of fiction, chiefly novels of Dickens, Thackeray, Scott, Lytton, Charlotte Bronte, and Disraeli, reflecting the same increase of interest in English literature and

². Ibid., Vol.3, p.249, q.7393.
³. Ibid., Vol.3, p.258, q.7864.
⁵. Tonbridge School, Catalogue of the Tonbridge School Library, (Tonbridge, 1866).
fiction which was evident at other schools in the late nineteenth century. Other newer subjects in the curriculum are also strongly represented in the catalogue: biography and history together account for almost one quarter of the collection; and the holdings of geography and travel, science, and literature, are comparatively substantial. There is also a small collection on religion, and on "Language and Literature", the latter being chiefly grammars and histories of literature. The Table below shows the details of the subject holdings of the library.

**TABLE XX**

**TONBRIDGE SCHOOL LIBRARY, 1866**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number of titles</th>
<th>% of total titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Arts and Sciences</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Biography</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>10.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Essays, Miscellaneous</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>12.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fiction</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. History</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Language and Literature</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Periodicals</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Poetry</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>13.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Religion</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Travels - Manners and Customs</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>7.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>646</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This library, again like the library at Sherborne School, grew rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century. When the next edition of the catalogue was issued, in 1867, it showed an
CATALOGUE

OF

TONBRIDGE SCHOOL

LIBRARY.

JULY, 1800.

TONBRIDGE:

Richard Ware, Machine Printer, No., Post Office.
increase of 169 volumes in just twelve months.¹ This growth was partly a response to the new curricula, and partly the result of an increased interest in lighter reading for leisure, as indicated earlier.

At Charterhouse, where, despite the addition of new subjects to the curriculum and the provision of a wider range of choice in subjects, the course of instruction had remained chiefly classical, the 1882 catalogue of the school library pointed to a collection heavily weighted towards the classics, with Latin and Greek authors in the original languages and in translation, grammars, and lexicons. There were, however, substantial numbers of works in French, and the classics of English literature in poetry and prose were also available. In addition there were books on Greek and Roman history and antiquities, church history and biography, English history, travel, and memoirs. But there were only a few works on science in a collection of almost 4000 books.²

At Harrow School a library building programme from 1861 was made necessary by the growth of the collection from the mid-nineteenth century, as it had been necessary at Sherborne School. The new library was opened in 1863, when the school’s older donated collections of books were brought together and combined with the small monitors’ library to form a school library collection.³ The 1887 catalogue indicates that the Vaughan Library then had around 5000 titles, representing a considerably larger number of volumes. The

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¹. Tonbridge School, Appendix to the Catalogue of Tonbridge School Library, (Tonbridge, 1867).
CATALOGUE
of
THE SCHOOL LIBRARY.

CHARTERHOUSE

1882.

PRINTED BY R. B. STEEDMAN, HIGH STREET, GODALMING.
library had one large section devoted to divinity, history, biography, geography, travel, and literature, and another section devoted to just science and art.\textsuperscript{1} There were also specialist collections in the school in addition to the Vaughan Library collections: the Sixth Form Room held a collection of classics, and there were other collections representing modern languages, mathematics, science, and geography. So the school's book collections reflect the complete range of older and newer subjects available to boys in the school, though Harrow, like Charterhouse but unlike Sherborne and Tonbridge, had very little light fiction.

The libraries in these four schools were open and available to the boys, for use in their course work and for recreational reading, as well as to the masters, and their published catalogues and classified systems for shelving books made access to material relatively easy. Only one of the schools, Tonbridge, had a collection of books on "Education", but even this was not for the exclusive use of the masters, since it contained university calendars and published examination papers, as well as books on philosophy of education and other professional reading for teachers.

All four collections reflect the changes in the curriculum of the nineteenth century English independent school. While instruction in the classics was still important, and religious instruction was still provided, newer subjects, including English literature, modern languages, natural sciences, and mathematics had been accepted as part of the curriculum, with the boys not only studying more subjects, but being given some range of choice in the subjects they

\textsuperscript{1} Harrow School, Catalogue of the Harrow School Vaughan Library, (2nd edn, Harrow, 1887).
Harrow School: The Vaughan Library in the late nineteenth century. (Photograph from Strand Magazine, 4(1892), p.422.)
CATALOGUE

OF THE

HARROW SCHOOL

VAUGHAN LIBRARY.

SECOND EDITION.

HARROW: J. C. WILBEE,
BOOKSELLER TO HARROW SCHOOL.
1887.
studied. The library collections developed in response to these changes; at all four schools the collections by the later years of the nineteenth century were larger and more varied than they had been fifty years earlier. The emphasis in collection building had been on the newer subjects of study, and on the provision of books to cater to general reading interests in history, biography, travel, literature, and sometimes fiction. The provision of the latter illustrates another trend apparent in the second half of the nineteenth century; the trend to see the reading of good quality fiction and general non-fiction as an increasingly acceptable pursuit for a gentleman, and therefore to be encouraged in the schools.

** * * * * * *

The concept of the school library as a resource centre to support and enrich the curriculum and instruction in the school has undergone a change in the twentieth century, associated with a changing view of the nature and purposes of education itself, and evident in a new perception of the library, or "learning resource centre", in relation to teaching and learning in the school. Many of the newer proposals for school library service amount to no more than adapting the traditional role of the library as a teaching and learning resource to changing conditions within the schools. More radical proposals, however, while still stressing the role of the school library in supplying resources to support instruction, would, if adopted, entail a complete restructuring of the school, both physically and as an organisation. Such proposals are so far based purely on theory, without practical testing, and would require resources of staggering dimensions for their implementation.
What has been called the "knowledge revolution" has been seen as an important argument for the development of school libraries and the use of resource materials in the teaching-learning process in recent years.

Whilst the first doubling of knowledge available when Christ was born took 1750 years, the knowledge of 1950 had doubled by 1960. Clearly, any system of education based upon a factual content is on shaky ground and it is the recognition of this which underlies the urgency and necessity for educational change...

1. Ibid., p.12. Since it is not known how the author arrived at these figures, they cannot be checked. But similar figures, showing the vast increase in the sum of human knowledge in recent years have been produced by others. Alvin Toffler, in his book Future Shock (London, 1971), p.37, says:

The rate at which man has been storing up useful knowledge about himself and the universe has been spiralling upwards for 10,000 years.... Prior to 1500...Europe was producing books at a rate of 1000 titles per year...[taking] a full century to produce a library of 100,000 titles. By 1950...Europe was producing 120,000 titles a year. What once took a century now took only ten months. By 1960...a century's work could be completed in seven and a half months. And, by the mid-sixties, the output of books on a world scale, Europe included, approached the prodigious figure of 1000 titles per day...We find that the accelerated curve in book publication does...crudely parallel the rate at which man discovered new knowledge.

In the Australian Senate on 20 August 1980, in speaking on the Copyright Amendment Bill (Number 2), (1980), Senator Rae illustrated the great increase in the sum of human knowledge in recent years in a different way:

...the average person who was born twelve years ago will find, when he or she reaches the age of twenty years, that over 90 per cent of the information then available has come into existence in his or her lifetime.


Explicit in Toffler, and implicit in the other two quotations, is the assumption that each new book represents an addition to the sum of "knowledge". Such an assumption is clearly fallacious: many of the titles published each year represent fiction, which is not "knowledge" in the sense implied by such writers; another large group consists of reprints of previously published work; another group represents works in which knowledge is superseded, invalidated, or modified, rather than added to; and many new books, particularly textbooks or manuals, present existing "knowledge" in a modified form. A fundamental weakness of such arguments has been the failure to distinguish between "information" and "knowledge". Nevertheless it remains clear that the rate at which new knowledge is being produced is increasing, though attempts to quantify that growth have been crude and often unverifiable.
While it cannot be denied that the rapidly accelerating rate of the growth of knowledge is an important characteristic of the modern world which has great implication for education, there are abroad many dogmatic, untestable, and sensational assertions about this growth, and educational theory or policy based on an uncritical acceptance of such assertions is likely to appear extremely unrealistic and even slightly hysterical. Nevertheless it is clearly true that the "rapid growth of knowledge, and the acceleration of the practical application of knowledge, place more emphasis on the abilities to discover and retrieve information, to organise, to apply and evaluate information, and to communicate, rather than simply the ability to memorise".¹ The argument of educators has been that since no person can hope to acquire even an overview of all current knowledge relevant to his interests, and since the sum of human knowledge is increasing so rapidly, rendering obsolete much of the information a person does acquire, pupils need to be taught to locate and evaluate information rather than to be required to learn a series of facts and theories.

Education today is seen as demanding emphasis upon independent inquiry on the part of the pupils, rather than passive acquisition of information.² The library, to support this emphasis, needs to be the "centre of the school's education function, a place where the resources of learning can be gathered, and where such activities are

organised as will allow teachers and pupils to gain from books and other materials the wealth of information and the richness of experience that these have to offer.¹ The role of the teacher is seen less as that of dispenser of information to a passive class with the library as a peripheral resource centre to which the pupil is referred for additional information, and more that of a facilitator of learning, who works with the pupils in the process of learning. The teacher's function is seen as planning experiences and determining the most appropriate materials for the child,² an approach for which a well-organised, well-stocked library resource centre is essential. His major role is seen to be not that of teaching, but of ensuring that learning occurs.³ If a pupil learns how to learn, he will, it is argued, be able to cope more adequately with what is variously called the "information explosion" and the "knowledge revolution". It follows, then, that "the curriculum must not be based upon a prescribed subject matter which is imposed from above. Such a view fails to take into account the nature of the learner, the dynamic process of learning and thinking and the necessarily tentative nature of goals and objectives".⁴ Greater emphasis is consequently "placed on pupils of all ages participating in their own


3. Ibid., p.286.

learning experiences in an active rather than a passive manner".¹

The emphasis in education, then, has changed from a concern for the teaching process to greater awareness of, and emphasis on, the learning process. Professor Austin, of the University of Melbourne, has said that

...for too many years we have concentrated our attention on ways of improved teaching, without asking ourselves whether our methods bore much relationship to the way in which children learnt. In recent years we have tried to come at the problem concentrating on learning, and although there is no universal agreement on the nature of the learning process, we are sufficiently sure of our ground to know that much better learning results are achieved when the learner has to make his own response to the material to be learnt, that the material must be available in a variety of forms and at several levels of difficulty to suit the individual differences of the learners, and that it must be readily available, not only for initial reference, but for reinforcement and recapitulation.²

It is known, then, that the pupil learns best when he is considered as an individual, when what is to be learnt is meaningful to him, and when as many of his senses as possible are involved in the learning process. With the concern for "individual teaching styles and individual learning modes", and the resultant "instructional systems planning, message design, the formulation of behavioural objectives, the replacement of lecture-teaching lessons by planned educational experiences and the wide utilisation of educational technology, there has emerged a new role for the teacher" in which the transmission of subject matter "can be effectively achieved by student use of resources". With the support of teaching machines and computer

assisted instruction, pupils' skills can be developed in many ways.¹ This approach "takes into account that each child is different - in his skills and abilities, in creativity, motivation and aspiration, as well as in terms of his initiative, independence, and the sources from which he derives his satisfaction."² Research has shown that children learn in many different ways, at different speeds, and at different times. "Schools as learning centres must provide materials varying in content, difficulty, medium, format, style, and presentation, to cater for these individual differences..."³

Other factors, apart from the "knowledge revolution", have also been important in the changed view of education in the twentieth century. The sense of panic created by the Russian launching of "Sputnik" in 1957, the fear that Western science and technology was being eclipsed by that of the Soviet Union, led to a re-examination of science teaching and technical education, a search for new and more effective methods of instruction in the sciences particularly, and the development of new learning resources. Developments in the mass communications media, particularly film, radio, and television, and the increasing sophistication of media equipment available in the United States of America, Europe, and Australia, have also played a part in the changes evident in education over the last fifty years. And the more recent general availability of computer technology has affected not only the content of some syllabuses, but methods of instruction too. Not the least important factor in all these

³. Ibid., p.8.
developments in education has been the work of educational philosophers and innovators, including John Dewey, Helen Parkhurst, and A.S. Neill, particularly in relation to individual differences, the laboratory method, and resource-based instruction.

In response to these developments, "the diversity of resources in the school library" is seen as providing "the necessary backup for creative teaching...for programmes of individualised and independent learning",¹ and for programmes based on the utilisation of sophisticated educational technology. As "materials of instruction become more important and the students have more time to use the materials, the library and the staff are thrust more deeply into the teaching/learning process."² The role of the school librarian, then, is seen, ideally, as "a prime mover in the school's educational program",³ providing a wide variety of resources to meet the needs of new syllabuses, organising these materials so that they are readily available and can be used effectively, and assisting teachers to provide an appropriate learning environment for their pupils. This envisages a much more active role than that seen by the educators of the nineteenth century and earlier, for whom the teacher was the most significant instructional resource and the library a valuable "adjunct". But while this is a more active, it is not a new, role. It should be seen instead as an extension of the earlier role of the

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school library in supporting and enriching the teaching and learning activities in the school.

While education based on concepts of individual differences, variety in instructional strategies, individualised instruction, and resource-based learning, has been promoted particularly in the work of educational writers since 1945, these concepts were discussed by educators and librarians from the early years of this century. But a clear line needs to be drawn between the more moderate statements, on the one hand, which emphasise the need for more active participation by the pupils and for more attention to be given to their individual learning characteristics, ideas which have been recognised by many educational theorists and good teachers even before the twentieth century; and the more extreme statements, on the other hand, which demand of the library that it be the physical and intellectual centre of the whole school, or even that it constitute the entire school. These more radical claims are being advanced at a time when there are very few, if any, schools organised completely on such a basis, and when it is certain that there is no school system which is; when no attempt has been made to estimate the cost involved or to a plan stages by which such ideas could be implemented; and despite obvious difficulties in the way of their implementation, including enormous costs at a time when expenditure on education is generally being scaled down, the lack of personnel possessing the level of library and teaching skills which would be imperatively necessary in such schools, and the impossibility of providing such people quickly.

With the new emphasis on the library as an "educational resource centre" in relation to the educational aims and activity of the school, however, there has come a hope for a more positive role for the library in encouraging educational innovation. The Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission in 1973 saw libraries as "one of the most effective means of assisting the development of changed patterns of teaching and learning in schools".¹

The Committee endorsed the view that

the provision of libraries, particularly when they are multi-media centres, is an important means of improving the quality of the total school program. The use of such centres is not confined to the study of particular subjects, but facilitates the growth of patterns of learning in all subjects which are responsive to each pupil's level of development and to his individual interests. The existence of a variety of sources of information enables teachers to pass a desirable degree of initiative over to students; if combined with effective teaching, this encourages the development of skills necessary for independent learning.²

The adoption of this role has been hampered in Australia by a shortage of trained school librarians, by the inability of many teachers to adapt to newer methods of instruction (or their lack of training to do so), by inadequate or old and inflexibly designed facilities, and by lack of finance. The Commonwealth Secondary School Libraries Research Project found in 1972 that Commonwealth grants to secondary school libraries had made available a greatly enriched stock of facilities which are supporting and making possible, if not coercing, new patterns of teaching and learning. These new patterns include more individualization of instruction, more opportunities for the learners to participate in their education, to be enthusiastic about it, and to be more responsible for their progress.³

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¹. Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, Schools in Australia 1973, p.82.
². Ibid., p.82.
Certainly more resources were provided, and new and more flexible programmes were developed. The "use of open area buildings, which make possible dynamic grouping of students and a more flexible approach to curricula", became common.\(^1\) But the school library in Australia has not become a leader in educational innovation, though it has to a great extent provided the resources for any such innovation taking place. And it was probably unrealistic to expect educational leadership for change to come from the school library in a situation where school librarians are subject to inspection, where they are often still inadequately trained, where they have few promotion prospects (whatever their training) unless they return to classroom teaching, and where they have consequently little status. While a librarian can be an innovative leader in a school, he can usually only lead by persuasion, backed by the authority of an enthusiastic principal, but with little real authority of his own.

Greater encouragement for principals and educational administrators to adopt and support innovative instructional techniques based on the library may have been more effective in the long run than initially building up library resources which few people could use effectively.

The Knapp School Library Project in the United States of America, in contrast to the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, saw the initiation of educational change in a school, and the planning for a school library programme, as "a leadership function of the principal, the librarian, and the school library supervisor", with participation the responsibility of every

\(^1\) Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, *Schools in Australia 1973*, p.83.
staff member. The strong involvement of teacher training institutions with this project ensured that large numbers of trainee teachers became familiar with resource-based learning through good school library programmes in the selected demonstration schools, and that large numbers of teacher educators worked with the programme. In addition, large numbers of practising teachers, school librarians, and educational administrators visited the demonstration schools to view a school library programme which was staffed, equipped, and administered in accordance with the then current national standards.\(^3\)

While in most schools in Great Britain, the United States of America, and Australia, completely resource-based instruction can be seen only as an educator's dream, some schools have taken considerable steps towards turning the dream into reality. In doing so they have produced a variety of responses, in library and educational resources development, to those new ideas in education.

In the United States from the 1960s many cluster-type elementary schools have been built, with each "cluster" or "pod" having its own sectional media centre, which may or may not have the support of a general school media centre. Elementary schools have frequently been built around a central media unit with little or no separation of the media centre from the group teaching and pupil learning areas.


\(^3\) Sullivan, Realization, passim.
of the school. Schools which typify this concept include the Valley Winds Elementary School in St. Louis, Missouri, and the Kelsey Pharr Elementary School in Miami, Florida. Pupils are able to move freely and easily into the independent study areas and central resource area from the outer rim of the circular school, and resources are able to be moved easily from the media centre to the teaching and learning areas. L.H. McGrath, an Australian visitor to these schools, has commented that the "integration of the media centre in the total school programme was...facilitated by the coordinated planning of these schools", an advantage which most schools do not enjoy in attempting to implement a co-ordinated library and resource programme as an integral part of the educational programme of the school.

At a new small school, Mount Isa Christian College, for grades two to seven, to open in Queensland in 1981, pupils will work at their own pace on individual learning kits, in a single classroom equipped with a variety of learning resources, taking the place of a separate

2. Ibid., p.292.
3. Other open-space schools have been described in research studies. In 1976 Dennis P. Leeper, in a paper presented at the American Association of School Librarians Forum for Research, titled "A Comparative Study of Open-Space and Self-Contained Elementary School Library-Media Centres", compared usage, expenditure, services, collections, and staffing in twenty-four open-space and 24 self-contained elementary school libraries, describing open-space libraries in nine school districts in Colorado. John H. Frederickson, in a paper titled "Open Space - Secondary Style" (ED 130 398) described one secondary school in a Lawton, Michigan, school district, in 1976, which was committed to an educational format which stressed student initiative and responsibility, individualised instruction, and open-space facilities. Several open-space school programmes are discussed by George S. Paul in Ten Years of Open Space Schools: A Review of the Research, (Gainesville, Florida, 1975). Information on such schools in Canada may be found in Canadian Education Association, A Short Annotated List of Information on Open-Area Schools in Canada, (Toronto, 1973).
school library. The school will operate under the auspices of the Assembly of God church, and pupils will use work booklets, resource cards, and audiovisual materials with a strong Christian emphasis, based on a system developed in the United States, known as Accelerated Christian Education. The system "attempts to combine the latest learning technology with a content emphasis on Biblical knowledge and Christian principles". Each kit, called a PACE (or Package of Accelerated Christian Education), is based on a work booklet covering units of each school subject. Each pupil works on a learning programme prescribed for his or her level of learning ability and rate of achievement. But though pupils work individually, and at their own pace, using resources as they need them, this is not individualised instruction; all pupils work through the same programme, though they enter at different levels and work in their own way. Because pupils work by themselves, all ages and levels can be accommodated in a single classroom which makes provision for a variety of learning activities to be carried on simultaneously, as the illustration shows.

2. Illustration from The North-West Star, 5 November 1980, p.12.
This system of instruction and resource provision is used at other schools in Australia, too, including the Calvary Temple Christian College in Townsville, established in 1977/78. But while the use

1. Systems of individual instruction through learning packages, similar to Accelerated Christian Education, were also being used. At St. Theresa's Agricultural College, Abergowrie, Queensland, a system known as Catholic Education Encounter was being used in 1979 on a trial basis with grade eight pupils. In this system, too, children worked alone at carrels on modules prepared for seven subjects: English, mathematics, geography, history, science, technical drawing, and music. Only religious instruction and agricultural science were taught in a traditional classroom. The new approach made provision for a central library in the classroom which contained books and resource materials which were available for reference. In 1973 in the United States two schools only were using this system, but by early in 1978 the number had increased to seventy-three; only a year later almost one thousand schools were using it. In 1979 it was being used, often with considerable adaptations, by twenty-five schools in Australia. Anonymous, "School Devises New Approach to Teaching", Townsville Daily Bulletin, 12 April 1979.
of modern teaching technology is emphasised in these schools, it is used to teach a syllabus far more rigidly prescribed than in the most backward of traditional schools in Queensland.

In Queensland schools generally, the number of educational resources available has increased greatly in the last ten years. New curricula involving resource-based teaching and learning have been developed, and resources supplied to aid their implementation through both the Commonwealth Government's programmes and the state Department of Education. A new primary social studies syllabus introduced in 1970 encouraged the development of an inquiry approach, with research by the individual child, and schools were supplied with a "mini-library" of appropriate resources, consisting of a selection of books dealing with topics suggested for study in the syllabus, of varying degrees of difficulty to cater to the needs of children of a wide range of ability within the grade. Between 1971 and 1973, after the Language Arts Syllabus Committee had looked at individual differences in children's learning patterns and stressed the need to extend the child's vocabulary and range of language experience, Queensland primary schools were supplied with a wide range of language arts materials including a variety of readers and source books. With the Australian adoption of the metric system, suitable textbooks, print resources, and other learning materials, were supplied to Queensland schools by the State Department of Education, to the total value of $A290,000. Materials for science, art, music, and physical


education have also been supplied to schools to support new curricula. After the initial supply of resources, grants, based on the enrolment of the school, have been allocated for reading materials and equipment. And the resources of the school libraries have increased as a result of the abolition of the subsidy system for library support and its replacement with a direct grant and a per capita allowance calculated on the school enrolment. In many schools, too, the resources available have been further increased through the continued fund-raising efforts of local Parents' and Citizens' Association groups.

The photographs which follow illustrate the massive increase in resource provision in Queensland schools during the last seventy years. The first, taken in the first decade of this century, shows a classroom at Albert State School in Maryborough. The prevailing educational techniques, the general overcrowding, and the formal layout of the classroom, led to rigid discipline and order. Apart from the slates, slate pencils, slate rags, and the inkwells which can be seen, and which reflect the change in materials for instruction, only a few educational resources are apparent: pictures on the walls, and the counting frame, are the most prominent. These are both resources used by the teacher in formal classroom teaching; only occasionally would they be available, except as a display, to individual pupils.

The second photograph, of a Queensland primary school classroom of the 1970s, presents a vast contrast. The walls and the shelves are lined both with commercially produced resources and with materials

Top: A classroom at Albert State School, Maryborough, Queensland, in the first decade of the twentieth century.
created by the children themselves; books, realia, pictures, and toys are in use; the children are able to move freely around the classroom, working on individual projects, and consulting with the teacher and the teacher's aide.\(^1\)

The great increase in resources available within the school has led to problems of storage, accessibility, control, and teacher awareness of their existence and possible educational applications. Gwyneth Davies has commented that equipment and materials came to be scattered all over the school - often hidden in various storage areas, there to lie unused, gathering dust. The majority of teachers had little knowledge of what was available for use with their particular grade and, if they did know what had been supplied, they were unaware of its location within the school...\(^2\)

Various schools developed systems of resource organisation to cope with these problems; the centralised system based on the library as a total school resources centre at Vincent State School in Townsville,\(^3\) was the first such system in the state, serving as a model for others.\(^4\) The resources centre, housing all teaching aids and resources in a central complex, comprises a library opened in 1978 and an adjoining resources area remodelled from two former class-

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3. Another system, based not on the library but on classrooms, each containing all the resources for a particular aspect of the primary school curriculum, with each class timetabled to spend part of the week in the room for each subject area, was tried at Kingsley Primary School, Armadale, Victoria. It is described in Brian Clarke, "School-based Resource Teaching at Kingsley Primary School, Armadale", *Education*, 29 (1980), pp.12-14.
4. Vincent State School, a school in a rapidly growing suburban area of Townsville, was opened in 1968 and in 1978 had an enrolment of over 800 children.
This Resources Centre had actually been organised before 1978, to be "responsible for the acquisition, organization, and dissemination of all instructional materials used in the school - not a replacement but an augmentation of the mission of the library".\(^2\) Supermarket shelving was used to store and display resources; guides were produced to assist teachers to locate materials;\(^3\) and a loan system was devised through the library. Teachers can borrow resources in class lots for the whole term, or for the day or the lesson, choosing from materials covering the whole range of age and interest levels for any class. In organising resources for all the classrooms of the school, and encouraging their more efficient use, this system extends the traditional role of the library in supporting and enriching the educational activities of the school.\(^4\)

As a result of developments in education during the twentieth century, the school library is generally seen as having a more important role than before in supporting and enriching the educational

2. Davies, A Rationale for...A Centralized System of Making Resources Available..., p.16.
3. These included a shelf list on cards; an accession list on cards; charts; and other materials.
4. It is noteworthy that in the survey conducted by Gwyneth Davies of teacher satisfaction with the system of resource organisation, seventy percent of respondents on the school staff felt that the system enabled them to locate materials easily (pp.31-32); of the twelve people responding who had been on the school staff since before the commencement of the programme of centralisation of resources, eleven believed that the centralised system enabled them to locate material more quickly than before (p.32). Three quarters (75%) of the staff agreed that the system enabled a teacher to familiarise himself more easily with resources available in the school (p.33). Davies, A Rationale for...A Centralized System of Making Resources Available....
programme of the school. This is epitomised in a change in terminology used to describe the role of the library over the centuries, from an "adjunct" or "valuable auxiliary" to the "learning centre of the school". Horace Mann in 1829 commented that "it seems to be the unanimous opinion of the teachers of all schools, whether public or private, that a School Library would be a most valuable auxiliary in interesting children in their studies...".\(^1\) One hundred years later it was still being said that "one of the most indispensable adjuncts of a high school is a working library, which should contain at least sufficient reference books to vitalize the work of the school...and which...should constitute one of the most important adjuncts".\(^2\)

However by the 1960s in Australia Margaret Trask was writing that "we need to place the school library in its proper perspective, not as a 'frill' to education"\(^3\) but as central to the teaching and learning activities of the school. The concept of the school library as having a role in supporting and enriching the instructional activity of a school is very old, dating back at least to the eighth century; this role has been changed, enlarged, and extended as a result of developments in education, particularly in the twentieth century.

But while many theorists in recent years have written of a "new" role for school libraries in relation to modern developments in education, this is little, if anything, more than the adaptation to changed


\(^3\) Margaret Trask, School Libraries: A Report to the Nation, (Melbourne, 1968), p.16.
circumstances of the role that many good school libraries have always played in relation to the instructional programme of the school.