



**University of
Sheffield**

**A Temple Unabridged with Priceless Treasure: An
Investigation of Yorkshire Public Libraries as Intellectual
Sanctuary During the First World War: 1914-1918**

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the impact of public libraries on the communities they serve during times of unexpected conflict. Specifically, it seeks to critically explore to what extent the public libraries in Yorkshire served as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age population during the years of the First World War (1914-1918). The research design drew from Bryman (2016), Hill (1993), and Thomas (2006) to create an Adapted Framework of archival research which combines elements of Thomas' (2016) Constant Comparative Analysis and Hammersley's (1996) Complementarity Analysis. Using a multi-case-study approach alongside qualitative and quantitative primary source archival material, sources comprising critical academic literature, architectural schematics of local libraries, photographs, and historical library statistics were accessed by conducting in-person fieldwork and online archival research at five unique Yorkshire cities (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York) in order to understand their social importance during the beginning of the 20th century.

The literature review engaged with historical and contemporary sources, identifying four key themes of the empirical work: public library availability, use, architecture, and finding the self in the public library. The empirical findings found that the First World War directly influenced change within each of the five fieldwork locations in terms of library service availability, fluctuations in library use, intentionality and repurposing of library architecture, and elements that encouraged finding one's self.

It would not be realistic to state conclusively that public library services in Yorkshire steadily served as an intellectual sanctuary for all members of the working-age population throughout the years 1914-1918. However, the four identified elements employed in this research (availability, use, architecture, and finding the self in the public library) have provided a practical framework to understand how sanctuary evolved during that period and how it was experienced by members of the local working age population during the First World War. Although the use and impact of the public library fluctuated between 1914 and 1918, it is possible to conclude that during times of unexpected conflict, public library services across Yorkshire provided many citizens with both physical and intellectual sanctuary where they could escape the turmoil of war.

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Declaration

I, the author, confirm that the Thesis is my own work. I am aware of the University's Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means). This work has not been previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university.

Why study the war? And in doing so, why study history?

To know ourselves, to know where our world came from not so long ago, to learn about the worst in all of us, and about the best, to honour those who learned to be afraid but not to let fear master them, to learn in our bones the tangle of history, the ironic kinship of hope and despair.

The darker the night, the brighter the stars.

Stuart Robson
Professor of History
Trent University
1940-2023

(Used with permission by the Robson Family)

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Research

1.1 Background to the Study

In an article written for the American Library Association, Meredith Farkas writes, “A core value of librarianship is open and equal access to the library for all members of our communities” (Farkas, 2017, p. 54). Though this article was written in 2016, the sentiment reverberates to the early 20th century and the period of the First World War. Investigating and considering the different histories of public library establishments, including how and why they served their citizens, can help to build a further understanding of the public library and the role it played in the communities they served during the First World War.

1.1.1 Historical Background

Both the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act “sought to encourage the local populace” by encouraging public library use; an establishment that did not require money or status to use (Walker, 2016, p.128). With the practical nature of these new public establishments came the need for specialised free space for quiet learning and reflection. Harsh labour conditions, poor health, and low literacy rates dampened the spirits of the nineteenth and twentieth century working-age population. Fortunately, the public library sought to heighten the circumstances of all those who visited and often provided a safe and quiet place of solitude (Walker, 2016). The harsh realities faced by the working citizens of Yorkshire became a catalyst for the benevolent contributions of Andrew Carnegie (Prizeman, 2012). Carnegie’s financial contributions and establishment of public libraries in Yorkshire catapulted the working classes’ increased use of public libraries (English Heritage, 2014, pp. 2-3).

From the passage of the Public Library Act of 1850, neither money nor status was required to use public libraries in England, unlike previous iterations of such space (private libraries, subscription libraries) (Black, 2000b; City Libraries of Sheffield, 1956; Fawcett, 1967; Kelly, 1977; Sturges, 1989). Before the success of the free library movement of the early twentieth century, Mechanics’ Institute Libraries provided information to the working population. These institutions, for a small cost, “were often the only source of providing access to reading for the working classes” (Walker, 2013, p. 277). When intellectual development and

education were scarce for blue-collar citizens, these industrial and Mechanics' libraries were pivotal in creating a literate working class (Black, 2007).

The Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act changed how local councils provided community public library services. The two acts changed the public library landscape in Yorkshire, creating an ideological shift to reduce fluctuating ideas on social inequalities such as gender equality and multi-class usage of public library spaces (Altic, 1957; Black, 1996; English Heritage, 2014; Kelly, 1977). With the changing nature of these civic establishments, the need came for a specialised location reserved for quiet learning and reflection and one specifically blind to judgement and religious affiliation (Kelly, 1977).

1.1.2 Contemporary Background

Today, an organisation called 'City of Sanctuary' promotes free public library services to vulnerable groups in the UK and Ireland. Established in Sheffield in 2007, 'City of Sanctuary' has expanded their community support to encompass a variety of public service establishments such as gardens, libraries, and universities. Cities with this designation emphasise the support for asylum seekers and refugees. Within the 'City of Sanctuary' description, a sub-section exists called 'Libraries of Sanctuary'. Often conferred upon already-established public library services in England, the 'Libraries of Sanctuary' aims to provide people from all walks of life with a place of "welcome and inclusivity" (Libraries of Sanctuary, 2020). More recently, with the current refugee crisis in the United Kingdom and the war in Ukraine, there has been an increase in public spaces forming a network of sanctuaries (Libraries Connected, 2022).

Library services nationwide are actively encouraged to work toward formal declarations of sanctuary (Library of Sanctuary Award, n.d.). While libraries and sanctuaries have a known contemporary connection, there is a gap in the understanding of their historical context. Such a gap brings up questions such as: To what extent did the public libraries serve as a place of intellectual sanctuary during times of conflict, and did this extend to cities in Yorkshire, and if so, what form did this sanctuary take? These initial questions informed the research's main aim, research question, and objectives (see **1.3**).

1.1.3 Personal Background

In 2003, author Pam Munoz Ryan promoted libraries' sacred nature in a speech at the annual

American Association of School Librarians conference. She stated that libraries are “temple(s) unabridged with priceless treasure(s)” and that librarians are the “majesties who loan the jewels of measure. They welcome to the kingdom the young and old of reapers and reign among the riches as the wondrous fortune keepers” (Munoz Ryan, 2003).

I first came across this speech by Pam Munoz Ryan during my last year of library school. At the time, I was also working as a full-time reference librarian at a local joint-use public library. University students, college students, and public patrons utilised the public library together, accessing the same services and interacting with the same staff. I encountered all walks of life during my two years at the library, including the homeless, the elderly, children, students, non-English speakers, and other vulnerable demographics within the community. I encountered the wealthy and the poor, the pristine and the unkempt, the healthy and the ill. It is also where I witnessed the unequal treatment of some of the most vulnerable library patrons.

As a reference librarian, I interacted with almost everyone who used the library, which led to establishing relationships with the library patrons. I knew their stories, both good and bad, and when a homeless man was kicked out of the library for sleeping, I understood the consequences. He used the library as a safe place away from the Florida rain and heat, away from the Florida bugs and wildlife, and away from the wooden bench he slept on when the library was closed. Because of this moment, I began thinking about what the library meant to certain people. It began my curiosity about whether or not people in the past used the public library in the same way they did in the library I worked at during my Masters. While the detailed scope of the project has developed through personal interest in Yorkshire and the First World War, the foundations surrounding the public library as a place of sanctuary remained the same, influenced by the patrons I interacted with daily.

1.2 Terminology

A detailed description of each term is defined and considered in relation to the literature in **3.2**. The following six terms are some of the most used in the thesis and highlight the major themes used throughout the thesis. They are defined as follows:

- **‘Intellectual sanctuary’** is defined as any space free from direct personal, political, and social influences, inviting all thought.
- **‘Conflict’** is defined as an unexpected and harsh active change in normalcy that directly affects the domestic, social, and intellectual areas of one’s life.
- **‘Local Working-Age Population’** is defined as members of the community whose ages allow them to legally work. This includes members of the lower and middle classes.
- **‘Public Library Availability’** is defined as the physical and mental accessibility of public library spaces from the perspective of the patron.
- **‘Public Library Use’** is defined as the mental and physical experience (or practice) of frequenting the free public library.
- **‘Public Library Architecture’** is defined as the physical public library space used by patrons. This includes both interior and exterior elements.
- **‘Self within the Public Library’** is defined as an internal, inherently personal creation created by the patron.

1.3 Research Question, Aims, and Objectives

This research engages with primary source archival material, both critical and academic literature, quantitative and quantitative library data, and other ephemera to understand the social importance of these community establishments during the beginning of the twentieth century.

The overarching aim is to investigate the extent to which the public libraries of Yorkshire served as an intellectual sanctuary for all members of the adult population throughout the years 1914-1918.

To achieve this aim, the primary research question is as follows:

To what extent did the public libraries in Yorkshire serve as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the local working population during the First World War?

To support the research question, four research objectives have also been developed:

Research Objective 1: *To examine the public library sphere between the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act and to understand the long-range impacts of the First World War within the five identified public library services of Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York.*

Research Objective 2: *To define both sanctuary and intellectual sanctuary and to explore if public libraries in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) mirror such definitions during the First World War.*

Research Objective 3: *To investigate if elements of availability, use, architecture, and the development of self, promoted the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuaries for the local working-age population of Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) during the First World War.*

Research Objective 4: *To understand if unanticipated conflicts, specifically the First World War, heightened the need for intellectual sanctuaries available to the local working-age population in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York).*

1.4 Structure of the Report

Following this introduction, the thesis is organised into eight chapters, as follows:

Chapter Two: **Review of the Literature** presents a literature review focusing on the historical public library from its inception in 1850 through the First World War. The review establishes the four main themes (availability, use, architecture, and finding self) used as the focus of each findings stage. The review concludes with the key gaps found in the literature and establishes the study's originality.

Chapter Three: **Methodology** outlines the methods and methodologies utilised in this study and introduces the Adapted Framework, which underpins the research process. The philosophical assumptions, methodological approach, research methods, and techniques highlighted in this chapter provide a significant foundation to critically address and analyse the archival data and subsequent discussion of this interdisciplinary archival study.

Chapter Four: **National Context and Local Practices: A Historical Context** presents a brief introduction to the history of the English public library ranging from the start of the First World War to the Armistice of 1918 (1914-1918) and its relationship with the overall research methodology and framework. It highlights Yorkshire's social, political, and economic

situation at the time of the First World War and introduces the historical intersection between public libraries and intellectual sanctuaries.

Chapter Five: **Stage 1: The Availability of the Free Public Library** presents the first stage of the research by considering the impact of the physical and intellectual availability of the public library in First World War Yorkshire. This stage uses qualitative and quantitative data and the adapted framework to highlight the relationship between the user, availability, and intellectual sanctuary.

Chapter Six: **Stage 2: Use of the Free Public Library** presents the second stage of the research by assessing the relationship between use and intellectual sanctuary. Using both qualitative and quantitative archival documents again with the Adapted Framework, this stage seeks to understand how different elements surrounding use influenced intellectual sanctuary.

Chapter Seven: **Stage 3: Free Public Library Architecture and Spatial Sanctuary** presents the third stage of the research by examining both interior and exterior architectural elements of the public library services in the fieldwork locations. Primarily using qualitative archival documents alongside the adapted framework, this stage looks at architectural elements, location, and proximity to places of employment to further investigate how architecture played a role in creating intellectual sanctuary.

Chapter Eight: **Stage 4: Finding Self in the Public Library** presents the fourth and final stage of the research process by exploring the connections between the previous four stages and the finding of self. This stage uses both qualitative and quantitative archival documents, such as professional and personal letters, remark book entries, annual reports, memoirs, historical photographs, and newspaper articles, to understand further how the public library helped cultivate the idea of self and in turn, helped to encourage the idea of intellectual sanctuary.

Finally, Chapter Nine: **Discussion and Concluding Thoughts** discusses the research findings and their relationship to the adapted framework employed by this study. The chapter outlines how each research objective was addressed and the extent to which each was answered through the literature review and the empirical archival research. Also explained are the contributions to knowledge, the limitations of the research, and recommendations for future research within the scope of the public library and intellectual sanctuary.

Chapter 2

A Review of the Literature

2.1 Aims and Objectives of the Literature Review

Aim:

- To review the literature relating to the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary in First World War Yorkshire.

Objectives:

- To explore the relationship between the local working-age population and public libraries during the First World War;
- To consider the effects of conflict on the working class of Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York;
- To investigate how use, availability, architecture, and the creation of self, relate to the overarching theme of intellectual sanctuary.

The reading conducted as part of the literature review has influenced the search strategy implemented as part of the research process (Booth, 2021; Papaioannou et al., 2009). First, it was imperative to conduct a preliminary search for critical English public library history publications. Second, a search based on reference lists, citations, and main subject headings found in key publications. At the same time, it was also essential to conduct a conventional subject search using processes that incorporated date/place restrictions, Boolean keyword searches, and search filters. For example a database search in the British Newspaper Archive for “Yorkshire” between 1910 and 1919 resulted in 6,323 individual items that matched “public libraries AND war”. Changing “Yorkshire” to “England” in a second search resulted in 60,266 individual items. Filtering the results based on the research scope took place after accumulating a number of sources relating to the English public library. This process continued throughout the research process, requiring consistent searching, accumulation, and assessment of different sources' appropriateness to the research. The themes used in this thesis represent those commonly found in the literature and represent gaps identified throughout the available literature.

2.1.1 Themes within the Literature

Across many interpretations of English public library history, both historical and contemporary, four themes continuously reappear in the literature. The most frequently identified are the public library's physical availability, the personal use of library establishments, the relationship between architectural sanctuary, and finding the self within the public library.

The review of the literature that follows is divided into the following themes: conflict, public libraries, and the First World War; Yorkshire public libraries and the working class; and then the four themes of Stages 1 through 4 of the research (availability, use, architecture, and finding self). Figure 2.1 sets out the hierarchy of themes (Mishra and Dey, 2022) used within the research:

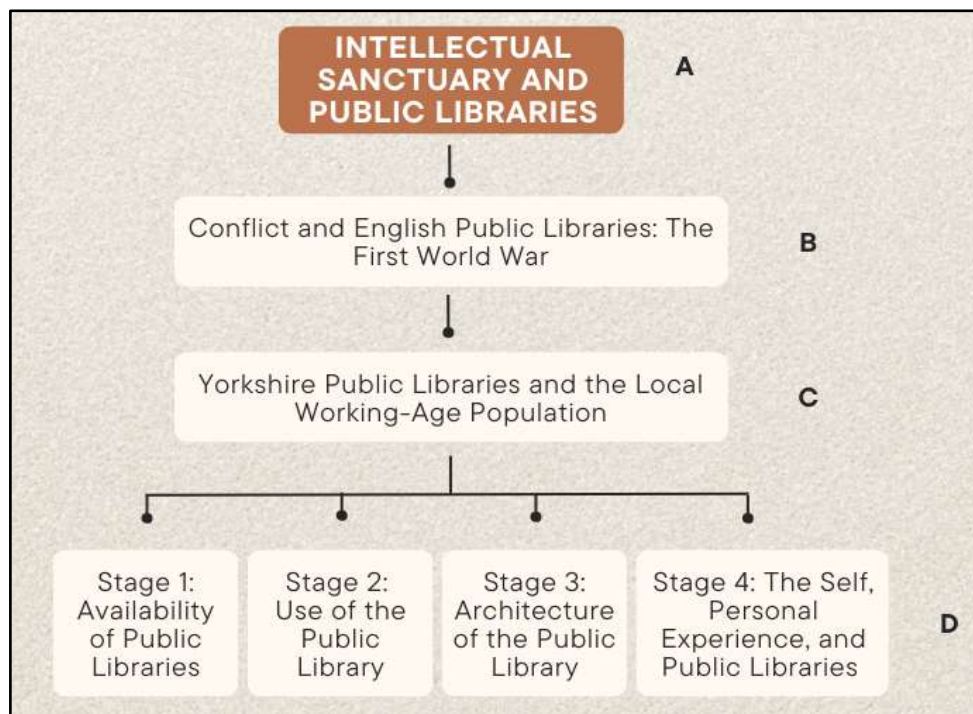


Figure 2.1 Hierarchy of Themes.

The hierarchy above establishes a connection between each theme influenced by literature supporting hierarchies in social science research. Dey (1993) emphasised the connection noting that

Graphic forms of representation can provide an appropriate set of tools for constructing classification schema, such as those depicting logical relations of hierarchy and subordination between concepts (1993, p.46).

Utilising a visual hierarchy makes it possible to see the connections between themes and their significance within the larger picture of the thesis. The thesis, as shown in Figure 2.1, begins with the overall theme of this project: Intellectual Sanctuary and Public Libraries (**A**). Section (**A**) then leads to (**B**), which focuses on Conflict and English Public Libraries: The First World War. To narrow the scope further, the following section focuses on (**C**) Yorkshire Public Libraries and the Working Class during the First World War. Four themes then emerge within the literature surrounding the Yorkshire Public Library and the Working Class. These include Availability (**Stage 1**), Use (**Stage 2**), Architecture (**Stage 3**), and Finding the Self (**Stage 4**).

The construction of a thematic hierarchy within the social sciences, as explained above by Dey (1993), parallels the hierarchy of collection arrangement in archives. Standardly referred to as 'level of arrangement' ('Level of Arrangement', n.d.). This professional archival hierarchy standard adheres to the following outline:

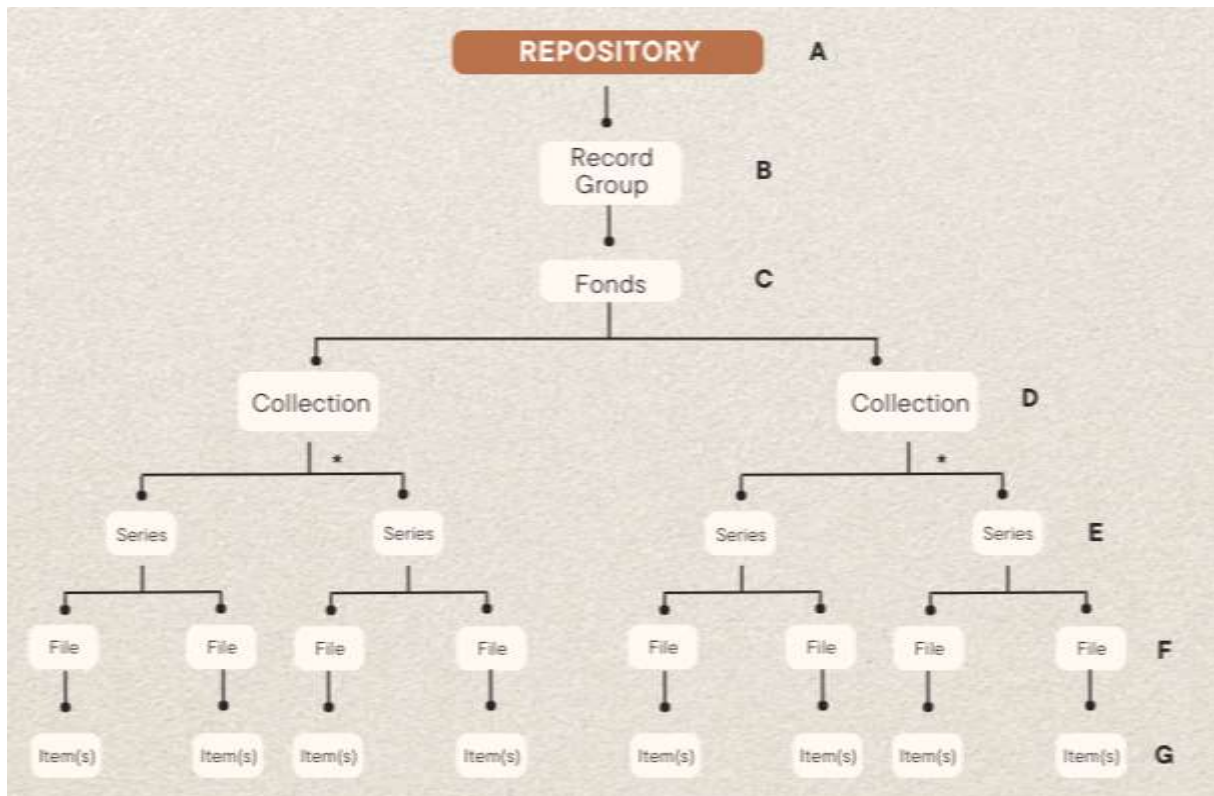


Figure 2.2. Hierarchy of Archival Description (ISAD (G), 1999).

Drawing a connection between qualitative methodological practices (Dey, 1993) and International Archival Arrangement Standards (ISAD (G), 1999) bridges meaningful connections between qualitative, quantitative, and archival research. The use of hierarchy throughout the thesis, more substantially utilised in tandem through the nesting of themes present in the literature, begin to combine the methodological practices of Hill (1993), Thomas (2006) and Hammersley (1996) (3.4), and the construction of the arguments in findings chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8.

2.2 Terminology

The following sections provide a critical review of the literature relating to the four major themes (and subthemes) of this thesis. Literature directly related to each theme within their respective findings chapters is also included in findings Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8.

2.2.1 Intellectual Sanctuary

As established in Figure 2.1, the top of the thematic hierarchy focuses on ‘intellectual sanctuary and public libraries.’ It is essential to identify multiple ideas of sanctuary in various sources to fully acknowledge the deeply personal experience associated with sanctuary and, in turn, intellectual sanctuary. These experiences take the form of unique interpretations that

span many factions of society, both in terms of those who create a sanctuary and those who experience it. The definition used for this research was created by synthesising numerous religious, secular, historical, modern, academic, and literary sources. Examples of such diversity in sources include a secular definition given by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It states sanctuary as a “refuge or safety from pursuit, persecution, or other danger” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d.). Historical literary examples of these interpretations include the description from the December 1890 publication titled “The East Anglian: or, Notes and Queries on subjects connected with the counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Norfolk”, which states sanctuary as “a temporary respite from danger” and “a place which gave peace” (East Anglian, 1890). In a religious context, the *Oxford Dictionary of the Bible* succinctly explains sanctuary as “a place of holiness or security”, while the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* states that a sanctuary is “a sacred place, set apart from the profane, ordinary world...where the divine or sacred was believed to be present” (Browning, 2009).

Studied separately, these definitions produce different perspectives of ‘sanctuary’. However, studied in conjunction with one another, these sources helped to establish a unique definition of ‘sanctuary.’ This research takes the foundations of the sanctuary as a place and takes it one step further, focusing on the experience of a sanctuary rather than a physical sanctuary. With this understanding, the term ‘intellectual sanctuary’ is created.

This thesis uses a synthesised definition of sanctuary. It places the patron's experience within the definition, creating ‘intellectual sanctuary’ as: **A space free from direct personal, political, and social influences, inviting autonomous thought and experiences.**

2.2.2 Conflict

While the thesis primarily focuses on the idea of intellectual sanctuary, an essential part of the overarching scope of the thesis revolves around the idea of ‘conflict’ and its impact on the patron experience. Through both physical and intellectual violence, conflict has lasting impacts on communities (DeGroot, 1996). Therefore, defining how ‘conflict’ is used throughout the thesis is imperative.

The Oxford English Dictionary (n.d.) defines conflict in a number of ways. The first is “an encounter with arms; a fight, battle” (‘Conflict’, 1.A.), the second as “The clashing or variance of opposed principles, statements, arguments, etc.” (‘Conflict’, 2.C.), and the third:

“The opposition, in an individual, of incompatible wishes or needs of approximately equal strength; also, the distressing emotional state resulting from such opposition. Also *attributive*” (‘Conflict’, 2.D.). It is possible to see the diversity of the concept of ‘conflict’ when viewing these three as a progression from the exterior, mixed exterior-interior, and internal conflicts.

This thesis uses the word conflict to understand a change in community, personal, and national life due to the First World War. Conflict is therefore defined as: **An unexpected and harsh active change in normalcy that directly affects the domestic, industrial, and intellectual areas of one’s life.**

2.2.3 Public Library Availability

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (n.d.) defines the word ‘availability’ as “The quality of being available or at one's disposal; ability to be used or obtained; suitability for a purpose or undertaking” (‘Availability’, 1). It adds that availability also means “The state or fact of a person being unoccupied; freedom to undertake or do something” (‘Availability’, 4). While both from the same source, these two definitions reference two integral sides to the idea of availability and the public library: the physical availability of public library services and the intellectual ability of the public library user.

The first of these definitions references availability as “the quality of being at one’s disposal to be used”, which, relating to this thesis, mirrors the availability of library services to the community. It is primarily understood as the hours of operation of the library, the location of branch services, and the establishment of mobile services such as travelling and delivery station libraries (see 5.3.1). These elements all had necessary consequences in promoting and encouraging the physical availability of libraries to community users as they provided library provision through mobile book stocks and pre-ordered items delivered to local community locations (Black, 1996; Evans, Sturges, and Library Association, 1996; Kelly, 1977).

The second definition speaks to the personal availability to frequent the public library. The most significant part of this definition comes at the end when it illustrates availability as the “freedom to undertake or do something.” The freedom associated with this definition mirrors the mental or intellectual freedom required to embrace the public library establishment’s services (Hayes and Morris, 2005; Snape, 1995).

Overall, this thesis uses the term availability to mean **the physical and mental accessibility of the public library patron to access public library spaces.**

2.2.4 Public Library Use

The relationship between use and public libraries spans the entirety of the history of public libraries in England (Black, 1996; Black, 2000; Kelly, 1977; McMenemy, 2009; Ogle, 1897; Pateman, 2005; Peatling and Baggs, 2004; Sturges, 2006; Sykes, 1979).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (n.d.) defines ‘use’ in many ways. An amalgamation of definitions understands use as “... utilisation or appropriation, esp. in order to achieve an end or pursue one's purpose” (‘Use’, 1. A), “the capacity to use some mental or physical faculty; the ability to use or exercise some member of the body” (‘Use’, 1. B), “Customary practice, habit, or procedure on the part of a group of persons, country, or institution” (‘Use’, 7. D), “Repeated exercise, employment, application, etc., leading to familiarity with or capability in something; habituation, practice” (‘Use’, 8), and “Knowledge or understanding gained from practical experience” (‘Use’, 11).

While the above definitions are more clinical and distance ‘use’ from a direct link to the public library, combining the above definitions with elements of the public library allows for creating a definition that establishes a link between ‘use’ and public libraries. This thesis understands ‘use’ as **the mental and physical experience (or practice) of frequenting the free public library. Engaging with services provided at or by the Free Public Library.**

2.2.5 Public Library Architecture

The above definitions of ‘availability’ and ‘use’ focused on the mental and physical elements of their respective definitions. Following this pattern, multiple definitions of ‘architecture’ focus on intellectual and physical elements associated with buildings.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (n.d.) defines ‘architecture’ as “The art or science of building or constructing edifices of any kind for human use” (‘Architecture’, 1) and “The special method or ‘style’ in accordance with which the details of the structure and ornamentation of a building are arranged.” (‘Architecture’, 4). While these two definitions focus on architecture as an ideology rather than the physical space, the following definitions add the idea of the

physical into the broad definition of architecture. It adds that ‘architecture’ includes the “Linear distance; interval between two or more points, objects, etc.” (‘Architecture’, 6) and the “Extent or area sufficient for a purpose, action, etc.; room to contain or do something (‘Architecture’, 6. B).

Combining the above definitions into a focused perspective on the relationship between ‘architecture’ and public libraries allows for a definition spanning the intellectual and physical. ‘Architecture’ in terms of this thesis is defined as **the physical Free Public Library location used by patrons, which integrates building elements and atmosphere to enhance the personal experiences in the Free Public Library.**

2.2.6 Public Library and Self

A number of academic and encyclopaedic sources influenced the definition of self. These sources further help to build an understanding of interactions between the self and the public library. For example, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (n.d.) defines the self as “uses indicating identity.” (‘Self’, B.1) More directly in relation to this thesis, the OED defines the self as:

...indicating emphatically that the reference is to the person or thing mentioned and not, or not merely, to some other (‘Self’, 1).

And secondly as

A person's or thing's individuality or essence at a particular time or in a particular aspect or relation; a person's nature, character, or (occasionally) physical constitution or appearance, considered as different at different times (‘Self’, 3. B).

These last two definitions highlight the individuality of the self, recognising that internal personality directly interacts with creating a unique self rather than conformity in physical and material characteristics. Combining this definition with the understanding of the public library, the idea of ‘the self’ becomes an inherently personal creation that only each patron genuinely understands. However, for a foundational definition, this thesis understands the self as **a personal creation of one’s own identity through self-knowledge and individualistic choices.**

2.3 Review of the Literature via Hierarchical Themes

Research focusing on library history steadily emphasises the importance of incorporating historical and modern literature and notes how such importance helps develop a concise history of the English public library movement (Black, 1995; Sykes, 1979; Evans, 1996; Usherwood, 1996). Past and present sources present a detailed historiography of the public library in the United Kingdom. This historiography includes critical academic literature and primary source archival material dating from the establishment of Mechanics' Institute Libraries in the early 1800s to the public libraries of the early twentieth century (Armstrong, 2003; Kelly, 1977; Peatling, 2004).

While historical and contemporary scholars have written histories and crafted arguments surrounding national accounts of public library provision, Black (2000b) argues that to fully understand the complete history of English public libraries, you must understand the different councils and their individual histories. By creating a regional context for public library provision, as emphasised by Black (2000b), in conjunction with the themes explored below, this research creates a richer understanding of the relationship between public libraries, patrons, and intellectual sanctuaries in Yorkshire. The sections below help establish and relate the themes highlighted in Figure 2.1 to the literature. Not only does this place their context within the larger scope of public library history, but it also corroborates the claim that these themes are not new within public library history but have been present since the beginning of library provision.

2.3.1 Historical Background to the Literature: Government Foundations

The literature argues that to understand history fully, one must understand the politics behind that history (Black, 1996). Often, this includes “many different political systems.” (Usherwood, 1996, p.189). The public library has a long and complicated relationship with the influence of government interests, beginning well before the Public Library Act of 1850 was passed and implemented nationwide. Influenced by Victorian morality endeavours of the time, English public library pioneers set to establish free public libraries under the impression that such establishments would help maintain the social order of the time, promoting both the importance of class stability and the moral influence on the working populations projected by middle-class ‘benevolence’ (Hamby, 1999; Max, 1984).

Government influence on the national level differed from influence on the local level, for on the national level, public library pioneers focused on the potential for social influence from public library provision. At the same time, regional politicians saw public library provisions as additional financial hurdles (Evans, 1998; Kelly, 1977). Black (1996b) argues that the influence of the government was not met with positive support from the people of England. This included many communities believing public library leaders needed to listen to the voice of the people. Magazine and periodical publications of the day often voiced concerns over national library provision and regional library provision (Animus Against Free Libraries, 1897).

The discussion surrounding the Public Library Act of 1850, sponsored by early library pioneers William Ewart and Edward Edwards (a Chartist sympathiser), saw many debates divide the major political parties of the day for politicians from both the Tory and Liberal parties were initially against Ewart and Edwards' 1850 bill. Although the disapproval was based on different faults of the bill, it nevertheless fuelled a tense dichotomy between the two leading political parties in the country. Max (1984) argues that it was not just the Tories who opposed aspects of the bill but that the Liberals opposed the local governments claiming control over funding (Max, 1984). The duelling nature of government provision continued well past the implementation of the Public Library Act of 1850. Eventually, between 1853 and 1919, nineteen further pieces of legislation regarding public library provision were passed (Public Library Act 1850 (UK)).

2.3.2 Intellectual Sanctuary and Public Libraries (Hierarchy Point A)

The overarching theme of this thesis is the interrelationship between the concept of intellectual sanctuary and the public library. At the highest point in the hierarchy of themes listed above (**Figure 2.1**), the idea of public libraries as places of sanctuary is visible in both historical and modern literature.

Historically, some contemporary literature promoted the public library as a place to hide from the world's dangers domestically and internationally. For example, Lubbock (1891) focuses on the library as “a true fairyland, a very place of delight, a haven of repose from the storms and troubles of the world” (p. 66), while Jeavons (1883) accounts for the public library as “an unexceptionable refuge from the strife and dangers of life” (p. 31). These historical accounts emphasise that public libraries as places of ‘refuge’ and ‘safety’ is not simply a modern idea;

it further solidifies the idea of libraries as places of sanctuary spanning the entirety of public library provision in England.

More recently, research has focused on authors with a relationship surrounding sanctuary and public libraries with a faith underpinning. For example, Cart (1992) explores the library as a sanctuary from both a patron and an employee perspective. Essentially, Cart explains that the library creates a commonality amongst all users. It provides a level playing field where the patron is responsible for using the library as they need. He also says an inevitable parallel between the church and libraries creates “places of peace and celebration of the spirit and the intellect...” (p.7). Schultz (2020) furthers this idea and rightly associates the library with a religious sanctuary. While she explicitly uses faith-based associations, the overall message focuses on the library as a place of refuge and where a population can find a ‘safe place’ for knowledge and personal growth.

The breadth of literature from the 1850s to the present day that uses the word ‘sanctuary’ directly to describe the public library is relatively small. However, there are instances when authors use other terms to describe the public library as a place of safety (Burchell, 2018; Cart, 1992; Isaacson, 2004; Schultz, 2020). Brewster (2014), while not explicitly calling public libraries places of sanctuary, references them as a ‘therapeutic landscape’ and emphasises the importance of public libraries within the scope of mental health. Others reference public libraries as places of refuge, often citing libraries as places where one feels a sense of belonging and where one’s needs could be met (Bateman-Whitson, 2011; Farrelly, 2009; Kimball, 2007). Except for a number of published materials looking at school libraries as places of sanctuary, there is a significant gap in literature paralleling libraries as places of civic sanctuary, specifically within England, and almost non-existent within the context of Yorkshire (Chapman, 2019; Evarts, 2006; Gabaldón, 2020; Lambert, 2004; Wallace, 2020).

As noted above, there is a small precedent relating sanctuary to libraries. While there is evidence in the literature paralleling the public library as a place of sanctuary, the term ‘intellectual sanctuary’ is rarely published. Isaacson (2004) writes the most directly about intellectual sanctuary in his article from *American Libraries*. He writes

Within the privileged, quasi-sacred space of a library, users and the library staff who serve them have traditionally felt free to think,

imagine, question, dream, and debate to their minds' as well as their hearts' content (p. 27).

While limited literature explicitly references intellectual sanctuary, authors have explored the intellectual foundations of the public library. Robson (1976) focuses on the intellectual backbone that supported the creation of the English public library, emphasising that to view the historical public library as a place for all, historians must understand the intellectual reasoning behind the creation of such civic places. Black (1996a) uses the word 'Intellectual' in his text *A New History of the English Public Library: Social and Intellectual Contexts, 1850-1914*, emphasising the importance of intellect within the public library.

Overall, the scope of the literature explored above exhibits the idea that sanctuary and public libraries have been connected since the beginning of the Public Library movement in 1850. While intellectual sanctuary is not explicitly defined in most cases, there are points in the literature that focus on different elements that, when combined, help to establish the overall idea of intellectual sanctuary. Stages 1, 2, 3, and 4 take this further, breaking down the four main thematic stages of this research and relating them to the overarching idea of the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary.

2.3.3 Conflict and English Public Libraries: The First World War (Hierarchy Point B)

Vincent (2015) eloquently explains that “as physical and digital spaces, they can provide shelter, infrastructure, security and connectivity during periods of crisis. They can also play a significant symbolic role as places of hope, reconciliation, safety and privacy” (p.1). While Vincent (2015) writes from a more modern perspective, it remains relevant to the historic public library. The idea surrounding the library as a place of hope, safety, and privacy directly translates to the library during the First World War. The First World War was the most significant national conflict the public libraries of England had seen since the passage of the Public Library Act of 1850. The literature heavily discusses how the public libraries reacted to the conflict and the ways in which the libraries aided the community during the war (Black, 1996a; Black, 2000; Ellis, 1987; Jast, 1915; Kelly, 1977; Pacy, 1926). The literature surrounding the First World War engages with the idea that the public library provided services unparalleled in other parts of the community.

Historically, primary sources engaged with the conflict through newspaper articles and addresses to community and professional groups. One of the most important addresses amid the conflict was Jast's 1915 speech to the 34th Annual Meeting of the Library Association. In the speech, Jast (1915) directly engages with the First World War by arguing the idea that a public library is a place that "provides avenues of escape from too much thinking about the war..." (p. 3) as well as a place that can help the people of England "help us fight Intellectual Germany and Material Germany...by providing literature which will enable people to understand the causes, meaning, and values..." (p. 1). Newspapers also reported on the relationship between public libraries and the First World War.

Literature written after the First World War also heavily engages with public libraries and their relationship within the community. Beginning just after the conflict, Pacy (1926), in addition to giving an account of public library history in England up until the late 1920s, argues that "from its [the Great War] grievous effects, the libraries of this country have not yet recovered. The altered economic conditions will deeply affect them for many years (p.222)". Ellis (1987), although writing from the 1980s, focuses his work on 1914-1919, defining the War years as "years of crisis." It was not only because of the First World War but also because these years signified trouble for English public library provision. He emphasises that during the First World War, the "library service virtually collapsed owing to the combination of an inflexible limitation on the amount of local taxes available to libraries and an inexorable inflationary spiral" (p.1).

While there are critics within the literature surrounding the First World War and the public library, there are also arguments that view the positive gains for the library as a result of the conflict. For example, Evans and Sturges (1996) emphasise the importance of the First World War in relation to the library as a source of information. They argue that the First World War ultimately increased the need for proper and efficient information services, referencing the history of libraries and the distribution of military pamphlets and other sources of information regarding the conflict. Black (2007) furthers the understanding of libraries and information between 1914 and 1918, noting the importance of the First World War and its effects on establishing public technical libraries during and after the conflict.

The overarching theme of conflict is an integral part of the literature within the larger scope of English public library history. Further literature that ties directly to the findings stages is included in each findings section.

2.3.4 Libraries and the Local Working-Age Population (Hierarchy Point C)

Of all the amusements which can possibly be imagined for a hard-working man after his daily toil, or in its intervals, there is nothing like reading an entertaining book. It calls for no bodily exertion, of which he has had enough or too much. It relieves his home of its dullness and sameness, which, in nine cases out of ten, is what drives him to the alehouse, to his own ruin and to that of his family...A feeling of common interest and pleasure is excited (Greenwood, 1894, p.59).

As illustrated in the above quotation from Greenwood in 1894, the working-age population and public libraries have remained closely intertwined since the beginning debates of the Public Library Act of 1850 (Black, 2000; Greenwood, 1894). As seen in the above quote by Greenwood (1894), it was believed that the toils of man could be erased by using the public library. Supporters often focused on the ‘good’ that would benefit the working-age community, specifically those who found solace in other less-academic recreational activities (Hayes and Morris, 2005). Supporters such as Edward Edwards (1812-1886) suggested that the public library

must offer to all men, not only the practical science, the temporary excitements, and the prevalent opinions of the passing day, but the wisdom of preceding generations, the treasures of a remote antiquity, the hopes and the evidence of a world to come (Minto, 1932, pp.102-3).

In opposition, Murison, a county librarian in Yorkshire, criticised the intention of the libraries, citing public libraries ‘as a counter-agent to evils rather than as a positive force for educational or recreational benefit (Max, 1984, p.504). Debates spanning over 100 years about whether the promotion of public libraries in England as a place of recreation remained in library debates (Greenwood, 1894; Marshall, 1969). However, within different eras comes literary commentary influenced by current events. This is no exception when looking at literature surrounding the local working-age population and public libraries.

Literature focusing on the local working-age population is more prevalent when researching the Second World War. Sources surrounding the local working-age population’s use of public

libraries during the First World War are less abundant. Pateman (2005) projects the most concise and detailed account of the working-age population's use of public libraries from between the mid-nineteenth century through to the Second World War, explaining that "public libraries were used extensively by some sections of the working class (autodidacts) but that public library use by working-class people was never a mass activity" (Pateman, 2005, p. 189).

Black (2000) corroborates parts of Pateman's arguments but suggests that while it may be easy to view the working age's relationship to the public library as one controlled by the middle class and those fighting for the widespread accommodation of public libraries, any study of class and public libraries should proceed with caution. He states,

Whereas working-class ambitions might have in the past been constrained, it is difficult to argue that they have been unequivocally controlled. Thus, the history of class relations in the arena of the public library should ideally be analysed with this qualification in mind (Black, 2000, p.6).

Additional authors utilise the idea of the local working-age population and libraries to promote the correlation between class and literacy. Historically, increasing literacy within the local working-age population has been an important topic surrounding public library provision (Morris and Hayes, 2005). Sturges (2006) argued that literacy was one of the essential factors in establishing public library provisions and that public library promoters emphasised this increase in their proposal for public library provision. As the working population grew, so did their access to education and thus to a gradually heightened rate of literacy (Black, 1996). Kelly (1966) argues that this increase in literacy would promote the library as a place where all walks of life could congregate and utilise the public library's services.

Promoting literacy brought in local working-age patrons and appeased the middle class's worries about working-class immorality (Altick, 1957). Jenkinson (1999) emphasises that this argument went beyond the secular. She illustrates that in 1881, the Archbishop of York once promoted that it was the moral duty of the middle class to help the lower class understand the reading material available to them and to help them achieve the literacy they may not possess. Ultimately, nineteenth-century public library leaders believed that if

importance was placed on literacy, then a culturally enlightened and moral working population would be created (Jenkinson, 1999).

The literature above shows that the relationship between the local working-age population and English public libraries continues throughout the historical record. Whereas some contributions to English public library history emphasises the significance of the local working-age population and their investment in the public library, others fail to do so. The following four sections, each focusing on one specific theme, will ultimately help establish a more robust account of the local working-age population and public libraries in the First World War.

2.3.5 Availability of Public Libraries (Stage 1)

The physical availability of the public library, especially to those patrons who did not have access to a personal collection of books, was an integral component of the debates surrounding library provision (Kelly, 1977). When considering the location of the working population's housing and employment, the physical location of public libraries greatly influenced the overall availability of public libraries (Black, 2000b). An essential argument of the public library leaders at the turn of the century was the push to make sure "no reader should be obliged to go much more than three-quarters of a mile to their public library" and that, ideally, there should be a public library branch "for every 25,000-30,000 people" (Kelly, 1977, p. 173).

Just as the location of the public library was an integral component of the overall availability of libraries, so were the hours of operation for such establishments. While all library services held different hours, overall, hours were necessary to allow the local working-age population to use the establishment after work (Ogle, 1897; *City Libraries of Sheffield*, 1956). McColvin (1956) notes that "people who can adopt such hours cannot have much conception of the true functions of a public library" (p.123). While McColvin is speaking about a report on French library hours, this sentiment reverberates back to England, noting that those working extended hours as a result of the First World War depended on libraries staying open later rather than closing before the end of the work day.

The above focus on the availability of public libraries through the hours of operation also relates to leisure. For example, Usherwood (1977) provides a unique breakdown of the role of

leisure in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He argues that there are five elements that the working population take part in daily. These include employment, work-related activities, activities that promote physiological needs, non-work obligations, and leisure. He further defines the concept of leisure as the choice to decide one's activities.

Morris and Hayes (2005) corroborate Usherwood's understanding of leisure by discussing the relationship between leisure, the patron, and the public library. They note the influence personal choice had on public library patrons, emphasising that choosing how to spend free time was integral to the local working-age population. However, this notion did not always translate into the world outside the library. Morris and Hayes (2005) argue that the public library not only encouraged the local working-age population to partake in leisurely activities but also encouraged those working in mills and factories to seek entertainment in locations where knowledge was free and where one could spend their time away from daily life. Kelly (1977) furthers this by stating that this allowed the working class a safe place where "working people (and middle-class people) desired to be entertained after the day's labours rather than instructed" (p. 85). This idea would be further reinforced after 1914 when many libraries began implementing an open-access system (Kelly, 1977). This new method of unrestricted texts encouraged the idea of the public library as a leisure place due to the patron's ability to access texts as, when, and where they pleased (Baggs, 2005; Pateman, 2005).

2.3.6 Use of Public Libraries (Stage 2)

Early commentary on public library use began before the passage of the Public Library Act of 1850 (Greenwood, 1894; Harwood, 1906; Jast, 1915; Pacy, 1926). Primary source periodicals and journals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often included arguments from the public and members of parliament that both praised and criticised the diversity of communities using public libraries (Free Libraries, 1875; Lubbock, 1891; Leigh, 1906; Max, 1984). Lubbock (1891) articulates this when he emphasises that the use of the public library should not discriminate against the economic background or social standing and that "all are welcome in the house of knowledge" of the free library (p. 60).

While the purpose of the public library has been hotly debated since the first Public Library Act in 1850, a constant agreement is that the public library's historical and modern purpose "exists around providing services to users" (McMenemy, 2009, p.182). Sykes (1979)

emphasises that a complete history will never be possible unless historians and academics focus on the many different ‘publics’ the early public library served. Understanding the many ‘publics’ of the public library, whether it be professionals, students, the rich, or the poor, is an essential aspect of public library scholarship, for it leads academics and historians to understand the public library's impact on users’ communities (Sykes, 1979).

Often causing tension between users and the library establishment, gender has been an ever-present theme throughout the historical account of the English public library (Kelly, 1977). Munford (1950) argues that domestic responsibilities, literacy, and education fuelled the predominantly male library leadership to promote the exclusion of female users from certain library facilities. More often than not, as Moore (1993) argues, the public libraries throughout England provided separate reading rooms and access points for women and, in some cases, established a protocol to prevent the mingling of sexes as a way to “protect women from undesirables” (p. 191). In what was a male-dominated establishment, both in employment and use, it has been argued by Coleman (2004) that the political and social views on women in the nineteenth-century hurt female representation in public libraries. Kelly (1977) addresses this and further emphasises that the increased employment of women, primarily after the turn of the twentieth century, prompted women to begin to use the library in the same capacity as male patrons. He states that, along with providing further educational opportunities for women, “this must have helped overcome the initial timidity of women readers” (p. 191).

2.3.7 Architecture of Public Libraries (Stage 3)

As seen above with the early texts based on availability and use, literature highlighting library architecture has remained an important aspect of library commentary (Black, 2000b; Black et al., 2009; Kelly, 1977; Ogle, 1887; Pepper, 2006). Such commentary emphasises the importance of public library architecture and architecture in general, noting the intertwining nature of personal experience and architecture. Ruskin (1849) demonstrates the perceived importance of architecture in the 19th century, emphasising the possibilities of personal experience within such buildings. He writes

Architecture was the ‘art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man...that the sight of them’ contributes ‘to his mental health, power, and pleasure’, which proposes aesthetic, beneficial,

and spiritual aspects rather than a utilitarian or Functionalist agenda (p 15).

Historical and modern literature stresses that the architecture of public libraries produced “the idea that the concepts of wisdom and knowledge became an almost tangible mass, greater than the sum of their arts” (English Heritage, 2014, p. 5). Such ideas fostered a new outlook from the public on how the public library could be used for individual needs (Black, 2006; Pepper, 2006; Prizeman, 2012).

Cahill (2009) further encourages the idea surrounding libraries as a place for personal experience by noting that just as one would interact with a church, museum, and other spaces of enlightenment, one must interact with a public library to understand the meaning of a library by connecting with its architecture. Primary source authors such as Cowell (1893) and Jast (1915) state that the structure of a popular library lies within its ability to provide a quiet, well-stocked, and centrally located library to library patrons. This idea is corroborated by Pepper (2006) when he gives an account of the architectural history of public libraries. He emphasises how

philanthropists, social reformers, librarians and their architects imagined library buildings as secular cathedrals, storehouses of knowledge, or lighthouses to learning – all phrases well used in opening ceremonies – which endowed them with significance that went well beyond the efficient storage of books and the provision of controlled surroundings for different kinds of improving reading (p. 585)

Furthering the idea that architecture was, and remains, critical to the development and functionality of the public library, authors such as Greenwood (1892), Pepper (2006), Ogle (1887), Kelly (1977), Black (2000b), and Prizeman (2022) all highlight the importance of the library interior and the role it plays for the experience of the patron. Pepper (2006), Greenwood (1892), and Kelly (1977) take this further and describe that, while appearance and organisation varied from one public library service to another, there were elements included in all, establishing a known procedure and environment for comfortable use. The diversity and uniformity found in library services were integral to the impacts on services, attempting to establish a space where all could enjoy reading and choose their reading material (Jast, 1915; Whyte, 2011). Such architectural and environmental influences were

physical barriers that could pull the user away from the daily hardships they and their country faced (Jast, 1915).

2.3.8 The Self and Public Libraries (Stage 4)

Academics and historians alike have touched on the idea that the public library, at least in an idealistic world, is a place where the ‘self’ has the potential to be realised, cultivated, and challenged (Black, 1996a, 2000b; Greenwood, 1884; Kimball, 2007; Ogle, 1887). These ideas range from the self as an internal personal construct to an idea studied through more extensive scientific analysis. Ashmore (1997) describes two areas of the self: one as a subject and the other as an object. He further explains the duality of the self, noting that the individual and external sources can influence the creation of the self. It is possible to understand this duality through the public library.

Using the public library is an inherently personal experience, producing different emotions in everyone inside the establishment (Black, 2000a). At a time when conflict and societal norms controlled daily life, the public library in the early 20th century “encapsulates the aspirations of the modern self: a liberal desire for progress, self-realisation, social emancipation, freedom of thought, the questioning of ‘things established’ and, although respectful of tradition and history, for release from the chains of custom” (Black, 2000b, p. 169). Promoting the public library, specifically the early twentieth-century public library, as a place where the ‘self’ was found, created, and interpreted is a theme that library historians and academics discuss in their literature (Black, 2000b; Sykes, 1979; Cart, 1992).

Robson (1976) states that public libraries could provide “books available with facts, up to those accessing texts to interpret their understanding”, which in turn would help users “shape their own destinies.” (p. 198). While Robson (1976) focuses on this argument to all public library patrons, Marshall (1969) furthers this by promoting the importance of the ‘self’ for the working population. In a time when the industry was loud, dirty, and often all-encompassing, recreational reading [in the library] allowed those working in factories and workhouses to distance their minds from the toll of their everyday work. Effectively, patrons could control one aspect of their lives by frequenting the public library and ultimately defining their ‘self’ (Marshall, 1969).

To further this idea, Cart (1992) promotes that by creating self-identity in the public library, one creates a personal refuge, both in one's mind and in the library. He states, "In this increasingly fragmented, factionalised, fractionalised and decaying society of ours, the library is...one centre which can hold" (p. 22). Much like Cart (1992), Howley (2018) looks at the personal relationship between the patron and the institution of the public library. He describes the library's role in growing and managing an intrapersonal relationship between the patron and the library, writing that the public library "Helps (s) us have the tools to grow our interior lives so they can be part of something bigger. Libraries are the living, breathing toolkits for one of the most basic human instincts: understanding the self" (p.14). He goes on to emphasise the establishment of the library as a way to explore and establish a connection to one's own 'self'.

Black (2000b) follows Howley's depiction of the library as "something bigger" and integrates the importance of the library by reiterating "The public library and self have always been intimately related...Libraries have often been considered sacred places, worship sites in the name of modernity and self." In his text he looks at the state of the public library in Britain between the start of the First World War and the turning of the millennium, focusing on the relationship between society, patron, and public library. However, Black goes further than Howley (2018) by explaining the nature of the self relating to the library. As highlighted in the quote on page 46, Black (2000) draws out essential ideas of what constitutes the self and why it is, and was, important to emphasise cultivating awareness of the self.

The public library's decisions, environment, and regulations inevitably influence an idea of the self. Although not directly related to the idea of the public library during the First World War, Ashmore's (1997) thoughts on the self help to understand the complexity surrounding the concept of the 'self'. While it is not possible to fully consider every philosophical and academic definition of 'self' in this project, using the definitions from Ashmore (1997) gives this thesis a breadth of foundational definitions, which allow for a more critical understanding of this thesis's use of the word 'self'—viewing the self as a means to look within oneself without exterior influences and as a way to see oneself as both an object and a subject. Howley (2018) sums up the importance by stating that the public library "helps us have the tools to grow our interior lives so they can be part of something bigger. Libraries are the living, breathing toolkits for one of the most basic human instincts: understanding the self" (p. 16).

2.4 Key Gaps in the Literature: Intellectual Sanctuary

The literature review has identified a lack of discussion regarding libraries as a place of intellectual sanctuary. The four research stages (Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8) seek to provide essential additions to the current gaps in the academic literature by focusing on the effects of public libraries on users. As noted earlier, they specifically investigate the themes of availability, use, architecture, and self, ultimately investigating if elements of the public library encourage the creation of an intellectual sanctuary. Each research stage seeks to understand if public libraries were critical to the local working-age population in times of unexpected conflict during the early 20th century.

As a result of a thorough literature review, it can be concluded that there is a significant gap in library history explicitly relating to the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary. Key scholars in public library history, such as Kelly (1977), Black (1996; 2000), and Ogle (1887), promote themes such as use, availability, architecture, and self in their respective texts but do not specifically focus on the nature of refuge within library provision. Under this umbrella of key texts in English public library history, only Black (1996; 2000) explicitly uses the term intellectual in reference to the public library. Unlike the scholarship of Kelly (1977) and Ogle (1887), his scholarship focuses on the intellectual nature of public libraries (Black, 1996a). However, it does not go as far as to categorise them as places of intellectual sanctuary.

While scholarship surrounding national public library provision has continuously been published since the passing of the Public Library Act of 1850, there remains a gap in the literature regarding the local working-age population's experience in public libraries during the First World War. Literature has been written highlighting the public library and its relationship with local working-age population. However, it is general in its scope and often refers back to the Mechanic's Institute, a library service implemented before the passage of the Public Library Act of 1850 (Hemming, 1977). The critical foundations of the mechanical and technical libraries of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century public libraries address the historical beginnings of improved intellectual opportunities granted to the citizens of the United Kingdom (Walker 2013; Walker 2016). Additionally, regional publications detail accounts of public library provision within specific localities (Curzon, 1898). For example, *City Libraries of Sheffield: 1856-1956* (1956) documents one hundred years of public library provision for Sheffield. While this text is beneficial in understanding

the broader scope of Sheffield's relationship with the public library, it does not provide detailed information or analysis of the working class or the idea of intellectual sanctuary.

2.5 Chapter Summary: Originality of Study and Implications of the Literature

The review of the literature has surveyed academic, professional, historical, and contemporary literature regarding the overall idea of Yorkshire public libraries as an intellectual sanctuary during the First World War. While it is relatively easy to identify literature on individual themes, such as First World War Yorkshire public libraries and the local working-age population, more is needed to tie these themes together.

Today, it is not unusual for communities to promote their public library as a place of tolerance, neutrality, and equal access for all, where the most vulnerable find refuge and where literature and leisure intertwine. In the eyes of the community, these public establishments act as neighbourhood hubs, providing necessary services to all who seek assistance (Hayes and Morris, 2005; Vincent, 2020; Vincent, 2022). However, as a result of recent UK government actions such as the austerity measures introduced in 2010, public libraries are often the first places to be affected by strict economic measures, thus creating public establishments that can only partially fulfil their community-focused ideology (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2018). The 1964 Public Libraries Act clearly states that it is the right of the people to have access to “comprehensive and efficient” library provisions (Public Libraries and Museums Act, 1964). Whether or not the current provision meets this statement is not within this project's scope. However, it is possible that modern library-focused organisations proactively work towards such a declaration.

Organisations such as CILIP (Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals) fight for the right of all citizens to have equal access to public libraries regardless of income, race, ability, and nationality (CILIP Royal Charter, 1986). The City of Sanctuary organisation, specifically their Libraries of Sanctuary initiative, works to establish libraries as places of physical refuge for those seeking asylum in England. The City of Sanctuary's vision is to see the UK “as a welcoming place of safety for all...proud to offer sanctuary to people fleeing violence and persecution.” This organisation seeks to spread its mission among public services, including but not limited to museums, gardens, universities, and libraries. It is the goal of the City of Sanctuary organisation to “create a wider sanctuary movement” (City of Sanctuary Charter, 2017).

The City of Sanctuary and the Libraries of Sanctuary initiative remain integral to the effort to keep the public library available to all. As stated in their resource pack, the Libraries of Sanctuary initiative seeks to “recognise the good practice of libraries which welcome people seeking sanctuary and other new arrivals into their community and seek to foster a culture of welcome and inclusivity” (Libraries of Sanctuary, 2020, p.1). The idea of inclusivity, however, is not a new revelation to the public library movement. Historically, ideas of inclusivity, neutrality, and tolerance were deeply social, philosophical concepts that had significant foundational implications for the public library (Altic, 1957; Black, 1996; Kelly, 1977). The notion of the library as a foundational element of civic and social structure that maintains and improves Victorian social conventions led to the early public library movement in England. These pedestals upon which early library pioneers William Ewart and Edward Edwards placed messages of hope, moral improvement, and increased education provided momentum in gaining the public’s interest in library provision (Kelly, 1966; Black, 1996).

Exploring the historical beginnings of the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary within the context of the First World War aims to investigate the relationship between the local working-age population and how elements of use, availability, architecture, and the creation of self encourage the public library as an intellectual sanctuary. This research also aims to build significant connections between Intellectual Sanctuary and Public Libraries (**A**), Conflict and English Public Libraries: The First World War (**B**), Yorkshire Public Libraries and the Working Class during the First World War (**C**), and Yorkshire Public Library and the Working Class (**D**). These connections will help build a more robust understanding of the relationship between intellectual sanctuary and public library patrons.

Through the triangulation of these themes in conjunction with the Adapted Framework (see **3.4**), the outcome of this research will construct insight into the relationship between such themes, supporting the idea of the library as a place of intellectual sanctuary. This thesis will ultimately add an original historical element to the already present discussion surrounding public libraries and sanctuaries, bridging the gap between the past and present to look to the future of public library provision.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Archival and Historical Research

Archival-focused historical research shifts away from non-archival based study of the past into a fact-finding investigative practice. As Elton (2002) emphasises, history is “not the study of the past, but the study of the present traces of the past” (p.11). Instead of focusing on interpreting historical events, archival-focused historical analysis utilises primary source documentation and artefacts to understand further how society interacts with history (Gilliland, 2018). By implementing an intentional and replicable archival process, it is possible to more robustly appreciate the socio-historical events of the past, which in turn helps society interact with the present and anticipate the future (Hill, 1993).

3.1.1 Definitions in Archival Research

There are many archival standards and principles commonly practised by archivists, and it is essential to understand that practices and methods of conducting archival work also vary across countries, cities, and types of repositories (De Pasquale, 2019; deMarrais, 2021; Gomes, 2021; Schmidt, 2011). It is important to define and acknowledge key terms, processes, and standards to fully understand their impact on the research as a whole. Establishing an introductory and foundational understanding of archival research and practices allows for concrete definitions of practices and for the broader archival community to understand where this research fits into the archival paradigm (Gilliland, 2018).

As noted above, the term archive encompasses many iterations, each with a specific area of focus. An archive is not one singular entity. It encompasses many variables, including, but not limited to, who owns the archive, who donates to the archive, the aim of the archive, whether it is public or private, and the collection development process (Schmidt, 2011). In order to encompass an international understanding of the term ‘archive’, I utilise the International Council on Archives (ICA) definition for this study. The ICA defines an archive as:

...the documentary by-product of human activity retained for their long-term value. They are contemporary records created by individuals and organisations as they go about their business and therefore provide a direct window on past events. They can come in a wide range of formats including written, photographic, moving image, sound, digital and analogue. Archives are held

by public and private institutions and individuals around the world (ICA, 2016).

To further this explanation of archives, Gilliland (2018) highlights the social context or the ‘archival paradigm’, of an archive as

...the organisational and individual functions, processes, and contexts through which records and knowledge are created and preserved as well as the ways in which records individually and collectively reflect those functions, processes, and contexts in and over time (p.43).

The ICA’s (2016) explanation of an archive demonstrates the complexity surrounding archival repositories while highlighting the multi-faceted nature of archival research. This definition and Gilliland’s (2018) exploration of the ‘archive paradigm’ have set a firm foundation for what this study considers an archive. While the ICA (2016) definition establishes an international perspective, Gilliland (2018) provides a more subjective definition of an archive, promoting the current and historical relationships between the researcher, document, and society. The relationships between international and societal archives and archives use are further explored in Stages 1, 2, 3, and 4 and utilised throughout the thesis.

The following definitions from the Society of American Archivists (2021) have been adopted to understand further the terms used in the remainder of this thesis. They are as follows:

- **Collection:** a set of archival or (more commonly) manuscript materials.
- **Description:** a data set crafted to identify and represent an archival resource or component thereof.
- **Document:** Any written or printed work; a writing.
- **Original Order:** the organisation and sequence of records established by the creator of the records.
- **Record:** information or data stored on a medium and used as an extension of human memory or to support accountability.
- **Repository:** an institution focused on the care and storage of items of continuing value, particularly records.
- **Respect de Fonds:** the principle of maintaining records according to their origin and in the units in which they were originally accumulated.

Further information and definitions of archival terms can be found in the Society of American Archivists *Dictionary of Archives Terminology* (2021).

3.1.2 International Archival Standards

To bridge the gap between the historical nature of the research and modern application, in addition to understanding the current expectations of archival work, it is essential to include definitions and descriptions for international archival standards used in this thesis. To maintain accountability for the research undertaken in this thesis, international standards such as the International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons, and Families (**ISAAR CPF**) issued by the International Council on Archives (2000), and the International Standard for Describing Institutions with Archival Holdings (**ISDIAH**) published by the International Council on Archives (2008), provided concrete description parameters through which to maintain the integrity of archival research. In addition to the ISAAR CPF, implementing additional descriptive standards such as Describing Archives: A Content Standard (**DACS**)(2019) and Rules for Archival Description (**RAD**)(2008) provided a foundation for the accumulation of information to be gathered, investigated, organised, and described. Basic definitions of the above standards are found below:

- **ISAAR CPF**: guidance for preparing archival authority records which provide descriptions of entities (corporate bodies, persons and families) associated with creating and maintaining archives.
- **ISDIAH**: the provision of practical guidance on identifying and contacting institutions with archival holdings and accessing holdings and available services.
- **DACS**: used to create a variety of archival descriptions, including finding aids and catalogue records.
- **RAD**: To provide access to archival material through retrievable descriptions; To promote understanding of archival material by documenting its content, context and structure; and To establish grounds for presuming the authenticity of archival material by documenting its chain of custody, arrangement, and circumstances of creation and use.

This thesis applies the above professional standards by incorporating archival nomenclature to field notes to maintain accuracy in documents, archives, and collection descriptions. In addition to the added efficiency of locating relevant archival collections, these description standards allowed for the efficient documentation, organisation, and filing of each item analysed at the field study locations. After completing the primary source field study research

(see 2.4), these standards allow for added digital accessibility of research notes, maintaining the integrity of the research, which is an essential part of the archival process (Craven, 2008). The International Council on Archives' mission corroborates the commitment of the international archival community to maintaining the integrity of human memory. It states

The mission of the International Council on Archives (ICA) is to promote the preservation and use of archives around the world. In pursuing this mission, ICA works for the protection and enhancement of the memory of the world and to improve communication while respecting cultural diversity (ICA, 2016).

Following and implementing international and national archival best practice guidelines encouraged personal and professional research accountability (National Archives, 2016). Applying and sustaining archival standards establishes accountability for the thesis and the historical stories, events, and past persons who no longer have a voice to use. Their voices and experiences must be respected and treated with respect throughout this thesis by adhering to such standards.

3.1.3 Research Ethics

The research has followed general best practices and repository-specific regulations by Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York library services. The ethical considerations of this work have also followed contemporary and historical legal permissions, copyright acknowledgements, and document consent. Recognising and implementing these ethical considerations within the scope of an archive allows the records, and those the record represents, to have a posthumous conversation with the researcher over the use of the documents (McKee and Porter, 2012). The ethical approach to the research has been informed by McKee and Porter's (2012) pyramidal model of the *Ethics of Archive Research*, as shown in Figure 3.1 below.

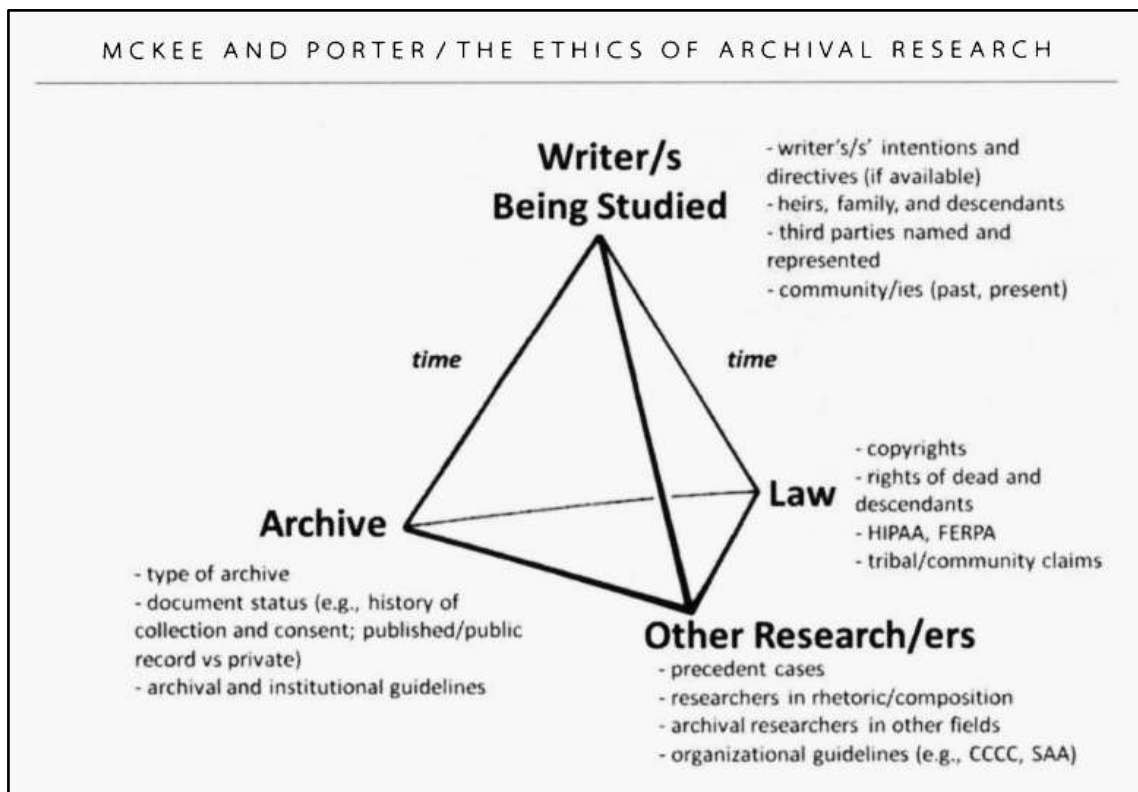


Figure 3.1. *The Ethics of Archival Research* by McKee and Porter (2012).

The model aims to ensure that each variable within archival work is accounted for and dealt with ethically. To achieve this, triangulations of the model were applied at each point in the research, noting ethical considerations based on historical information.

This study, focusing on the First World War, primarily utilises archival documentation between 1900 and 1920. In using archival documentation, it was imperative to follow the guidance of the UK's Freedom of Information Act 2000 to ensure that any information used as part of this project was fully available to be published. Maintaining the availability of records and documents until at least one hundred years after creation, otherwise understood as the official anticipated lifespan of those mentioned in the records, is an upheld standard applied to many archives in England.

In addition to their individual repository access policies, each library and archive accessed as part of this thesis integrates the Freedom of Information Act 2000 into its standard usage practices. However, there are exceptions. The most common exception is a mandatory thirty-year rule between creation and access for non-sensitive documents set out by the Public Records Act 1958. Again, as noted by McKee and Porter (2012), this and subsequent

exceptions allow for personal privacy to be maintained and for the veiling of sensitive topics relating to those involved with the document, both directly and indirectly.

Owing to this study's historical nature and use of documents outside the one-hundred-year rule (Freedom of Information Act, 2000), a formal ethics application was not required. However, while the research used in this thesis did not breach the rules for legal sensitivity, there remained a need for individual sensitivity. Kirsch, an interviewee for McKee and Porter's (2012) accompanying paper to Figure 2.1 above, emphasises this by saying

Understanding people in their context—or trying as best you can because, of course, you never can completely—is an important process and strategy for any era. It's harder to do the further back in time you go, but still it's very critical to represent people fairly, accurately, and ethically [...] You have that responsibility to represent them as complex human beings (interview) (McKee and Porter, 2012).

While the information in this research is available for public access in each field-study repository, it remained integral for the integrity of this thesis and the respect of document creators to cautiously determine the potential to undermine or jeopardise those involved with the archival records. This thesis aims to respect each writer, creator, and subject of the archival material used in the research. All documents incorporated into this thesis have been assessed and deemed appropriate for a work of historical significance by fairly, accurately, and ethically interpreting data, transcribing text, and analysing photographs and other paraphernalia.

Attention has also been given to personal ethics by following and adhering to policies that protect me as the researcher and the archives who have supported my research process. Such policies include adherence to COVID-related restrictions and policy changes, adapting to a change in working environments within each archive, and maintaining correspondence with archivists to pre-book time in the archive. The amalgamation of considerations based on individual archives, the law, historical creators of archival documentation, and personal archival practices, as triangulated visually in Figure 3.1, has established processes that consider all parties and potential sensitivities at the forefront of archival analysis.

In addition to the ethical considerations of McKee and Porter (2012), the University of Sheffield's *Research Ethics: General Principles and Statements* (v.7) and *Policy On Good Research And Innovation Practices* (2020) were utilised to ensure the research gleaned from fieldwork and readings was authentic and treated with integrity (see Appendix A for excerpts of policies related to this thesis). Ethical integrity was achieved by emailing archivists for appropriate document consulting access policies of each fieldwork location before conducting research, appreciating potential copyright infringements in each collection, recognising the potential sensitivities in each document, and maintaining the integrity of those mentioned in the research booking (see Appendix C for examples). A University of Sheffield Data Management Plan (DMP) was also completed, which emphasised the processes for physical/digital data collection, creation, use, and storing of information from the thesis. A copy of this document has been included in Appendix B.

3.2 Research Philosophy

This research integrates interpretivism and constructionist theoretical standpoints to bring a unique view of public library history. Defined by Lewis-Beck (2004), constructionist theory establishes the self as “actively engaged in the construction of his or her subjective world” (p.186). They emphasise that the interpretivism paradigm establishes a “nature of meaningful social action, its role in understanding patterns in social life, and how this meaning can be assessed” (Lewis-Beck, 2004, pp. 509-510). The definition used here for an interpretivist and constructivist philosophical standpoint mirrors the historical assumption that the free public library could not reach its potential without providing social action and resources to create a better life for those who used the establishment (Robson, 1976).

Understanding the historical establishment of the free public libraries through the lens of an interpretivist and constructivist philosophical standpoint allows historians and social scientists alike to begin understanding the multi-dimensional relationships between the actions of the free public library pioneers, the community they sought to influence, and the importance of ‘self’ in the building of the world around them (Pervin, 2022; Pickard, 2013; Williamson, 2002). Building this thesis on these theoretical standpoints, it is possible to “understand human behaviour rather than explaining behaviour”, thus providing an interpretive lens through which to view the discussion surrounding libraries, sanctuaries, and the patrons who used them (Bryman, 2016, p.26). This relationship between the availability of library tools and the personal experience of each library patron supports the use of the

constructivist/interpretivist philosophical standpoint this thesis adopts (Lewis-Beck, 2004; Bryman, 2016).

3.3 Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

Lewis-Beck's (2004) and Bryman's (2016) philosophical views combine qualitative and quantitative research methods to construct a multi-faceted exploration of the relationship between societal influences and personal experiences. This approach further allows the researcher to understand how communities used the free public library during the First World War (Lewis-Beck, 2004; Bryman, 2016). First, this study must define qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches it is taking for methods, for these definitions are not only the foundation upon which the body of this project is based but also work together to facilitate reliability and accuracy in this archival exploration of the public library (Hudson, 2000).

3.3.1 Defining Qualitative Methodological Approaches as Used in This Research

Numerous definitions surround the nature of qualitative research. From the conceptual to the concrete, definitions of qualitative methodological approaches give notice to the various methods researchers utilise when implementing qualitative research (Connaway and Powell, 2010; Travers, 2001). Authors such as Bryman and Burgess (1999) spotlight the conceptual interpretation of qualitative research, emphasising that qualitative data is not collected or generated but rather accounts of experiences by a participant. In contrast, other authors go beyond giving an abstract concept and concentrate on concrete methods (Miles et al., 2014; Thomas, 2006; Webb, 1966). For example, Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) set out a linear progression of appropriate research methods scholars can replicate to produce rigorous qualitative research. Such replicable research methods focus on “data in the form of words” based on “observations, interviews, documents, media, and artefacts” (Miles et al., 2014, p.7).

For this study, I have defined qualitative data as **any material not based on numerical value but rather materials with a narrative foundation**. This definition includes data sources such as personal memoirs, annual library reports, patron comments, patron letters, official library correspondence, newspaper entries, and architectural blueprints. These archival sources focus on personal experience rather than numeric figures. Utilising the sources

mentioned above allows for what Given (2012) explains as the way to fully begin to “identify, analyse, and understand patterned behaviours and social processes” (p.706).

3.3.2 Defining Quantitative Methodological Approaches

In the same light as qualitative methodological approaches, literature and methods focusing on quantitative methodological approaches span from broad conceptual definitions to narrower concrete examples. The difference, however, is that quantitative research focuses on quantifiable data, often numerical and collected or generated rather than observed (Bryman, 2004; Bryman and Burgess, 1999). While Bryman (2004) states that quantifiable data implements concrete data that helps to represent social events, Hudson (2000) goes further to explain that in utilising quantitative data, the researcher has a chance to numerically understand the patterns of experience which ultimately leads to “gaining a more representative and more accurate picture of general experiences” (p. 7).

For this study, I have defined quantitative data as **any material based on or including numeric or statistical data**. This definition includes data sources such as library usage statistics such as number of volumes issued, the number of tickets issued, and how many patrons entered and exited the building. It also encompasses data based on changes in hours of operation, changes in the number of days open per year, and financial records. As foils to the qualitative data sources above, the list of quantitative data sources focuses on numeric figures rather than personal experience.

3.3.3 Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Methodological Approaches

Recognising how these two types of data work together is essential to understanding the connection between historical studies and qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches (Gillham, 2000). While it is easy to separate the two methodological approaches and focus on the positives and negatives of using one or the other, combining them ultimately helps build a deeper understanding of any situation (McCulloch, 2004). Gillham (2000) emphasises that qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches can “add to the overall picture” of a phenomenon (p. 80). Gorman (2005) further explains that although qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches implement different collection and observation methods, “both qualitative and quantitative methods attempt to describe occurrences” (Gorman, 2005, p.10). The convergence of these two approaches allows

blending methods to arrive at conclusions that work together to marry qualitative and quantitative analysis (Gillham, 2000).

Hudson (2000) builds on the analysis of Gillham (2000) and Gorman (2005). He claims that when both qualitative and quantitative methods are used separately to build a historical narrative, there is a chance for the building of an “unreliable and unrepresentative” vision of the past. She further explains that both methods can help produce a “well-informed and well-reasoned historical record” (Hudson, 2000, p.16). Using qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches is a foundational strength of the research undertaken in this thesis, providing a structured way to view the historical narrative from multiple perspectives. This dual approach offers the potential for a deeper understanding of how the public used the historically free public library and if certain elements ultimately encouraged the public library to become an intellectual sanctuary.

3.3.4 Addressing Bias in the Research Process

One overarching concern throughout this project was the idea of bias and how it could emerge throughout the research process. While bias is never entirely avoidable, there are ways to address the prevalence and possibility of shifting data, preconceived ideas of the historical narrative, and influences from personal experiences (Bryman, 2004; Hudson, 2000; Miles et al., 2020; Wiegand, 2015b). In order to begin addressing and reducing bias, it is important to acknowledge the directions from which bias can emerge (Thomas, 2016).

Although a degree of bias is inevitable in historical information and archival research, there are ways the researcher can take specific steps to acknowledge and contain it, which includes the exploration of the research questions, the conduction of fieldwork, and an accurate understanding of the subject matter (Hill, 1993; Hudson, 2000; Naroll, 1962; Yin, 1996). However, researchers must also acknowledge the unpredictability of archival records and the role archival bias has on the research process. Examples of archive-induced bias often include incomplete collections, intentional destruction of records, and negligent preservation of documents. These examples suggest that archival collections are rarely complete (Lev, 2020; Peters, 2014). While it is the researcher’s responsibility to recognise these gaps in the historical timeline, it is also their responsibility to explore different archival collections to triangulate the information gathered and to fill in potential biases. Although bias via the physical archival documentation, is not changeable by the researcher, the researcher holds the

power to corroborate information through analysis of other sources and archives (Thomas et al., 2017; Foscarini et al., 2016).

As was introduced above regarding the potential bias through missing archival information, misinterpreting information has the same potential to create significant research bias. To counteract this potential and to accurately and reliably explore the multifaceted nature of the historical narrative, it is suggested that academics and professionals utilise both qualitative and quantitative archival records to enhance the reliability of the information (Hudson, 2000; Gillham, 2000). Triangulating the information gleaned from both qualitative and quantitative sources lessens the outcome of bias to affect the project's outcome by cross-checking facts, data, and personal accounts (Hill, 1993). Such methods have been utilised throughout this thesis to present the most truthful and unbiased account of First World War Yorkshire public library history possible.

3.4 Research Design

The research has been designed to address the overarching research question surrounding the public library as an intellectual sanctuary. This project comprises four research stages, each interlocked in a cyclical design focusing on a specific scope of research, as seen in the figure below.

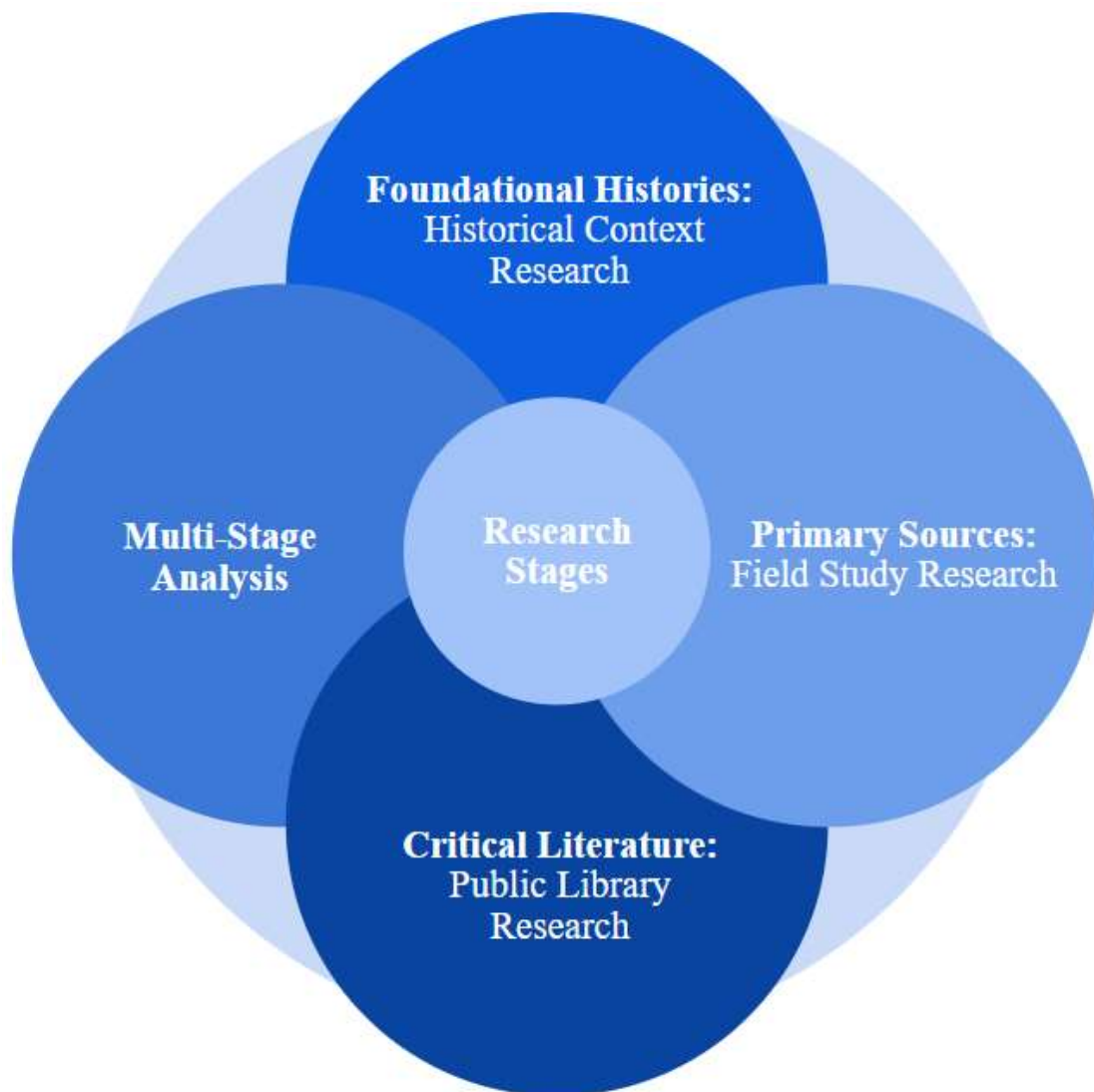


Figure 3.2. Cyclical Research Stage Diagram. Developed for this thesis.

These stages represent four distinct areas of the research. However different in their content, all four work together in the broader research process to effectively collect and understand historical archival information. Each stage is an autonomous process discussed below and can be employed anytime during the research. Each was revisited at different points in the research process, building on each other as more data was needed and collected.

3.4.1 Foundational Histories: Historical Context Research

Critical to this thesis is a literature-based historical foundation. To conduct appropriate and robust fieldwork, a firm grasp was needed to establish the historical context of this research. This context includes the collection of historical literature relating to establishing the Public Library Act of 1850 and changes made to the 1919 Public Libraries Act. This section also includes contemporary critical literature that comments on past events, recounting events,

debates, and struggles that burdened the early days of the English public library movement. Both the historical and contemporary literature cover the national perspective of the public library movement and a more localised Yorkshire focus.

3.4.2 Primary Sources: Field Study Research

Consultation of primary source historical material found in local study libraries, city archives, and university special collections composed most of the research conducted for this thesis. In order to build a complete understanding of library use during the First World War, the research focused on five field-study locations within Yorkshire (see the following sub-section for further information). The research collected from each case-study location was triangulated with the other locations to promote the validity of information among the field-study locations (Yin, 1994). Hill (1993) further emphasises the importance of utilising multiple studies to promote the intermingling of socio-historical research. He writes, "We are greatly informed by learning what happens to people in similar circumstances" (Hill, 1993, p. 2). To understand the local working-age population's interaction with the public library during the First World War, thus interacting with different circumstances as Hill (1993) encouraged, five distinctive cities throughout Yorkshire provided unique perspectives on industry, society, and public library use. Such perspectives ultimately help to better understand the relationships between patrons and public libraries.

Choosing Fieldwork Locations

Numerous variables were considered when selecting the fieldwork sites for the research. With a focus on the local working-age population, each location needed to be a centre for a specific type of industry during the First World War. Focusing on different industries created an overview of the local working-age population throughout Yorkshire, ultimately leading to a comparative study across Yorkshire.

The text *A History of Yorkshire* (Tate and Singleton, 1960) provides detailed maps of various areas of Yorkshire life. Amongst these maps is an infographic focusing on the major types of industry and the locations where they flourished (**Image 3.1**).

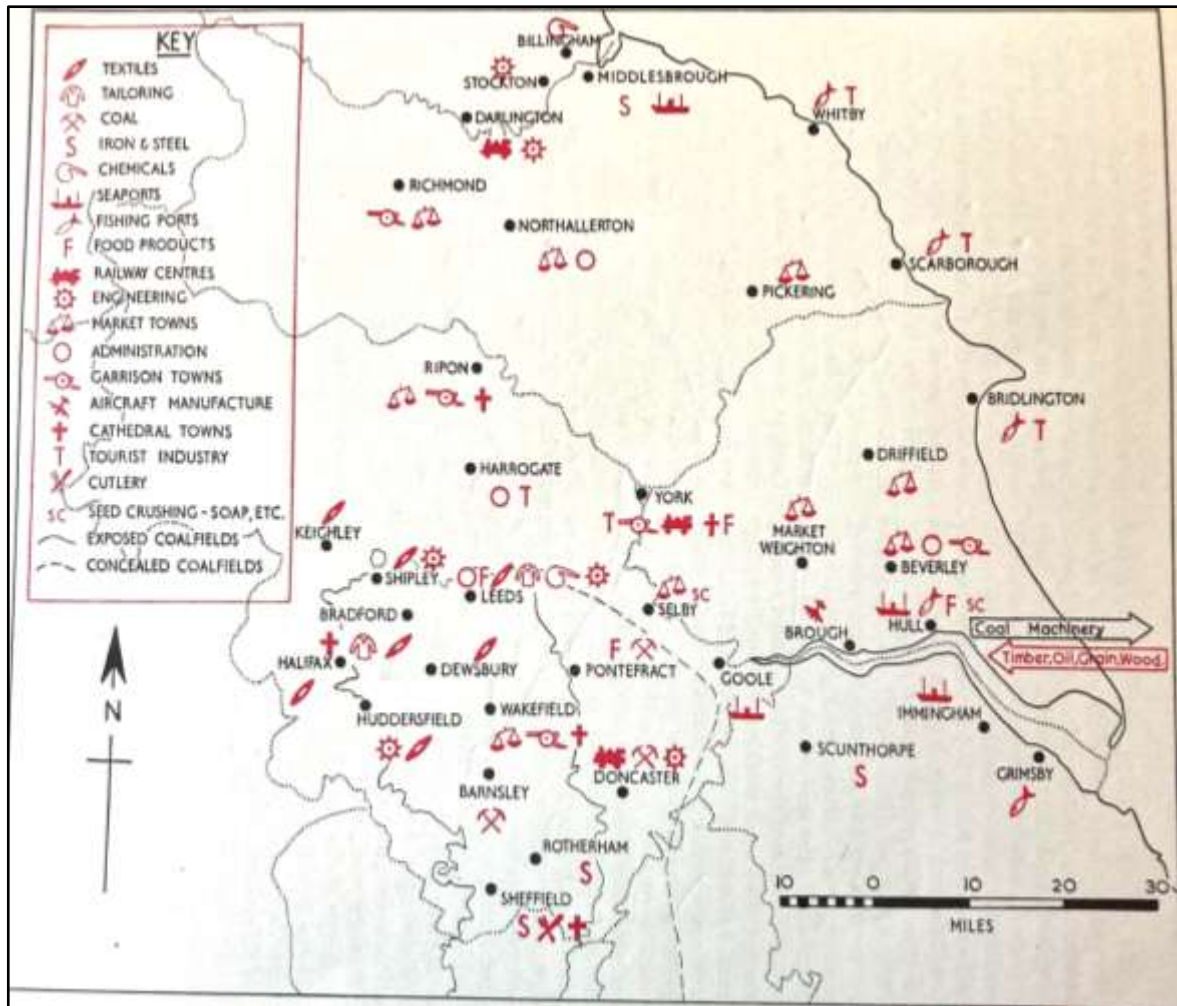


Image 3.1. “Map of Yorkshire Industry” from Tate and Singleton, 1960.

I selected five locations for this thesis' focus based on the image above. These include Sheffield (Cutlery/Steel), York (Railway), Leeds (Engineering), Bradford (Tailoring), and Hull (Fishing/Seaport). While each location was chosen due to its diversity of industrial focus, there was also a practical reason for choosing these field study locations. These are noted below in Figure 3.3.

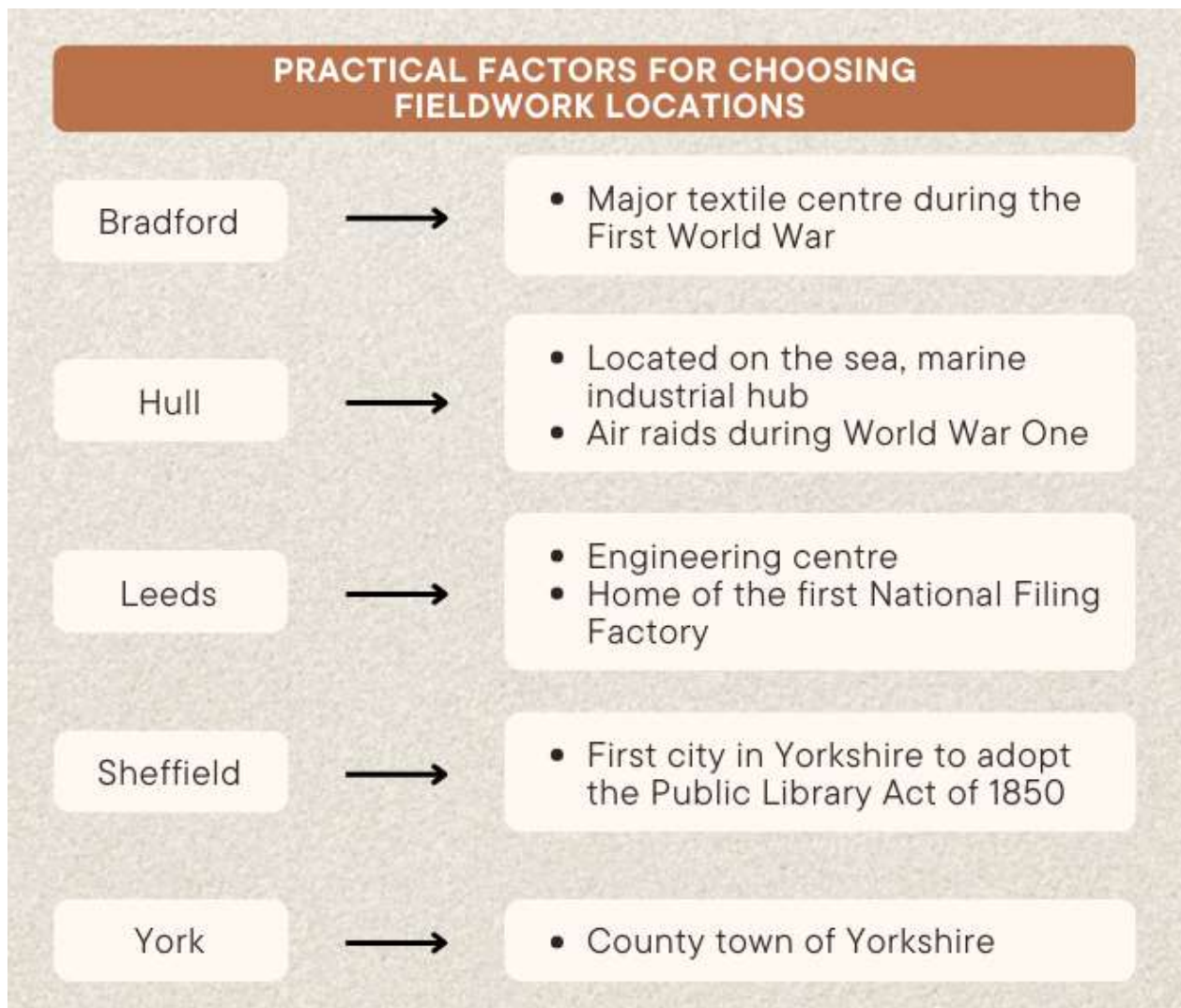


Figure 3.3. Practical Factors for Choosing Fieldwork Locations.

Pilot Study: Sheffield

Defined as “a small-scale implementation of a larger study or part of a larger study”, a pilot case study often seeks to “collect data in a new format or location or to simply examine potential roadblocks before full implementation” (Given, 2012, p. 625). The first exploration into the research for this thesis began with conducting a pilot case study in Sheffield. In February 2020, I visited the Sheffield City Archives and Local Studies Library to begin the exploration into public libraries as intellectual sanctuaries. Conducting this foundational study provided the opportunity to trial the practical application of interdisciplinary archival research techniques from sources such as Hill (1993) and Mills and Mills (2018) in addition to the thematic analysis of Riessman (1993) into one methodological practice, ultimately providing insight into if the combination of these approaches would provide a successful methodological approach for the remaining fieldwork.

Sheffield was chosen because it was the first municipal region in Yorkshire and one of the first in England to embrace the Public Library Act of 1850 (Libraries, Art Galleries and Museum Committee, 1956). The historical significance of the Sheffield Free Public Library and the enduring provision that remains to the present day created an excellent location to begin the research for this thesis (Kelly, 1973; Ogle, 1897). In addition to having a long-standing association with the Free Public Library movement, in 2007, Sheffield was selected as England's first City of Sanctuary, offering protection and assistance to people seeking asylum and refugees entering the country (City of Sanctuary, 2007). As this thesis looks at intellectual sanctuary, beginning the research process in a city that promotes safety, sanctuary, and help to those who need it was an excellent parallel and established a clear starting point for the research (City of Sanctuary, 2007). More practically, as a student based in Sheffield, beginning the research at the Sheffield City Archives and the Sheffield Local Studies Library provided the most convenient start for the fieldwork.

A base of key-search terms, including names, dates, organisations, and institutions relating to the free public libraries in Sheffield, was created to begin the pilot study. These terms include Free Public Library, Public Library, Free Library, Public Libraries, Mechanic's Institute, Library Committee, Working Class, Library Association, and First World War. These terms provided a foundation to begin my Sheffield archival research, which also proved essential for the remaining fieldwork. This foundational search helped establish key terms and noted the differences between some words in American English and British English.

After the preliminary search, the key terms were individually searched in the Sheffield Archives and Local Studies Library online catalogue. These searches noted collections and items related to the key terms, providing a visual scope of each repository's holdings. Searching the catalogues of the Sheffield Archives and Local Studies Library yielded an essential list of collections relating to the free public libraries of Sheffield in the early 20th century. Collections such as *Signed Minutes* (CA-LAM/1/7 and CA-L/1/1/9), *Remark Book* (CA-L/2/2) and an extensive collection of historical newspaper articles were found pertaining to the historic Sheffield library service.

After conducting the searches above, the next step was to book an appointment at both locations to locate the relevant collections at the Sheffield City Archives and Local Studies

Libraries. Once familiarised with the archive and local studies library access procedures, I began exploring the one-hundred-year-old documents. Reading through library reports, minute meetings, and guest books began to uncover insights into the everyday life of the early Free Public Library in Sheffield, including maintenance reports, usage numbers, patron comments, and financial statements. While investigating the archival documents, specific themes emerged, covering topics such as availability, use, architecture, and the importance of personal experiences. Data gleaned from the fieldwork can be found in Appendices **D** and **E**.

In addition to the above collections, search terms lead to the discovery of personal memoirs written by native Sheffield residents illustrating life in the city during the early 20th century. These memoirs focused on various topics ranging from life in the tenements, public library use, education of the poor, and the hardships both adults and children faced in the poor areas of Sheffield. Many of the same themes found in the archival collections were also found in the memoirs, corroborating the importance of such themes within the lives of the local working-age population of Sheffield.

As a result of developing an appropriate key-term list, understanding archival usage practices, accessing historical collections, and uncovering thematic patterns, it was concluded that four themes would be explored over the remaining fieldwork locations, providing a link across cases. This link mirrors Ragin's (1996) explanation that for a case study to work, there must be "knowledge of patterns that can hold across many cases, and vice versa" (p. 106). As a result of this pilot study, the Adapted Framework was designed from these themes. It examines archival materials in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, and York, providing a replicable thematic method to build this project. The Adapted Framework is further explored in section **3.5**.

Types of Sources Consulted

As the research scope expanded, it became clear that to fully understand how libraries and the idea of intellectual sanctuary interact, it was imperative to understand the economic, educational, and social situations of those using public spaces. Exploring documents relating to the use of these spaces allows for the socio-economic importance of these establishments to emerge and for further awareness of the societal need for a defined quiet space (Black, 1996). Although archival documentation spans millions of records worldwide, there is a clear division between two record types: public and private (McCulloch, 2004).

The main difference between private and public is that private records within an archival repository can include anything created for and used by a private citizen. Such documents include but are not limited to diaries, letters, memoirs, and notes (McCulloch, 2004). Public records in an archival repository include official documents relating to specific persons, companies, organisations, and governments. These documents include but are not limited to wills, birth certificates, newspaper articles, bank statements, committee minutes, financial statements, and contracts (McCulloch, 2004).

The use of both public and private records, which include sources such as library committee minutes, annual library reports, census documents, employment logs, economic statistics, educational records, memoirs, oral histories, and newspaper articles, will allow for, as Hudson (2000) argues, a more precise "specification and more rigorous testing of hypotheses about historical causation or relationships between variables" (p.21).

3.4.3 Critical Literature: Public Library Research

Michael Hill (1993) states, "Parallel comparisons between chronologies of several organisations or cohorts of individuals may reveal previously unrecognised spatiotemporal patterns" (p. 3.). He further says these comparisons often lead to "new understandings of our society and our disciplines that will take us with greater clarity and equanimity into our collective future" (p. 7). Wiegand (1999) furthers this idea by exploring the idea that "every generation of library and information professionals must apply to the past it has inherited a set of questions unique to its time and circumstances in order to better understand its present, so that it can prudently plan its future" (p. 26). Using a contemporary understanding of past phenomena allows the present observer to further understand personal histories to recognise future possibilities. This third section of research design utilised contemporary critical literature alongside material published by initiatives and organisations such as the City of Sanctuary organisation and the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) to build a detailed understanding of public libraries from the present rather than the past. Further explored in the review of the literature in Chapter 2, this stage of the thesis focused on critical literature surrounding the public library, the local working-age population, and the relationship between sanctuaries. Not only was utilising Hill's (1993) thought process at this stage a critical step to understanding the contemporary significance of this project, but

it was also an essential step towards validating the discussion of the historical nature of sanctuary in public libraries.

3.4.4 Multi-Stage Analysis

This last section of my research design sought to construct relationships between historical sources, contemporary literature, and fieldwork data to investigate the historical use of public libraries. This project utilised the ‘Complementarity’ (Hammersley, 1996) and ‘Constant Comparative’ (Thomas, 2016) to analyse the fieldwork, literature, and data to establish connections throughout the fieldwork. Figure 3.4 notes the flow of the processes:

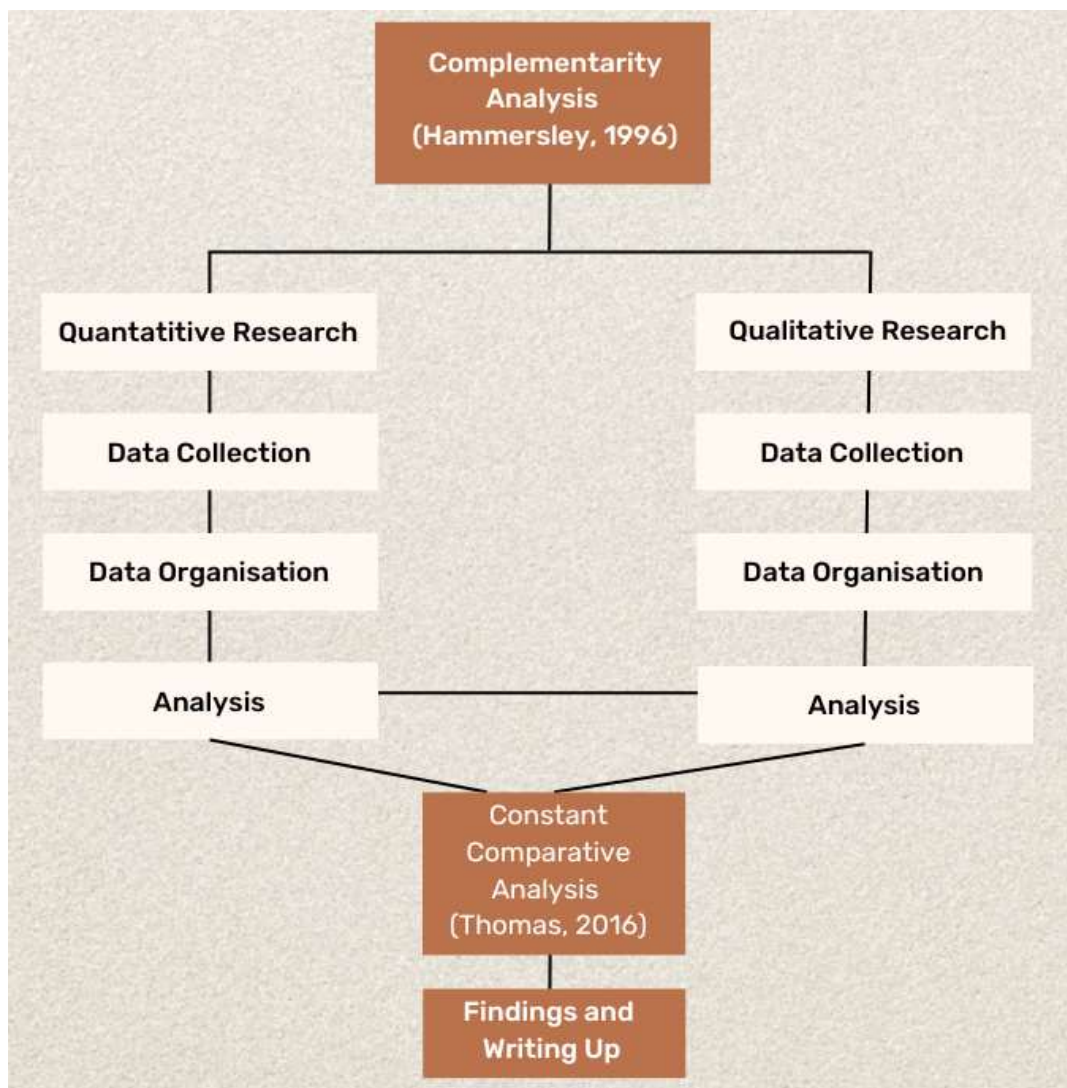


Figure 3.4. Complementarity Analysis Chart. Adapted from Hammersley (1996) and Thomas (2016).

Hammersley (1996) states that the Complementarity Analysis approach to multi-strategy research “occurs when the two research strategies [qualitative and quantitative] are employed

so that different aspects of an investigation can be dovetailed” (Bryman, 2004, p. 455). As seen in Figure 3.4, this analysis approach allowed for unifying qualitative and quantitative findings from the five separate fieldwork locations. An example of this Complementarity Analysis approach was used throughout the analysis section of the Sheffield pilot study. Exploring Sheffield’s early 20th-century library provision produced access to primary sources such as library reports, usage statistics, and historical library narrative accounts. Investigating these qualitative and quantitative sources required carefully organising numeric data and narrative information into tables and thematic groups. Arranging the numerical data from the pilot study via thematic constructs such as ‘Fiction use’, ‘Reading Room Attendance’, ‘Daily Average Issues’, and ‘Library and Self’ converted thematic data into table-based information, allowing both qualitative and quantitative information to be placed in a table for analysis. Organising the pilot study data into these tables supported the forthcoming cross-analysis of the individual variables and the collected data across all the fieldwork locations.

In addition to using Hammersley's (1996) Complementarity Analysis, I utilised Thomas’s (2016) Constant Comparative Method to analyse the archival data from the fieldwork (**Figure 3.5**).

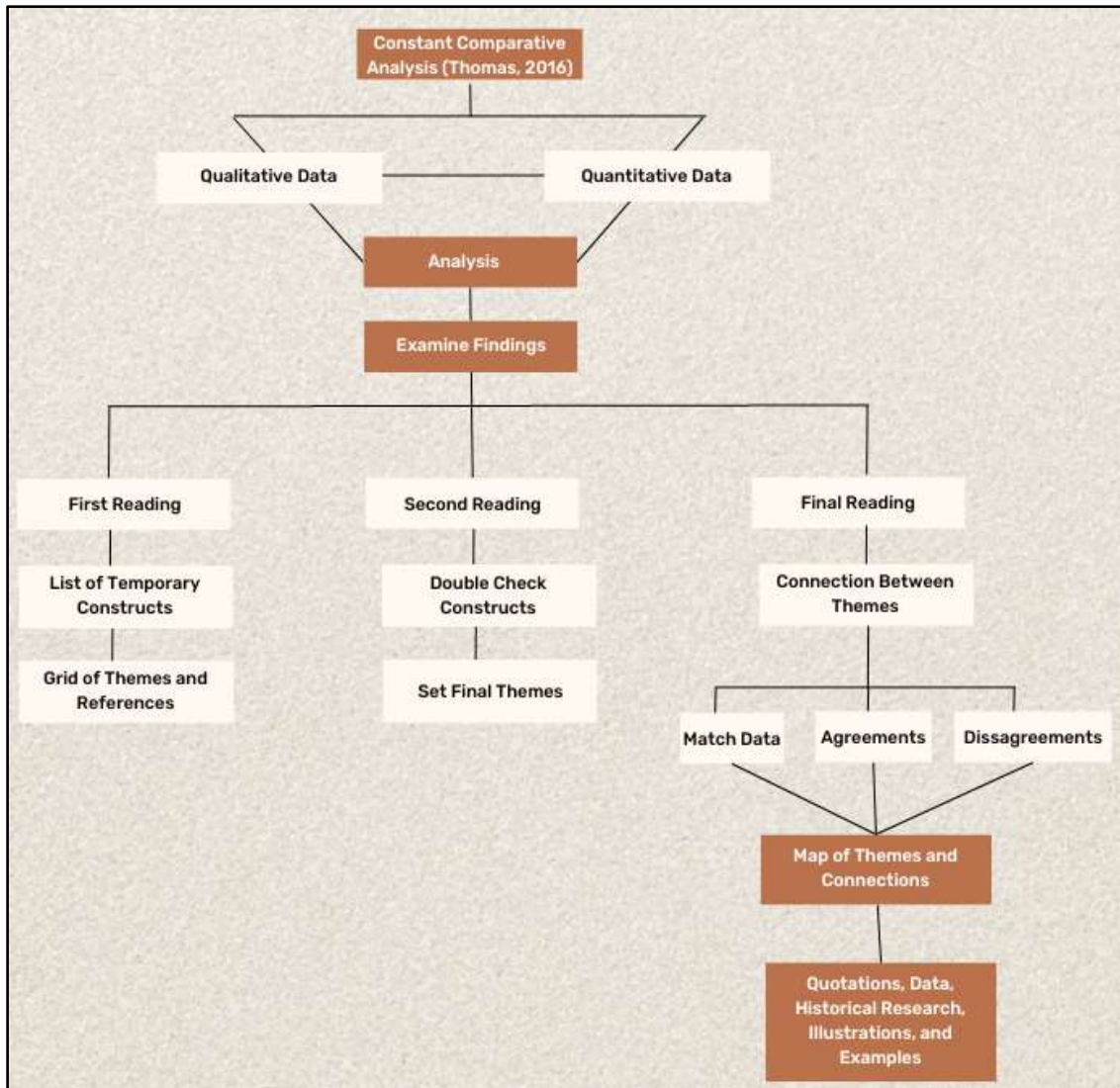


Figure 3.5. Constant Comparative Analysis Method Chart, Adapted from Thomas (2016).

This process began by taking raw notes and data collected at the fieldwork locations and organising them by thematic constructs. These constructs included availability, use, architecture, and creation of the self. Once the themes were solidified, I divided the fieldwork information into thematic groups. After dividing the information into four groups, the analysis transitioned from the Constant Comparative Analysis Method to Thomas's (2016) theme mapping approach. Thomas (2016) emphasises that while the Constant Comparative Analysis Method is important for establishing themes within a body of work, the method alone cannot explore the interconnectivity between themes constructed as part of the Constant Comparative Analysis Method. He notes that the interconnectivity of these themes helps establish similarities, differences, and contradictions, ultimately allowing for comprehensive data analysis (Thomas, 2016, p.206).

Understanding the ways Hammersley's (1996) Complementarity Analysis Method and Thomas's (2016) Constant Comparative Analysis Methods and process of theme mapping are used to further the relationships between society, conflict, and public library use is imperative to this research. These techniques provide the chance for the systemisation of cross-analysis techniques by building themes, interpreting their interconnectivity, creating transparency between themes and fieldwork, and, ultimately, creating a replicable process for future studies (Hammersley, 1996; Thomas, 2016). This replicable process is explored below with the introduction of the Adapted Framework.

3.5 Research Method: The Adapted Framework

Gillham (2000) explains that one of the most important aspects of a case-study-based methodological approach is 'To 'get under the skin' of a group or organisation to find out what happens-the informal reality, which can only be perceived from the inside' (p. 11). To promote a greater understanding of how the local working-age population interacted with the public library during the early 20th century, I have created an Adapted Framework. By adapting known methods and applying them to five unique cities in Yorkshire, an understanding of the patron experience within public libraries began to form. The Adapted Framework allowed for data such as narrative library reports, patron comments, average daily book issues, and reading-room attendance to be inspected and analysed according to availability, use, architecture, and the creation of self. Ultimately, following the Adapted Framework, these thematic ideas help cultivate relationships between the public library, patron experiences, and intellectual sanctuary within the various local working-age populations of Yorkshire (Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8).

3.5.1 Foundations: A Multiple Case Study

Enhanced by acknowledging case studies as a bounded vehicle for numerous methods, diverse academic understandings of case studies are ultimately seen as a way to address a unique research scope determined by those conducting case studies (Bryman, 2004). This research primarily uses the case study perspective of Thomas (2006) and adapts his philosophy into a unique method tailored to an interdisciplinary study. Creating a tailored case study design, built upon the foundation of established ideas, theories, and academic research, has allowed this research project to engage with new lines of inquiry. These include the increased awareness of the role of bias, a new justification of blended approaches, and the adaptability of previously established methods.

Within the wider academic sphere, a case study is generally employed after a theory has been developed, fostering a process for concrete validation or, in some cases, invalidation (Yin, 1994; Bryman, 2004). As a research project begins to stray from the traditional boundaries of case study research and transforms into an adapted interdisciplinary study, the confines of a formal case study begin to thin, and the opportunity to adopt unique elements within individual case studies becomes apparent (Thomas, 2016). Rather than break down the case study into self-contained entities, as with Yin (1996), Thomas focuses on the whole case as an interconnected structure. He explains that it is critical to remain cognizant that the different elements of a case study are constantly influencing each other and that the elements should continue to work together throughout the whole of the case study actively. Ultimately, these elements should prompt the researcher to move amongst the pieces at all stages of the research project (Thomas, 2016).

Thomas (2016) regularly emphasises the importance of an adapted case study design, reiterating that every study should have a different design. He explains that a uniquely designed case study should invoke four primary sections: subject, purpose, approach, and process. Although each of these separate points is important to the whole of the design, Thomas (2006) continuously stresses the importance of retaining “a line of inquiry running through the study”, as this is a critical element that will allow the researcher to determine the “how” and the “why” of their study.

Although Thomas’s (2006) view of case studies primarily influences my Adapted Framework, I also implement aspects of Bryman's (2004) design elements. Figure 3.6 below represents sections of the initial case study design, noting who has influenced the element.

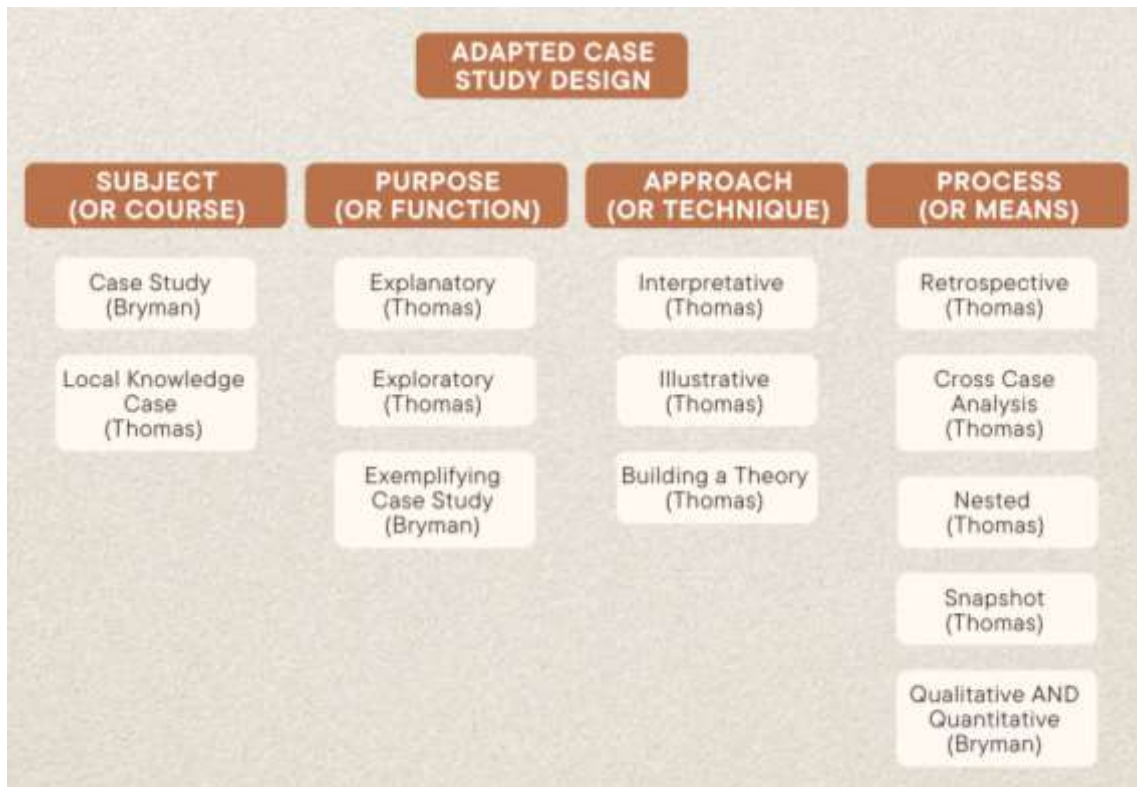


Figure 3.6. Adapted Case Study Design.

Figures 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9 below take the above design elements (**Figure 3.6**) and visually illustrate the interconnectivity of the sections, relating them back to the scope of the research.

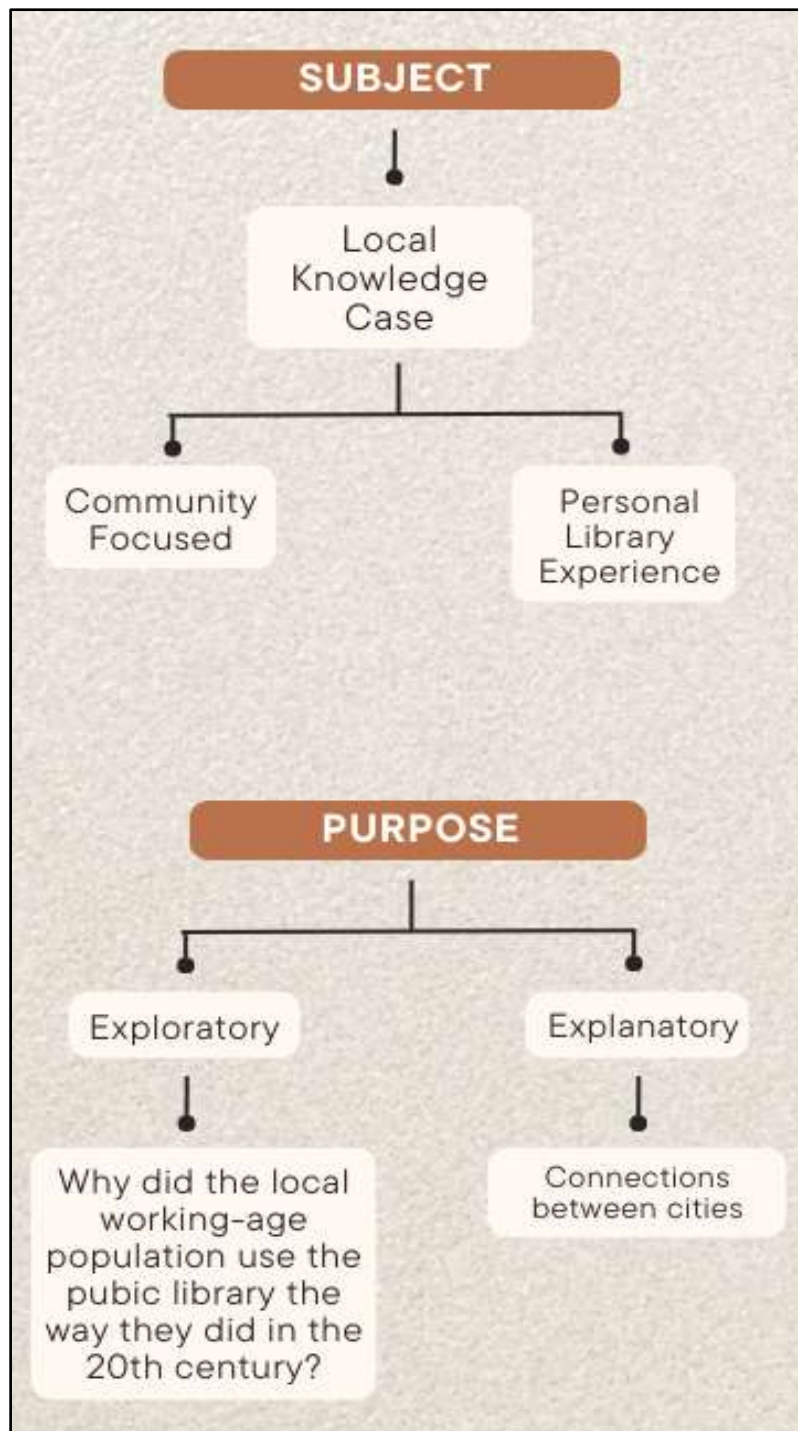


Figure 3.7. Model of Adapted Case Study Design: Subject and Purpose.

The Subject and the Purpose of this multiple case study are the two beginning foundations of the case study process (Thomas, 2016) (Figure 3.7). Characterised as “an example of something in your personal experience about which you want to find out more”, the Subject seeks to explain research questions with the awareness that the one conducting the study already has personal knowledge within the area of inquiry (Thomas, 2016). He further articulates that the next step, the Purpose, must focus on asking questions to solidify the

ultimate aims of the case study(s), ultimately asking ‘why’ to generate meaning within the entire context of the research project (p. 119). These two variables helped to determine which communities this thesis focused on and establish the overall research question for this research. These two foundational elements then lead to the Approach (**Image 3.8**).

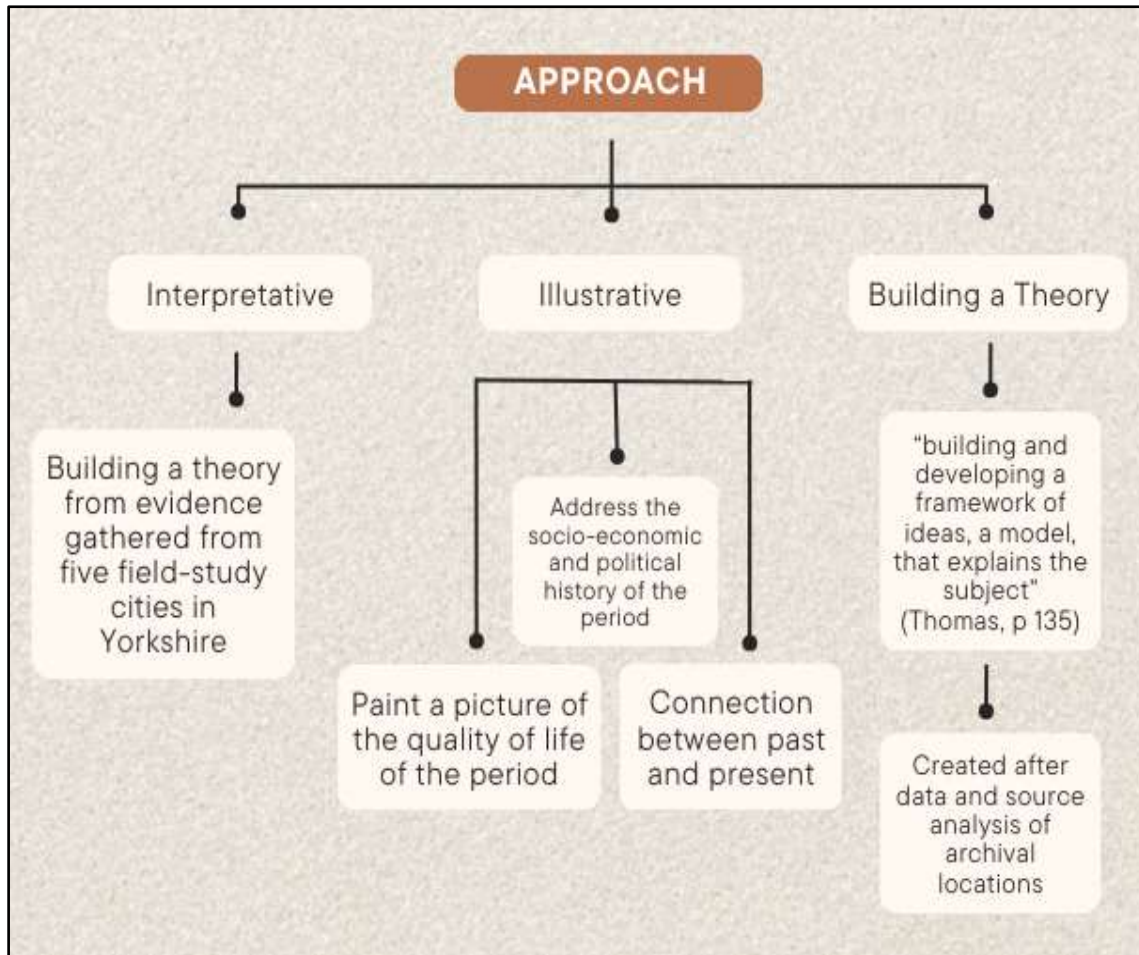


Figure 3.8. Model of Adapted Case Study Design: Approach.

The Approach develops the study from a theoretical idea to an applied practice; this aspect of the case study builds the foundation for conducting research (Thomas, 2016). He notes that a case study based on ‘Building a Theory’ must first “build a framework of ideas that has no overt connection to pre-formulated notions about what is important” (p. 135). Two distinct approaches help to build a theory: Illustrative and Interpretative. The two approaches “enables readers and inquirers to share the experience, using their reserves of knowledge and experience to make sense of its structure and its lineaments” (p. 143) and one that places the reader/researcher in the shoes of those being studied by becoming a “participant observer” (p. 148), respectively. In this, the researcher must look at the whole project to “assume an in-

depth understanding and deep immersion in the environment of the subject” (p. 149). In order to implement the Approach, a set Process needs to be established (**Figure 3.9**).

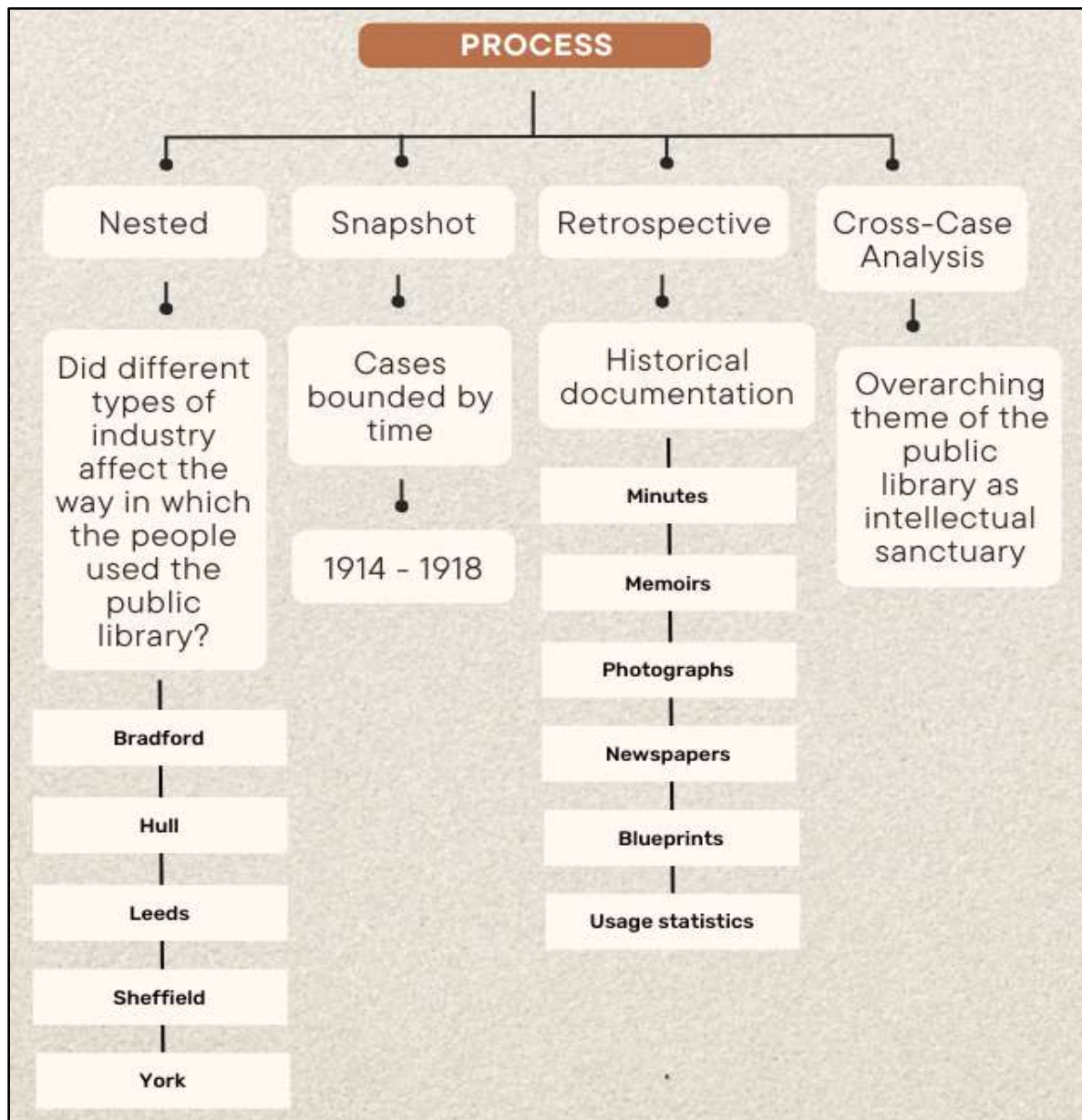


Figure 3.9. Model of Adapted Case Study Design: Process.

Thomas believes that the Process is where the researcher fully begins to see the breadth and scope of a case study (p. 161). The historical nature of this project encouraged the need for precise and controllable variable boundaries. It was imperative to maintain these boundaries so that the project remained small enough to fully explore the importance of individual public library use in the early 20th century. It was also large enough to build a regional and national context of public libraries during the First World War. Thomas (2016) incorporates time as a research boundary within his definitions of ‘Retrospective’ and ‘Snapshot’ case study

classifications. He stresses that although the case study is already bounded regarding themes, the ‘snapshot’ binds the study by time. Utilising these two classifications in tandem allowed for a specialised investigation into the years 1910-1919 in Yorkshire and “the juxtaposition of events that will help understand the connection surrounding the events...” (Thomas, 2016, p.166).

3.5.2 The Adapted Framework

Michael Hill (1993) proposes a new way of thinking about archival research that not only seeks to “challenge and extend the usual methods of finding and collecting data” but also attempts to bridge the gap between archival research and the social sciences (Hill, 1993, p.1). Figure 3.10 below visualises the combination of previous case study methodologies, analysis techniques, and archival processes to create the Adapted Framework. Each main stage is highlighted in orange, and the associated processes, theories, and record types are below in white.

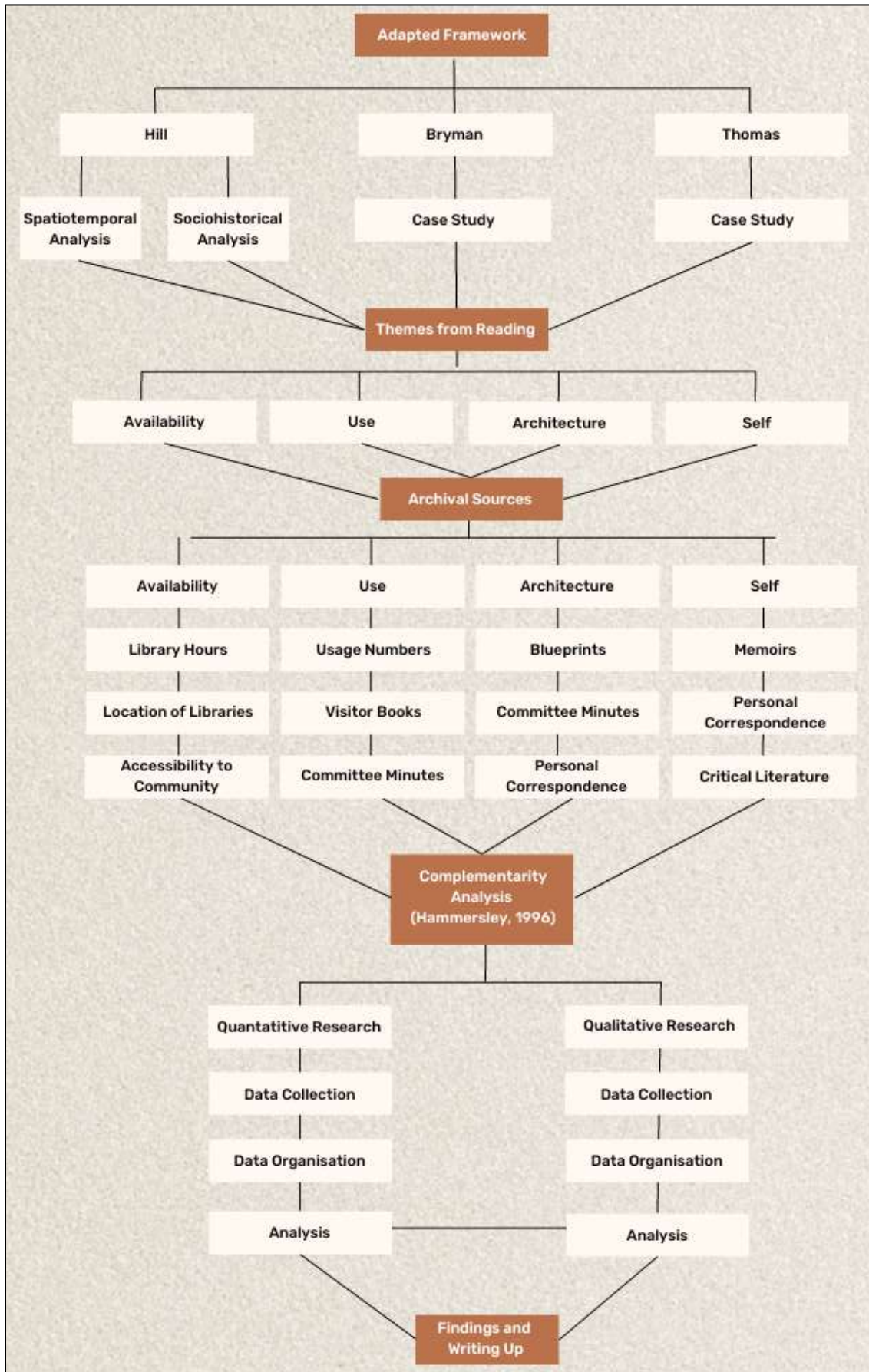


Figure 3.10. Entire Adapted Framework.

The first step of the Adapted Framework (**Figure 3.11**) focuses on the foundational theories used as the basis for the research. These include authors who have appeared throughout the entirety of the research, including Hill (1993), Bryman (2006), and Thomas (2016). Hill’s (1993) archival implementation of Spatiotemporal Analysis and Sociohistorical Analysis, both of which focus on exploring history under the umbrella of the social sciences, provide processes through which to assess the social context of the archival data. Bryman (2006) and Thomas (2016) contribute elements of their case study methodologies (as explored in 2.5.1) to provide structure to the field-study element of this research. Next, after foundational theories, the literature was reassessed and produced the four major themes present in the literature. The archival fieldwork came after these themes were established.

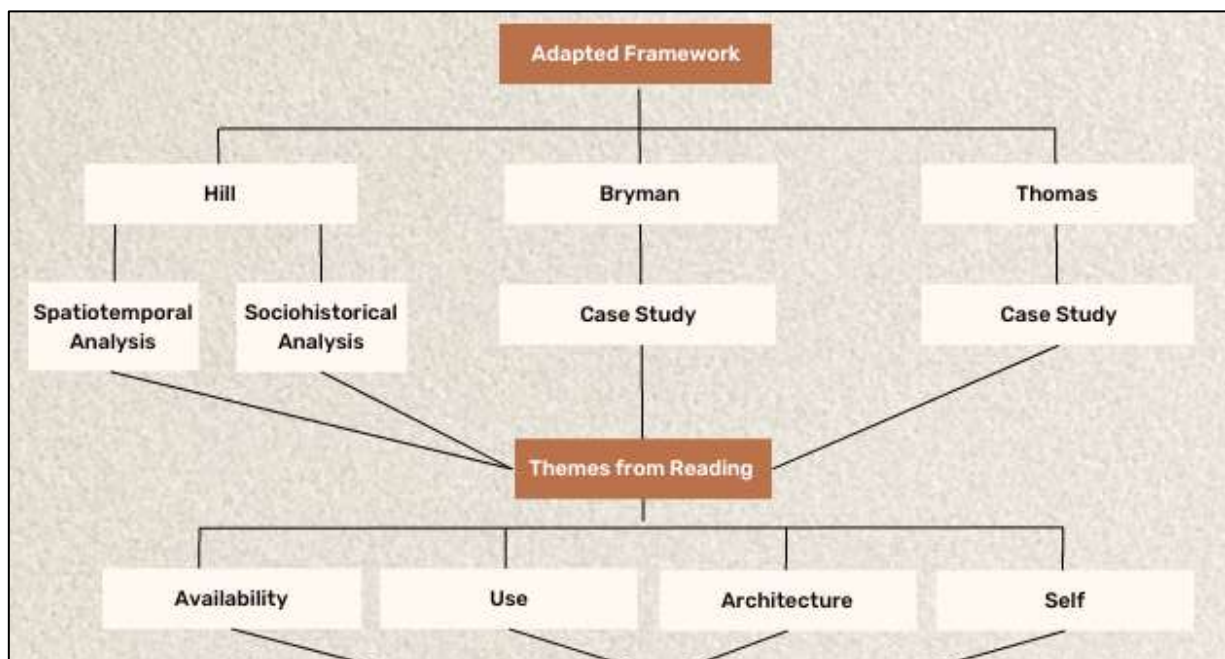


Figure 3.11. Detail of Adapted Framework. Step 1: Foundational Theories.

The second step of the Adapted Framework (**Figure 3.12**) is the Implementation of Theories. After acknowledging the theories set out by Bryman (2006), Hill (1993), and Thomas (2016), this second step of the Adapted Framework utilises Hill’s (1993) archival processes as a way to work through the various archival records gathered throughout the fieldwork process. Hill’s (1993) archival processes will be further elaborated at each findings stage of the research. Each theme set out by the literature is included in this process, noting some of the different types of archival records utilised in the fieldwork.

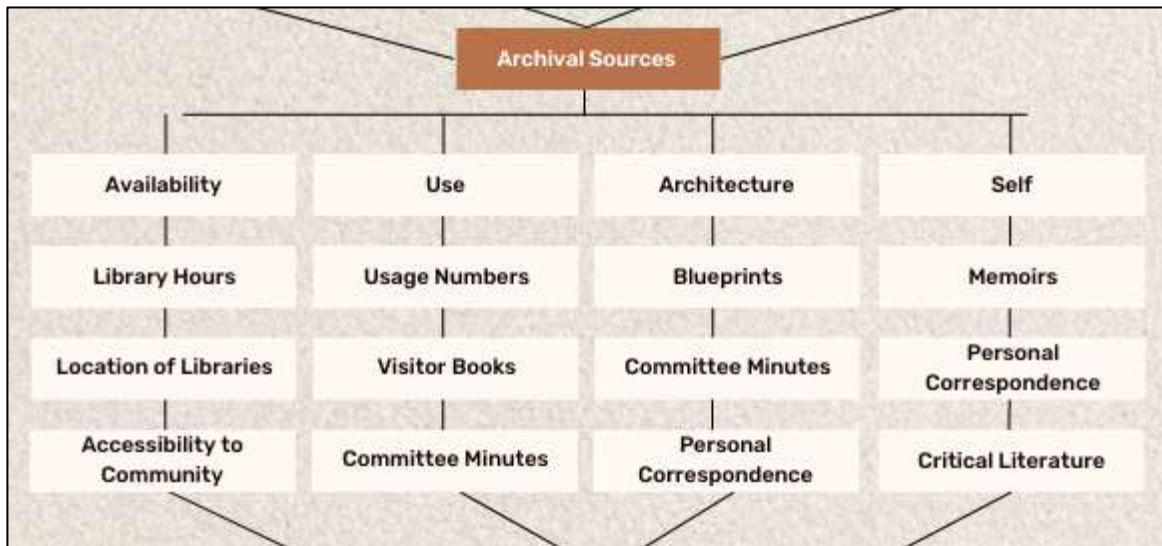


Figure 3.12. Detail of Adapted Framework. Step 2: Implementation of Theories

The analysis process is the final section of the Adapted Framework (**Figure 3.13**). This final step uses the Complementarity Analysis (Hammersley, 1996) to process the qualitative and quantitative data gleaned from the fieldwork. After the data is processed, the Adapted Framework uses Thomas' (2016) Constant Comparative Analysis Process to work through the themes in the fieldwork data. Once all the data has been processed and analysed into themes, it is possible to write up the findings based on the analysis. Details of the individual analysis processes are explored in each findings stage.

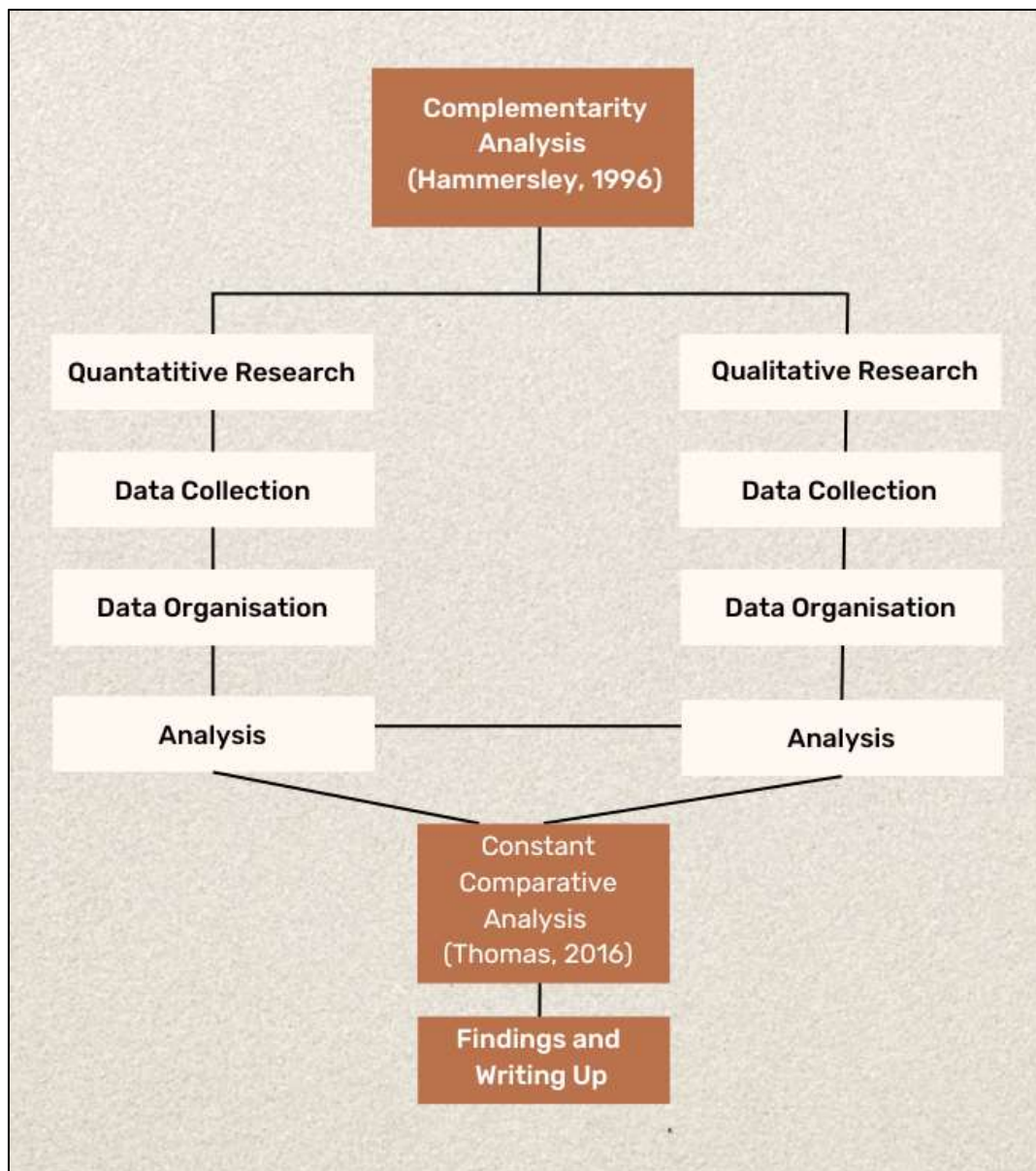


Figure 3.13. Detail of Adapted Framework: Analysis.

3.6 Research in Practice

The implementation of the Adapted Framework came with challenges. The most prominent of these was the delay in beginning the fieldwork due to the outbreak of Covid-19. The pilot study conducted in Sheffield occurred just before the national lockdown; the subsequent fieldwork occurred in May 2021. While the gap was unplanned, it provided ample time to conduct a thorough literature review and consult the online catalogues in preparation for the eventual return to fieldwork practices. The outbreak of COVID-19 changed the way researchers used archives and libraries, significantly decreasing in-person access (see *Executive Summary: Impact of COVID-19 on the Archive Sector* in Appendix A). Further

explanations of the effects of this thesis due to COVID-19 are found in the conclusion/Discussion.

After it was possible to resume the fieldwork, additional research challenges were encountered. While not process changing, the following challenges highlight elements that impacted the research in practice

3.6.1 Research in Practice: Difficulties

One of the most significant difficulties encountered in this research stage was lack of indexing within printed local history documents. While the absence of an index did not hinder the physical availability of these sources, the lack of indexing contributed to an already prolonged research process due to increased COVID-19 procedures. As is noted in reference texts and archival organisational documents dealing with indexing, its importance, and standard practices, there is significant usefulness to the accessibility of indexes within manuscript sources. Accessibility to an index, whether as part of the table of contents or the back, as is seen in traditional indexes, makes it easier to search and determine its usefulness to a project (Miller, 1998; Mulvaney, 1994; European Network on Archival Cooperation, n.d.). Access to a source such as an index provides a window to the contents of a document, and without such a tool, the time required to review, find, and transcribe sections of text increased significantly. This was the case for many of the primary documents utilised at this stage. While the amount of time required to conduct relevant research, it did encourage a thorough evaluation of each document, cultivating an environment for a comprehensive understanding of the content. This supported a thorough examination of community experiences within the scope of the public library within the broader socio-political climate of the field-study communities of Yorkshire.

An additional difficulty experienced during the research stage was restricting the number of items available during each research appointment. While locations such as the Leeds Local Studies Library did not have a set limitation on the number of items available, sites such as the West Yorkshire Archive Service in Bradford, the Hull History Centre, and Explore York had restrictions on the number of items accessible in one visit. One of the main reasons this affected this stage in the project is that many of the items accessed did not have an index or a contents page available as part of the online catalogue or within each item. As a result, while I could see if the items were pertinent to the public library, I was unsure whether the contents

would correlate to the idea of the ‘self’ or detail user experiences within the public library. This required careful consideration during the request process. While I could request up to the number of items set out by each archive, if the materials were not pertinent to my study, I would be required to make additional trips to each of the archives. While these limitations were problematic during and immediately after the COVID-19 restrictions, once COVID-19 protocols eased, the Hull History Centre and Explore York were kind enough to allow additional requests at several intervals during my visits. This allowed me to consult additional sources during each visit that otherwise would have delayed this project even further.

In addition to access-related difficulties, limitations of the availability of certain content during this research stage also proved challenging. This occurred while trying to find local accounts relating to the Yorkshire working classes and their specific use of public libraries. While historical records note the public library use by the working class in Yorkshire during the First World War, there remains a distinct gap in the accessible historical narrative. The present gap in the historical record regarding the working class and public library use in Yorkshire during the First World War could have resulted from many circumstances. While such circumstances did not prohibit an overall historical understanding of the time in regards to the public library, they did prevent specificities from having a permanent place in written history (Agmon, 2021; Trouillot, 1995). However, while there was a significant gap in the number of first-hand working-class experiences within the public library during the First World War, archival documents provided enough insight into the local working-age population to produce a working understanding of their relationship within the public library. The gap in the historical record is essential to note as it directly affects the type of archival documentation used in this research. Ideally, gaps in the archival record would be non-existent.

Overall, the challenges associated with this stage resulted in extended archival visits. These visits included searching un-indexed material, lengthy transcription, translating 20th-century handwriting, and many hours comparing themes in the archival record. Due to the archival documents' historical nature, almost every field-study location had historical gaps in its record. In Hull, for example, this gap included missing sections of the collection outright, while in Sheffield, the archive catalogue had a record of a document, but it was missing from the stacks. This corroborates the idea that historical documentation only sometimes ends together in an archive and sometimes needs to be added to the historical record (Moss and

Thomas, 2021; Thomas, 2017). Further challenges relating to specific research stages is included in each respective findings chapter.

3.7 Summary of Methodological Approach

In summary, a multiple case study approach has been adopted for this research based on the theories of Thomas (2016) and Bryman (2006). The development of the Adapted Framework was informed by Hill (1993) and Riessman (1993), which helped establish three distinct research steps. These include Foundational Theories (Step **1**), Implementation of Theories (Step **2**), and the Analysis of Archival Research (Step **3**). The multiple case study approach and the implementation of the Adapted Framework combine qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches to better understand the role of public libraries within the local working-age population of the five Yorkshire field-study cities. The subsequent research stages each utilise methodological techniques outlined in this chapter to promote and construct a connection between availability, use, architecture, finding the self, and the overarching idea of public libraries as places of intellectual sanctuary.

Chapter 4

National Context and Local Practices: A Historical Context

4.1 Introduction

In order to inform the following findings stages, which explore themes such as availability (**Stage 1**), use (**Stage 2**), architecture (**Stage 3**), and finding the self (**Stage 4**), it is critical to form an understanding of the local context of public library services in Yorkshire and the national public library context in England. Establishing a firm understanding of the historical past of public library provision provides insight into the institution and the social influences on public library patrons. This duality, assessed together, provides a historical context, one that can

...enlarge the area of individual experience by teaching about human behaviour, about man in relationship to other men, about the interaction of circumstances and conditions in their effect upon individual and social fortunes...and although history cannot prophesy, it can often make reasonable predictions. Historical knowledge gives solidarity to the understanding of the present and may suggest guiding lines for the future (Elton, 1967, pp. 48-49).

The following context seeks to employ the Adapted Framework (**3.5.2**) to further Elton's (1967) message regarding the importance of historical knowledge. This chapter outlines a critical approach to the literature review (**Chapter 2**) as it identifies the current understanding of the relationship between national public library provision and the personal experiences of the local working-age population of the five Yorkshire field study cities.

This chapter also aims to add additional context to gaps in the literature. These include both an imbalance between national generalisations and regional practices and an inconsistent consideration of the intersection between the public library, conflict and intellectual sanctuary. Addressing these gaps in the literature and the general historical context of this chapter will set the foundation for bridging the archival work undertaken in each of the five Yorkshire field study cities.

4.2 Research Process

The historical context of this thesis aims to paint a more detailed picture of public libraries from their development in 1850 through the First World War. Setting out this context before the findings stages constructs a relationship between the historical narrative, the archival

research process, and primary source documents. The Adapted Framework is implemented to progress through historical material and to establish these relationships.

4.2.1 Adapted Framework Connection

As was fully explored in **3.5**, the Adapted Framework created for this thesis is based on a combination of archival practices and social science methodological processes. The research process implemented for this historical context integrates the simplified version of the full Adapted Framework (**Figure 3.11**) seen below in **Figure 4.1**.

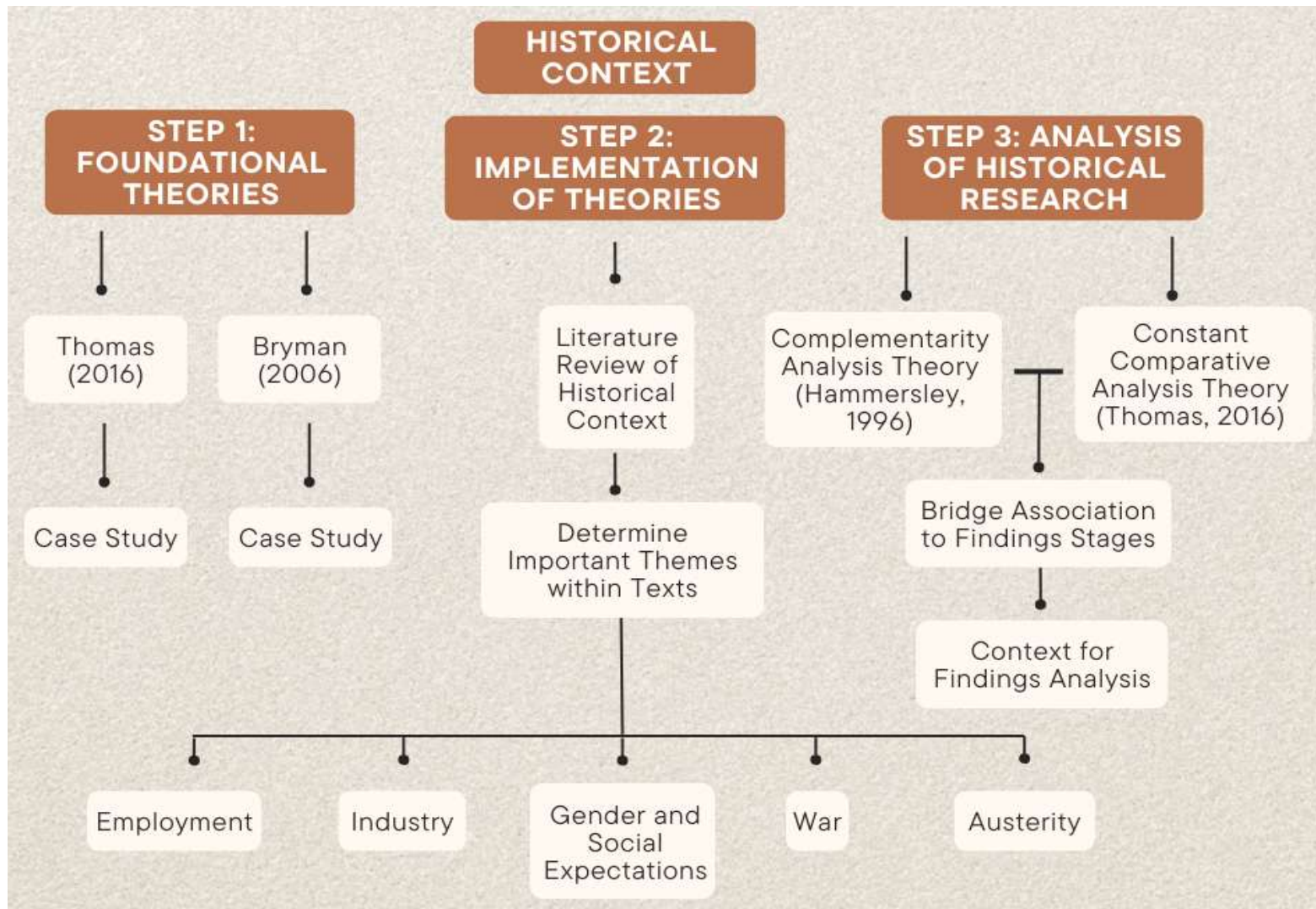


Figure 4.1. Adapted Framework. Historical Context.

After acknowledging the theories set out by Bryman (2006) and Thomas (2016), which remain the same in each of the following four findings chapters, the second step conducts a literature review, which helped to determine gaps and prominent themes within the history of the public library (**Figure 4.2**).

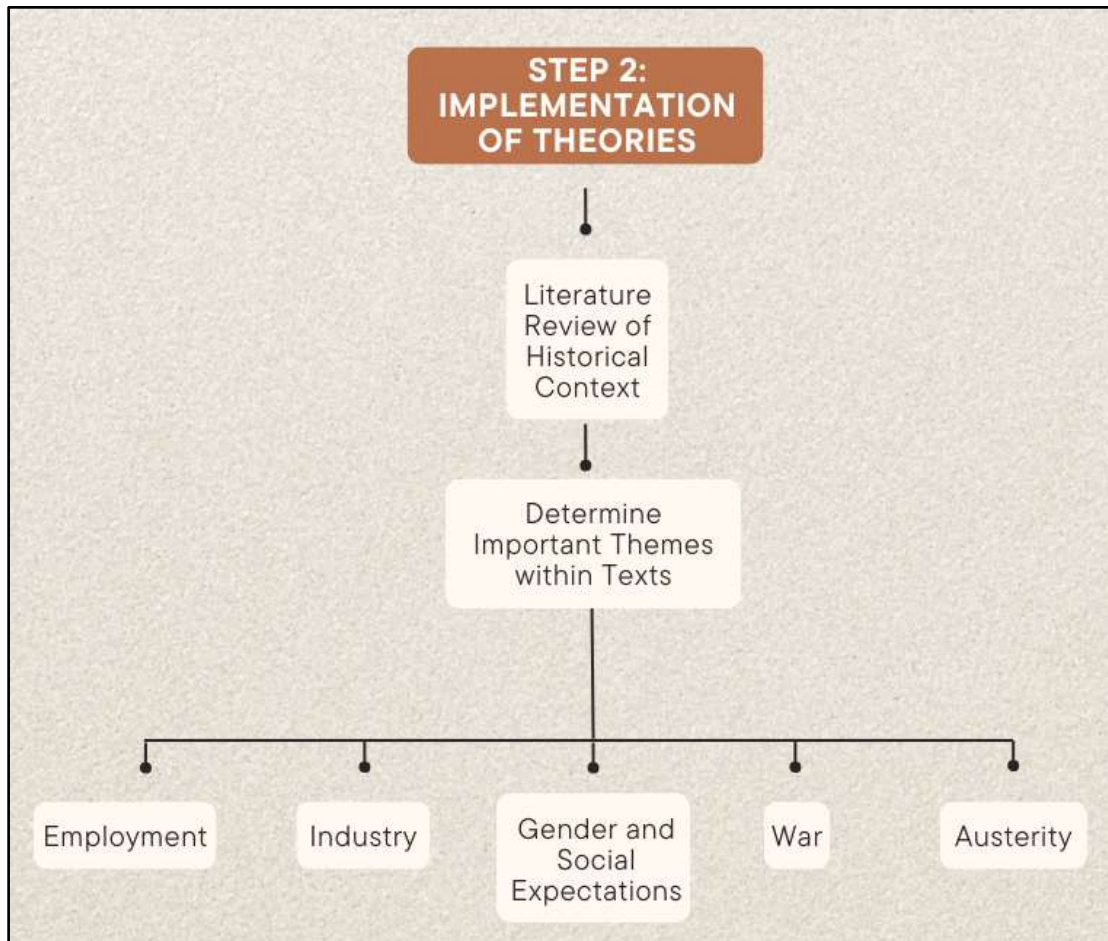


Figure 4.2. Detail. Adapted Framework. Step 2: Implementation of Theories.

The themes included in this step of the framework comprise employment, industry, war, austerity, and the expectations of gender and society. Ultimately, within these themes emerge the four focused stages of this research: availability, use, architecture, and the finding of the self. The final step of the Adapted Framework in this historical context is the implementation of the Complementarity Analysis Method adapted from Hammersley (1996) and the Constant Comparative Analysis Method adapted from Thomas (2016), introduced in 3.3 (**Figure 4.3**).

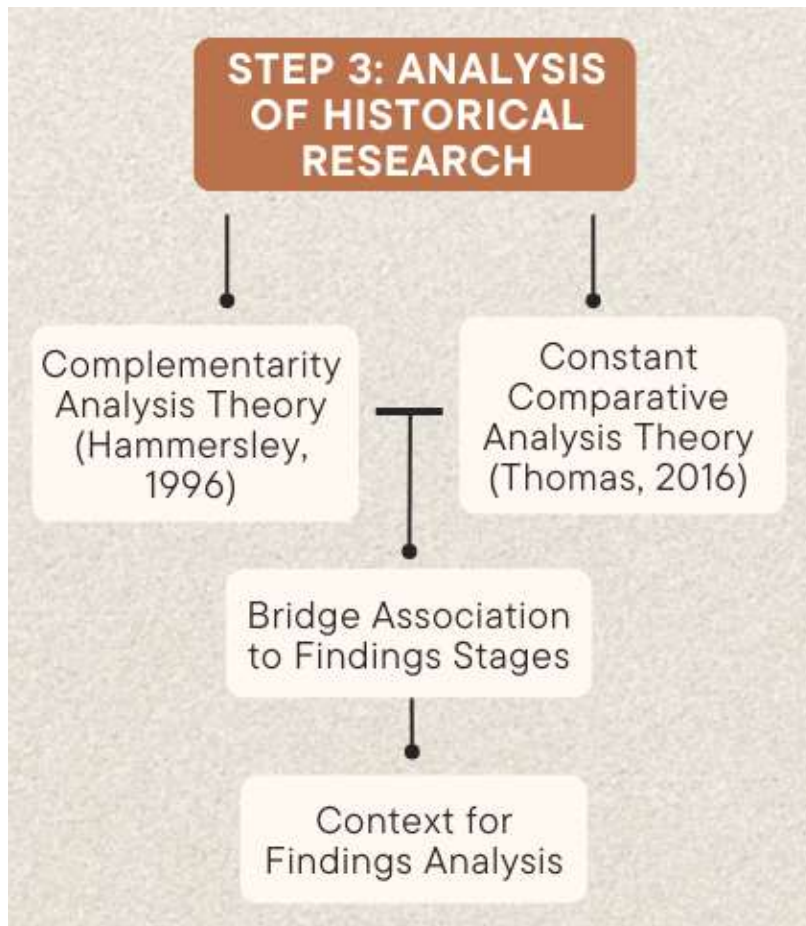


Figure 4.3. Detail. Adapted Framework. Step 3: Analysis of Historical Research.

Utilising these two analysis processes solidifies the importance of studying the foundational underpinnings of historical research (Busha and Harter, 1980; Ellis, 1967; Landes and Tilly, 1971). The findings from the Adapted Framework as part of this chapter seek to provide a key foundational base for the remaining stages of the thesis. It adds vital historical context to the case studies implemented in the research design as well as allows for the remaining stages to implement a streamlined data collection, organisation, and analysis process.

4.3 A Change from a National Focus to Local Provision: The Historical Public Library Situation in Yorkshire

The history of the public library in England began before 1850 with the introduction and debates surrounding the Public Library Act of 1850. Such debates ultimately led to the bill's passing, allowing public library services nationwide to ratify and implement rate-supported public libraries within their communities (Hamby and Najowitz, 2008; Max, 1984). While the Public Library Act of 1850 allowed individual councils to integrate public libraries into their

communities, it did not establish a nationwide provision scheme. This ultimately led to a disparity among public library ratification within the United Kingdom, leaving some communities without public libraries until after the First World War (Kelly, 1977, pp. 466-493). This, however, is a different situation in Yorkshire than in the rest of the country. By 1893, Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York had all adopted and opened public library services in their respective communities (**Table 4.1**).

Table 4.1

Years of Adoption and Opening of Public Library Services in Yorkshire

<u>Yorkshire Cities</u>	<u>Year of Public Library Act of 1850 Adoption</u>	<u>Opened Library Service</u>
Bradford	1871	1872
Hull	1892	1893
Leeds	1868	1870
Sheffield	1853	1856
York	1891	1893

Note. Adapted from Kelly (1977).

Table 4.1 illustrates the progression of public library adoption in Yorkshire, noting thirty-seven years between the opening of Sheffield Public Library services and the York Public Library. The adoption and opening dates are not contested; however, one continuously tested component of library provision surrounds the public library's purpose (Allred, 1972; Maxwell, 2005; Snape, 2006). Debated historically and contemporarily, the purpose of the public library in England stemmed from an idea regarding the welfare of the local working-age population and the lack of morally uplifting community services (Hamby and Najowitz, 1999; Hayes and Morris, 2005). Such concerns initiated the debates surrounding the passing and implementation of the Public Library Act of 1850 (see Black's *A New History of the English Public Library: Social and Intellectual Contexts, 1850-1914* (1996), Kelly's *History*

of Public Libraries in Great Britain 1845-1975 (1977), and Hamby and Najowitz's *The Public Libraries Act of 1850* (1999) for further reading).

Opinions surrounding the adoption, opening, and overall purpose of community public library services throughout England fluctuated throughout the history of the pre-1914 public library. This is especially true in combination with the influence of society, politics, economy, and cultural shifts within English society (Black, 1996a; Kelly, 1977; DeGroot, 1996). The First World War (1914-1918) drastically added to these shifts. It ultimately led to disastrous effects on every aspect of life in England, including tightening austerity measures, shortages of everyday materials, and changes in employment. Public libraries in England were not spared the hardships these changes inflicted, for the start of the First World War brought with it the need to re-evaluate the public library situation and the purpose of national and local public library services (Black, 2000b; Braybon, 1981; DeGroot, 1996; Ellis, 1987; Kelly, 1977).

4.3.1 National Generalisations and the Regional Gap in English Public Library History

As explored in the literature review (**Chapter 2**), many published public library histories explore the consistent discourse on purpose, patron use, user identity, and class debates. These foundational histories and reports, written by authors such as Adams (1922), Black (1996a; 2000b), Kelly (1977), McMenemy (2018), Minto (1937), and Sykes (1979), help to paint a vivid picture of the national view of English public library provision in the 19th and 20th centuries. While this aids in a more robust understanding of the general nature of the English public library service, such understandings also uncover significant gaps in county-specific conditions of libraries.

Generalisations relating to the public library situation in England during the First World War give valuable insight into how libraries dealt with the conflict, providing an essential understanding of how the large-scale conflict affected those on the home front. For example, Black (2007) reinforces that the war brought fundamental ideas that would eventually lead the public library movement into a positive light through areas of national provisions, such as

business, government, and librarianship efforts (pp. 479-480). He also explains the reasons behind such shifts. These include

...the need for organised science and economic planning to fight the war and prepare for the post-war world...the perception of a revolutionary threat and the need to contain it...and the emergence of an information role for libraries... (p. 480).

While the above list of shifts relating to the general English public library by Black (2000) is direct, other authors, notably Green (1955), note generalisations as benchmarks. She writes that when looking into First World War-era data on English public libraries, the following eight elements should be considered by researchers:

The lingering 'free library image'; Inadequacy of opening hours;
Insufficient buildings in convenient locations; Bureaucratic rules and regulations; Officious staff; Poor bookstocks; Ineffective publicity;
Insufficient cooperation with schools (pp. 392-398).

Both Green (1955) and Black (2007) aim their messages at England's broader public library service. They promote prominent situations within the English public library and highlight the national struggles due to the First World War. Although such generalisations offer important insight into the wider scope of English public library provision, it is important to recognise that English library services were organised at the local authority level instead of being part of a nationwide system (Kelly, 1977).

The absence of a national library system permitted each authority to maintain its own rules and regulations as long as it fell under the Public Library Act of 1850 (Public Libraries Act, 13 & 14 Vict. c.65). While the Act of 1850 enacted many regulations regarding library provision, a number of aspects of public library provision fell to the discretion of local councils. This allowed the councils to adopt and implement unique elements of provision based on individual community needs, such as economic spending, patron services, and building maintenance (Kelly, 1977; Minto, 1937). While each library service has its own history within the more comprehensive English public library history, added emphasis is placed on nationwide generalisations rather than on each individual service.

Many key texts and publications related to the public library history of England reference local provision. However, many English public library histories are missing a thorough understanding of the intersection between libraries' social, economic, and cultural significance within the context of local communities. Sources within the critical literature emphasise the importance of detailed local analyses in the historical record. They argue the significance of regional histories and the need to uncover hidden histories from the past. They also state that, while the histories are present among the wider public library history, they could also provide essential detail into local communities and their specific connections to public libraries (Minto, 1937; Black, 1996; Kelly, 1977; Peatling, 2004). Peatling (2004) distinctly marks this position on the significance of regional histories. He writes that

...public libraries too could act as a transmission mechanism between the local and the national. The public library of Leamington Spa 1895 anticipated that the formation of its local collection would in conjunction with collections of a similar kind in other libraries, have a distinct national importance and value' (p. 28).

While Peatling is passionate about the importance of regional history, he emphasises that regional histories do not deter national library provision. He emphasises that

Public libraries and library movements were also often expressions of local identity and civic pride: but this again was surely not necessarily inimical to the presence of national identities (p. 37).

Peatling's (2004) views regarding regional histories within the wider English public library provision are mirrored by others. Thomas Kelly (1977) emphasises the lack of regional accounts when he writes that the

...heart of library history...is not to be found in its more general aspects...[but] in the often highly individual history of the hundreds of individual libraries with together make up the library service (Black, 1996, p. 25).

Peatling (2004) further comments on such a message on regional gaps, noting that although authors such as Black (1996) and Kelly (1977) use local cases as examples to explore both the administrative and cultural presence of libraries in England, there remains a void in the written account of the English public library. He writes, "...national or regional variations in British or English public libraries are largely ignored" (Peatling, 2004, p.3). These authors

emphasise the need for further histories as a way to understand the history of regional libraries. Such an understanding then goes further into understanding how regional libraries differed from the national library outlook. The need for further regional library histories is a component of which this thesis aims to contribute.

It is noteworthy to recognise that although authors such as Black (2000b), Kelly (1977), Minto (1937), and Peatling (2004) emphasise the lack of detailed regional public library histories, early publications of regional public library provision exist. Pre-First World War authors use regional examples in their work, acknowledging both the national and regional perspectives of libraries in England. In the case of John Ogle's *The Free Library* (1897), regional libraries are used as isolated town cases, focusing on the local provision rather than a way to generalise a nationwide provision scheme. In this pre-First World War account, Ogle divides his text into two primary sections: "General History," focusing on the origin of the English public libraries from before the passing of the Public Library Act of 1850 up through 1896, and a section titled "Brief Histories of Typical Libraries" which magnify the histories of what he calls, 'first-rate', 'second-rate', and 'third-rate' towns. These descriptors, at first glance, are misleading. Ogle uses these notations not as quality descriptors but as terms to delineate towns with different population sizes. For example, in 1891, "first-rate" refers to towns with a population of over 250,000, 'second-rate' to towns between 80,000 and 250,000, and 'third-rate' to towns with a population of 10,000 to 80,000 (Ogle, 1897). Including a national overview and local library situations in selected towns is an excellent primary step in understanding regional accounts of the public library. However, a more detailed exploration of county library histories is needed to understand how their local libraries provided library service within each community.

While there are some instances when nationwide generalisations are valuable to understanding the more prominent themes within English public library provision, as, for example, in understanding England's thoughts on library provision in comparison to other countries in the UK and throughout the world, there are also cases when such generalisations minimise the importance of regional variations (Peatling, 2004). Ogle (1897), Minto (1932), and McColvin (1956), amongst others, often group information together and set it as the situation for all English library services. While there are similarities in provision throughout the country, such as debates on rate limitations, the aim and goals of the public library, and

idealised provision to the community, by grouping the entirety of the public libraries under the umbrella identity of ‘English’ suggests a removal of individuality amongst the different lived histories of each community and the influence they each had on the broader scope of historical library provision. Black (1996) supports the importance of individual analyses by explaining how “It is safer to analyse the statistics of different public libraries in isolation, with reference to a town’s social, economic and political make-up. The diversity of locality should be emphasised” (Black, p. 24).

One year after the end of the First World War, Parliament passed the 1919 Public Libraries Act, and with it, amongst other legislative changes, the unification of individual libraries into larger county library systems, creating bigger and more generalisable regions (Minto, 1939). Acknowledging, promoting, and understanding regional variations before the 1919 Public Libraries Act and during the First World War creates the potential to develop a richer awareness of the diversity of public libraries, specifically diversity surrounding library provision in and around the First World War.

4.4 Yorkshire: A Regional Background

Until 1974, Yorkshire was England’s single largest county, both in population and size. While today it is formally comprised of four separate counties (North Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, and the East Riding of Yorkshire), in the early 20th century, it was comprised of three geographical ‘Ridings’, all converging in the county seat of York (Britannica, 2023; Hey, 1986). Not only was Yorkshire the largest county, but it was also the centre of nineteenth and twentieth-century industry, employing thousands of working-class men, women, and children (Braybon, 1981; Hey, 1986; De Groot, 1996; Stevenson, 1984). The diversity of industry within the borders of Yorkshire spanned the spectrum of modern innovation, including urban centres focusing on, but not limited to, steel, railways, textiles, fishing, and cutlery manufacturing (Tate, 1960, p. 49). Particularly throughout the War, Yorkshire manufacturing and industry often challenged societal norms regarding gender, the working population, and education (Black, 1996; Braybon, 1981; Kelly, 1977). During 1914-1918, the industrial endeavours of Yorkshire supported both individual communities and the greater War effort. As a result of such social change, a great need remained for activities that detached employees from the toll of job hardships and the War effort (Snape, 2006).

Generally speaking, public libraries in Yorkshire closely followed the adoption progression of other free public libraries in England. As noted in Table 4.1 earlier in this chapter, Sheffield adopted the Public Library Act of 1850 early in the 1853 legislative period and officially opened the first library in 1856. Leeds and Bradford followed in 1868 and 1871, opening in 1870 and 1872, respectively. York and Hull adopted the Act of 1850 nearly twenty years later, in 1891 and 1892, and both authorities opened their first libraries in 1893 (Kelly, 1977). While these significant localities in Yorkshire all focused on different aspects of industry, they all had a common tie through shifts in public library provision, social constructs, legislative disadvantages, economic fluctuations, and changing employment dynamics. The following sub-sections look at these specific shifts and how the five cities in Yorkshire adapted life to meet the challenges in a time of conflict.

4.4.1 Yorkshire: Legislative Disadvantages and Rural Library Provision

In addition to the early provision of public libraries within each local service, Yorkshire had a long history of providing rural communities with access to books (Ellis, 1977). According to the Adams Report of 1915, about 25% of rural populations in England had access to library services at the end of 1915 (Adams Report, 1915, p. 8). Although 25% of the population had access to rural provision, 75% of those living in rural Yorkshire were disadvantaged by a lack of access (Duckett, 2003). Rural library provision lacked the funding the Public Library Act of 1850 provided city library services. Duckett (2003) further notes that the lack of funding ultimately led to a lack of diversity amongst book stock, low staffing, and often an absence of a permanent library building. Rather than providing permanent free access to books, a commodity that would eventually come to rural Yorkshire with the passage of the 1919 Public Libraries Act, The Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes ran a rural library service charging a £1 subscription for a village to receive a box of books. This service, founded in 1856, continued to provide book-borrowing access to rural patrons unable to access city library services (Curzon, 1898; Duckett, 2003). The lack of reliable rural library provision until the passage of the 1919 Public Libraries Act is a physical example of the legislative delay surrounding the public libraries within Yorkshire. It also highlights the uncertainty of library provision during the War, especially in rural regions.

4.4.2 Yorkshire: Social Constructs and the Debate on the ‘Free’ Public Library

In addition to the turbulent provision of Yorkshire's rural libraries, another concern within public library history is the debate surrounding the word ‘free’ (Minto, 1932). At the beginning of the debates surrounding the Public Library Act of 1850, disagreements relating to the appropriate name for public libraries created discord between the public library pioneers and their opposition (Public Libraries Act, 13 & 14 Vict. c.65). The controversy surrounding the appropriateness of attaching the term ‘free’ to public libraries began as a way to question whether or not the institution of the library catered to all classes (Sykes, 1979). Many argued that implementing the term ‘free’ would thwart anyone other than the working class from using the facilities. At the same time, pioneers of the public library movement sought to include the word ‘free’ to promote the idea of a public library free from out-of-pocket charges, which were considerably different from costly private subscription libraries and fee-charging Mechanics’ Institutes. There remained friction between those who thought the term ‘free’ equated the public library to a charity endeavour (Black, 2000, p. 23). John Minto (1932) explains that the word ‘free’

...has undoubtedly deterred a number of people from supporting the Public Library movement and from using the libraries from a mistaken idea that they are of the nature of other charitable institutions like free breakfasts or free soup kitchens maintained by the wealthy inhabitants for the benefit of their poorer brethren. (p. 101)

Opposition to the term ‘free’ did not emanate solely from those in the national government. Professor Leone Levi, a King's College London professor, remarked that “the term ‘free’ applied to libraries established under the Acts and furnished unwilling ratepayers with the objection that others had to pay for those who used them” (Minto, 1932, p. 167). At the same time, Mr. Yates of Leeds expressed concern by noting his preference for excluding the term ‘free’ instead of the simplistic American term ‘public library’ (Minto, 1932). Eventually, the word ‘free’ would only be included in the Free Public Library Act of 1850, while subsequently erased from the Act of 1855 and all remaining public library legislation passed after 1855.

Unlike the rest of the country, Yorkshire was spared much of the controversy surrounding the inclusion of the word ‘free’ in the public library. The term remained part of the local library

vernacular until well into the twentieth century. However, it is not apparent that ‘free’ carried the same controversial connotation within different locations in Yorkshire. Whereas the term ‘free’ carried an air of misinformation within places such as Parliament and legislative debates, in regional examples, such as newspaper articles and correspondence, the term was less a topic of discussion regarding class usage and more used to distinguish the public library from subscription and fee-charging private libraries (Minto, 1932). Many of the larger cities in Yorkshire, and perhaps the smaller towns and villages, continued to use the term well through the First World War. For example, on 16 October 1916, The *Yorkshire Observer* published the article “Bradford Free Libraries” and another on 18 May 1918 titled “Man in the Library” that went on to refer to ‘free libraries’ as a place where the community can explore new interests at no immediate cost (“Bradford Free Libraries”, 1916; “Man in the Library”, 1918). Other examples of the *Yorkshire Observer* using the word ‘free’ include “Early Closing of Free Libraries” (1918) and “Bradford Central Free Library” (1918). Another example comes from the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*, which published an article titled “Pacifist Pamphlets in the Hull Free Library” (1916). Whereas these examples from 1914 to 1918 include the word ‘free’ to represent the public library, other sources refer to the establishment simply as a public library. An entry from the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* on 9 November 1915 ignores the word ‘free’ and uses ‘Public Library’ to describe the institution (“Free Fiction”, 1915). In Leeds, a publication from the *Yorkshire Post* was titled “Public Library Word During War Time” (1916).

Ultimately, ‘free’ is an important word used to establish the nature of the library with which it is associated. The word ‘free’ was not just a word used to debate the purpose or audience of the public library, but rather one allowing all people to understand the library as a place for free access to information. The debates regarding the inclusion and exclusion of the word ‘free’ range from class to economy to the idea of charity and choice. This section highlights those decisions and notes the massive impact such decisions had on establishing and maintaining local public libraries.

4.4.3 Yorkshire: Financial Troubles, Austerity, Employment, and Shortage of Materials

Sixty-four years before the outbreak of the First World War, the Public Library Act of 1850 set out parameters for all local authorities to follow in adopting public library services. The

Act established, in part, that towns with a population of 10,000 or more could spend a ½d rate limitation on establishing a public library or museum (not to be used on books) ...and maintaining the same amount (Public Libraries Act, 13 & 14 Vict. c.65). In 1855, this rate was increased to 1d. However, the financial struggles associated with the rate remained well into the twentieth century (*The Ideal Free Library*, 1906; Adams Report, 1915; Ogle, 1897). Many of Yorkshire's more prominent library authorities, including Sheffield, Leeds, and Bradford, fought to raise the rate to provide additional funding to each library service. While added funding and the 1855 1d rate increase relieved the rising cost of library maintenance, tight financial situations still required each library service to remain under strict budgetary conditions throughout the War and into the twentieth century (Kelly, 1977).

In addition to the public library, the people of Yorkshire also had financial concerns. 1914-1918 saw a steady increase in the price of goods and services. Heightened economic burdens plagued the county, severely decreasing the purchasing power of library funding. As a result, public libraries in Yorkshire were forced to place purchasing limits on the most expensive commodities, primarily fuel and electricity (Sheffield Public Libraries, 1956). While many libraries remained open for the duration, a number of library branches used for military headquarters and a few that closed altogether, ultimately decreasing purchasing power for fuel and electricity. This caused central and branch libraries to place restrictions on evening lighting. Such fuel rationing continued throughout the War, with users often complaining of the harsh conditions in the public library (Kelly, 1977). For example, a letter from a York librarian comments on the request from users, noting that he has "had a serious complaint from the Education Office as to the heating of the rooms they use in the building. I have explained the [??] and requirement but am told they must have more heat..." (*Letter Book*, 1918-1919). Another example is found in Sheffield, where, in September 1918, the Library Committee decided and implemented a plan as to how the central library should conserve fuel. Some examples include closing the women's reading room (noting that the women could use the main reading room), encouraging readers to decrease desk space used, thus reducing the consumption of light, the decision to consolidate newsrooms with reading rooms, and the closures of library premises hours earlier than their standard closure time (*Signed Minutes*, 1908-1923).

In addition to the financial hardships that the five Yorkshire public library services withstood during the First World War, changing social dynamics also shifted. With the changing social dynamic brought on by the War came a change in employment. As the men were called up to fight, the women of society filled vacancies (Braybon, 1981). This change in gender employment dynamics fought through traditional gender structure and encouraged heightened female employment in most industries, including public libraries. In Yorkshire, there are instances where certain branches shut entirely due to the lack of employees, with some never able to open again after the War. In other cases, library hours fluctuated and were sometimes cut altogether (Free Public Libraries and Museums Committee, 1914-1918; Sheffield Public Libraries, 1956).

Although not an exhaustive list of the difficulties such establishments dealt with between 1914 and 1918, these examples illustrate just some of the troubling situations that the public libraries of Yorkshire found themselves in during the War. As society's priorities changed, so did those of public libraries. The War led Yorkshire public library services to begin an ideological shift from creating library spaces to maintaining already established services until the end of the conflict (Black, 2000).

4.5 Initial Findings: The Historical Intersection between Public Libraries and Intellectual Sanctuary

While the sections above outline the significant historical background of generalised English public library history and regional focuses, this last section focuses on the initial findings of the relationship between public libraries and the idea of sanctuary. The information below connects the historical context and the overarching theme of intellectual sanctuary, ultimately beginning the discussion between public libraries, intellectual sanctuary, and the five field-study cities in Yorkshire.

Many public library services established provisions for their communities between the passage of the Public Library Act of 1850 and the First World War, attempting to invigorate the cultural fight for control over morality (Black, 2000a, p. 4). The pioneers of the free public library emphasised the importance of establishing a place where people of all social classes could join under one roof to experience the public library. Furthering this idea, the public library pioneers encouraged patrons to fully immerse themselves in its culture. They

encouraged users to sit down and explore the different reference titles, periodicals, magazines, and numerous essays. More inwardly, these pioneers sought to provide a morally superior place of knowledge, improving the immoral establishment of the local public house (Black, 1996; Hayes and Morris, 2005). Black goes further to say that the public library ideally would become a location where “standards of moral conduct would be improved, it was hoped, through cultural elevation” (Black, 1996, p. 7).

Cognisant of the constant tension between the shifts in public library provision, social constructs, legislative disadvantages, economic fluctuations, and employment dynamics, this idea of a refuge grew significantly after the outbreak of the First World War. Such concerns flourished in 1914 and remained at the forefront of library provision until after 1920 (Black, 2007). These societal, political, and economic difficulties affected English library provision and services in Yorkshire. Further adding to the need for sanctuary, an excerpt from the *Bradford Sanitary Association Annual Report of 1915* illustrated the local disparity, noting the increased presence of employment hardships and the need for recreation and relaxation. It recounts the situation in Yorkshire during the War as one with

...long working hours, restricted opportunities for recreation and relaxation, our darkened streets, the increased cost of living and the rigid economy which must be practised tend to lower the vital energy of all (1915).

Such hardships amongst the Yorkshire people illustrated the need for a quiet place, away from the overwhelming disruptions that plagued the years of the First World War.

As established from the literature review (2.3) and the earlier sections of this chapter, there is a vivid yet turbulent historical timeline surrounding the establishment and provision of both the English public library and the five field-study cities in Yorkshire. Furthermore, with the understanding gleaned from the above historical context, it is possible to construct an awareness highlighting the gaps regarding historical Yorkshire public library service provision. However, while there are cases of detailed regional accounts within the larger nationwide narrative (for examples, see Duckett, 2003; Kelly, 1977; Ogle, 1897), there remains a significant gap relating to the historical accounts of the five Yorkshire public library services highlighted in this thesis. The following findings stages implement the Adapted Framework (2.5.2) focusing on the foundations of Thomas (2016) and Hammersley

(1996) (**Figures 3.3 and 3.4**), the archival processes of Hill (1993) (**Figure 3.13**) to further investigate the relationship between the Yorkshire people and public libraries, focusing on themes such as availability, use, architecture, and the finding of the self. The findings accumulated from visiting and conducting archival research at location-specific archives, local studies libraries, and online repositories aim to form a more concrete understanding of the interaction between users, libraries, personal experiences and intellectual sanctuary.

The purpose of this chapter was not only to connect the ideas of the historical public libraries in England and Yorkshire but also to acknowledge that, while nationwide legislation had jurisdiction over public library provision in England up until 1919, the local library services held the day-to-day organisational authority. While this historical context did not exhaustively interact with every theme associated with the English public library before the First World War, it has created a foundation for building Stages **1, 2, 3, and 4**. Understanding the concept of intellectual sanctuary requires knowledge of history and literature to fully begin to build a relationship between the patron experience and the public library. Now that both have been foundationally explored, it is possible to begin investigating the interconnectivity of sanctuary to the historical and literary accounts of public libraries in Yorkshire during the First World War.

Chapter 5

Stage 1: The Availability of the Free Public Library

5.1 Introduction to the Research Stage 1

The previous sections of this thesis leading up to Stage 1 established the methodological (**Chapter 2**), literary (**Chapter 3**), and historical (**Chapter 4**) underpinnings of the public library in England, allowing for an in-depth analysis of themes and methods utilised throughout the remaining stages of this research. Now that these foundational understandings have been established, it is possible to move on to the archival stage of the research. Building upon one another, Stages 1, 2, 3 and 4 utilise the Adapted Framework to establish how different elements within the public library encouraged intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age population of the five field-study cities in Yorkshire during the First World War.

The four findings stages of the research each focus on one specific theme within public library provision. Drawing from the Review of the Literature (**Chapter 2**), the Methodology (**Chapter 3**) and the Historical Context (**Chapter 4**), these areas of library provision include availability (**Stage 1**), use (**Stage 2**), architecture (**Stage 3**), and finding self (**Stage 4**). Building upon one another to ultimately produce an understanding of the relationship between the public library and intellectual sanctuary, the four findings stages of the research process utilise quantitative and qualitative data from fieldwork undertaken at five regional archival and library locations throughout Yorkshire. The regional locations include Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York.

5.1.1 Outline of Stage 1

Stage 1 of the research process is comprised of five distinct sections. The first section (**5.1**) introduced the stage and how it relates to the other findings stages of this thesis. The second section, “Research Process” (**5.2**), focuses on the relationship to the Adapted Framework, highlighting the research methods implemented at this stage. Section **5.2** also highlights the research objectives this stage of the research addresses. Finally, the “Research in Practice” section of **5.2** highlights limitations encountered during the research process for this stage. Section **5.3** addresses the empirical findings gathered from the five field-work cities in Yorkshire, spotlighting the different elements affecting the public library's availability during

the First World War in Yorkshire. Following this, section 5.4 triangulates the findings and addresses how they work together to develop intellectual sanctuary. Finally, Section 5.5 concludes the stage, summarising the findings relating to availability relates these findings to the next stage: Use (Stage 2).

5.2 Research Process

As previously mentioned in the Methodology (3), Michael Hill (1993) proposes a new way to think about archival research that not only seeks to “challenge and extend the usual methods of finding and collecting data” but also one that attempts to bridge the gap between archival research and the social sciences (p.1). This research puts Hill’s (1993) archival processes into practice while conducting archival research at the five field-study cities in Yorkshire. Hill’s (1993) method was particularly beneficial to this current stage by highlighting “spatiotemporal chronologies.” Hill (1993) writes that

...parallel comparisons between chronologies of several organisations and cohorts may reveal previously unrecognised spatiotemporal patterns...to help identify anomalies and informational gaps in the chronologies of other instances (p.60).

While analysing the data and archival material for this stage, especially items relating to the weekly hours of operation of library services, central and branch locations, financial accounts, and excerpts from committee meeting minutes regarding regulation changes, incorporating Hill’s (1993) idea of spatiotemporal chronologies was essential to link relationships between these variables and the different field-study cities. These primary sources, along with the integration of newspaper editorials and personal accounts, help to project Hill’s archival processes onto this research, providing an opportunity to understand the situations throughout the five Yorkshire fieldwork cities simultaneously.

5.2.1 Stage 1 and the Adapted Framework

The foundations of Stage 1 are based on the Adapted Framework as fully outlined in the Methodology (3). As Hill (1993) describes above, the Adapted Framework takes different archival elements and transforms the information further to understand the relationship between the public library and availability. Stage 1 of the research implements the simplified version of the full Adapted Framework (Figure 3.11) seen below (Figure 5.1).

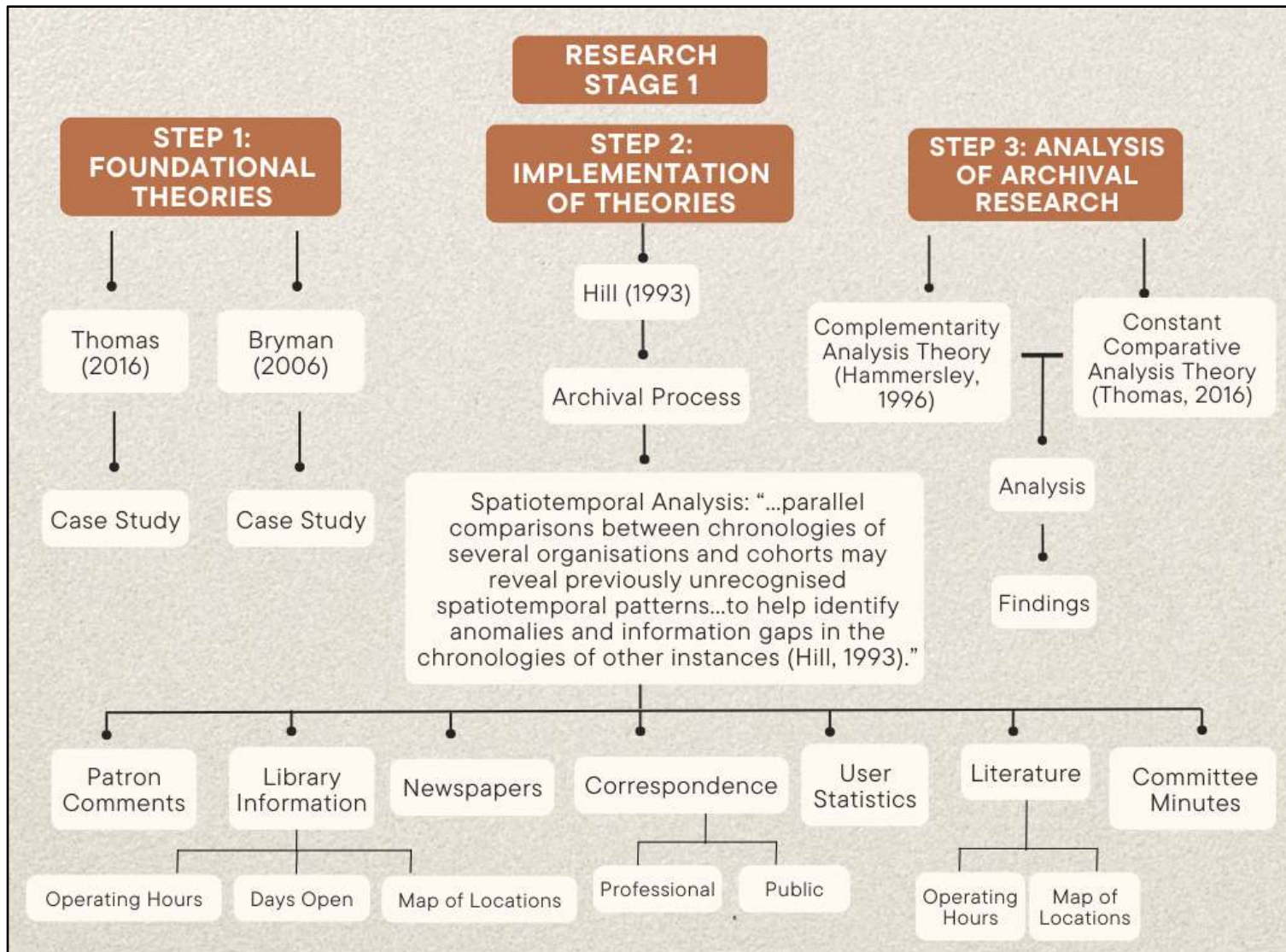


Figure 5.1. Adapted Framework for Stage 1.

The first step focuses on the foundational theories used as the basis for the research conducted in this stage. These include the case study methodologies of Thomas (2006) and Bryman (2006). These foundational theories influenced the type of case study this research process integrated into the archival research (3.5.1).

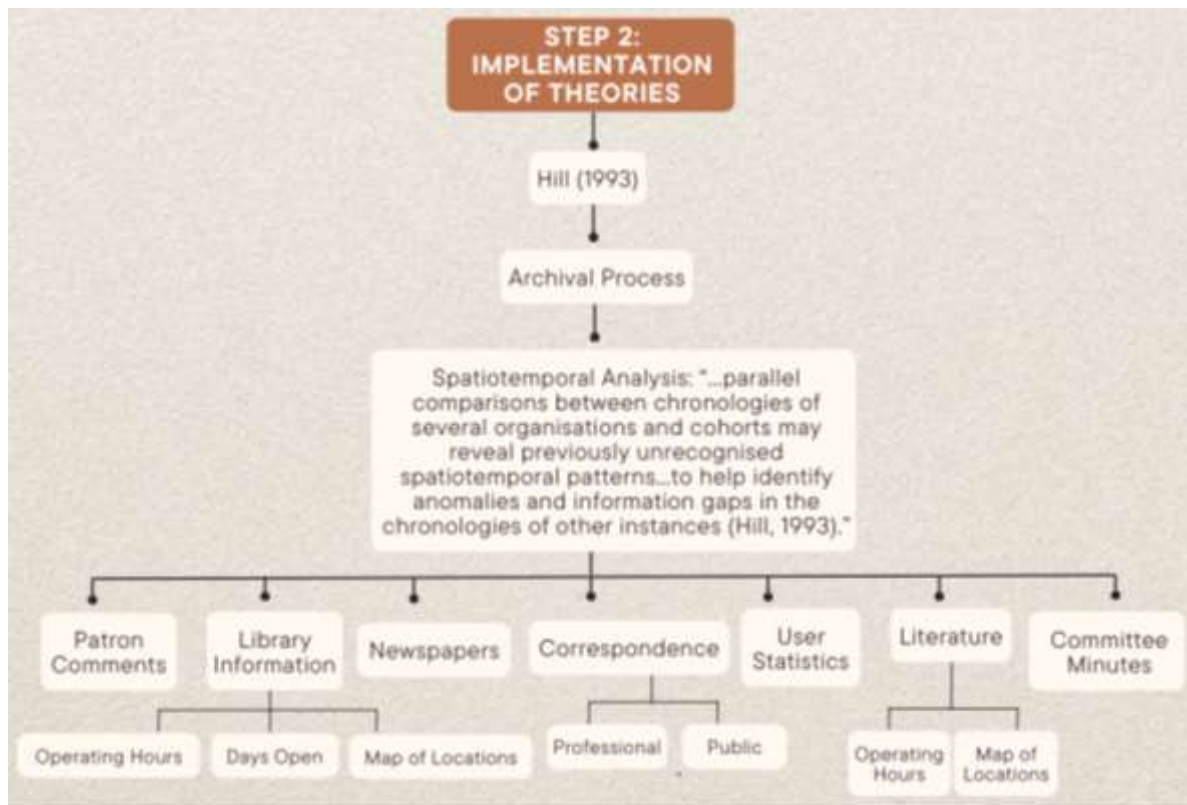


Figure 5.2. Detail. Adapted Framework. Stage 1. Step 2: Implementation of Theories.

The second step (Figure 5.2) is the ‘Implementation of the Foundational Theories’. After acknowledging the theories set out by Bryman (2006) and Thomas (2016), this second step of the research primarily utilises Hill’s (1993) idea of sociohistorical analysis as a way to work through the various patron comments, correspondence, newspaper cuttings, academic and critical literature, committee minutes, user statistics, and library information such as operating hours per week, days open per year, and maps of library locations.

5.2.2 Research Methods, Questions, and Aims

The objectives of this stage were achieved by analysing qualitative and quantitative primary source data gathered from archival fieldwork visits through Hammersley’s (1996) Complementarity Analysis Method and Thomas’ (2006) Constant Comparative Analysis Method. Utilising both methods in line with archival research processes explored in 3.5.2,

this stage gathers and analyses primary source material such as committee minutes, correspondence, opening times, and closure notices and contributes to the following research objectives:

3. To investigate if elements of availability, use, architecture, and the development of self, promoted the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuaries for the local working-age population of Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) during the First World War.

4. To understand if unanticipated conflicts, specifically the First World War, heightened the need for intellectual sanctuaries available to the local working-age population in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York).

5.2.23 Research in Practice

A number of archival research tasks were more time-consuming than anticipated throughout the research process. Each stage of the research highlights a task experienced in that stage's fieldwork process, noting how obstacles affected the research.

TABLE No. I.

Return, for year ended August 12th, 1914, of the number of days each Department has been open, the hours daily, the number of issues, daily average of issues, and the number of Borrowers who have joined the Libraries during the year.

NAMES OF DEPARTMENTS.	No. of days open.	Hours open daily.		No. of Issues.	Daily Average.	No. of Borrowers.			
		Library.	Reading Room.			Male.	Female.	Total.	
CENTRAL.									
News Room ... ..	...	...	9-0 a.m. to 9-30 p.m.	...	...	...	...	...
Reference Library	336	10-0 a.m. to 9-30 p.m.	10-0 " to 9-30 "	63538	189	...	...	...
Patents Department	305	2-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	3-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	18817	61.6	...	...	...
Directories Department	263	...	9-0 a.m. to 9-30 "	20519	66.3	...	...	...
Lending Library—									
Men's Department... ..	291	10-0 a.m. to 8-0 p.m.	...	93048	319.7	2835	2000	2896	
Women's Department	291	10-0 " to 8-0 "	10-0 a.m. to 9-30 "	82741	284.3				
BRANCHES.									
Allerton	305	5-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	...	13182	43.2	102	133	235	
Bolton Woods	301	6-0 " to 9-15 "	6-0 p.m. to 9-15 "	8212	27.2	90	90	180	
Bowling	299	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	29431	98.4	202	252	454	
Bradford Moor	296	10-0 " to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	47617	161	266	468	734	
Eccleshill	305	7-0 p.m. to 9-30 "	...	13012	42.6	171	184	355	
Girlington	293	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	36309	123.9	457	265	722	
Great Horton	305	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	80890	265.2	919	1064	1983	
" " Children's Room	305	...	5-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	15588	50.4	...	...	...
Idle	294	10-0 " to 9-0 p.m.	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	32563	110	301	296	597	
Listerhills	295	6-30 p.m. to 9-30 "	6-30 p.m. to 9-30 "	32406	109.8	371	309	680	
Manchester Road	293	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	88982	303.3	1145	882	2027	
Manningham	305	10-0 " to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	108982	357.3	1088	1382	2470	
" " Children's Room	305	...	5-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	12394	40.6	...	...	...
Otley Road	305	10-0 " to 9-0 "	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	59938	196.2	684	633	1317	
South Ward	185	6-30 p.m. to 9-0 "	6-30 p.m. to 9-30 "	7869	26.4	217	158	375	
Thornton	305	6-0 " to 9-0 "	...	14620	47.9	200	150	350	
Wibsey	305	6-30 " to 9-30 "	6-30 " to 9-30 "	13695	44.9	160	179	339	
Wyke	299	6-30 " to 9-0 "	6-30 " to 9-30 "	10937	36.6	147	133	280	
TRAVELLING LIBRARIES.									
Broomfields	31	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 p.m. to 9-0 "	2401	77.5	100	123	223	
Buttershaw	97	Tuesday and Friday ...	7-15 " to 9-15 "	3226	33.8	36	37	73	
Greengates	100	Monday and Thursday ...	7-30 " to 9-30 "	5130	51.3	42	59	101	
Henton	94	Monday and Friday ...	7-30 " to 9-30 "	2948	31.3	26	24	50	
Hill Top (Low Moor)	97	Tuesday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	2602	26.8	13	23	36	
Low Moor	94	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	2389	25.4	27	15	42	
Princeville	96	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	2720	28.3	26	46	72	
Sandy Lane	97	Tuesday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	1701	17.6	16	19	35	
Tong	48	Monday	7-0 " to 9-0 "	1444	30	19	5	24	
White Abbey	39	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	262	6.7	13	10	23	
LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND	251	Monday to Friday ...	5-0 " to 6-30 "	*3000	11.9	...	...	...
				TOTAL ...	909454	...	10307	10083	19390

* These are included in Lending Department issues.

Image 5.1. Libraries, Art Galleries and Museum Committee. (1914). *44th Annual report of the Libraries, Art Galleries and Museum Committee* (BBD7/1/40), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

Stage 1 required many hours of searching physical documents for documented accounts of public library availability. As digitising historical records is expensive and time-consuming, many archives and local studies libraries visited as part of the research process did not possess digitised material. As a result, travelling to the physical repositories was required to conduct an archival assessment and begin record transcription. Many physical documents had to be recreated into spreadsheets and Word documents to have the full range of quantitative data available to analyse. The record in Image 5.1 is just one example illustrating the complexity of information in a physical record. I was solely responsible for transcribing and collating the relevant information into multiple digital formats, many of which are included in further stages of the research (for examples, see Tables 5.2 and 5.4). Transcribing and collating a large quantity of information required many hours of research both online and in person, which was ultimately made harder under the COVID-19 lockdown.

5.3 Physical Availability of the Public Library in First World War Yorkshire

Although the years during the First World War brought heightened turmoil to the people of England, the public library remained a “source of both useful knowledge and rational recreation” (Black, 2000b, p. 5). These uses, in addition to a need for social stability, drove the direction of the public library during the 1910s (Black, 2000b). Although the public library aimed to provide users with a path to knowledge and a means of recreation, physical access to public libraries was a significant barrier between the working population and their accessibility to such establishments (Kelly, 1977).

Yorkshire generally has maintained a rich and detailed public library history within many city archives, county archives, university archives, special collections, and local studies libraries. These histories, commonly recorded through detailed library committee minutes and statistical tables written by chief librarians or someone alike, provide quantifiable and narrative accounts of library events and decisions that, when organised using Hill’s (1993) spatiotemporal methods of archival arrangement, can be used to understand the patron experience.

5.3.1 Availability Through Open Number of Buildings During the First World War

A critical aspect of public library availability is the physical availability of central and branch locations. Whilst private and subscription libraries were readily available to the affluent

population, the cost of accessing these libraries meant that the working community's situation differed. It was common practice for the working population to have access to Mechanics' Institutes or free public libraries. Such establishments provided a free place to read, socialise, and learn (Altick, 1957; Black, 1996; Hendry, 1974; Max, 1984; McColvin, 1956; McMenemy, 2009). Having a free space to take part in such activities was especially important during the years of the First World War when national attitude, working dynamics, and economic troubles plagued the country (Black, 2000; Black, 2007; DeGroot, 1996; Kelly, 1977; Peatling, 2004).

During the four years of conflict, Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York each delivered different levels of services to their communities, contributing a unique number of permanent and remote services. These services included central libraries, branch locations (full-day and evening provision), delivery stations, travelling libraries, and commercial and technical libraries.

The provision in Bradford and Leeds was the most wide-ranging of the fieldwork locations, providing twenty-eight and twenty-four libraries to the greater Bradford and Leeds areas respectively (*Chronology of Leeds City Libraries since 1870*, 1971; Kelly, 1977). Of the twenty-eight libraries in Bradford, seventeen were branch locations, eleven were travelling/remote services, and of the twenty-four libraries in Leeds, fourteen were day branches, and nine were evening branches. Similar to the diversity found in Bradford and Leeds, Sheffield serviced its community with a combination of seventeen branches and delivery stations (*The City Libraries of Sheffield*, 1956). Unlike the temporary premises of the travelling library services found in Bradford and Leeds, Sheffield's delivery stations primarily utilised rooms in local schools and community buildings. Of the seventeen libraries in Sheffield, seven acted as delivery stations.

Unlike the numerous library services in Sheffield, Bradford, and Leeds, both Hull and York provided a drastically different picture of public library provision (*City of York Libraries, 1893-1943*, 1943; Kelly, 1977, p.128). The communities of York and Hull had seven branches between the two towns: six in Hull and a single library servicing York. It was not until after the First World War that additional branches were established in York (Kelly, 1977, pp. 151).

To understand how the number of libraries affected each field-study city, a table referencing the number of library services compared to the historical population of each city was created (**Table 5.1**). This table calculates the average number of users each city branch serviced (Vision of Britain, 2017).

Table 5.1

Average Number of Users per Branch Library

	<u>Number of Library Services Available During WW1</u>	<u>Average Population between 1911 and 1921</u>	<u>Average Number of Users Per City</u>
Bradford	28	435,440	15,550
Hull	6	285,495	27,583
Leeds	24	613,454	25,561
Sheffield	17	540,502	31,794
York	1	102,400	102,400

Note. Adapted from Vision of Britain, 2017.

By dividing the average population by the number of library services available, it is possible to visualise the average number of patrons of each library serviced within each library authority. It is possible to conclude on average, each branch in Bradford serviced the lowest number of people, averaging around 15,550 users per branch. On the other hand, York serviced over 100,000 patrons using the singular library. Not only did having one public library per 102,400 people place considerably more pressure on the York Public Library, but it also put pressure on the public library to provide the best possible service to the people of York (Vision of Britain: Historical Populations, 2017).

In contrast to York's single library, Bradford, Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield had an abundance of branches, travelling libraries, and delivery stations to satisfy the library needs of their communities. At the foundational level, the relationship between accessibility and physical

library services is simple: more libraries amount to higher availability. However, this is only the first step in understanding whether public library use by the local working-age population fluctuated due to changes in physical availability. The following section looks at the rules and by-laws established by the various leaders of each field-study city. It addresses whether such laws provided further availability to their communities and further builds an understanding of whether or not the public libraries provided ample opportunities for users to access the public library.

5.3.2 Availability through Library-Implemented Rules

Research under the ‘Foundational Histories: Historical Context Research’ section of the research design (3.2) uncovered archival documents that connected availability to various changes in library rules and regulations. These rules, maintained, adopted, and rescinded by each individual field-study library service, provided insight into the effects of such regulations on the local working-age population. For example, rules in Sheffield and York prevented using the lending library, reference library, reading rooms, and newsrooms for any user under the age of fourteen. Rules such as the one mentioned above also create an understanding regarding the long-range effects of the First World War on local communities (Furnish, 1917; Hart, 1921).

While it was impossible to find evidence regarding substantial rule changes to library provision, the evidence does support changes throughout the First World War at various libraries within the five field-study cities. Such changes included updates to regulations as a way to modernise outdated procedures, ultimately allowing each field-study city to adapt to the changing times of the First World War. Other changes included updates to classification schemes and library adaptations for the military use of library buildings. While not an exhaustive list, the changes highlighted in this section provide insight into the increased accessibility they provided to the field-study city's local working-age population, allowing more fluid access in times of conflict.

Documentation from the *Library and Arts Committee Meeting Minutes* in Leeds, dated 24 September 1914, corroborates the hypothesis that accessibility was a significant factor in granting the community full access to central libraries and branch services. The *Library and Arts Committee Minutes* state that

...in order to give greater facilities to the public using the Libraries, borrowers' tickets shall be available for use at any Library instead of being restricted to one specified Library as at present, and that the Town Clerk take the necessary steps with a view to the Regulations with respect to Public Libraries being amended accordingly (*Minute Book 1912-1924*, 1914).

This switch in policy instantaneously increased library accessibility, providing all card-holding patrons in Leeds access to any public library of their choosing. This is in direct contrast to the sole use of their library where their ticket was issued. As noted in Table 5.1, Leeds provided twenty-four physical libraries during the First World War. Scattered throughout the city and surrounding boroughs, these public libraries gave the community access to library services without travelling to their allocated location. The increased ability to use library tickets at all Leeds public libraries signified a shift in library accessibility to a more accessible method of library provision.

While the changes in Leeds greatly benefited the community, not all library authorities prioritised the same rules. As a result of city-run library councils, each city's public libraries were run according to the decisions of their own governing board (Kelly, 1977). An example of the diversity of priorities is seen in Hull, where such changes included bringing Hull up to date with the Dewey classification scheme. It was this change which William Lawton, the Chief Librarian of Hull, sought to alter the method of issuing books to patrons. He writes

Owing to this reclassification of the books, which is being made in order to make the contents of the Library better known to the public, I think it is advisable that the system of issuing the books should be altered. The present system of issuing is by the indicator, and every borrower is supposed to, and in accordance with the rules and regulations it is necessary that he should, choose the book he requires from the catalogue, and ask for that particular book by number, but in order to oblige borrowers, books have been chosen by assistants for them. This method has grown until it is now the custom for a large number of borrower's point of view, to a large extent, unnecessary. This is one reason for the proposed change....This change in the method of issuing is suggested for the Central Library alone at present, but if it should prove successful and convenient to the borrowers, I would recommend that it be extended to the Branch Libraries in due course (Lawton, 1910).

This call for change resulted from Hull adopting the Dewey Decimal System [DDS]. While this happened before the First World War, the excerpt emphasises the ongoing responsibility of librarians to increase the availability of books within each establishment. This responsibility is evident as Lawton argues "...that he [patron] should, choose the book he requires from the catalogue, and ask for that particular book by number, but in order to oblige borrowers, books have been chosen by assistants for them" (Lawton, 1910). Establishing individual patron access via DDS to books ultimately established an additional element of availability within the Hull Public Library.

In contrast to Bradford, Hull, Leeds and Sheffield, which each had numerous branches to accommodate, York's regulation changes affected the entirety of its library community. While searching the archives at Explore York! it was nearly impossible to find examples of exact bylaws and library regulations for the York Public Library during the First World War. However, some records note changes in bylaws due to the War, which provides insight into unusual circumstances within its library availability. The following excerpt illustrates library leadership's policy changes to accommodate in-house military occupancy. It explains how

A company of soldiers was quartered in the basement and on the staircases leading from it. The smell of cooking pervaded the air at all hours of the day, and at unexpected times a brass band would strike up, usually with the strains of 'Poet and Peasant'. After a time the soldiers left, but heavy machinery was installed, and the building rumbled and shook from morning to night, until one felt that 'Poet and Peasant' would have been a relief (*City of York Libraries, 1893-1943*, 1943).

Even though York's bylaws and regulations are not currently accessible in the historical record, including changes made to existing policy (as noted in the excerpt above) helps paint a picture of patron interaction with public library availability during the First World War. It emphasises the effects of disruption caused by the First World War on the library's physical availability. In the case of the excerpt referencing the in-house military occupancy, such changes deterred patron access to certain areas of the building.

Analysis of the various documents and personal accounts regarding the bylaws and official expectations of the public library services not only helps to visualise the expectations of the public library services but also provides a platform for understanding how regulations both

promoted and hindered patron availability. Examples from Sheffield, Leeds, and Bradford all had similar rules regarding food permissions in the libraries, stating that to some extent, people should “...not consume on or upon part of the library any intoxicating liquors or any other refreshments or food whatsoever” (Hart, 1921). A rule also states that “ a person other than an officer or servant of the Corporation shall not enter or remain in any part of any Library, Art Museum, or Art Gallery, not set apart for the use of the public” (1911). In York, allowances were made for the military without regard for the disruption caused to the library public (*City of York Libraries, 1893-1943*, 1943). While the different rules prioritised different expectations of the library leadership, it is clear that the First World War affected changes to availability, though often favouring the library service rather than the library patrons.

The changes noted above are just a couple of examples highlighting the relationship between the public libraries' bylaws, rules, and regulations uncovered by the research framework. Though not a definitive list, the above examples illustrate the commonality of adopted regulations among the field studies. They note the ability to change regulations when and if circumstances require it. Considering these rules and regulations, specifically in conjunction with the idea of physical availability, helps to promote the influence such regulations had on the community and their experiences in the public library.

5.3.3 Availability through Weekly Hours of Operation

While the rules and regulations of each public library built foundational operational rules for the effective running of the public space, exploring the weekly hours of operation also provides further insight into the relationship between availability and its effect on the local working-age population of the field study cities.

Contrary to original expectations, this stage did not unearth a notable difference between pre-war opening hours and those during the conflict. It did, however, reveal how even the most minor changes in hours affected the availability of the libraries. Consultation of library committee minutes and monthly statistical reports from archives and local studies libraries in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York uncovered small changes in the physical open hours of the libraries. Hours remained broadly consistent with opening hours before the outbreak of the War, though it is possible to see that certain points of the conflict directly

affected library hours. While these hours remained consistent throughout the First World War, in some instances, towards the middle years of the conflict, hours were altered to accommodate difficulties such as staffing issues, fuel shortages, and economic hardships. The entirety of the open hours per week can be found in Appendix E.

Table 5.2

Changes in Sheffield Libraries Operating Hours from 1915 to 1918

Reading Room								
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Total Hours Open per Week
January 1915	12.5	12.5	12.5	4	12.5	12.5	7	73.5
February 1915	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	7	82
May 1916 Central & Delivery Stations	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	7	82
September 1918	12	12	12	12	12	12	3	75
Lending Library								
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Total Hours Open per Week
January 1915	11	11	11	3	11	11	11	69
February 1915	11	11	11	3	11	11	11	69
May 1916 Central & Delivery Stations	11	11	11	3	11	11	11	69
September 1918	9	9	9	3	11	11	11	63
Central Reference								
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Total Hours Open per Week
January 1915	12	12	12	12	12	12	7	79
February 1915	12	12	12	12	12	12	7	79
May 1916	12	12	12	12	12	12	7	79
September 1918	11	11	11	11	11	11	7	73
Branch Libraries								
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Total Hours Open per Week
May 1916	8.5	8.5	8.5	4	8.5	8.5	4	50.5

Note. From *Minutes of the Free Public Libraries and Museums Committee (CA-LAM/1/7)*, 1914-1918.

For example, viewing Sheffield as a localised case study, it is possible to see that as the First World War progressed and the number of male library staff dwindled, the Sheffield library

committee was forced to adjust their weekly hours of operation in order to staff the buildings (Sheffield, 1956). The numbers highlighted in Figure 5.2 signify the number changes throughout the various libraries in Sheffield. Analysis of the numbers concludes that four significant library-hour changes occurred during the First World War. The first was in January 1915, when the Reading Rooms were open for 73.5 hours per week, the Lending Libraries for 69 hours per week, and the Central Branch Reference for 79 hours per week. In February 1915, the Reading Room hours were extended by 8.5 hours weekly, increasing to 82 hours weekly. May 1916 saw the first significant change in hours due to the First World War. As a result of staffing issues, the Sheffield Branch Libraries were forced to cut hours to 50.5 hours a week.

Contrasting to the changes in hours applied between 1915 and 1916 due to staffing issues (in the Reading Room), September 1918 brought a new set of struggles when a national fuel shortage plagued the country (Kelly, 1977; Sheffield, 1956). Affecting both the Central Library and the Branch Libraries, the Sheffield Library Committee deemed it essential to implement changes immediately. It reduced the weekly hours of operation for all Sheffield lending libraries, reference libraries, and reading rooms. Lending libraries in Sheffield opened for 63 hours instead of 69 in 1916. Reading Rooms opened 75 hours instead of 82 in 1916, and the Central Reference Room opened 73 hours instead of 79 in 1916. Overall, these decreases in weekly hours of operation hindered the availability of Sheffield Library services. From the height of library availability in February 1915, the local working-age population had between 3 to 7 hours a week less available time to use the services.

Not entirely unlike that of the Sheffield Public Libraries, Bradford was forced to make cuts to opening hours during the War. Through analysis of opening hours, it is clear that most closing times were modified in 1918 due to the new fuel and lighting regulations (Kelly, 1997). While Bradford's hours were cut like the Sheffield Public Library, unlike Sheffield, the library services in Bradford only had their hours cut between thirty minutes to an hour per day (Libraries, Art Gallery, and Museums Committee, 1911). These cuts were not as drastic as those in Sheffield, however, the decrease in hours still hindered the local working-age population as hours of access ultimately decreased.

Due to missing data in the archival record, it is unclear if Hull, Leeds and York shortened opening hours to accommodate staff changes and the new lighting regulations. A full account of available data showcasing library hours open per week is found in Appendix E.

5.3.4 Availability Through Number of Days Open Per Year

Examining the fluctuation in the weekly hours of operation above is an essential variable in understanding the physical availability of public libraries. However, to understand the significance of the fluctuation, it is imperative to look at the number of days the individual library services were open to the public. While each has its merit under the umbrella of public library availability, looking at the number of days the libraries were open to the local working-age population provides a deeper understanding of how elements of library availability affected public library patrons.

A thorough search was conducted into individual public library histories to analyse the difference in library services and their respective days open per year to the public. The search combined content from official committee minutes, annual reports, and sometimes newspaper editorials to create the most complete schedule for each of the five Yorkshire field-study cities. While only some of the data for the case studies below were available through archival work, the numbers provide a detailed view of the relationship between historical public libraries and the days open per year to the public during the First World War. The following tables' empty boxes (filled in grey) signify the missing archival data.

Committee minutes from Bradford, Sheffield, and Leeds provide the most complete examples of changes in hours from 1914 to 1918. The table below illustrates the days Sheffield libraries were open to the public. As noted above, the information regarding such opening days is patchy due to gaps in record keeping. This table details the days open per year from 1913 to 1916, noting differences between pre-war (1913-1914), at the outbreak of war (1914-1915), and the year following the outbreak of war (1915-1916).

Table 5.3*Sheffield Lending Library: Number of Days Open Per Year, 1913-1916*

	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference from 1913/1914 to 1914/1915</u>	<u>Difference from 1914-1915 to 1915/1916</u>	<u>Difference from 1913/1914 to 1915/1916</u>
<u>Central</u>	293	289	307	-4 (-1.4%)	+18 (+6.2%)	+14 (+4.8%)
<u>Central Reference</u>		305	307		+18 (0.7%)	
<u>Upperthorpe</u>	291	287	307	-4 (-1.4%)	+20 (+7.0%)	+16 (+5.5%)
<u>Brightside</u>	290	287	303	-3 (-1.0%)	+16 (+5.6%)	+13 (+4.5%)
<u>Highfield</u>	293	288	307	-5 (-1.7%)	+19 (+6.6%)	+14 (+4.8%)
<u>Attercliffe</u>	289	287	307	-2 (-0.7%)	+20 (+7.0%)	+18 (+6.2%)
<u>Park</u>	290	287	307	-3 (-1.0%)	+20 (+7.0%)	+17 (+5.9%)
<u>Walkley</u>	292	289	307	-3 (-1.0%)	+18 (+6.2%)	+15 (+5.1%)
<u>Hillsborough</u>	292	289	307	-3 (-1.0%)	+18 (+6.2%)	+15 (+5.1%)
<u>Tinsley</u>	293	289	307	-4 (-1.4%)	+18 (+6.2%)	+14 (+4.8%)
<u>Darnall Branch/Delivery Station</u>	293	289	307	-4 (-1.4%)	+18 (+6.2%)	+14 (+4.8%)
<u>Brightside Delivery Station</u>	241	236	255	-5 (-2.1%)	+19 (+8.1%)	+14 (+5.8%)
<u>Hunter's Bar Delivery Station</u>	242	236	255	-6 (-2.5%)	+19 (+8.1%)	+13 (+5.4%)
<u>Broomhill Delivery Station</u>	243	236	255	-7 (-2.9%)	+19 (+8.1%)	+12 (+4.9%)
<u>Meersbrook Delivery Station</u>	244	227	255	-17 (-7.0%)	+28 (+12.3%)	+11 (+4.5%)
<u>Crookes Delivery Station</u>	241	238	255	-3 (-1.2%)	+17 (+7.1%)	+14 (+5.8%)
<u>Nether Green Delivery Station</u>	242	236	239	-6 (-2.5%)	+3 (+1.3%)	-3 (-1.2%)
<u>Wincobank Delivery Station</u>	241	236	255	-5 (-2.1%)	+19 (+8.1%)	+14 (+5.8%)

Note. From *Annual Report of the Committee of the Free Public Libraries and Museum of the City of Sheffield, 1895-1916*. [027.44274 S 1908-1916]. Sheffield Local Studies Library, Sheffield, England.

Table 5.3 illustrates the Sheffield Lending Libraries' days open yearly to the public. The table highlights that the beginning of the war caused a decrease in the days the libraries were open. Of the sixteen locations with available data, all decreased in days from 1913-1914 to 1914-1915. The greatest of these decreases occurred at the Meersbrook Delivery Station, which decreased by 7.0% (n=17). The Attercliffe branch had the lowest decrease at 0.7% (n=2).

However, as the war continued, the number of days each library was opened to the public began to climb again, providing increased availability to the users of the library services in the city. Of the seventeen branches in Sheffield, all increased in use from 1914-1915 to 1915-1916. The greatest of these increases occurred at the Meersbrook Delivery Station, which increased by 12.3% (n=28).

Table 5.3 highlights the effect the First World War had on public library availability within the first two years of the conflict. The table also uncovers that availability improved by more than two weeks (fourteen days) in many cases, increasing the chance that the local working-age population could find an appropriate day to access the library.

While the Sheffield Public Library services fluctuated between 1913 and 1915, with many rising again after the first year of conflict, the trends in fluctuations were different at the Bradford Public Library. The table below illustrates the fluctuation of library days open yearly from 1913-1914, 1915-1916, and 1916-1917 (Table 5.4). Data for 1914-1915 (the first year of the war) was unavailable at the time of fieldwork collection.

Table 5.4

Bradford Libraries Change in Days Open per Year 1913 to 1917

	<u>1913</u> - <u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u> - <u>1916</u>	<u>1916</u> - <u>1917</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>from 13/14-</u> <u>15/16</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>from 15/16-</u> <u>16/17</u>	<u>Difference</u> <u>from 13/14-</u> <u>16/17</u>
<u>Central</u>						
Reference Library	336	361	357	25 (+7.4%)	-4 (-1.1%)	21 (+6.3%)
Patents Department	305	309	304	4 (+1.3%)	-5 (-1.6%)	-1 (-0.3%)
Directories Department	363	364	363	1 (+0.3%)	-1 (-0.3%)	0 (+0.0%)
Lending Library-Men's	291	309	304	18 (+6.2%)	-5 (-1.6%)	13 (+4.5%)
Lending Library-Women's	291	309	304	18 (+6.2%)	-5 (-1.6%)	13 (+4.5%)
<u>Branches</u>						
Allerton Lending Library	305	291	304	-14 (-4.6%)	13 (+4.5%)	-1 (-0.3%)
Bolton Woods LL/RR	301	309	303	8 (+2.7%)	-6 (-1.9%)	2 (+0.7%)
Bowling LL/RR	299	309	300	10 (+3.3%)	-9 (-2.9%)	1 (+0.3%)
Bradford Moor LL/RR	296	303	304	7 (+2.4%)	1 (+0.3%)	8 (+2.7%)

East Ward		286	304		18 (+6.3%)	
Eccleshill Lending Library	305	309	304	4 (+1.3%)	-5 (-1.6%)	-1 (-0.3%)
Girlington LL/RR	293	309	304	16 (+5.5%)	-5 (-1.6%)	11 (+3.8%)
Great Horton LL/RR	305	309	304	4 (+1.3%)	-5 (-1.6%)	-1 (-0.3%)
Idle LL/RR	294	309	304	15 (+5.1%)	-5 (-1.6%)	10 (+3.4%)
Listerhills LL/RR	295	305	303	10 (+3.4%)	-2 (-0.7%)	8 (+2.7%)
Manchester Road LL/RR	293	309	304	16 (+5.5%)	-5 (-1.6%)	11 (+3.8%)
Manningham LL/RR	305	309	304	4 (+1.3%)	-5 (-1.6%)	-1 (-0.3%)
Otley LL/RR	305					
South Ward		309	304		-5 (-1.6%)	
Thornton Lending Library	305	309	304	4 (+1.3%)	-5 (-1.6%)	-1 (-0.3%)
Wibsey Lending Library	305	309	304	4 (+1.3%)	-5 (-1.6%)	-1 (-0.3%)
Wyke Lending Library	299	309	302	10 (+3.3%)	-7 (-2.3%)	3 (+1.0%)
<u>Travelling Libraries</u>						
Broomfields	31	102	99	7 (+229.0%)	-3 (-2.9%)	6 (+219.4%)
Buttershaw	97	99	99	2 (+2.1%)	0 (+0.0%)	2 (+2.1%)
Greengates	100	102	98	2 (+2.0%)	-4 (-3.9%)	-2 (-2.0%)
Heaton	94	99	97	5 (+5.3%)	-2 (-2.0%)	3 (+3.2%)
Hill Top	97	100	100	3 (+3.1%)	0 (+0.0%)	3 (+3.1%)
Low Moor	94	99	86	5 (+5.3%)	-13 (-13.1%)	-8 (-8.5%)
Princeville	96	95	98	-1 (-1.0%)	3 (+3.2%)	2 (+2.1%)
Sandy Lane	97	100	99	3 (+3.1%)	-1 (-1.0%)	2 (+2.1%)
Tong	48	50	51	2 (+4.2%)	1 (+2.0%)	3 (+6.3%)
White Abbey	30	102	91	7 (+240.0%)	-11 (-10.8%)	6 (+203.3%)

Note. From *Annual Report of the Libraries, Art Gallery and Museums Committee, 1913-1917.*

Of the twenty-eight library locations in Bradford during the First World War, twenty-three increased, two decreased, and three did not have available data between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916. The greatest increase occurred at the White Abbey Travelling Library when there was a 240.0% (n=72) increase in days open per year to the public. Allerton Branch Library saw the most significant decrease, losing 4.6% (n=14). As a comparison, Sheffield only saw one branch (of seventeen) decrease between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916 at the Nether Green Delivery Station, which saw a loss of 1.2% (n=3).

The library fluctuations increased and decreased in Bradford as the First World War progressed. Between 1915-1916 and 1916-1917, only five locations increased in days open yearly. The highest day increase occurred at East Ward, which increased by 6.3% (n=18). The location with the highest decrease was Low Moor at 13.1% (n=13). Overall, the increases and decreases between the year before the outbreak of war (1913-1914) and the third year of the war (1916-1917) increased the public availability of libraries at seventeen of the twenty-eight Bradford locations. The location that saw the highest increase in days open per year was Broomfields Travelling Library, which increased by 219.4% (n=68). Low Moor had the highest decrease at 8.5% (n=8).

The data in Sheffield and Bradford both show three years of data, highlighting several years of fluctuations during the First World War. This data is significantly different in Leeds because the archival documentation only provides data for the yearly number of days open for the year before the War (1913-1914) and the first year of the War (1914-1915). However, the numbers from the two years remain significant as they highlight the effect the outbreak of war had on the community the public library served (**Table 5.5**).

Table 5.5

Leeds Number of Days Open per Year at Public Libraries and Branches 1913-1915

	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>Difference Between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915</u>
Central Lending		306	
Central Reference	307	306	-1 (-0.3%)
Armley	307	291	-16 (-5.2%)
Beeston			
Bramley	303	296	-7 (-2.3%)
Brownhill	307	305	-2 (-0.7%)
Burley	148	153	5 (+3.4%)
Chapel-Allerton	307	306	-1 (-0.3%)
Dewsbury Road	307	305	-2 (-0.7%)
East Street			
Farnely	50	52	+2 (+4.0%)
Headingley	307	306	-1 (-0.3%)

Holbeck	307	306	-1 (-0.3%)
Hunslet	300	306	+6 (+2.0%)
Kirkstall	307	299	-8 (-2.6%)
Lower Wortley	98	101	+3 (+3.1%)
Meanwood	101	98	-3 (-3.0%)
New Farnley	51	49	-2 (-3.9%)
New Wortley	294	306	+12 (+4.1%)
Primrose Hill	148	153	+5 (+3.4%)
Pudsey Town End	103	101	-2 (-1.9%)
Rodley	296	304	+8 (+2.7%)
Sheepscar	307	286	-21 (-6.8%)
South Ward			
Stanningley	302	300	-2 (-0.7%)
St. Peter's Square			
Upper Wortley	307	306	-1 (-0.3%)
Woodhouse Moor	305	306	+1 (+0.3%)
York Road	307	306	-1 (-0.3%)

Note. From *Minute Book 1912-1924* (LLC 51/1/1). West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, England.

Eight of the twenty-five libraries with available data had increased hours between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915. New Wortley saw the highest with an increase of 4.1% (n=12). Seventeen libraries saw a decrease in days open per year to the public after the outbreak of the war. The greatest decrease occurred at Sheepscar, which saw a loss of 6.8% (n=21). The information in Table 5.5 mirrors that of Bradford and Sheffield in that the Leeds Public Library Service went through fluctuations in days open per year to the public before and during the First World War. It illustrates that the outbreak of the war had consequences in both directions for the libraries, with increasing days open per year in some parts of the city and a decrease in others.

The information in Tables 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 supports the idea that fluctuations during the War were inevitable. The numbers above show that although the local working-age population experienced exceptional circumstances during 1914-1918, the libraries had to consider the

establishment as a means of providing library availability to their patrons rather than focusing on outright availability. While the above sections highlight the War's effects on staffing issues, financial troubles, economies of goods, and fuel rationing, it does not separate the routine days of library closure from those as a result of the conflict. Bank Holidays, Sundays (some cities held Sunday hours, but not all), and religious holidays were often observed and were not a result of exceptional circumstances but allowed the library staff to have a break away from work. These days off, however, were not met with the favour of all patrons. In a letter to the editor of the *Yorkshire Evening News* dated 6 August 1918, Citizen C.W. Styring of Leeds argues the detriment of Sunday and Bank Holiday closures on the industrial communities. He writes

Sir in a city that is taxed for the upkeep of public Reading Rooms one might naturally expect that these rooms will be open when they are most needed and at a time when the public had the most opportunity of making use of them but this is not so and although there are thousands of people walking about the streets there is no opportunity of guinea access to either the newspapers magazines are refused for which the people are taxed bank holidays and Sundays are specially selected as the only times at the Civic authorities issue the dictum that shall not read but so accustomed has the public become to an illegitimate curtailment of its common rights that there appeared to be the possibility of their total elimination why are they closed on Sundays the Jewish Sabbath is another matter altogether and yet we have Christians under the imagination that they enhance their own Pie by closing the Reading Rooms and opening public houses instead. they may also Drive Railway trains and dig potato plots and they Matrix the public for reviews costing up to 7 s 6d tyt but when the public has enough leisure to avail itself of the contents the reading room door is locked for behold a new commandment is given unto us that shall not read why yours etc.

C.W. STYRING
13, Brudenell St. Hyde Park, Leeds
August 5 1918
("The Reading Room and Holidays", 1918)

C.W. Styring's sentiments reverberate amongst the landscape of public library availability. His letter, which all levels of society would have seen, highlights the negative impact of a lack of services on the community, particularly on Sunday when the community's most vulnerable members needed the services. Styring emphasises this when he notes Sunday as the time "when the public had the most opportunity of making use of them, but this is not

so...” (1918). Not only did library closures on weekends cause contentious debate, but so did weekday closings. This time in Hull, Mr J. Sennitt of the East Hull Ratepayers Association notes the complaints garnered from a meeting on 13 November 1914. He writes

7 December 1914

READ- Letter, dated the 13th November, 1914, from Mr. J. Sennitt, Hon. Secretary, East Hull Ratepayers Association, stating that at a meeting of his Association complaints were made with regard to the closing of the Libraries on Thursday afternoons, and asking if such closing was intended as a permanent arrangement or only temporary during the war.

RESOLVED- That the Town Clerk reply to such letter.
(Minutes of Proceedings, 1914)

Sennitt’s letter, like Styring's, identifies daily accessibility issues during the First World War. The letter highlights the anxieties faced by the public regarding their accessibility, placing them in a position to argue for increased openness of their public libraries. Both of these letters, one written to a public Yorkshire newspaper and one to a private committee meeting of the Hull Public Libraries Committee, intensely indicate the populace's concern over the decreased availability of integral community buildings such as the public library. The accounts above spotlight that the effects of the War did not solely affect different levels of society but also that the War did not discriminate against which days of the week library availability was affected.

Overall, the First World War affected each of the five field-study libraries in Yorkshire, shifting both the number of hours per week and days per year the public could frequent the establishments. Such struggles in accessing the public libraries in the field-study locations are even more prevalent when factoring in the geographical locations of each establishment. The following section takes the findings regarding the shift in hours and days and overlays it onto availability through geographic location.

5.3.5 Availability Through Geographical Location

To visualise the geographical availability of the public libraries in the five fieldwork locations, it was essential to create maps of the approximate historical locations of the

libraries. Not only did this allow visualisation of the distance between each branch and the local central library, but it also provided a way to envisage how the locations of libraries in relation to major factories and places of work affected overall library accessibility. The findings gathered from these geographical maps provide essential information relating to the geographical coverage of library buildings, but most importantly, a clearer understanding of the spatial relationship to the local working-age populations of each of the five field-study cities in Yorkshire.

York

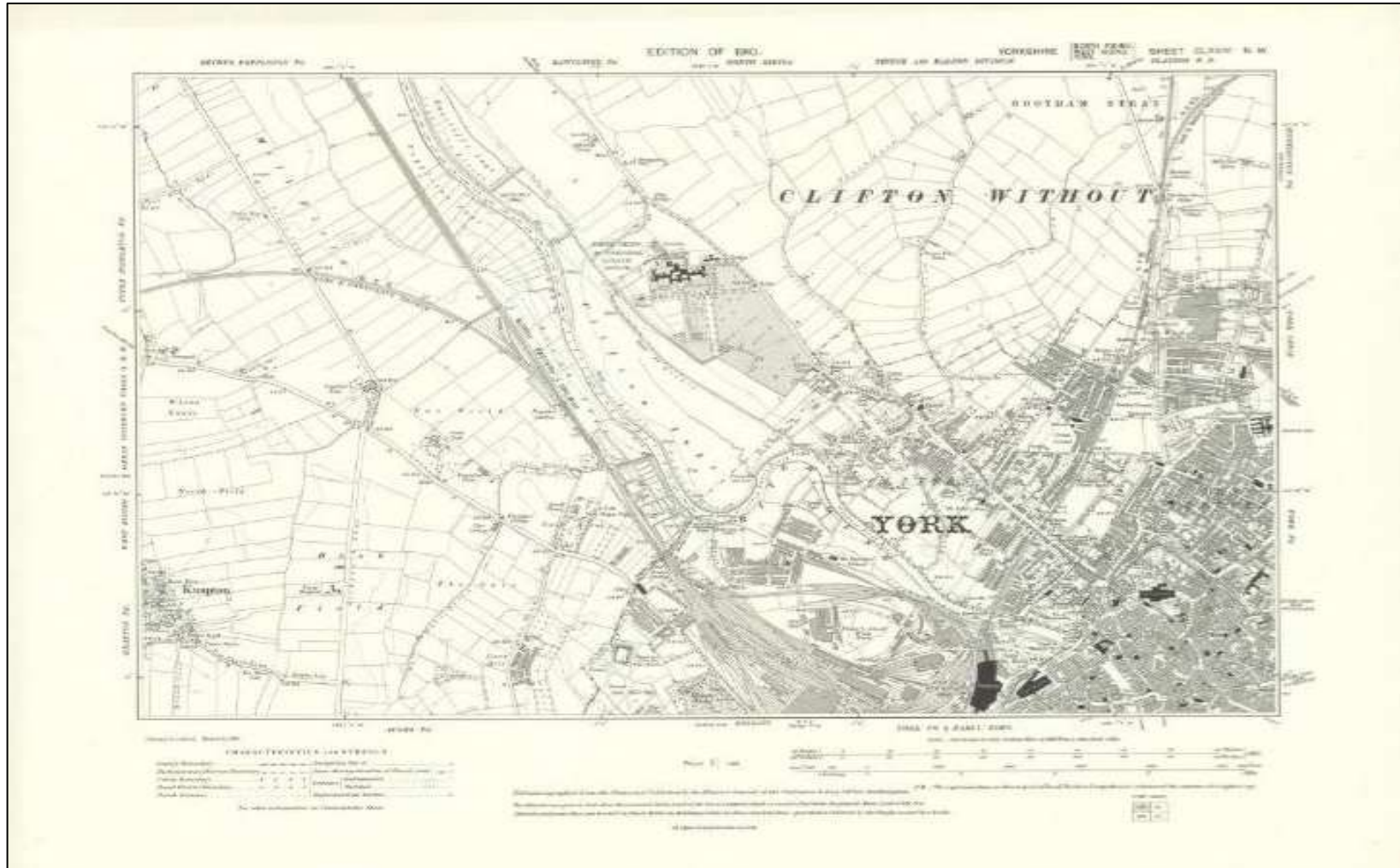


Image 5.2. York—Sheet CLXXIV.NW. (1907). [Map]. National Library of Scotland. <https://maps.nls.uk/view/100945712>

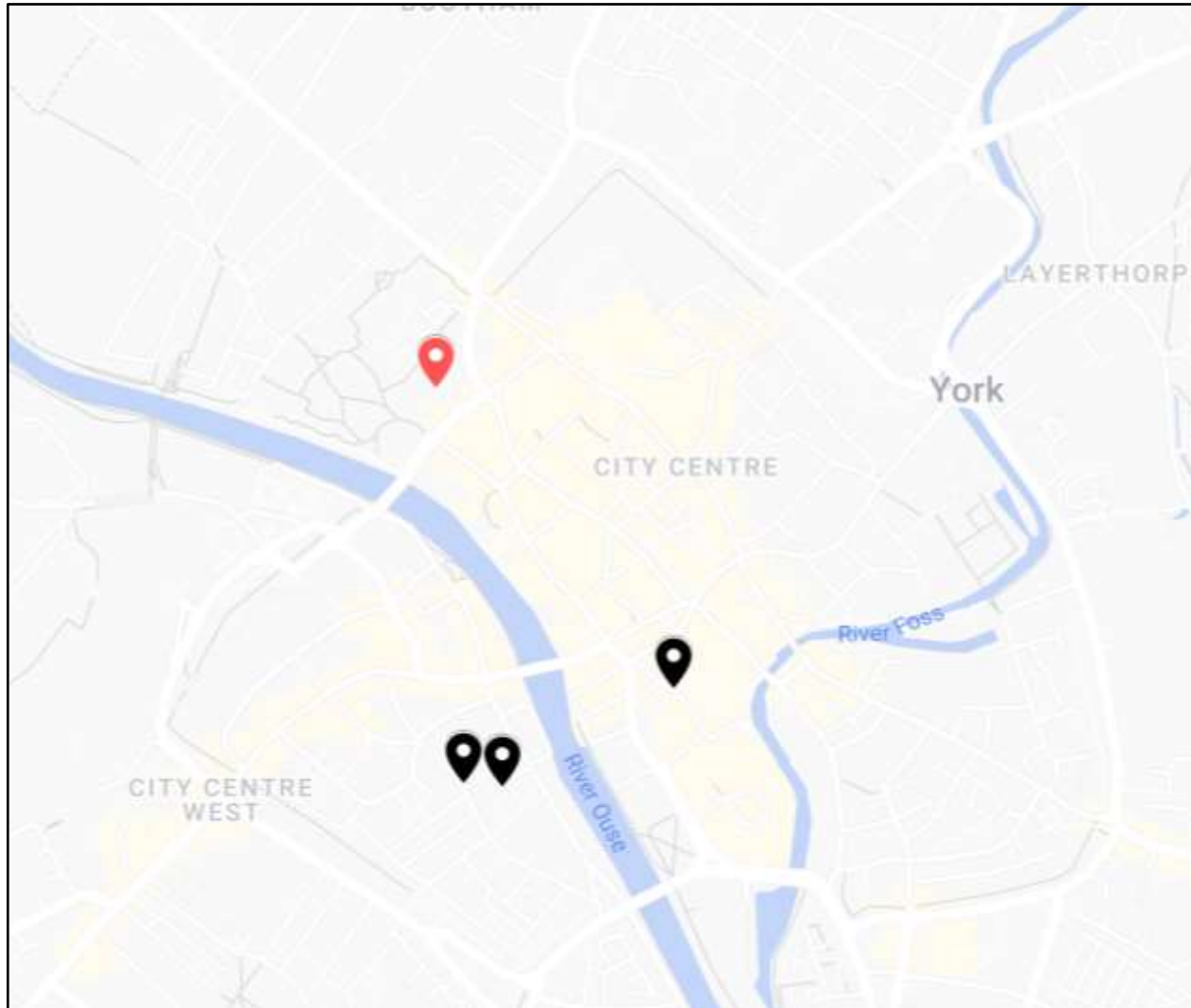


Image 5.3. York Public Library Location and Factories during the First World War. Author's Own Image.

York's geographic public library coverage is the most straightforward of the five field-study locations. As mentioned earlier (**Table 5.1**), York had one public library within the city boundaries during the First World War, offering a singular library service for over 102,000 community patrons. While village libraries, religious libraries, subscription libraries, and school libraries provided access to citizens within the greater York area, these libraries often had restricted access based on certain circumstances (i.e. religious affiliation, flexible economic situations, student enrolment, and residential affiliation) (Kelly, 1977). Image **5.2** above illustrates the boundaries of York in 1910, while Image **5.3** references the general location of the York Central Library during the First World War (as marked in red) (Britannica, 2023).

Nestled at the convergence of the three historic Ridings of Yorkshire, York was geographically small. However, while it was much smaller than the other four field-work cities, York held high importance within the county as it represented the county seat and one of the large railroad hubs in the industrial North (Hey, 1986). The 1910 Ordinance map above visually displays the significance of the railroad network as a prominent feature of the city (**Image 5.2**). The York Public Library was located across the river from the train station, in the heart of the City Centre. The library's location gave relatively easy access to those living and commuting to the city centre. As York only had one library, the local working-age population, specifically those working near the city centre, theoretically could have had the same level of access as other members of society. While it is not possible to know if the centrality of the library had such an effect on the local working-age population, it is possible to surmise that the centrality of the public library in relation to some of the major factory (some of the larger factories during the First World War are noted by black markers in **Image 5.3**) locations and other points of employment provided increased geographical availability to those frequenting the library.

Hull



Image 5.4: *Kingston upon Hull—Sheet 80*. (1888). [Map]. National Library of Scotland. <https://maps.nls.uk/view/239762938>



Image 5.5. Public Library Locations and Factories in Hull during the First World War. Author's Own Image.

Unlike York, which had only one public library during the First World War, Hull had one central library (marked in red) in the city centre and five branch libraries (marked in green) in various boroughs surrounding the city (**Image 5.5**). Assessing the layout of Hull through Images **5.4** (York ordinance map from 1910) and **5.5** (the locations of libraries), it is evident that the central library and branch libraries were spaced out amongst the city, covering much of the inner ring of Hull. The exception is the branch at Hedon, which in modern days is a fifteen-minute drive from the centre of town. The layout of the libraries would have allowed a more even spread of access to the citizens of Hull, overall increasing the geographical availability.

Image **5.5** also visually depicts the distance between each library and the major factories and employment locations in Hull during the First World War. On paper, the distances between places of employment of the local working-age population are relatively small. However, some community members made it known that these distances could be made smaller. Highlighted in the following excerpt as part of correspondence to the Hull Public Libraries Books Sub-Committee, Miss K. Sheppard, Head Mistress of the Sidmouth Street Girls School, was concerned about the distance between the branch library services and her pupils. The excerpt from the 1st of February 1915 read as follows

Books Sub-Committee
Guildhall, Hull
Monday, 1st February 1915.

READ--Letter, dated this day, from Miss K. Sheppard, Head Mistress of the Sidmouth Street Girls School, stating that a number of her scholars resided a considerable distance away from the nearest Branch Library, and that they also needed advice and assistance in the choice of books and suggesting that a number of books, say from 25 to 50 should be loaned to the School for the use of the scholars, such books to be changed periodically (*Minutes of Proceedings*, 1914).

This passage from the committee minutes highlights local community members' difficulty in accessing the Hull public libraries, which is especially true for members without means of transportation. While not everyone had the opportunity to be serviced through the five public libraries in Hull, Image **5.4** shows that the geographical availability serviced a majority of the population.

Leeds

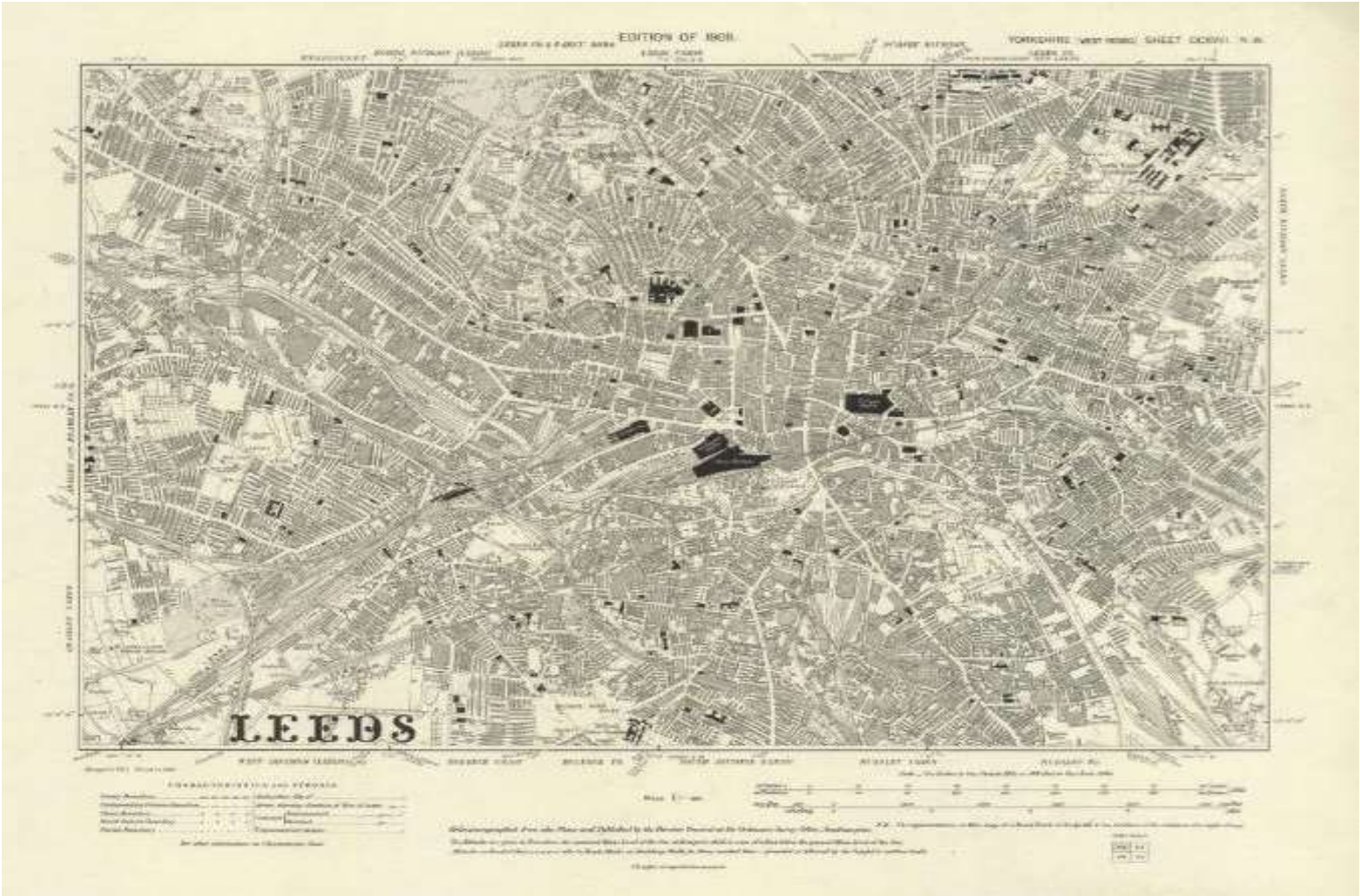


Image 5.6. *Leeds: Yorkshire Sheet CCXVIII.NW.* (1906). [Map]. National Library of Scotland. <https://maps.nls.uk/view/100947071>

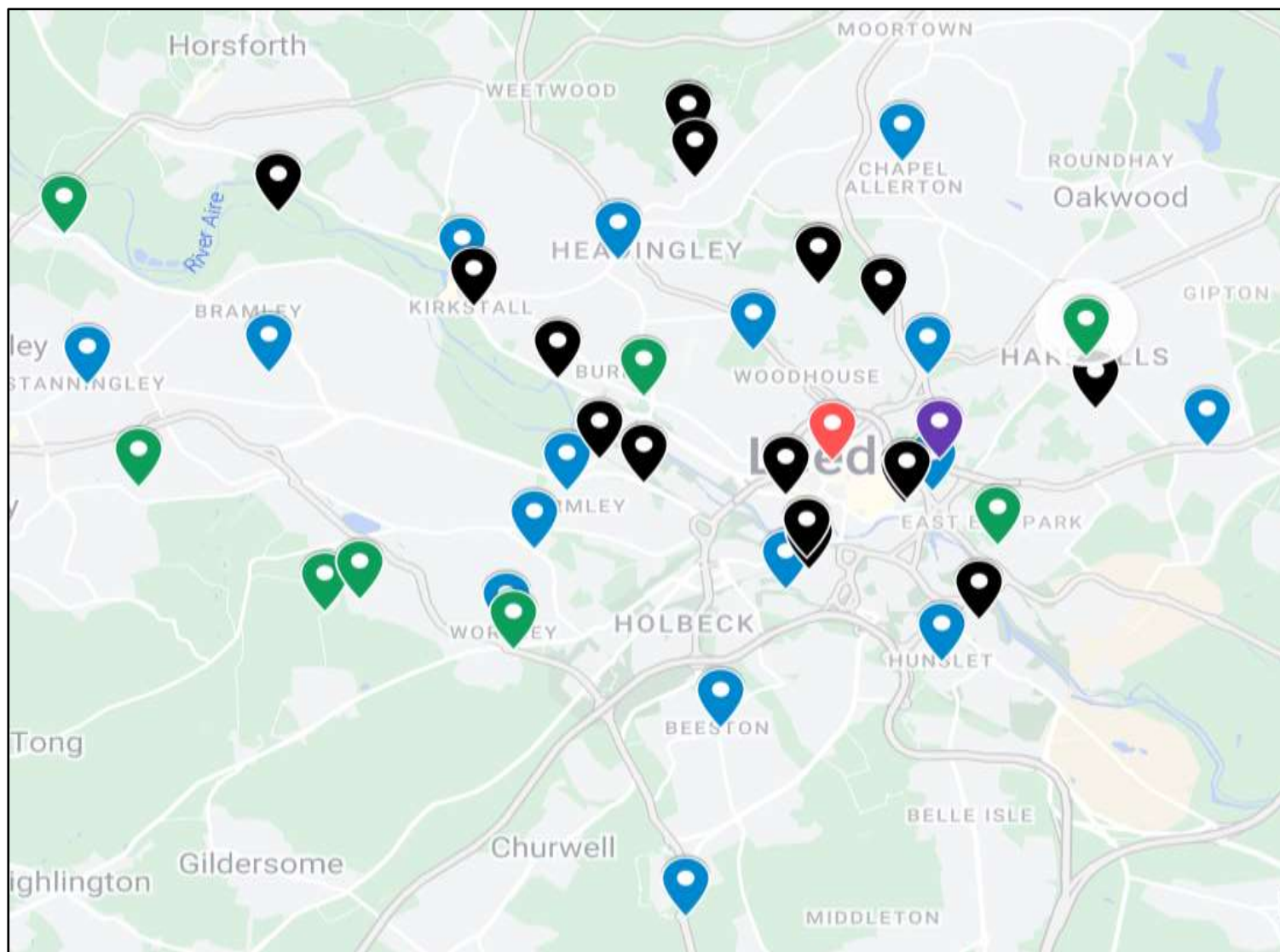


Image 5.7. Public Library Locations and Factories in Leeds during the First World War. Authors Own Image

The change from a single branch in York to five branches in Hull increased geographic availability by four. Even more significant is the geographical jump to twenty-four library buildings in Leeds during the First World War. Like York and Hull above, Image 5.5 illustrates the geographical surroundings of Leeds in 1908 (the last updated OS map available until after the First World War). Image 5.6 then takes the geographical location of Leeds and notes the locations of the central, branch, and travelling/school libraries. Unlike those in York and Hull, the Leeds library service comprised multiple types of library services (*Chronology of Leeds City Libraries since 1870, 1971*). These included a central library, noted by the red marker, fifteen branch libraries, noted by a blue marker, and eight travelling/school libraries, noted by a green marker.

Servicing a population of 613,454 people, the central library, branches, and travelling/school libraries in Leeds covered most of the city and its numerous boroughs. Even though Leeds had a wide range of geographical availability during the First World War, the Library Committee directly decided to increase patron accessibility, permitting patrons to use their library tickets at any Leeds library of their choosing. The following note from the 2 October 1914 edition of the Yorkshire Evening Post stresses the decision. It reads

In order to give greater facilities to the public using the Leeds public libraries, the Library committee have decided that borrowers' tickets shall be available for use at any library, instead of being restricted to one specified library as at present...("In order to give...", 1914).

The decision made by the Leeds Library Committee emphasises the importance of availability to the overall running of the service. By placing an advertisement in the local paper that most people could access, the Leeds library service actively reassured the community of increased geographical availability throughout the city. The decision would have allowed any passing patrons to utilise the library, whether or not it was assigned to them via their library ticket. While the increased geographical availability began after the outbreak of the War, it is unknown with the present archival information whether or not it continued throughout the conflict.

Bradford

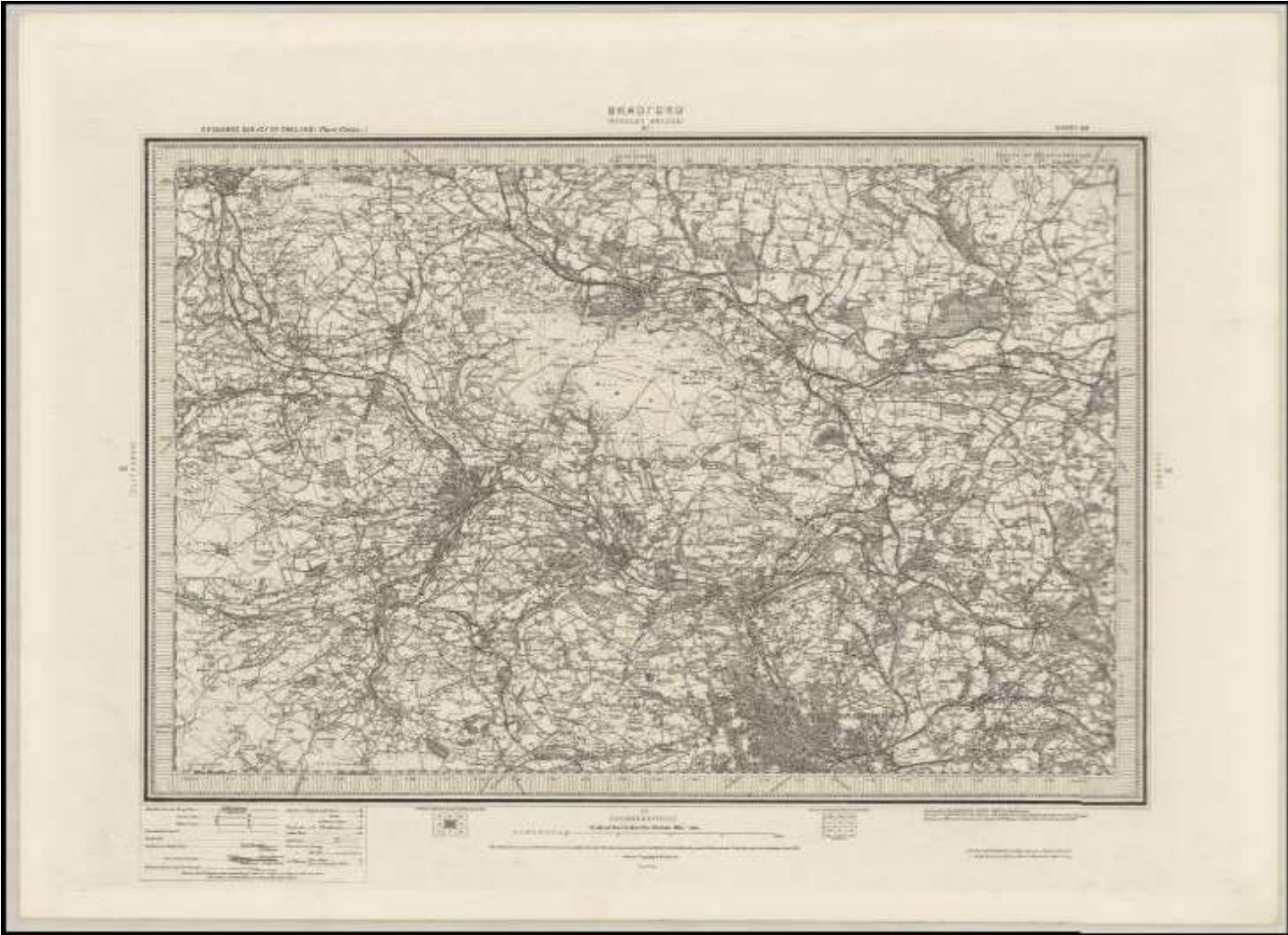


Image 5.8 Bradford—Sheet 69. (1843). [Map]. National Library of Scotland. <https://maps.nls.uk/view/239762797>

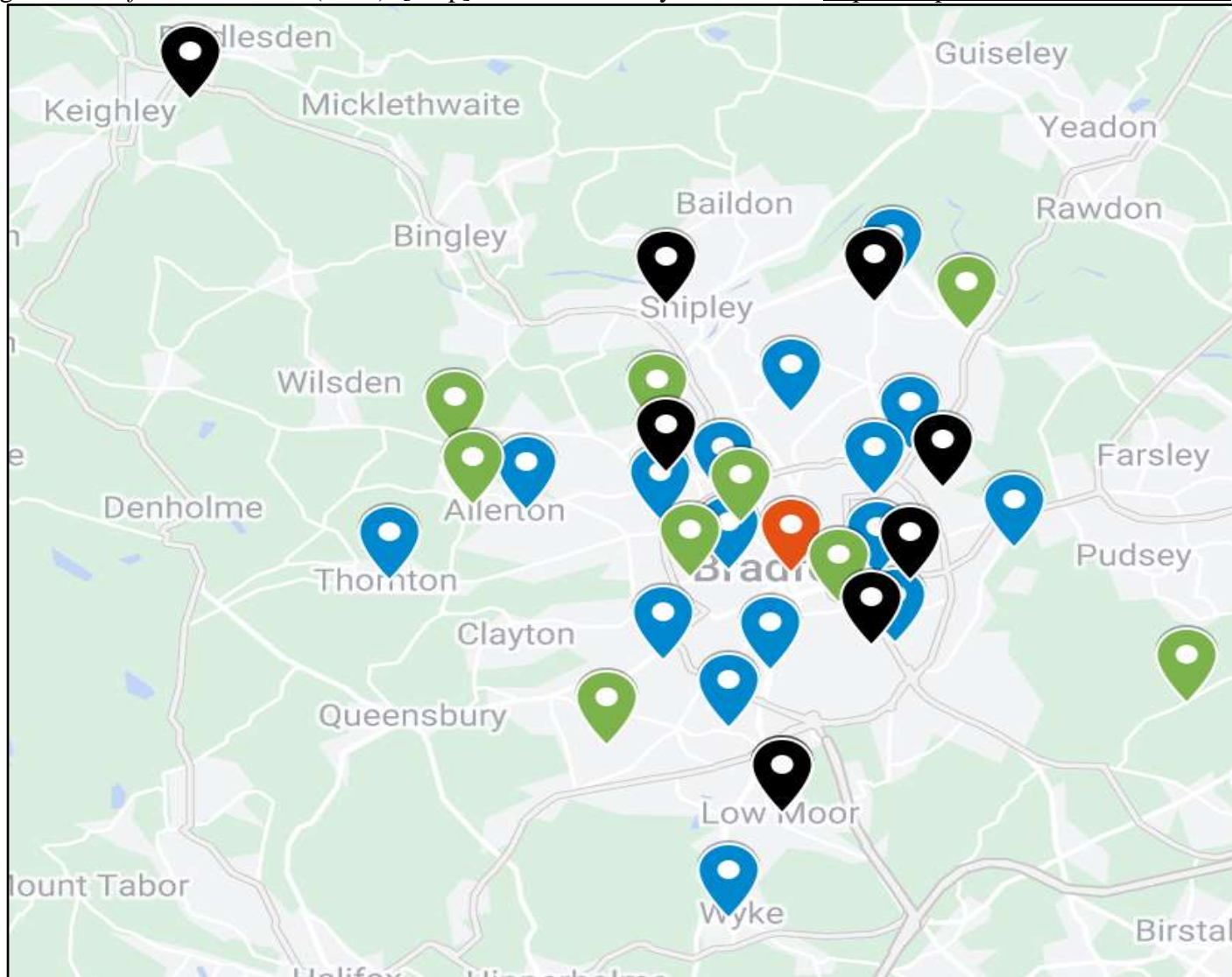


Image 5.9. Public Library Locations in Bradford During the First World War. Authors Own Image.

As noted earlier, Bradford had the highest number of library branches and travelling services within the five Yorkshire field-study cities during the First World War. Images 5.8 and 5.9 highlight the geographical ordinance survey of Bradford in 1910 and the locations of each library in the city. As in the previous maps, the blue marker notes branch libraries, the red marker notes the central library, the green illustrates the approximate locations of the travelling libraries, and the black point notes a sampling of the factories in Bradford.

The Bradford Public Library service averaged the lowest number of patrons per branch, servicing an average of 15,550 patrons per library, allowing them to serve their community members on a more intimate level. This number would continue to decrease as the War progressed due to the opening of new branches, ultimately increasing geographical availability. The article “New Branch Opened at Allerton” from the 10 July 1916 edition of the *Yorkshire Observer* provides an example of the increasing branch service in Bradford. It states

The library was the workshop of the scholar, and he [The Lord Mayor] hoped that the building would be much frequented... Apart from the educational value of reading, one could pass many pleasant hours in reading books of a lighter character, which enabled one for the time being to live in the land of other folks and gave one a widened experience of humanity... (Bradford Libraries, 1916).

Adding new branch libraries, like the one in Allerton, increased the opportunity for patron use. While it is unknown with the current archival documentation whether or not this hope specifically extended to the local working-age population, it is evident from the maps, especially when comparing library locations to factory locations, that this opportunity was even more present in libraries near some of the main factories and places of employment (as noted in **Image 5.9** by the black markers). Like the relationship between factories in Leeds and Hull, the geographical availability between the public library services and factories in Bradford was relatively spread out during the First World War. It provides a level of reliable access to the local working-age population.

Sheffield



Image 5.10 *Sheffield: Sheet 100*. (1874). [Map]. National Library of Scotland. <https://maps.nls.uk/view/101167586>

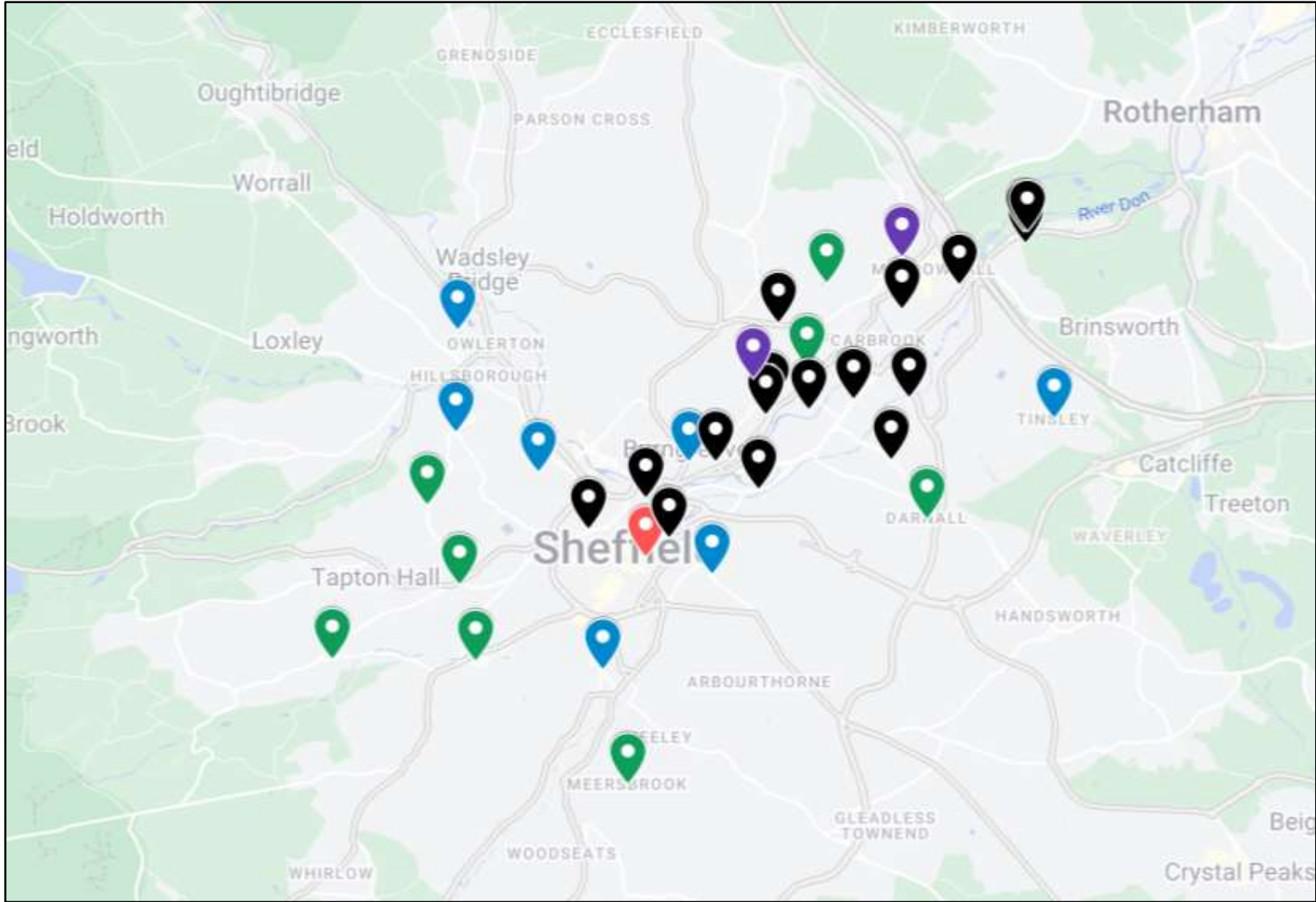


Image 5.11. Public Library Locations in Sheffield During the First World War. Authors Own Image.

When consulting Table 5.1, it is clear that Sheffield stood directly in the middle of the five field-study cities when it came to the number of branches and the average number of patrons each served. During the First World War, with an average population of 540,502 people, the Sheffield Public Library service comprised seventeen library locations open to the public (**Image 5.11**). This number included a central library, branch libraries, delivery stations, and mobile libraries. The multi-coloured markers in Image 5.11 visualise the location of these branches in relation to a number of major industrial factories (black marker) within the city borders. The map highlights the central library with a red marker, branch libraries with a blue marker, and a green marker for the eight delivery stations. It should be noted that, as with the previous four field-study sections, this is not a complete list of Sheffield factories but a sampling to paint a picture of the geographical relationship between libraries and industrial places of employment.

Image 5.11 highlights that due to the affluent community residing in the west of the city, most of the industrial factories in First World War Sheffield were located from the city centre up through the north-east of the city. This line of factories draws a metaphorical mark between patron affluence and those categorised as the working-age population. The people who resided in the east of the city lived closer to the manufacturing centre of Sheffield, causing questionable living and working circumstances amongst the need for geographical availability to public library buildings (Sheffield, 1956). Image 5.11 also illustrates the close relationship between factory locations and public libraries. The analysis surrounding the proximity of libraries to factories and other locations of employment helps to establish Sheffield as the field-study location with the most even spread of libraries to factory locations. Like the previous four field-study city assessments, it is impossible to fully understand whether or not the proximity of factories to libraries in Sheffield encouraged or discouraged patron access. However, it is possible to acknowledge that patrons were given more opportunities to access public libraries based on geographic placement in Sheffield.

The analyses above help to corroborate the relationship between the geographical locations of each library in relation to the major factories in each field-study location. While it is not possible to know outright if access grew because of geographical proximity, it is possible to gather that the opportunity was there for active library use by those working in the local factories and places of employment. With the fluctuations of days open per year, hours open weekly, library-implemented rules, and geographical distances between places of employment

and libraries, it is possible to recognise that library availability varied tremendously throughout the First World War. With each year of the War, new accessibility hurdles appeared, creating numerous changes in library provision. With these factors established, it is now possible to go a step further and recognise how they impacted the personal experience of intellectual sanctuary.

5.4 Intellectual Sanctuary, Personal Experience, and Public Library Availability

As noted earlier in Stage **1**, the relationship between availability and personal experience is essential to understanding the relationship between the local working-age population and public libraries. Now that the qualitative and quantitative data have been collected (**Step 2** of the Adapted Framework) and analysed (**Step 3** of the Adapted Framework), it is possible to bring them together and further analyse how these relate to the personal experience of the public library as intellectual sanctuary.

5.4.1 Availability Through Open Access

Personal accessibility has been at the heart of public library debate since the first public library opened in the 1850s. The debate primarily surrounded whether or not patrons could or should have direct access to books. It furthers this by inquiring about the possible ways the public library services would provide access to the books without open stacks. It was argued that by giving free access to the public, they would choose books not suited for general consumption, i.e. fiction or other genres that promoted fantastical thoughts and ideas (Hayes and Morris, 2005; Kelly, 1977; Snape, 1996). Due to these worries, access was generally restricted, and closed stacks remained the norm throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In 1912, closed stacks began to shift when Leeds became the first (within the five field-study cities) to adopt the open access system within a number of branch libraries (*Chronology of Leeds City Libraries since 1870*, 1971). The open access system would not be installed in the central library until 1920, two years after the First World War (Kelly, 1977). Sheffield's Reference Library soon followed suit and installed the open access system in 1912 (Sheffield, 1956). After many months of debate, Hull followed in 1914, implementing the open access system in the central library and Northern Branch (*Minutes of Proceedings*, 1914).

Ultimately, the open access system provided an essential way in which the public could directly interact with the contents of the libraries. Through this process, increased availability,

especially during the First World War, provided the patrons with the most flexibility and direct access to volumes (this will be further discussed in Stage 2, highlighting if the increased availability promoted higher levels of use). According to the archival narrative, the community reacted positively to implementing the open-access systems. In the 20 August 1920 edition of the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, the article “The ‘Open Access’ System at Leeds Central Library” emphasised the positivity of the open-access system. It reads

The open access system will shortly be in operation at the Leeds Central Lending Library. This system, which is in use at the Woodhouse Moor, Dewsbury Road, Armley, Rodley, and Sheepscar branch libraries, is recognised by the as an ideal method of running a big public library. The reader is brought into direct contact with the books, from which he makes his choice without the necessity of consulting a catalogue. The system elsewhere has led to a greater use of the library and more varied selection of books by the readers. When the change is completed the Leeds Central Library will be the largest in the country working under the open access place (“Open Access”, 1920).

The article states that the open-access system had already been implemented in numerous libraries throughout Leeds. Due to the positivity it garnered, the Library Committee saw the value of implementing it in the central library. Implementing the open-access system in the main library in Leeds further emphasises the positives associated with the practice, as seen in praises published in newspapers and within individual library reports. An example of these published praises is found in the archival record in Sheffield. In the excerpt, Hand notes the importance of patrons having the opportunity to choose their books without the influence of others. Hall wrote

I was present when several readers called to [xx] books; and in no case did they know what they wanted; there is no open access to the bookshelves and readers seem to rely entirely on the librarian to guide them in deciding what to take (*Report on the Branch Libraries and Delivery Stations*, 1917).

Open access was just one of many methods that provided increased availability of books to public library patrons. Card access and printed catalogues were another influential practice on individual availability. Having been ‘standardised’ in 1876 in *Rules for a Printed Dictionary Catalogue* (Cutter), such practices were not introduced during the First World War. However, while catalogues provided direct accessibility to patrons, ultimately increasing the immediate

availability of library content, the quality of catalogues was not conducive to effective accessibility by patrons, often littered with misspellings, poor cataloguing practices, and a lack of critical information such as proper subject headings or consistency within individual libraries (Thomas, 1977). Such a lack of information is seen in the case of Bradford, where each individual library branch was responsible for its own development of catalogues and not the library service as a whole (Libraries, Art Gallery, And Museums Committee, 1916).

Another interruption in relation to printed catalogues involved the cost of catalogues at the patron's expense. Catalogues were often not free of charge, with the patron responsible for the fee. For the more affluent patrons, this would not have been a problem, but for those patrons who struggled for leisure funds, this was an expense they could not always afford. Thus, this financial hindrance would then have prevented patrons from having access or the availability from the library to information such as book availability, volume titles, and stock at each library. Inevitably, this interruption would have hindered patrons' access to the public library, for it would require more time and effort at the patron's expense if they did not know what was available or held in the public library. Dewey (1889), in an address to the Library Association in 1889, made a case for the standardisation of the catalogue system in England. He stated

Suppose a man is interested in one subject and has heard of one book, and comes to your library and looks at a vast catalogue, and finds on his subject not one book but a hundred; unless some skilful friend will point out which will best suit him, the last state of that man is worse than the first, for is he not just as likely by the laws of chance to get the worst book as the best, if he comes without training and without bibliographical help("On library progress", 1889, pp. 367-76.)

The printed catalogue system soon progressed to the card catalogue system. In most libraries throughout England, the card catalogue system cut the disruption caused by the printed catalogues. The new system provided patrons with unobstructed availability to the contents of the public libraries, encouraging patrons to look up books via publication information, subject, or author. Such changes drastically changed how patrons interacted with the library collections, much of which will be discussed in Stage 2.

Overall, it is clear that patron experiences through the open-access system significantly increased the opportunities for direct and individual accessibility to library content. This is not an exhaustive list by any means, for an entire thesis exploring the patron experience and its

relationship to availability could be written. However, Stage 4, finding self in the public library, takes this idea further and associates all three environmental factors (availability, use, and architecture) with intellectual sanctuary.

5.5 Stage 1 Findings and Concluding Thoughts

As a result of archival research based on the Adapted Framework for this chapter, it is possible to understand that overall, there was no one significant difference in the availability of public libraries in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and Hull during the First World War. However, documentation for each location highlights several small changes made to library availability as a result of the First World War.

It is impossible to fully understand if availability provided intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age population. However, as a result of this chapter, it is my interpretation that without the opportunity to use the library (availability), it would not be possible to find intellectual sanctuary within the public library. Therefore, it is possible to state that this is the first element that helped to build the idea of the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary amongst the local working-age population within the five Yorkshire field-study cities during the First World War.

As mentioned at the beginning of this stage, the archival research process conducted in Stage 1 of the thesis followed the Adapted Framework gleaned from the theories and practices from Hill (1993), Thomas (2016), Bryman (2006), and Hammersley (1996). Using the parallel chronologies elements of Hill's (1993) spatiotemporal chronologies focus, it was possible to compare the archival documentation at each fieldwork location. As a result of these comparisons, it is possible to highlight the significant findings of this stage.

- **There was pressure on libraries to reach local populations during the First World War.**

Table 5.1 illustrates the average number of people each library service reached during the First World War. It highlighted that Bradford had, on average, the least amount of people using each library, at 15,550 patrons per library. However, York, on average, had the most at 102,400 patrons using its only library. While the number of libraries varied for each location, it is evident that each library was responsible for a sizeable amount of community patrons during the First World War.

- **There were no extensive county-wide changes to the rules and regulations at fieldwork locations during the First World War. However, location-specific changes were made.**

Section 5.3.2 highlights that while there were no extensive changes in the rules and regulations, some elements within the umbrella of public library availability changed during the First World War. For example, new rules throughout Leeds changed to accommodate any ticket at any branch location. York saw changes in patron access due to the military occupation within their singular library in 1915. Furthermore, some locations re-categorised book classification to coincide with the Dewey Decimal System.

- **There were no significant changes to weekly hours of operation and days open per year to the public.**

The number of days each library was opened to the public and the number of hours per day each service was available is critical to the overall availability of public library service. Numbers in Tables 5.2 - 5.5 show increased and decreased hours and days available during the First World War. Examples of this are seen in Bradford, where the library committee cut hours from 30 minutes to an hour per day and anywhere between a decrease of 2 to 17 days open per year to the public (see Table 5.4). In Sheffield, overall days per year increased by 12 (see Table 5.3), and the hours per week decreased by about 20 (see Table 5.2). While these increases and decreases fluctuate between Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York, it is possible to see that the availability of public libraries is directly related to establishment situations (i.e. staffing shortages and fuel rationing) influenced by the First World War. While these changes seem minor in the grand scheme of the overall availability, establishment availability could deter patron access the most (explored in the thesis's next stage).

- **Locations of the public libraries are directly related to the availability of the public libraries.**

Looking directly at the local working-age population and their proximity to the public libraries in their respective work locations, it is possible to hypothesise that community patrons must have had numerous opportunities to use a number of local public libraries. As the geographical comparison maps illustrate (see Images 5.2 - 5.11), each fieldwork location had libraries close to local working-age employment locations. While the maps illustrate a sample of the locations of well-known factories, mills, and workshops, it is possible to see that for

most of the local working-age population, the possibility of frequenting public libraries close to places of employment was high.

As Stage **1** of this project, the relationship between the user, availability, and intellectual sanctuary builds an important foundational beginning to the research, focusing on factors affecting public libraries' availability in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire. Availability through open access, days open per year, and weekly hours of operation in each public library service, provides an understanding of the different factors directly affecting accessibility. These factors will set the foundation for Stage **2**, where availability turns into accessibility and explores the usage practices of patrons.

Chapter 6

Stage 2: Use of the Public Library

6.1 Introduction

Stage 1 of this research (**Chapter 5**) explored public libraries' physical and intellectual availability in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire during the First World War. Stage 2 builds upon the findings of public library availability by exploring and addressing patron use of the five field-study cities. Through the comparative analysis of usage statistics, item issue numbers, patron borrowing numbers, and newspaper editorials, this stage will examine how the First World War affected the patron experience and if it encouraged the use of the public library as an intellectual sanctuary.

6.1.1 Outline of Chapter 6

Stage 2 begins with a detailed account of usage and issue number trends amongst the five fieldwork locations' lending libraries, reference libraries, reading rooms, and travelling/delivery station libraries (**6.2**). The stage then explores the relationship between the First World War and library use by considering different variables for usage change, such as leisure and free time, changes in occupations during the War, and the implications of war closures on use (**6.3**). The stage progresses by synthesising analysis and addressing the impact of patron use on intellectual sanctuary, primarily questioning if patron use directly affected the broader idea of sanctuary (**6.4**). Stage 2 concludes by summarising the findings, addressing questions yet to be discussed, and introducing Stage 2 (**Chapter 7**).

6.2 Research Process

Before progressing to the analysis of the archival data, it is essential to connect Stage 2 to the Adapted Framework. While analysing the data and archival material for this stage, especially items relating to the issue numbers surrounding volumes, tickets, gender, and age, personal accounts, correspondence, newspaper publications, and critical secondary literature, incorporating Hill's (1993) idea of spatiotemporal chronologies was essential to link relationships between these variables and the different field-study cities. These primary sources ultimately help project Hill's (1993) archival processes onto this research, providing an opportunity to simultaneously understand the situations throughout the five Yorkshire fieldwork cities regarding public library use.

6.2.1 Adapted Framework Connection

The Adapted Framework developed for this project emphasises the adaptability of archival practices. Historically, or perhaps traditionally, the implementation of international archival standards, indexing practices, and other routinely maintained descriptive standards are used as known and trusted archival practices (**3.2.1**). Stage 2 implements the simplified version of the full Adapted Framework below (**Figure 6.1**). The research process for Stage 2 follows the same process for Step 1: Foundational Theories and Step 3: Analysis of Archival Research as it did in Stage 1. However, Step 2: Implementation of Theories, addresses specific processes implemented at this research stage.

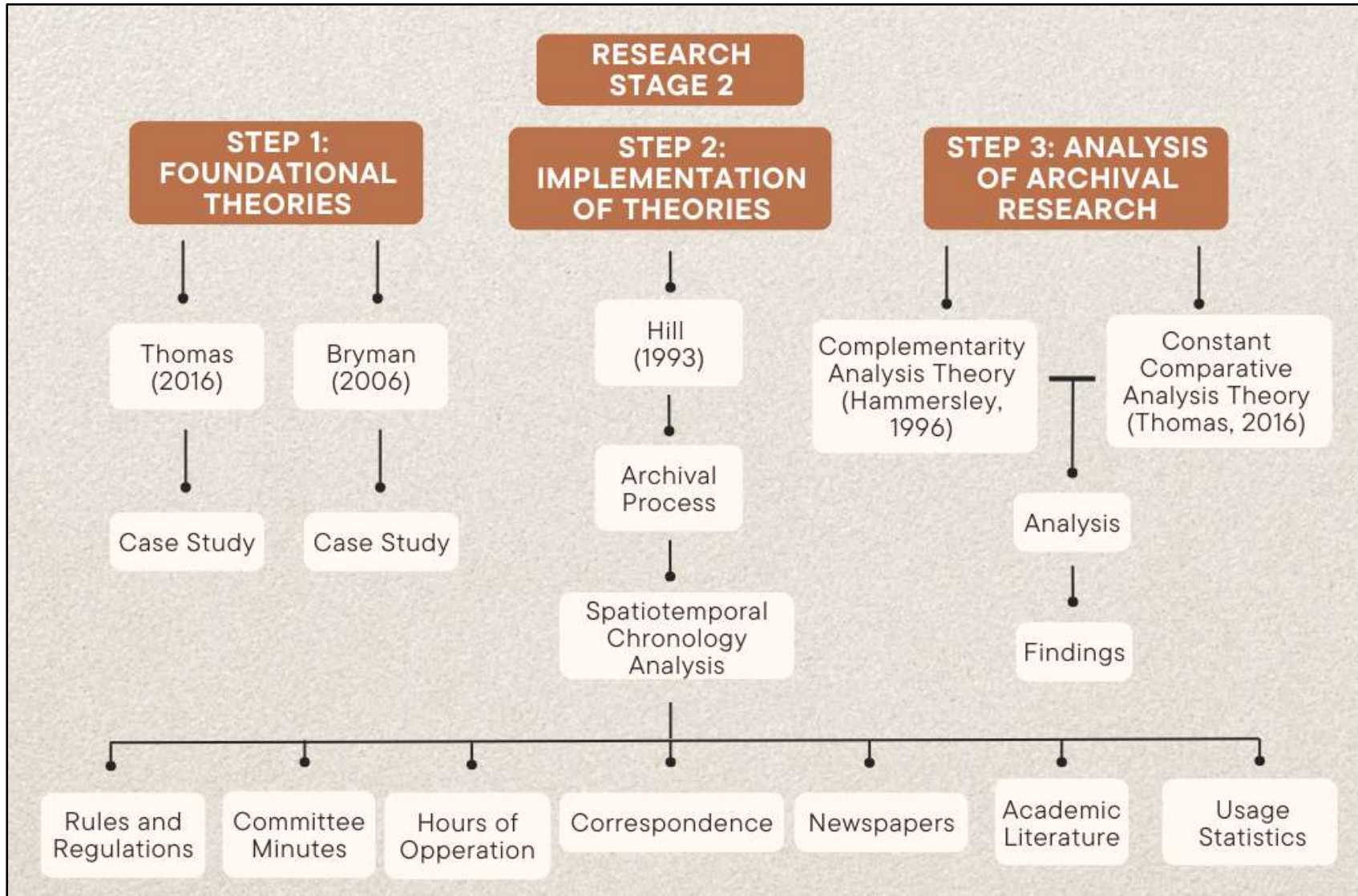


Figure 6.1. Research Process and Adapted Framework for Chapter 6.

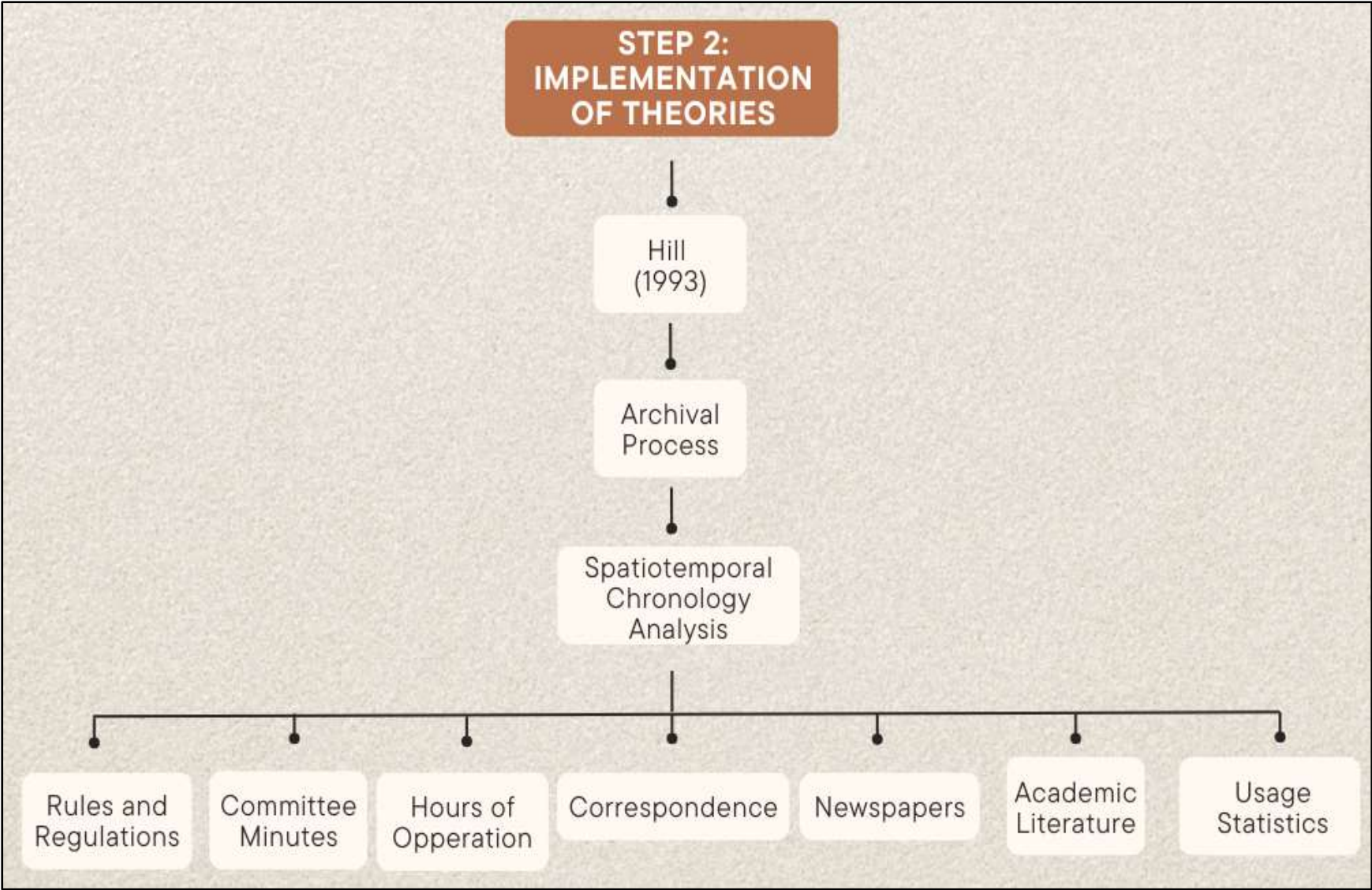


Figure 6.2. Detail. Adapted Framework. Stage 2. Step 2: Implementation of Theories.

Step 2: ‘Implementation of the Foundational Theories’ (**Figure 5.3**) acknowledges the theories set out by Bryman (2006) and Thomas (2016). This second step of the research primarily utilises Hill’s (1993) idea of sociohistorical analysis to work through the various usage statistics, correspondence, newspaper editorials, committee meeting minutes, and academic literature.

6.2.3 Research Methods, Research Questions and Aims

Stage 2 of the research combines the analysis techniques mentioned above to address the following research objectives (see **1.3**):

3. To investigate if elements of availability, use, architecture, and the development of self, promoted the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuaries for the local working-age population of Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) during the First World War.

4. To understand if unanticipated conflicts, specifically the First World War, heightened the need for intellectual sanctuaries available to the local working-age population in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York).

6.2.4 Synthesis of Data in Practice

An essential component of creating the Adapted Framework was encouraging the adaptability of archival research practices. The qualitative and quantitative data collected for this stage required elements of adaptability both in access and in analysis. For example, accumulating the data for this stage required time, patience, and attention to detail. As seen in Image **6.1** from the *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Libraries, Art Gallery, and Museums Committee* in Bradford, some archival records were created as an already formatted table, including daily opening hours, number of issues, daily average, and number of borrowers (1916).

TABLE No. 1.

Return, for year ended August 12th, 1916, of the number of days each Department has been open, the hours daily, the number of issues, daily average of issues, and the number of Borrowers who have joined the Libraries during the year.

NAMES OF DEPARTMENTS.	No. of days open.	Hours open daily.		No. of Issues.	Daily Average	No. of Borrowers.			
		Library.	Reading Room.			Male.	Female.	Total.	
CENTRAL.									
News Room ... ..	...	...	9-0 a.m. to 9-30 p.m.	...	...	...	...	...
Reference Library	361	10-0 a.m. to 9-30 p.m.	10-0 " to 9-30 "	61197	169'5	...	...	...
Patents Department	309	3-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	3-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	24522	79'3	...	...	...
Directories Department	354	...	9-0 a.m. to 9-30 "	13873	38	...	...	...
Lending Library—									
Men's Department... ..	309	10-0 a.m. to 8-0 p.m.	...	78199	253	1980	2099	4079	
Women's Department	309	10-0 " to 8-0 "	10-0 a.m. to 9-30 "	93102	301'6				
BRANCHES.									
Allerton	391	5-30 p.m. to 9-0 "	5-30 p.m. to 9-0 "	12205	43'6	146	179	325	
Balton Woods	309	6-0 " to 9-15 "	6-0 " to 9-15 "	8100	26'2	72	85	157	
Bowling	309	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	31440	101'7	432	379	811	
Bradford Moor	303	10-0 " to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	43080	142'2	609	496	1105	
East Ward	286	10-0 " to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	46742	163'4	354	858	1212	
" Children's Room... ..	98	...	5-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	14613	47	...	...	...
Eccleshill	309	7-0 p.m. to 9-30 "	...	13511	43'7	163	280	443	
Girlington	309	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	47317	137	479	454	933	
Great Horton	309	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	89003	288	991	1179	2170	
" Children's Room	309	...	5-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	17235	55'8	...	...	...
Idle	309	10-0 " to 9-0 p.m.	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	33402	108	304	326	630	
Listerhills	303	6-30 p.m. to 9-30 "	6-30 p.m. to 9-30 "	30935	101'4	284	337	621	
Manchester Road	309	10-0 a.m. to 9-0 "	9-30 a.m. to 9-30 "	83008	269'2	935	995	1930	
Manningham	309	10-0 " to 9-0 "	9-30 " to 9-30 "	103812	336	820	1330	2150	
" Children's Room	309	...	5-0 p.m. to 8-0 "	13469	43'6	...	...	...
South Ward	309	6-30 p.m. to 9-0 "	6-30 p.m. to 9-30 "	7629	24'7	138	118	256	
Thornton	309	6-0 " to 9-0 "	...	15067	49'4	285	174	459	
Wibsey	309	6-30 " to 9-30 "	6-30 p.m. to 9-30 "	13608	44	146	168	314	
Wyke	309	6-30 " to 9-0 "	6-30 " to 9-30 "	9430	30'5	133	111	244	
TRAVELLING LIBRARIES.									
Broomfields	102	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 p.m. to 9-0 "	2069	20	43	58	101	
Buttershaw	99	Tuesday and Friday ...	7-15 " to 9-15 "	2396	24'2	21	30	51	
Greengates	102	Monday and Thursday	7-30 " to 9-30 "	4194	40'2	25	31	56	
Heaton	99	Monday and Friday ...	7-30 " to 9-30 "	1628	16'4	6	26	32	
Hill Top (Low Moor)	100	Tuesday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	2621	26'2	22	33	55	
Low Moor	99	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	1543	15'6	10	12	22	
Princeville	95	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	1836	19'3	13	25	38	
Sandy Lane	100	Tuesday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	1656	16'5	9	24	33	
Tong	50	Monday	7-0 " to 9-0 "	1319	26'4	10	24	34	
White Abbey	102	Monday and Friday ...	7-0 " to 9-0 "	1666	16'3	25	0	25	
LIBRARY FOR THE BLIND	250	Monday to Friday ...	5-0 " to 6-30 " * 3486 vols. issued	...	14	...	...	14
				TOTAL ...	911097	...	8854	9632	18487

* These are included in Lending Department issues.
† Opened April 12th, 1916.

Image 6.1 Table No.1. (1916). 46th Annual Report of the Libraries, Art Galleries and Museum Committee (BBD7/1/41), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

In addition to the yearly reports, the library committee in Bradford also provides collated quantitative data tables representing twenty years of detailed library use. An example of this appears in Image 6.2. While these printed publications provide a large amount of data in an accessible format, to fully interact with the data through comparative analysis, this information was transcribed and compiled by each respective category in a master spreadsheet that allowed for inter-library comparisons. Complete data sets can be found in Appendix E.

TABLE NO. V.
Annual Issue of Books during the twenty years ended August 31st, 1916.

NAME OF DEPART.	1897-8	1898-9	1899-0	1900-1	1901-2	1902-3	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16
Central Reference	2469	2645	2648	2702	2706	2709	2712	2715	2718	2721	2724	2727	2730	2733	2736	2739	2742	2745	2748
Central Lending	2594	2694	2702	2710	2718	2726	2734	2742	2750	2758	2766	2774	2782	2790	2798	2806	2814	2822	2830
Admission	11113	10929	10938	10947	10956	10965	10974	10983	10992	10998	11007	11016	11025	11034	11043	11052	11061	11070	11079
Balm Wood	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211	11211
Banking	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116	1116
Headline News	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021	20021
Leaflet	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191	44191
Excelsior	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Green Mountain	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940	2940
Lib.	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383	84383
Letchfield	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218	30218
Manchester Road	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137	26137
Maningham	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335	10335
South Ward	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thorncliffe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Whitby	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wyke	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Heroncliff	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Battershaw	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Greenways	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Heston	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hill Top	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Low Moor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Priestville	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sandy Lane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tong	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
White Abbey	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	59194	60691	62020	63313	64606	65900	67193	68486	69779	71072	72365	73658	74951	76244	77537	78830	80123	81416	82709
Specifications of Parents	11954	12029	12104	12179	12254	12329	12404	12479	12554	12629	12704	12779	12854	12929	13004	13079	13154	13229	13304
Directors	60140	60562	61916	63134	64352	65570	66788	68006	69224	70442	71660	72878	74096	75314	76532	77750	78968	80186	81404

* Includes loans from Children's Rooms.

Image 6.2. Table No.2. (1916). 46th Annual report of the Libraries, Art Galleries and Museum Committee (BBD71/41), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The archives at ExploreYork! and the Sheffield City Archives also hold unique collections of historical library data. However, unlike the printed annual returns found in Bradford, the library data records at ExploreYork! and the Sheffield City Archives vary in format. While there are cases of the York Public Library publishing official printed editions of annual reports both before (**Image 6.3**) and after the war, the records that survive from the First World War are primarily handwritten and located in various records such as minute books or retained as carbon copies kept in library administrative letter books; a direct result of escalating printing costs (Finney, 1930). An example of the carbon copying of library data and the complexity of handwritten reports can be seen in Images 6.3 and 6.4 from the archives of York and Sheffield, respectively.

9

NUMBER OF ISSUES—LENDING LIBRARY.

MONTH.	A Theology, Philosophy	B Biography, History	C Travel.	D Arts and Sciences.	F Fiction.	G Poetry & the Drama.	H Essays and General Literature.	J Juvenile Literature	Braille.	Total.*	* Daily Average for Days Open.
1911—12.											
June...	114	274	223	610	5387	66	379	1463	8	8524	501
July...	140	338	281	705	6897	53	447	1941	41	10843	452
August...	164	256	240	661	7185	81	447	2066	36	11136	474
September...	219	363	345	888	8190	122	550	2432	29	13138	547
October...	174	467	421	1023	8344	163	580	2399	10	13581	566
November...	197	413	363	1113	8622	118	586	2322	45	13779	586
December...	169	365	401	1060	8461	104	570	2547	31	13708	623
January...	192	378	366	1144	9445	132	608	3134	29	15428	617
February...	187	375	422	1127	8556	134	582	2692	9	14084	626
March...	285	476	404	1234	9608	145	621	2883	21	15677	653
April...	208	341	272	932	7934	104	503	2719	15	13028	592
May...	117	243	202	482	4907	68	347	1536	13	7915	480
	2166	4289	3940	10979	93536	1290	6220	28134	287	150841	563

Days open ... 268. *Fractions not shewn.

The above Table shows the number of separate applications for Books. The next Table shows the number of Volumes so borrowed. In the Daily Average Columns fractions are not shewn.

NUMBER OF VOLUMES ISSUED—LENDING LIBRARY.

MONTH.	A Theology, Philosophy	B Biography, History.	C Travel.	D Arts and Sciences.	F Fiction.	G Poetry & the Drama.	H Essays and General Literature.	J Juvenile Literature.	Braille.	Total.	* Daily Average for Days Open
1911—12.											
June...	115	278	224	610	5387	66	379	1463	8	8530	502
July...	140	345	282	707	6902	54	448	1941	41	10860	453
August...	164	267	240	664	7188	82	447	2066	36	11154	475
September...	219	373	346	890	8209	122	551	2432	29	13171	549
October...	174	476	422	1024	8358	164	580	2399	10	13607	567
November...	197	418	363	1113	8646	118	587	2322	45	13809	588
December...	171	365	401	1060	8472	106	571	2547	31	13724	624
January...	192	379	366	1144	9463	132	608	3134	29	15447	618
February...	187	376	422	1127	8578	134	582	2692	9	14107	627
March...	285	479	404	1234	9618	145	621	2883	21	15690	654
April...	208	342	274	932	7939	104	503	2719	15	13036	593
May...	118	249	202	482	4907	68	347	1536	13	7922	480
	2170	4347	3946	10987	93667	1295	6224	28134	287	151057	564

Days open ... 268. *Fractions not shewn.

Image 6.3. Number of Issues, York, Years 1911-1912. From York Public Library. (1891). *Annual Reports of York Public Library.* (Y/EDU/5/3/44), Explore York Archive, York, England.

537
502
611

York Public Library.
25th July, 1917.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ISSUES FOR THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1916-1917.

	<u>1916.</u>	<u>1917.</u>
Average Daily Issues in Lending Library	487	490
Issues issued in Reference Library (not including books on open shelves)	1,140	1,167
Total volumes issued during the month	11,973	13,156
Average Daily Attendance News Room and Magazine Room	917	1,244
Books added or replaced during the month:		
By Presentation	8	
By Purchase	64	
Blue Books and Supplements	10	

Items to be reported to the Committee, but not to appear in the printed Report to the Council.

Arthur J. ...
City Librarian.

Image 6.4 *Comparative Statistics of Issues for the Month of June 1916-1917*, From York Public Library. (1916-1919). *Letter Book*. (Y/EDU/5/3/3/13). Explore York!, York, Yorkshire, England.

Like the carbon-copy-filled *Letter Book* in York, the handwritten documents discovered throughout the fieldwork required numerous days to read, transcribe, and analyse. As seen in a page taken from the *Report on the Walkley Library* from 9th June 1917 (**Image 6.5**), the report is hand-written in a flourishing script, requiring deciphering and transcription. While some reports discovered by the fieldwork include handwritten documents and a printed transcript in the same record, this example from the Sheffield City Archives conveys the complexity of collections, specifically ones not accompanied by digitised transcriptions.

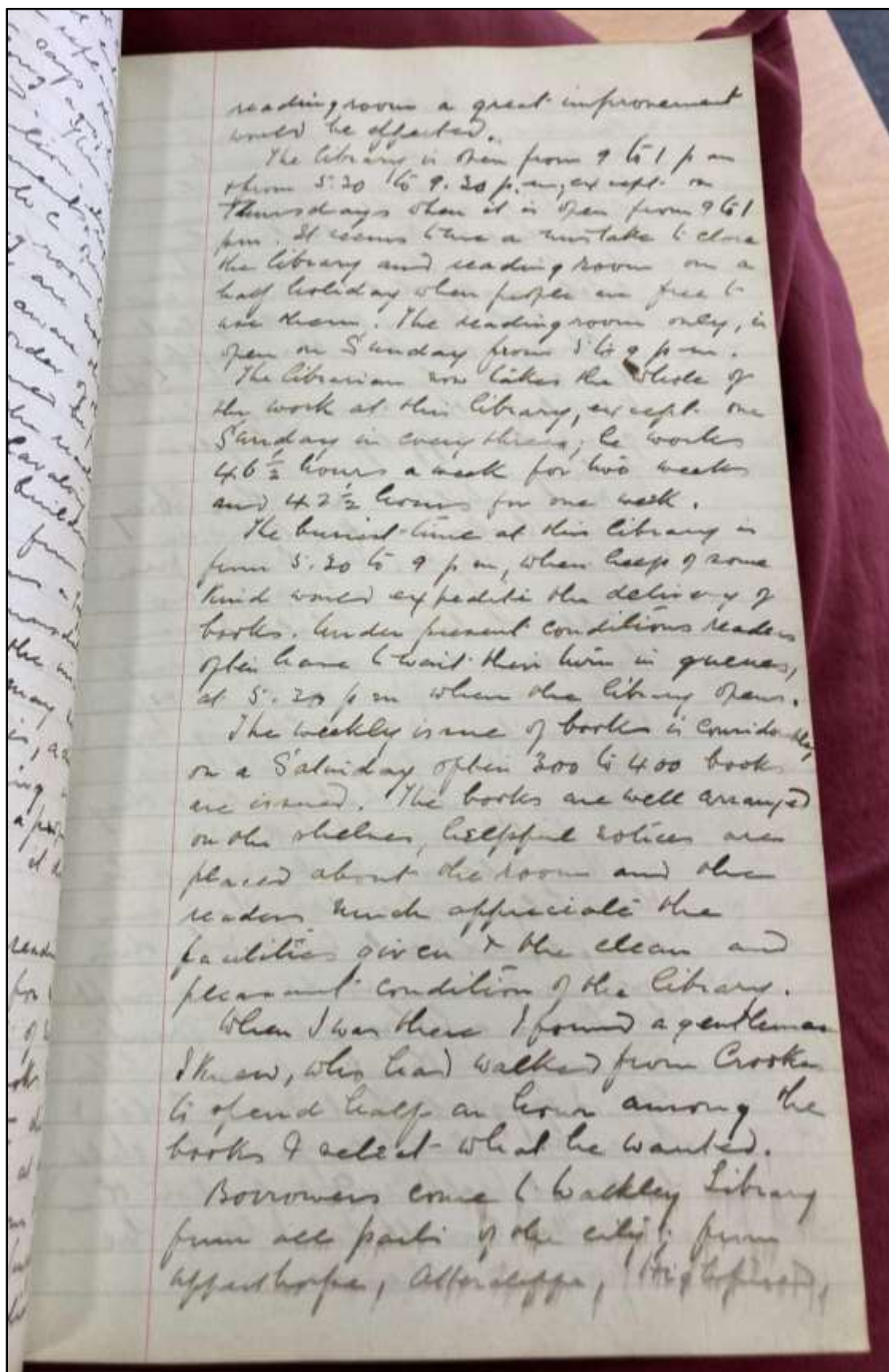


Image 6.5 Excerpt. (1917). From *Report on the Branch Libraries and Delivery Stations*. (1917). [Supplementary Papers relating to the Libraries Sub-Committees](#) (CA-L/2/3), Sheffield City Archives, Sheffield. England.

Although diligent dictation practices and transcription composition were standard in the early 20th century, there was never a guarantee that written narratives would contain a verbatim account of the source material. While human error was a typical result of manual transcription and dictation practices, especially when advanced computer technology was decades away, there were also physical and social factors to consider when a gap in the data was missing from the record. Physical factors such as item negligence, record redactions, item erosion, a lack of description, sorting errors, and misfiling practices all contribute to missing data and the gaps in this research (Hill, 1993; Moss and Thomas, 2021).

Such physical factors demonstrated the unique variations of historical information and represented unique elements of the physical archival documents. Not fully comprehensible in Image 6.8, the printed paper upon which the carbon-copied meeting minutes are typed is fragile and transparent, which causes an extreme amount of difficulty when trying to read the document. Following proper archival procedures learned during my Master's degree, I placed a piece of clean white paper behind the carbon-copied page, allowing the differentiation between the blue ink and the page behind it. As a result, transcribing the information from the *Letter Book* took several days of careful reading, note-taking, and deciphering the original printed carbon ink from paper bleeds, blurring ink, and deteriorating paper.

The purpose of this section was to highlight potential explanations for incomplete data sets. While searching archives, collecting fieldwork, transcribing collections, and analysing various levels of complete data, data loss can happen at any point in the historical record. At the same time, the collection's accession to various archives, libraries, and museums allows collections to break apart, deteriorate, and sometimes become lost in the historical record (Hill, 1993; Moss and Thomas, 2021). Understanding the different situations surrounding the gaps in data from fieldwork research provides an opportunity to fully acknowledge the diversity in archival holdings and the time and effort it takes to collate such information.

6.3 Public Library and Use in First World War Yorkshire

When assessing public library use, particularly during the First World War, specific variables must be acknowledged and integrated into our understanding of patron use of public libraries. Not only was the nation navigating the most significant conflict the world had seen, but the local communities also had to alter their behaviours and routines to allocate for the changes in

access and availability of library services (Black, 2000; Braybon, 1981; DeGroot, 1996; Ellis, 1987; Kelly, 1977).

The archive narrative intertwines the relationship between access and use. Primarily seen through the analysis of qualitative data (further explored below beginning in section **6.4.1**) gained from archive analysis, these relationships shape the understanding of the relationships between access and use of the public library services in the five Yorkshire field-study cities. While data analysis later in this stage (**6.4**) provides evidence of changes in usage practices, this section first explores primary-source accounts, establishing a human aspect to use before analysing quantitative data.

6.3.1 Conflicts between Access and Use: The Public Library as a Means of Distraction

The realities of home-front living changed drastically after the outbreak of the First World War. With the changing dynamics of domestic life, working demographics, and society in general, there was a steep learning curve for those who remained in England. With the men off to war, the change primarily affected women, children, and those not permitted to serve their country. With the implementation of rationing, austerity measures, and the threat of invasion, tumultuous situations on the home front, combined with the need for distraction from the hardships of life during the War, created the need for accessible and effective public library services (Braybon, 1981; DeGroot, 1996; Stevenson, 1984).

While it is difficult to fully understand the motivations behind public library use by the communities they serve, it is possible to begin to build an understanding of the community situations from the views of the public libraries. Such experiences cultivate insight into the library services for patrons seeking distraction from the toils of the First World War, primarily through the archival preservation of official library correspondence and newspaper publications. The following excerpt from a 1916 publication of the *Yorkshire Post* provides an example of such motivations for library use. In the article titled “Public Library Work During War Time: Mr T.W. Hand on Intellectual Preparation for the Future”, Thomas Hand outlines the importance of libraries in communities throughout Yorkshire. It reads

19 February 1916

In the case of the war, the demand for books and pamphlets had been very great, and in order to meet the requirements large number of the most reliable books on the progress of the war and the relationship of Britain to Germany prior to and since the outbreak of war had been purchased.

To those who needed some relief of mind from the constant strain of battle news. The library had provided resources in books on all topics of modern human interests. Many serious readers, not satiated with the war and war literature, had turned for mental relief into the by-ways of fiction, and if the library could aid and refresh jaded minds it was surely performing a healthy function at such a time.

The usefulness of libraries had been recognised by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, and their cooperation requested in regard to recruiting and war saving. Libraries had been of inestimable value to thousands of people now occupying responsible positions in the commercial, educational, journalistic, and scientific worlds, and the effect of the library on scholarship and learning would be a surprise if it could be traced in all its ramification.

Nevertheless, the library was too often treated as the Cinderella of the municipal service because there was no material or tangible results in the eyes of many people. Looking forward to the future after the war, he said the library would be recognised as one of the most potent instruments for the promotion of the industrial, intellectual, and ethical equipment of the people. Already at this moment. in the midst of the calamity of the war, a movement has begun for the rebuilding of France through the medium of public libraries, and a Government official at the head of the movement had communicated with the lecturer and other librarians in various parts of the world with the intent of being ready to promote in France, immediately after the cessation of hostilities, a great public library movement (1916).

In his editorial, Hand (1916) emphasises the importance of “some relief of mind from the constant strain of battle news” by illustrating the library’s different services to different communities. His comment mentioned that the public library

...had provided resources in books on all topics of modern human interests. Many serious readers, not satiated with the war and war literature, had turned for mental relief into the by-ways of fiction, and if the library could aid and refresh jaded minds it was surely performing a healthy function at such a time (1916).

Although this perspective does not come from patrons, it provides an example of citizens' emotional use of public libraries. The following sections will further corroborate the emotional use of public libraries.

While the editorial in the *Yorkshire Post* was a one-off article, other examples of newspaper editorials routinely looked at the library service and the effect the First World War had on public libraries. One of the most prominent is the “Libraries in War Times” from the *Leeds Mercury*. This publication focuses on the public libraries in Leeds during the First World War. It aims to address different elements of the library service, including the effect of the War on library-using communities. One issue in particular, from the 24 October 1916 publication, focuses on the emotional use of the public library. It reads

The effect of War conditions on the public libraries at Leeds is referred to in the annual report of The Corporation Libraries and Arts Committee...

...this decrease of 77484 volumes is chiefly due to the war has affected the work of the library's many of The Regular readers and students are when Active Service what others are occupied in munitions making...

...the libraries have been extensively used during the war for the circulation of a large number of placards pamphlets and leaflets in connection with the recruiting campaign and Omar necessity of the nation exercising thrift the central committee of national patriotic organisations stop the age of the libraries in their work and several thousands of their publications on the importance of the public studying the deeper causes which led to the war were distributed over the counter the use of the news rooms has been more affected by the War than any other departments the restricted lighting of the streets has diminished the attendance of the public as many people would not venture out in the dark is estimated whoever that the central and branch newsrooms have been used by 1700000 visitors the juvenile Reading Rooms have been similarly affected as many of the parents of children forbade them to be out of doors it is a most encouraging feature States the report to know that hundreds of children under 14 years of age come to the libraries for assistance the reading of the young people under proper Direction is still capable however a greater development and doubtless in the near future the board of education one some form acknowledge the value of the work that the public library is rendering in creating a better civilization...

(*Leeds Mercury*, 1916).

This editorial from the *Leeds Mercury* emphasises external factors' effect on library use during the First World War. It highlights causes such as poor street lighting from national and local fuel rationing, which ultimately stopped many patrons from leaving their homes, thus preventing patrons from visiting the library after work. The deficiency of access due to Wartime implemented rules directly worked against “creating a better civilization”, essentially what the article stresses as the overall purpose of the library.

The example above and that from Hand (1917) help paint a picture of factors that affected public library use during the War. However, these accounts do not come from the patron's perspective but rather from the perspective of the public library. They acknowledge the diversity in hardships each library service experienced due to the First World War and how each library had its own responsibilities to continue appropriate service. While not always in the control of the libraries, certain circumstances during the War were pushed upon the libraries, forcing a compromise in accessibility and use.

6.3.2 Military Occupation(s) and Closing of Branches

The most striking example of the relationship between access, availability, and use is the in-house military occupancy within several public libraries during the conflict. As explored in Chapter 5, the in-house military occupancy overtook public library buildings and used them as headquarters for local bands of military personnel (Kelly, 1977). While not every military occupancy halted library availability during the war, there were instances where libraries completely shut their doors for periods at a time, ultimately requiring patrons to travel further to use libraries. After the outbreak of war, military operations across the country required additional premises allocated for heightened military presence across England. There was an urgent need for buildings large enough to hold hundreds of men for an indefinite amount of time. The military often sought public libraries as a long-term solution for housing military operations and personnel (Kelly, 1977; Black, 1996).

In what was already a chaotic situation, the military in-house occupancy of public libraries in Yorkshire caused a significant shift in not only the availability of the libraries but even more so in their use of the library. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, on November 8 1915, provides an excellent example of the effect of military placement within distribution points of public libraries. In the article titled “Business as Usual”, a citizen exclaims their disappointment in the situation, stating, “Owing to the fact that the Ranmoor Council School has been taken over

by the military authorities as a hospital, it is no longer available as a distributing centre for free fiction” (“Business as Usual”, 1915). The attention given to the military placement in public libraries confirms the community's concern over the availability of use, especially in a time of uncertainty.

This shift in library dynamics altered the overall idea of library access. What was once considered a routine visit to the library now became a visit that required pre-planning. In a letter to the Editor of the *Yorkshire Evening Post* dated the 21 September 1915, a disgruntled citizen voices their concerns about a branch closure in Leeds, writing

Sir as a citizen of Hunslet, I beg, though the lined medium of your paper, to protest against the actions of the Leeds Corporation in closing the public library and newsroom in Hunslet Road, which, I suppose, was the best the Corporation could give us, notwithstanding the elaborate creations in other parts of the city. It was certainly better than nothing, and it will be a deplorable state of affairs if it is closed, as is intended from the notice displayed there. Do the city fathers think we people of Hunslet, who provide the bulk of the rateable value of the city, are not interested in books? If they do, they are very much mistaken.

It is hardly acting up to the principle laid down by the City Librarian who in his interview with the *Evening Post* urged that we should develop and enlarge public libraries ready for the demand after the war is over. I should like to know what the councillors for East Hunslet were doing to approve of us being placed in such a position.

HUNSLET CITIZEN
(*Yorkshire Evening Post*, 1915)

The citizen voicing their opinion on the closing of local branches demonstrates that patrons understood the potential repercussions of scheduled and unanticipated closures of libraries. The commentary on the closing of branches goes beyond personal loss. It suggests the community would lose a great commodity if the ‘Corporation’ of Leeds continued with the closing of branches within the city. The concern of access due to the First World War afflicted community members throughout Yorkshire, but did such concern translate into fluctuating quantitative data? The following section (6.4) highlights the change in usage data throughout the War, emphasising the relationship between use and the First World War.

6.4 User Experience during the First World War: Analysis of Usage Data

The qualitative data above emphasises the disruption of the First World War on public library provision. However, further analysis, this time through quantitative variables such as user numbers and the number of tickets issued, combined with personal information such as gender and occupation, further enables an understanding of community library use practices. Each fieldwork location offered unique insights into borrower usage practices, providing distinctive groupings of data that enhance the understanding of the relationship between patron and public library. Analysis through such variables also encourages findings relating to patron usage practices during the First World War. This section takes the data sources mentioned above from each field-study location. It compares them against one another, building similarities and acknowledging differences amongst the data to understand how patron use and community engagement with public libraries wavered during the War.

6.4.1 Field Study 1: Bradford: Use By Gender

Public library records highlighting borrower usage in Bradford during the First World War primarily comprised gender-based statistics. Due to the historical nature of the archival material and the lack of time afforded for research during the COVID-19 pandemic, these statistics do not fully encompass the entirety of the War. It was possible to access usage numbers from 1910-1914 and then 1915-1917. 1914-1915 is missing entirely, as are 1917-1918 and 1918-1919. These numbers, as seen in Table **6.1** and Table **6.2**, provide a unique representation of the Bradford community not only in terms of gender but also as a way to view the disruption the First World War had on public library services.

Bradford Central Library

Table 6.1.

Bradford Percentage Reduction of Male and Female Borrowers at the Central Public Library between 1910-1913 and 1915-1917

<u>Location:</u> <u>Bradford</u>				<u>Change From</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Change From</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>
<u>Central Public</u> <u>Library</u>	<u>1913-</u> <u>1914</u>	<u>1915-</u> <u>1916</u>	<u>1916-</u> <u>1917</u>			
Central Males	2835	1980	1822	-855 (-30.2%)	-158 (-8.0%)	-1,013 (-35.7%)
Central Females	2201	2099	2271	-102 (-4.6%)	+172 (+8.2%)	+70 (+3.2%)
Central Totals	5036	4079	4093	-957 (-19.0%)	+14 (+0.3%)	-943 (-18.7%)

Note. Adapted from Agendas and Annual Reports: Library Committee (1913-1917). BBD7/1. West Yorkshire Archive Service.

Table 6.1 illustrates the difference in use between males and females at the Bradford Central Library. According to the table, male use decreased from 1913-1914 (before the war) to 1915-1916 (the second year of the war) by 30.2% (n=855). Female use decreased by 4.6% (n=102) from 1913-1914 to 1915-1916. Overall, the total use of the Bradford Central Library between the outbreak of the War and the second year of the War decreased 19.0% (n=957). The numbers representing use during the conflict are less drastic. Male use decreased by 8.0% (n=158) from 1915-1916 to 1916-1917. However, Female use increased by 8.2% (n=172) between 1915-1916 and 1916-1917. From the year before the war to 1916-1917, male use decreased by 35.7% (n=1,013), and female use increased by 3.2% (n=70). Overall, while the use of the Bradford Central Library from 1913-1914 to 1916-1917 decreased by 18.7% (n=943), it is possible that gendered use in the central library fluctuated inconsistently throughout the conflict.

Branch Libraries

Table 6.2

Bradford Public Library Branch Borrowers and Percentage Change per Year, 1913-1917

<u>Location:</u> <u>Bradford</u> <u>Public Library</u> <u>Branches</u>	<u>1913-</u> <u>1914</u>	<u>1915-</u> <u>1916</u>	<u>1916-</u> <u>1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>
Allerton	102	146	161	+44 (+43.1%)	+24 (+15.5%)	+15 (+10.3%)	+60 (+33.5%)	+59 (+57.8%)	+84 (+54.2%)
Bolton Woods	90	71	68	-19 (-21.1%)	-5 (-5.6%)	-3 (-4.2%)	+28 (+32.9%)	-22 (-24.4%)	+23 (+25.6%)
Bowling	392	432	384	+40 (+10.2%)	+82 (+27.6%)	-48 (-11.1%)	-33 (-8.7%)	-8 (-2.0%)	+49 (+16.5%)
Bradford Moor	766	609	585	-157 (-20.5%)	+34 (+7.4%)	-24 (-3.9%)	+15 (+3.0%)	-181 (-23.6%)	+49 (+10.6%)
Eccleshill	171	163	180	-8 (-4.7%)	+18 (+11.0%)	+17 (+10.4%)	+16 (+8.8%)	+9 (+5.3%)	+34 (+20.7%)
Girlington	457	479	497	+22 (+4.8%)	+89 (+24.4%)	+18 (+3.8%)	+147 (+32.4%)	+40 (+8.8%)	+236 (+64.7%)
Great Horton	919	991	988	+72 (+7.8%)	+115 (+10.8%)	-3 (-0.3%)	+95 (+8.1%)	+69 (+7.5%)	+210 (+19.7%)
Idle	301	304	281	+3 (+1.0%)	+30 (+10.1%)	-23 (-7.6%)	+57 (+17.5%)	-20 (-6.6%)	+87 (+29.4%)
Listerhills	371	284	254	-87 (-23.5%)	+8 (+2.4%)	-30 (-10.6%)	-10 (-3.0%)	-117 (-31.5%)	-2 (-0.6%)

Manchester Road	1145	935	1007	-210 (-18.3%)	+22 (+2.5%)	+72 (+7.7%)	+67 (+7.4%)	-138 (-12.1%)	+89 (+10.1%)
Manningham	1088	820	789	-268 (-24.6%)	-52 (-3.8%)	-31 (-3.8%)	-40 (-3.0%)	-299 (-27.5%)	-92 (-6.7%)
South Ward	217	138	103	-79 (-36.4%)	-20 (-14.5%)	-35 (-25.4%)	+14 (+11.9%)	-114 (-52.5%)	-6 (-4.4%)
Thornton	209	185	172	-24 (-11.5%)	+42 (+31.8%)	-13 (-7.0%)	+57 (+32.8%)	-37 (-17.7%)	+99 (+75.0%)
Wibsey	160	146	176	-14 (-8.8%)	-11 (-6.2%)	+30 (+20.6%)	+7 (+4.2%)	+16 (+10.0%)	-4 (-2.2%)
Wyke	142	133	151	-9 (-6.3%)	-22 (-16.5%)	+18 (+13.5%)	+52 (+46.9%)	+9 (+6.3%)	+30 (+22.6%)
<u>Total</u>	6937	5698	5693	-1239 (-17.9%)	-259 (-4.0%)	-5 (-0.1%)	+518 (+8.2%)	-1244 (-17.9%)	+259 (+4.0%)

Note. Adapted from *Agendas and Annual Reports: Library Committee* (1913-1917). BBD7/1. West Yorkshire Archive Service.

Table 6.2 represents the public library branches in Bradford, noting the gendered differences between 1913-1914, 1915-1916, and 1916-1917. Looking at the difference in male borrowers from the year before the war (1913-1914) and the third year of the war (1916-1917), it is clear that out of fifteen branches with available data, six increased in borrowers with Allerton having the greatest increase at 57.8% (n=59). Nine of the fifteen branches decreased in male borrowers, with South Ward having the greatest decrease at 52.5% (n=114). Male borrowers decreased by 17.9% (n=1244) from 1913-1914 to 1916-1917.

Table 6.2 also illustrates the difference in female borrowers in the year before the war (1913-1914) and the third year of the war (1916-1917). Eleven of fifteen branches increased in borrowers, with the greatest increase at Thornton increasing by 75.0% (n=99). The remaining four branches decreased in borrower numbers, with the greatest fall in Manningham, which lost 6.7% (n=92). Female borrowers increased by 4.0% (n=259) from 1913-1914 to 1916-1917.

Overall, there were many fluctuations in the Bradford usage numbers between 1913-1914 and 1916-1917. Although there is missing data from 1914-1915 and 1917-1918, the outcome of borrower numbers at the Bradford Branch Libraries mirror those at the central library: female borrowers increased while male borrowers decreased.

Travelling Libraries

Table 6.3

Bradford Travelling Library Locations with Differences in Borrowers, 1913-1917

<u>Location:</u> <u>Bradford</u>				<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>
<u>Public</u> <u>Library</u> <u>Branches</u>	<u>1913-</u> <u>1914</u>	<u>1915-</u> <u>1916</u>	<u>1916-</u> <u>1917</u>						
Broomfield	100	43	94	-57 (-57.0%)	-65 (-52.9%)	+51 (+118.6%)	-11 (-19.0%)	-6 (-6.0%)	-76 (-61.8%)
Buttershaw	36	21	18	-15 (-41.7%)	-7 (-18.9%)	-3 (-14.3%)	+4 (+13.3%)	-18 (-50.0%)	-3 (-8.1%)
Greengates	42	25	41	-17 (-40.5%)	-19 (-38.0%)	+16 (+64.0%)	+11 (+35.5%)	-1 (-2.4%)	-8 (-16.0%)
Heaton	26	6	5	-20 (-76.9%)	-8 (-23.5%)	-1 (-16.7%)	0 (0.0%)	-21 (-80.8%)	-8 (-23.5%)
Hill Top	13	22	33	+9 (+69.2%)	+10 (+43.5%)	+11 (+50.0%)	+9 (+27.3%)	+20 (+153.9%)	+19 (+82.6%)
Low Moor	27	10	6	-17 (-63.0%)	-3 (-20.0%)	-4 (-40.0%)	+5 (+41.7%)	-21 (-77.8%)	+2 (+13.3%)
Princeville	26	13	15	-13 (-50.0%)	-21 (-45.7%)	+2 (+15.4%)	+2 (+8.0%)	-11 (-42.3%)	-19 (-41.3%)
Sandy Lane	16	9	5	-7 (-43.8%)	+5 (+26.3%)	-4 (-44.4%)	+10 (+41.7%)	-11 (-68.8%)	+15 (+79.0%)
Tong	19	10	9	-9 (-47.4%)	+19 (+380.0%)	-1 (-10.0%)	-3 (-12.5%)	-10 (-52.6%)	+16 (+320.0%)
White Abbey	13	25	4	+12 (+92.3%)	-1 (-10.0%)	-21 (-84.0%)	+18 (+200.0%)	-9 (-69.2%)	+17 (+170.0%)
Total	205	182	132	-23 (-11.2%)	-15 (-6.6%)	-50 (-27.5%)	+29 (+13.6%)	-73 (-35.6%)	+14 (+6.1%)

Note. Adapted from *Agendas and Annual Reports: Library Committee (1913-1917)*. BBD7/1. West Yorkshire Archive Service.

As noted above with the Bradford Branch Libraries, research data from the Mobile Libraries, collectively known as Travelling Libraries, was also organised by gender (**Table 6.3**).

Looking at the difference in male borrowers from the year before the war (1913-1914) and the third year of the war (1916-1917), one of the ten libraries increased in use, and nine decreased in use. Hill Top had the greatest increase of male borrowers at 153.9% (n=20), whereas Heaton had the greatest loss of male borrowers at 80.8% (n=21). Male borrowers decreased 35.6% (n=73) from 1913-1914 to 1916-1917.

Table **6.3** also illustrates the difference in female borrowers in the year before the war (1913-1914) and the third year of the war (1916-1917). Five of the ten travelling libraries increased in borrower use, with five decreasing in use. Tong had the greatest increase at 320.0% (n=16), while Broomfield lost the greatest percentage at 61.8% (n=76). Female borrowers increased 6.1% (n=14) from 1913-1914 to 1916-1917.

Bradford Totals

Table 6.4

Bradford Difference in Borrowers by Gender, 1913-1917

<u>Location:</u> <u>Bradford</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of Male</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>Number of</u> <u>Female</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>
Central	-855 (-30.2%)	-102 (-4.6%)	-158 (-8.0%)	+172 (+8.2%)	-1,013 (-35.7%)	+70 (+3.2%)
Branch	-1239 (-17.9%)	-259 (-4.0%)	-5 (-0.1%)	+518 (+8.2%)	-1244 (-17.9%)	+259 (+4.0%)
Travelling Libraries	-23 (-11.2%)	-15 (-6.6%)	-50 (-27.5%)	+29 (+13.6%)	-73 (-35.6%)	+14 (+6.1%)
Totals	-2117 (-21.2%)	-376 (-4.2%)	-213 (-2.7%)	+719 (+8.3%)	-2330 (-23.4%)	+343 (+3.8%)

Note. Adapted from *Agendas and Annual Reports: Library Committee (1913-1917)*. BBD7/1. West Yorkshire Archive Service.

Combining the data from the three tables above (**Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3**), Table **6.4** demonstrates the overall difference in borrowers at the Bradford Public Library. Comparing the numbers above, male borrowers decreased by 23.4% (n=2330) from the outbreak of war to the middle of the conflict (1913-1914 to 1916-1917), whereas female users increased use by 3.8% (n=343). Overall, the use of the Bradford Public Library service fluctuated throughout the conflict. Table **6.5** provides the total numbers and library changes between 1913 and 1916. The table is divided by library location, illustrating the drastic differences in use between 1913 and 1917.

Table 6.5

Bradford Difference in Borrowers (Total), 1913-1917

<u>Location:</u> <u>Bradford</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>the Number of</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>the Number of</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1915-1916 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>	<u>Difference in</u> <u>the Number of</u> <u>Borrowers</u> <u>1913-1914 to</u> <u>1916-1917</u>
Central	-957 (-19.0%)	+14 (+0.3%)	-943 (-18.7%)
Branch	-1467 (-11.1%)	+1024 (+3.8%)	-1024 (-7.7%)
Travelling Libraries	-38 (-8.8%)	-21 (-5.3%)	-59 (-13.6%)
<u>Totals</u>	-2462 (-13.2%)	+436 (+2.7%)	-2026 (-10.8%)

Note. Adapted from *Agendas and Annual Reports: Library Committee (1913-1917)*. BBD7/1. West Yorkshire Archive Service

While Bradford's user numbers are incomplete, the available data provide insight into how each gender utilised public library services during the First World War. The analysis of Bradford's archival data suggests that women were more likely to use library services than men during the war. Taking a micro-perspective, it is clear that the Central Library lost more borrowers between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916 with a loss of 19.0% (n=957), and Branch libraries were more likely to gain borrowers between 1915-1916 and 1916-1917 with a gain of 3.8% (n=1024). Overall, the people of Bradford used public libraries 10.8% (n=2,026) less from before the war (1913-1914) to the third year of the conflict (1916-1917).

An entry from the *Bradford Report of the Libraries, Art Gallery, and Museums Committee from 1916-1917* emphasises a common reason that issues towards males decreased while, in some cases, they increased in female users. It states that:

Classification and cataloguing of books, must perforce remain at a standstill until the return of the trained assistants now in the army. One of the effects of the war is shown in the reduction of the number of male and the increase of female borrowers from the libraries, as may be seen from the appended tables” (Libraries, Art Gallery, and Museums Committee, 1917).

The above excerpt from the Libraries, Art Gallery, and Museums Committee and the quantitative data in the tables above emphasise the role of public libraries on the lives of those who remained on the home front. While the men went off to war, it was the women who used the library, and although the number of public issues decreased overall during the war, there is evidence that women borrowed more books at this time.

6.4.2 Field Study 3: Leeds - Most Comprehensive Data Set

Unlike the usage numbers of Bradford, the Leeds Public Library service kept extensive records highlighting the various occupations, genders, and ages of library users. However, similar to numbers at Bradford, the Leeds Public Library user data only covers 1913 to 1915. The numbers below look at the number of borrower tickets issued the year before the war started and through the first year of the conflict.

Tickets Issued

Table 6.6

Leeds Percentage Change in Borrower Ticket Issues between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915

<u>Leeds Public Library Central Library and Branches</u>	<u>Borrowers' Tickets Issued in 1913-1914 (Year Before War)</u>	<u>Borrowers' Tickets Issued in 1914-1915 (Year War Began)</u>	<u>Change in Borrowers' Tickets</u>
Central Lending	8,489	8,579	+90 (+1.1%)
Armley	3,029	3,144	+115 (+3.8%)
Beeston			

Bramley	1,070	1,090	+20 (+1.9%)
Brownhill	1,056	1,204	+148 (+14.0%)
Burley	205	171	-34 (-16.6%)
Chapel-Allerton	1,627	1,611	-16 (-1.0%)
Dewsbury Road	2,843	3,327	+484 (+17.0%)
East Street			
Farnely	92	20	-72 (-78.3%)
Headingley	1,527	1,586	+59 (+3.9%)
Holbeck	994	1,049	+55 (+5.5%)
Hunslet	1,032	1,046	+14 (+1.4%)
Kirkstall	704	692	-12 (-1.7%)
Lower Wortley	88	118	+30 (+34.1%)
Meanwood	75	73	-2 (-2.7%)
New Farnley	70	57	-13 (-18.6%)
New Wortley	638	577	-61 (-9.6%)
Primrose Hill	225	196	-29 (-12.9%)
Pudsey Town End	55	54	-1 (-1.8%)
Rodley	144	115	-29 (-20.1%)
Sheepscar	1,796	1,935	+139 (+7.7%)
South Ward			
Stanningley	257	253	-4 (-1.6%)
St. Peter's Square			
Upper Wortley	302	289	-13 (-4.3%)
Woodhouse Moor	4,412	4,627	+215 (+4.9%)
York Road	2,000	1,699	-301 (-15.1%)

<u>Branch Totals</u> <u>(Minus Central Library)</u>	24,241	24,933	+692 (+2.9%)
<u>Leeds Totals</u> <u>(Including Central Library)</u>	32,730	33,512	+782 (+2.4%)

Note. Adapted from *Public Libraries Annual Reports 1908-1912 and Libraries & Arts Committees Reports 1912-1915* (L027.4 LEE). Local History Library. Leeds, England.

Table 6.6 represents the borrower’s tickets issued in Leeds's Central and Branch Libraries. The green cell acknowledges the greatest increase in borrower ticket issues, the red cell notes the greatest loss, and the grey cells highlight the missing data. Analysis of the archival data shows that the change in use at the Central Library increased by 1.1% (n=90) from the year before (1913-1914) to the year after the outbreak of the War (1914-1915). Out of twenty-seven branches, there is available data for twenty-three. Thirteen of the twenty-four branch libraries reported decreased ticket issues, with the greatest decrease at Farnley falling 78.3% (n=72). Lower Wortley had the greatest increase at 34.1% (n=30). Branch library service increased a total of 2.9% (n=692). Overall, the percentage change in borrower’s tickets issued from 1913-1914 and 1914-1915 in Leeds increased 2.4% (n=782).

Gender and Occupation-Based Use

While the total usage number is an important statistic that allows for an overall look at trends amongst the people of Leeds during the First World War, further details into the individual lives of the local working-age population in Leeds are needed to assess how gender, occupation, and use correlate. Historical documents at the Leeds Local Studies Libraries provide data separated into gendered occupations, as seen in the tables below. The complete tables associated with usage numbers in Leeds can be found in Appendix E.

Table 6.7

Leeds: Percent Difference of Use by Gender between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915

<u>Total Use By Gender in Leeds</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>Difference Between 1913-1914 to 1914-1915</u>
Male	18,530	17,046	-1,484 (-8.0%)
Female	14,200	14,549	+349 (+2.5%)
<u>Totals</u>	32,730	31,595	-1,135 (-3.5%)

Note. Adapted from *Public Libraries Annual Reports 1908-1912 and Libraries & Arts Committees Reports 1912-1915* (L027.4 LEE). Local History Library. Leeds, England.

Comparing numbers before (1913-1914) and after (1914-1915) the outbreak of the First World War, Table 6.7 illustrates that the number of male borrowers decreased by 8.0% (n=1,484). Female borrowers increased by 2.5% (n=349).

Overall, male users accounted for more than half of borrowers throughout the outbreak of war, representing 56.61% before and 53.95% after the declaration of war. Women accounted for 43.39% of borrowers before the war and increased to 46.05% after the outbreak of the war (See Appendix E for full tables). The tables below (6.8 and 6.9) break the gendered numbers apart by occupation, further explaining the increases and decreases in gendered occupations in Leeds. The occupations in each table are listed alphabetically.

Table 6.8

Leeds: Percentage Increase by Occupation of Male Users Between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915

<u>Male Occupation(s) Category</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>Increase in Use</u>
Accountants and Auditors	106	114	+8 (+7.6%)
Architects and Surveyors	93	104	+11 (+11.8%)
Clergymen and Ministers	115	120	+5 (+4.4%)
Engineers, Fitters, &c.	1059	1086	+27 (+2.6%)
Medical, Dentists, &c.	147	162	+15 (+10.2%)
Miscellaneous	635	687	+52 (+8.2%)
Not Described	625	739	+114 (+18.2%)

Note. Adapted from *Public Libraries Annual Reports 1908-1912 and Libraries & Arts Committees Reports 1912-1915* (L027.4 LEE). Local History Library. Leeds, England.

While the overall number of male users decreased due to the outbreak of war, seven occupations increased. The three occupational categories with the greatest increases were ‘Not Described’, which increased by 18.2% (n=114), ‘Architects and Surveyors’ increased by 11.8% (n=11), and ‘Medical, Dentists, &c.’ increased by 10.2% (n=15) (Table 6.8).

Table 6.9

Leeds Percentage Reduction by Occupation of Male Users Between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915

<u>Male Occupation(s) Category</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>Decrease in Use</u>
Agents and Collectors	382	358	-24 (-6.3%)
Artists and Draughtsmen	302	256	-46 (-15.2%)
Artizans	623	447	-176 (-28.3%)
Bakers and Confectioners	84	58	-26 (-31.0%)

Barristers and Solicitors	44	43	-1 (-2.3%)
Building Trades	249	199	-50 (-20.1%)
Cabinetmakers, &c.	362	348	-14 (-3.9%)
Clerks	2218	2030	-188 (-8.5%)
Commercial Travellers	351	301	-50 (-14.3%)
Dyers	44	43	-1 (-2.3%)
Electricians	211	157	-54 (-25.6%)
Gentlemen	351	221	-130 (-37.0%)
Labourers	471	273	-198 (-42.0%)
Leather Trades	267	235	-32 (-12.0%)
Managers and Senior Clerks	557	456	-101 (-18.1%)
Merchants and Manufacturers	230	181	-49 (-21.3%)
Metal Workers	397	385	-12 (-3.0%)
Painters and Paperhangers	163	136	-27 (-16.6%)
Photographers	28	19	-9 (-32.1%)
Police Officers	97	83	-14 (-14.4%)
Printers, Bookbinders, &c.	513	502	-11 (-2.1%)
Railway Servants	367	326	-41 (-11.2%)
Scholars	4231	3974	-257 (-6.1%)
Schoolmasters and Teachers	479	406	-73 (-15.2%)
Shop Assistants	448	418	-30 (-6.7%)
Shopkeepers	601	591	-10 (-1.7%)
Students	341	304	-37 (-10.9%)
Tailoring Trades	758	757	-1 (-0.1%)
Warehousemen, Salesmen, &c.	398	370	-28 (-7.1%)
Woollen Operatives	183	157	-26 (-14.2%)

Note. Adapted from *Public Libraries Annual Reports 1908-1912 and Libraries & Arts Committees Reports 1912-1915* (L027.4 LEE). Local History Library. Leeds, England.

Table 6.9 notes the remaining thirty occupations in Leeds that decreased in use between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915. The three occupational categories with the greatest decrease were ‘Labourers’, which decreased by 42.0% (n=198), ‘Gentlemen’ with a decrease of 37.0% (n=130), and ‘Bakers and Confectioners’ with a decrease of 31.0% (n=26).

Table 6.10*Leeds Percentage of Increase in Public Library Use by Female Occupations in 1913-1915*

<u>Female Occupation(s) Category</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>Increase in Use</u>
Clerks	673	750	+77 (+11.4%)
Dressmakers, &c.	457	467	+10 (+2.2%)
Housewives	4108	4184	+76 (+1.9%)
Scholars	3133	3286	+135 (+4.9%)
Shop Assistants	371	398	+27 (+7.3%)
Tailoring Trades	800	1025	+225 (+28.1%)
Miscellaneous	243	313	+70 (+28.8%)
Not Described	1693	1776	+83 (+4.9%)

Note. Adapted from *Public Libraries Annual Reports 1908-1912 and Libraries & Arts Committees Reports 1912-1915* (L027.4 LEE). Local History Library. Leeds, England.

Whereas male use in the Leeds public library decreased during the beginning years of the First World War, female use increased (**Table 6.11**). The three occupational categories which increased the most were ‘Miscellaneous’, which increased by 28.8% (n=70), ‘Tailoring Trades’ increased by 28.1% (n=225), and ‘Shop Assistants’ increased by 7.3% (n=27).

Table 6.11*Leeds Rate of Decrease in Public Library Use by Female Occupations, 1913-1915*

<u>Female Occupation(s) Category</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>Decrease in Use</u>
Artizans	400	324	-76 (-19.0%)
Bakers and Confectioners	90	71	-19 (-21.1%)
Domestics, &c.	623	523	-100 (-16.1%)
Professional & Gentlewomen	514	457	-57 (-11.1%)
Schoolmasters and Teachers	696	640	-56 (-8.1%)
Students	399	335	-64 (-16.0%)

Note. Adapted from *Public Libraries Annual Reports 1908-1912 and Libraries & Arts Committees Reports 1912-1915* (L027.4 LEE). Local History Library. Leeds, England.

While the number of female users may have increased during the first two years of the war, six occupations decreased in use. The three occupational categories with the greatest decrease were ‘Bakers and Confectioners’, which decreased by 21.1% (n=19). ‘Artizans’ with a decrease of 19.0% (n=76), and ‘Domestics, &c’ with a decrease of 16.0% (n=100) (**Table 6.11**).

The tables above help to illustrate that the First World War did not discriminate against the age and occupation of library users. While it is fair to state that certain occupations and genders were affected more than others, the tables corroborate that the conflict affected all people in Leeds. This is also true when analysing user age differences (**6.12**).

Age-Based Use

Table 6.12

Leeds Rate of Change in Age-Based Use, 1913-1915

<u>Age Categories</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>Change in Use</u>
Burgesses	9,354	8,626	-728 (-7.8%)
under 15	8,132	8,082	-50 (-0.6%)
15-20	4,676	4,503	-173 (-3.7%)
21-25	2,551	2,446	-105 (-4.1%)
26-30	1,583	1,562	-21 (-1.3%)
31-40	1,757	1,712	45 (-2.6%)
41-50	875	840	-35 (-4.0%)
50+	564	565	+1 (+0.2%)
Not Stated	3,238	3,278	+40 (+1.2%)

Note. Adapted from *Public Libraries Annual Reports 1908-1912 and Libraries & Arts Committees Reports 1912-1915* (L027.4 LEE). Local History Library. Leeds, England.

Image **6.12** above represents the age demographics for the central and branch lending libraries between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915. Of the nine age categories, two increased in use. ‘Age not Stated’ increased by 1.24% (n=40), and ‘50+’ increased by 0.2% (n=1). Of the remaining seven age categories, ‘Burgesses’ had the greatest decrease, losing 7.8% (n=728). Age categories ‘21-25’ and ‘41-50’ had the second and third greatest decreases in numbers with a

reduction of 4.1% (n=105) and 4.0% (n=35), respectively, which can be directly attributed to the outbreak of the First World War with the implementation of conscription practices and volunteer enlistment.

Overall, male use decreased, and female use increased between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916, with more male ‘not described’ and female ‘miscellaneous’ increasing their library use and male ‘labourers’ and female ‘bakers’ decreasing their use. The conclusions drawn from the tables above align the usage practices with Bradford by building a direct correlation between the start of the First World War and the changes in user numbers based on personal demographics.

6.4.3 Field Study 4: Sheffield - Tickets Issued

Much like the above tables in Bradford and Leeds, usage numbers from Sheffield hold clues into the usage practices of the local working-age population during the First World War. Sheffield’s archival records focus on borrower tickets rather than the number of borrowers. This data focuses on the number of tickets issued or the number of patrons who borrowed books. It adds further data through the inclusion of scholar tickets, providing insight into the academic usage patterns of patrons. Much like the data for Bradford and Leeds, gaps in the historical record cause gaps in the usage tables below. It was impossible to find data for the years 1912-1913 and 1916-1918.

Central Library

Table 6.13

Sheffield Percentage of Change in Central Library Ticket Issues, 1913-1916

<u>Sheffield Public Library Branches</u> <u>Tickets Issued</u>	<u>1913- 1914</u>	<u>1914- 1915</u>	<u>1915- 1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1914-1915</u>	<u>Change From 1914-1915 to 1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1915 to 1916</u>
Central Lending	4,953		3,783			-1,170 (-23.6%)
Central Reference						
<u>Totals</u>	4,953		3,783			-1,170 (-23.6%)

Note. Adapted from *Minutes of the Free Public Libraries and Museums Committee* (CA-LAM/1/7). Sheffield City Archives, Sheffield, England; *Minutes and Agendas of the Public Libraries, Art Galleries and Museums Sub-Committees* (CA-L/1/1/9), Sheffield City Archives, Sheffield, England.

Table 6.13 presents data collected from the Sheffield City Archives and Local Study Library and shows that the Sheffield Central Library saw 4,953 tickets issued in 1914 and 3,783 in 1916. The table denotes the difference in numbers from the outbreak of war to the middle of the conflict, noting a fall of 23.6% (n=1,170) in ticket issues.

Table 6.14

Sheffield. Percentage of Change in Branch Ticket Issues, 1913-1916

<u>Sheffield Public Library Branches</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1914-1915</u>	<u>Change From 1914-1915 to 1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1915 to 1916</u>
<u>Tickets Issued</u>						
Upperthorpe	2,429	1,592	1,497	-837 (-34.5%)	-95 (-6.0%)	-932 (-38.4%)
Brightside	2,438	1,692	1,614	-746 (-30.6%)	-348 (-4.6%)	-824 (-33.8%)
Highfield	3,236	2,456	2,270	-780 (-24.1%)	-186 (-7.6%)	-966 (-29.9%)
Attercliffe	2,547	1,980	1,790	-567 (-22.3%)	-190 (-9.6%)	-757 (-29.7%)
Park	1,375	857	845	-518 (-37.7%)	-12 (-1.4%)	-530 (-38.6%)
Walkley	2,475	1,870	1,776	-605 (-24.4%)	-94 (-5.0%)	-699 (-28.2%)
Hillsborough	2,237	1,774	1,719	-463 (-20.7%)	-55 (-3.1%)	-518 (-23.2%)
Tinsley	481	610	670	+129 (+26.8%)	+60 (+9.8%)	+189 (+39.3%)
Totals	17,218	12,831	12,818	-4,387 (-25.5%)	-13 (-5.1%)	-4,400 (-29.3%)

Note. Adapted from *Annual report of the Committee of the Free Public Libraries and Museum of the City of Sheffield, 1895-1916*. [027.44274 S 1908-1916]. Sheffield Local Studies Library, Sheffield, England.

Table 6.14 denotes the ticket issues for the nine Sheffield Branch Libraries. Eight of the nine branches had a decrease in ticket issues. The branch with the greatest decrease was Park, with a loss of 38.6% (n=530). Tinsley was the only branch to have an increase in ticket issues, with

a 39.3% (n=189) increase. Overall, the total percentage change in use at Sheffield branch libraries decreased by 29.3% (n=4,400).

These numbers are important ways to view trends in ticket issues from before to during the First World War, providing the details to conclude that the conflict directly affected usage practices. Columns two and three of Table **6.14** illustrate these numbers. The difference in tickets from March 1914 to March 1915 highlights this direct link. In eight of the nine branches, a decrease occurred in tickets. The branch with the greatest decrease in ticket issues was at Park, with a loss of 37.7% (n=518). Tinley, like above, was the only branch to increase the number of borrower tickets issued, with an increase of 26.8% (n=129). The impacts of the First World War are even more prevalent, looking at the tickets issued between March 1915 and 1916. The percentage change from 1915 to 1916 shows Attercliffe had the greatest decrease at 9.6% (n=190), with Tinsley having the greatest increase at 9.8% (n=60). The total percentage change from 1913-1914 to 1914-1915 decreased by 25.5% (n=4,387), with another 5.1% (n=13) decrease from 1915 to 1916.

The change in numbers from 1913-1914 to 1914-1915 signifies the declaration of war's impact on the library-using community. Comparing these numbers to those from the first full year of the war shows a decrease in use at the outbreak of war. However, the numbers began to rise again in the year following the outbreak.

Delivery Stations

Table 6.15

Sheffield Percentage Change in Delivery Station Ticket Issues, 1913-1916

<u>Sheffield Public Library Delivery Stations</u> <u>Tickets Issued</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1914-1915</u>	<u>Change From 1914-1915 to 1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1915 to 1916</u>
Darnall Branch /Delivery Station	179	135	152	-44 (-24.6%)	+17 (+12.6%)	-27 (-15.1%)
Brightside	72	115	90	+43 (+59.7%)	-25 (-21.7%)	+18 (+25.0%)
Hunter's Bar	351	250	313	-101 (-28.8%)	+63 (+25.2%)	-38 (-10.8%)
Broomhill	200	162	132	-38 (-19.0%)	-30 (-18.5%)	-69 (-34.0%)
Meersbrook	268	254	196	-14 (-5.2%)	-58 (-22.8%)	-72 (-26.9%)
Crookes	282	271	247	-11 (-3.9%)	-24 (-8.9%)	-35 (-12.4%)
Nether Green	136	142	145	+6 (+4.4%)	+3 (+2.1%)	+9 (+6.6%)
Wincobank	89	83	70	-6 (-6.7%)	-13 (-15.7%)	-19 (-21.4%)
<u>Totals</u>	1577	1412	1345	-165 (-10.5%)	-67 (-4.8%)	-232 (-14.7%)

Note. Adapted from *Annual report of the Committee of the Free Public Libraries and Museum of the City of Sheffield, 1895-1916*. [027.44274 S 1908-1916]. Sheffield Local Studies Library, Sheffield, England.

Like Table 6.14, Table 6.15 represents the percentage change of use from 1913-1914 to 1914-1915, 1914-1915 to 1915-1916, and the change between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916. Sheffield Delivery Stations had six of the eight lost ticket issues from before the war (1913-1914) to the outbreak of war (1914-1915). Hunter's Bar was the delivery station with the greatest decrease, decreasing by 28.8% (n=101). The delivery station with the greatest increase was the Brightside Delivery Station, increasing by 59.7% (n=43). Overall, the change in borrower's tickets from 1913-1914 to 1914-1915 decreased by 10.5% (n=165).

The year after the war started, the delivery stations saw increased and decreased borrower tickets. Five of the eight delivery stations decreased in numbers from 1914-1915 to 1915-1916. The delivery station's greatest decrease was Meersbrook, losing 22.8% (n=58). Hunter's

Bar was the delivery station with the greatest increase, increasing by 25.2% (n=63). Overall, the change in borrower's tickets between 1914-1915 and 1915-1916 decreased by 4.8% (n=67).

Looking at borrowers' ticket differences from 1913-1914 to 1915-1916, six of the eight delivery stations in Sheffield decreased in use. The delivery station with the greatest decrease was Broomhill, which lost 34.0% (n=69). Of the three delivery stations that saw an increase in use, Brightside had the greatest, with 25.0% (n=18).

Table 6.16

Sheffield Percentage of Change in All Public Library Ticket Issues, 1913-1916

<u>Sheffield Tickets Issued</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1914-1915</u>	<u>Change From 1914-1915 to 1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1915 to 1916</u>
Central	4,953		3,783			-1,170 (-23.6%)
Branches	17,218	12,831	12,818	-4,387 (-25.5%)	-13 (-5.1%)	-4,400 (-29.3%)
Delivery Stations	1,577	1,412	1,345	-165 (-10.5%)	-67 (-4.6%)	-232 (-14.7%)
Totals	23,748	14,243	17,946	-9,505 (-40.0%)	+3,703 (+21.5%)	-5,802 (-27.1%)

Note. Adapted from *Annual report of the Committee of the Free Public Libraries and Museum of the City of Sheffield, 1895-1916*. [027.44274 S 1908-1916]. Sheffield Local Studies Library, Sheffield, England.

Overall, tickets at Sheffield public libraries decreased the most between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915. Table 6.16 illustrates that ticket issues decreased by 40.0% (n=9,505) between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915. Between 1914-1915 and 1915-1916, ticket issues increased by 21.5% (n=3,703). Ultimately, between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916, the number of tickets issued decreased by 27.1% (n=5,802). The numbers above are another example of the First World War's effect on the library communities. They emphasise that the outbreak of war initially caused a decrease in use, however, as time progressed, use began to increase again.

Scholar Tickets

Table 6.17

Sheffield Percentage of Change in Branch Ticket Issues, 1913-1916

<u>Sheffield Scholar Tickets Issued</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1914-1915</u>	<u>Change From 1914-1915 to 1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1915-1916</u>
Central	840		583			-257 (-30.6%)
Upperthorpe	800	652	576	-148 (-18.5%)	-76 (-11.7%)	-224 (-28.0%)
Brightside	531	702	486	-171 (+30.7%)	-216 (-30.8%)	-45 (-9.5%)
Highfield	735	1,025	787	+290 (+39.5%)	-238 (-23.2%)	+52 (+7.07%)
Attercliffe	553	469	523	-84 (-15.2%)	+54 (+11.5%)	-30 (-5.4%)
Park	510	436	441	-74 (-14.5%)	-5 (+1.2%)	-69 (-13.5%)
Walkley	855	1,090	1,007	+235 (+27.5%)	-83 (-7.6%)	+152 (+17.8%)
Hillsborough	456		546			+90 (+19.7%)
Tinsley						
Totals	4,446	4,374	4,366	-72 (-17.3%)	+8 (+13.2%)	-80 (-6.4%)

Note. Adapted from *Annual report of the Committee of the Free Public Libraries and Museum of the City of Sheffield, 1895-1916*. [027.44274 S 1908-1916]. Sheffield Local Studies Library, Sheffield, England.

Another unique aspect of the borrower's ticket issues in Sheffield is the inclusion of scholar tickets (**Table 6.17**). Reserved for the population who categorised themselves as scholars, the number of scholar tickets issued follows the trends of the non-scholar tickets in Sheffield. Five of the nine branch libraries reported decreased ticket issues from the number of tickets issued between 1913/1914 and 1915/1916. The Sheffield Central Library had the greatest decrease at 30.6% (n=257). Hillsborough had the greatest increase at 19.7% (n=90). Overall, the change in scholar tickets issued from 1913-1914 to 1915-1916 decreased by 6.4% (n=80).

Comparing the trends highlighted in Tables **6.16** and **6.17**, the outbreak of war caused the overall scholar tickets to fall. Between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915, scholar tickets decreased by 17.3% (n=72). Similarly, compared to the regular ticket issues, scholar tickets also increased in the year following the outbreak of war (1914-1915 to 1915-1916) when tickets increased by 13.2% (n=8). However, looking at the breakdown in branch numbers, four of the

six libraries with available data decreased in scholar ticket use. The branch with the greatest decrease was Brightside at 30.8% (n=216). The branch with the greatest increase was Attercliffe at 11.5% (n=54). Overall, the total number of scholar tickets increased between 1914-1915 and 1915-1916 by 13.2% (n=8).

Table 6.18

Sheffield Percentage of Change in Scholar and Regular Ticket Issues, 1913-1916

<u>Sheffield Public Libraries</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1914-1915</u>	<u>Change From 1914-1915 to 1915-1916</u>	<u>Change From 1913-1914 to 1915 to 1916</u>
Scholar Tickets Totals	4,446	4,374	4,366	-72 (-17.3%)	-8 (+13.2%)	-80 (-6.4%)
Regular Ticket Totals	23,748	14,243	17,946	-9,505 (-40.0%)	+3,703 (+21.5%)	-5,802 (-27.1%)
<u>Totals</u>	28,194	18,617	22,312	9,577 (-34.0%)	3,695 (+19.8%)	5,882 (-20.9%)

Note. Adapted from *Annual report of the Committee of the Free Public Libraries and Museum of the City of Sheffield, 1895-1916*. [027.44274 S 1908-1916]. Sheffield Local Studies Library, Sheffield, England.

With this missing data present in the Sheffield archival record, it is impossible to conclude if the later years of the First World War provided an intellectual sanctuary to Sheffield's local working-age population of Sheffield. What it does encourage, however, is insight into the direct effect of the outbreak of the War on the Sheffield population. Table 6.18 compares the trends of the scholar tickets to the regular ticket issues issued by the Sheffield public libraries. The outbreak of war caused a decrease of 34.0% (n=9,577) in borrower tickets from 1913-1914 to 1914-1915. However, the number of tickets increased between 1914-1915 and 1915-1916 by 19.8% (n=3,695). Overall, between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916, the number of tickets issued to the local working-age population decreased by 20.9% (n=5,882).

6.4.4 Field Study 5: York - Monthly Statistics

Like the elements highlighted in library locations within Bradford, where a gendered approach to usage statistics was seen, and in Sheffield, where use was understood through the number of tickets issued, the usage numbers in York also bring a unique perspective to public library use during the First World War. The archival records of the York Public Library

provide a monthly average of users of the Magazine and Newsroom rather than a total of all users. Recorded meticulously every month, the records recorded the monthly statistics of the single library in York. Different from the other field-study locations, the overall attendance of the York Public Library was not available at the time of writing this thesis.

Table 6.19

York Total Attendance Magazine and News Room, 1911-1919

<u>York Total Attendance</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>
January	48,167	47,279	34,345	37,358	33,854	23,365	28,943	22,384	22,567
February	43,712	45,024	35,974	38,570	29,644	23,606	26,205	17,860	19,267
March	48,292	44,711	34,437	43,539	36,404	24,434	32,992	19,648	21,057
April	41,741	42,631	31,156	30,191	29,882	21,772	30,930	21,204	18,228
May	47,590	45,028	30,114	28,074	27,274	26,370	31,038	21,182	19,707
June	43,890	42,227	27,391	27,530	24,453	23,855	32,355	18,642	17,221
July	46,070	43,133	30,515	23,428	25,546	21,774	22,933	18,181	22,942
August	46,179	31,884	28,949	36,984	22,132	22,608	23,660	17,989	24,937
September	47,705	29,143	30,874	40,464	22,386	21,322	23,375	18,079	24,522
October	46,882	28,365	33,969	36,993	22,737	22,221	26,287	20,976	24,331
November	47,396	29,132	29,595	36,990	21,934	24,156	19,941	22,452	24,693
December	43,233	28,687	32,556	24,930	19,373	21,115	17,084	17,269	26,100
Total	550,857	457,244	379,875	405,051	315,619	276,598	315,743	235,866	265,572

Note. Adapted from *Daily record of books issued by the Library. Records of Attendances, Queries and Issues (Y/EDU/5/3/15/2)*, Explore York Archive, York, England.

Table 6.19 illustrates a complete record of patron use of the News and Magazine Rooms. Historically, these rooms allowed patrons to access current newspapers, serials, magazines, and other forms of social interaction (Keeling, 1968; Kelly, 1977; Pepper, 2006). While the usage numbers in Bradford and Sheffield help to explain historical trends of usage practices within an entire year, in York, accessing the averaged monthly data provides a more detailed analysis of numerical data. With this data, it is possible to look at essential months within the conflict and evaluate if months with significant events directly affected library use. Aside from August 1917, a complete usage table was available by collating quantitative statistics.

Table 6.20

York Difference of Attendance in News and Magazine Room by Month, 1911-1919

<u>Changes in Totals</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>
Jan to Feb	-4,455 (-9.3%)	-2,255 (-4.8)	+1,629 (+4.5%)	+1,212 (+3.2%)	-4,210 (-12.4%)	+241 (+1.0%)	-2,738 (-9.5%)	-4,524 (-20.2%)	-3,300 (-14.6%)
Feb to Mar	+4,580 (+10.5%)	-313 (-0.7%)	-1,537 (-4.3%)	+4,969 (+12.9%)	+6,760(+22.8%)	+828 (+3.5%)	+6,787 (+25.9%)	+1,788 (+10.0%)	+1,790 (+9.3%)
Mar to Apr	-6,551 (-13.6%)	-2,080 (-4.7%)	-3,281 (-9.5%)	-13,348 (-30.7%)	-6,522 (-17.9%)	-2,662 (-10.9%)	-2,062 (-6.3%)	+1,556 (+7.9%)	-2,829 (-13.4%)
Apr to May	+5,849 (+14.0%)	+2,397 (+5.6%)	-1,042 (-3.3%)	-2,117 (-7.0%)	-2,608 (-8.7%)	+4,598(+21.1%)	+108 (+0.4%)	-22 (-0.1%)	+1,479 (+8.1%)
May to Jun	-3,700 (-7.8%)	-2,801 (-6.2%)	-2,723 (-9.4%)	-544 (-1.9%)	-2,821 (-10.3%)	-2,515 (-9.5%)	+1,317 (+4.2%)	-2,540 (-12.0%)	-2,486 (-12.6%)
June to July	+2,180 (+5.0%)	+906 (+2.2%)	+3,124 (+11.4%)	-4,102 (-14.9%)	+1,093 (+4.5%)	-2,081 (-8.7%)	-9,422 (-29.1%)	-461 (-2.5%)	+5,721(+33.2%)
July to Aug	+109 (+0.2 %)	-11,249 (-26.1%)	-1,566 (-5.1%)	+13,556(+57.9%)	-3,414 (-13.4%)	+834 (+3.8%)	+727 (+3.2%)	-192 (-1.1%)	+1,995 (+8.7%)
Aug to Sept	+1,526 (+3.3%)	-2,741 (-8.6%)	+1,925 (+6.7%)	+3,480 (+9.4%)	+254 (+1.2%)	-1,286 (-5.7%)	-285 (-1.2%)	+90 (+0.5%)	-415 (-1.7%)
Sept to Oct	-823 (-1.7%)	-778 (-2.7%)	+3,095 (+10.0%)	+3,471 (-8.6%)	+351 (+1.6%)	+899 (+4.2%)	+2,912 (+12.5%)	+2,897 (+16.0%)	-191 (-0.8%)
Oct to Nov	+514 (+1.1%)	+767 (+2.7%)	-4,374 (-12.9%)	+3 (+0.01%)	-803 (-3.5%)	+1,935 (+8.7%)	-6,346 (-24.1%)	+1,476 (+7.0%)	+362 (+1.5%)
Nov to Dec	-4,163 (-8.8%)	-445 (-1.5%)	+2,961 (+10%)	-12,060 (-32.6%)	-2,561 (-11.7%)	-3,041 (-12.6%)	-2,857 (-14.3%)	+5,183 (-23.1%)	+1,407 (+5.7%)

Note. Adapted from *Note.* Adapted from *Daily record of books issued by the Library.* Records of Attendances, Queries and Issues (Y/EDU/5/3/15/2), Explore York Archive, York, England.

Like the previous analysis of field-study data, the York Public Library fluctuated in use between the years before, during, and after the First World War. Table 6.20 takes the News and Magazine Room usage numbers from Table 6.19 and translates them to illustrate such fluctuations. Each square in the table represents the change in usage numbers from the month prior. Each column represents an entire calendar year.

Of the nine years of available public library data in Table 6.20, only three years saw increased use. These years include 1913-1914, 1916-1917 and 1918-1919, with the greatest increase between 1916 and 1917, 14.2% (n=39,145). Of the five years that decreased in use, the greatest decrease was between 1917 and 1918, with a loss of 25.3% (n= 313,826). While these numbers are significant when looking at the overall years of conflict, a more micro analysis focusing on the month-to-month fluctuations brings further insight into the long-term impact of the First World War.

This micro-analysis highlights two critical points in the usage numbers. The first is the effects the outbreak of the First World War on 28 July 1914 had on the usage numbers of the month following (highlighted in blue). For a month after the declaration of War, the York Public Library increased use by 57.9% (n= 13,556) in the News and Magazine Room. The second critical point highlighted in the table (also highlighted in blue) is the 23.1% decrease (n= - 5,183) as a result of the Armistice (11 November 1918). These numbers directly link the use fluctuations to the First World War and highlight the conflict's impact on library use in York. The numbers suggest that although domestic responsibilities changed, the community frequented the library during the conflict, leading to increased library use. Evans and Sturges (1996) suggest that this increase could be tied to the community looking for information about the war. Similarly, the decrease after the end of the War suggests that information on the War was less apt after the conflict than during it, leading to a decreased use of the York public library. While the numbers in the table above do not reflect the users' opinions or thoughts, they provide insight into significant moments in the First World War. Tying this to the historical knowledge of the period, it is possible to see that the First World War directly impacted the community of York and its library-going trends.

Contextualising the above usage numbers within the field-study cities is essential to appreciate further the ways library use encouraged intellectual sanctuary. While the above numbers provided insight into the number of people utilising public libraries, further research

and analysis are needed to explore how use and user experience interact. The following section (6.5) takes the information gleaned from this section (6.4) and flips the perspective from the number of users to the number of books accessed in the field-study libraries.

6.5 User Experience During the First World War: Volume Issues and Number Trends

The above information gleaned from the archival research provides a detailed look at user practices throughout the First World War. This section takes another perspective on library use and focuses on the number of volumes issued during the First World War. Adding this information to the already robust quantitative perspective of public library use allows for further analysis into user practices, providing information spanning the relationship between the local working-age population and the contents of the Yorkshire public library.

To effectively analyse the relationship between patron use, the First World War, and the individual field-study locations, it was necessary to compile tables illustrating the overall number of volumes issued to the public. These tables include the number of volumes issued, daily issue averages, and percentage change between significant events within the conflict (i.e. the declaration of war (1914-1915), the armistice (1918-1919), and differences between pre and post-War (1913-1918)). These tables cover volume issues at lending, reference, branch, and travelling libraries and allow for comparative analysis between the field study locations.

6.5.1 Total Issues

Table 6.21

Total Volumes Issued by Year, 1909-1920

<u>Total Issues</u>	<u>1909-1910</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>
Bradford	930,041	927,231	922,468	986,309	937,897	911,027	942,810	491,409	511,273		
Hull	768,102	777,637	782,332	822,239	756,018	657,107	715,281	825,650	863,430	743,641	786,575
Leeds	1,483,443	1,372,875	1,377,237	1,366,706	1,318,353						1,472,944
Sheffield	604,306	656,198		643,931	640,432	618,933					
York	164,415	161,194	146,786	145,591	156,019	155,603	158,511	170,886	163,560	162,072	162,072

Table 6.22

Difference in Volumes Issued from 1913 - 1920

<u>Changes in Total Issues</u>	<u>1913/1914- 1914/1915</u>	<u>1914/1915- 1915/1916</u>	<u>1915/1916- 1916/1917</u>	<u>1916/1917- 1917/1918</u>	<u>1917/1918- 1918/1919</u>	<u>1913/1914- 1918/1919</u>	<u>1913/1914- 1919/1920</u>
Bradford	-26,870 (-2.9%)	+31,789 (+3.5%)	-451,401 (-47.9%)	+19,864 (+4.0%)			
Hull	-98,911 (-13.1%)	+58,174 (+8.9%)	+110,369 (+4.6%)	+37,780 (+4.6%)	-119,789 (-13.9%)	-12,377 (-1.6%)	+30,557 (+4.0%)
Leeds							+154,591 (+11.7%)
Sheffield	-21,499 (-3.4%)						
York	-416 (-0.3%)	+2,908 (+1.9%)	+12,375 (+7.8%)	-7,326 (-4.3%)	-1,488 (-0.9%)	+6,053 (+3.9%)	

Before breaking the usage numbers down and exploring the data as individual library services, it is necessary to look at the overall totals of use within the library services of Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York. Table 6.21 highlights the total volumes issued between 1910 and 1920 at each field-study location. To place the numbers into context, table **6.22** takes the total volumes issued and highlights the changes in each service throughout the First World War. These percent changes show a noticeable variation in the volume issues before, during, and after the First World War. In the case of the five field-study locations, each location saw both increases and decreases in public library use. The numbers highlight the effect the outbreak of the conflict had on the number of volumes issued as all field study locations decreased between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915. Unfortunately, due to missing data, it is impossible to know if Leeds saw an increase or decrease due to the outbreak of the First World War. The changes between the first and second years of the war (1914-1915 and 1915-1916) show that Bradford, Hull, and York all had an increased number of volumes issued to patrons.

Tables 6.21 and 6.22 also highlight a combination of volume issues increases and decreases in the middle years of the War. The greatest of these increases happened in York between 1915-1916 and 1916-1917, with a 7.8% (n=12,375) increase. The greatest decrease occurred in Bradford, with a 47.9% (n=451,401) decrease.

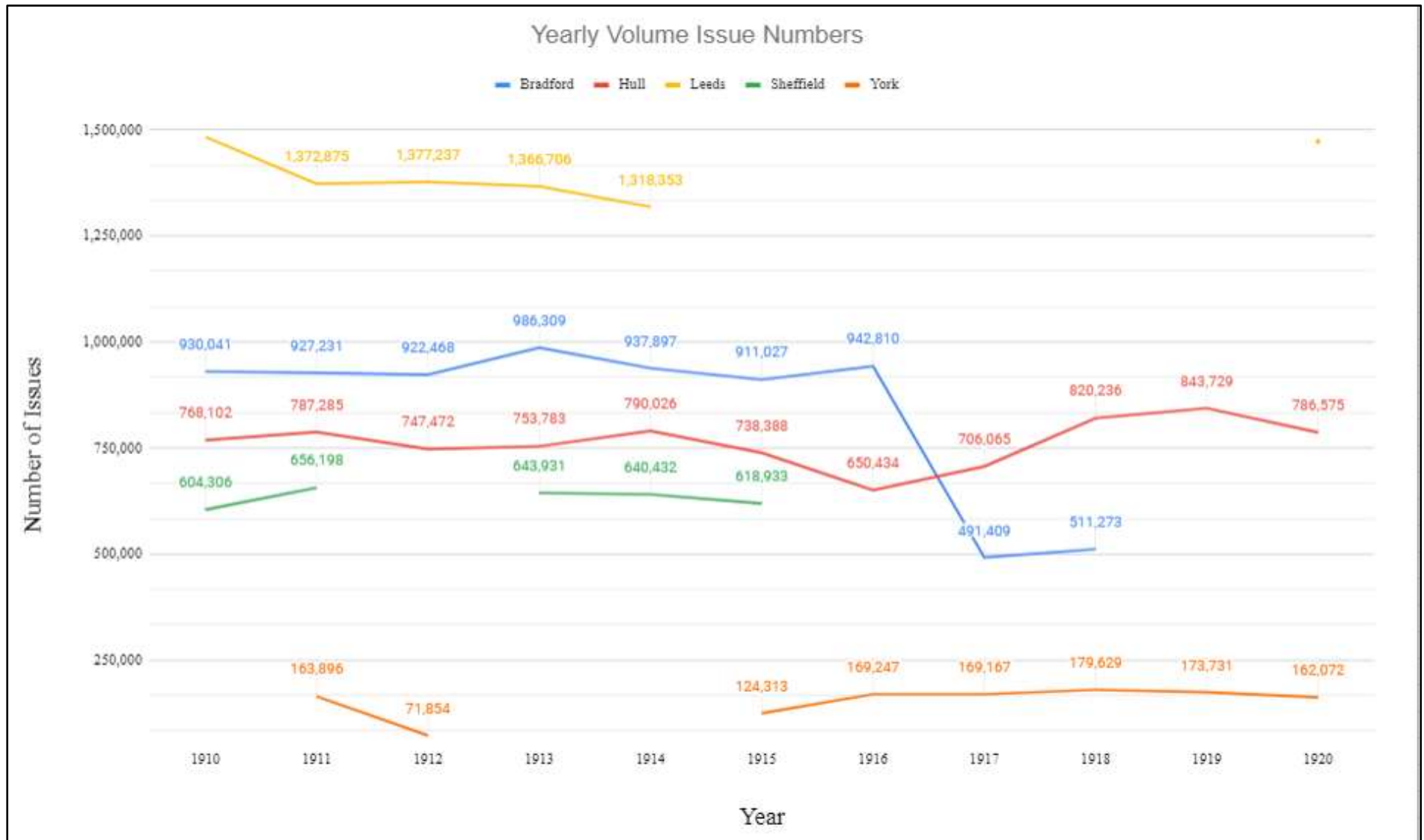


Figure 6.3. Yearly Volume Issue Numbers, 1910-1920.

Figure 6.3 illustrates the pattern of volumes issued between 1910 and 1920. Each colour represents a different field-study location, as noted in the key at the top of the graph. Plotting the number of issues for each location for the years of archival data makes it possible to visualise the number of volumes issued and the movement throughout the First World War, ultimately providing the opportunity to compare the similarities and differences of each field-study location. The sections below will address these similarities and differences, emphasising unique qualities in the collected data.

6.5.2 Central Libraries

The above section assessed service-wide library trends, noting the increases and decreases for each field-study location in contrast to the others. While it is a crucial way to view how the First World War affected individual services, progressing onto a more localised analysis based on individual types of libraries can provide a detailed investigation through which to view more precise ways the conflict affected local communities. The first of these library types explores individual central libraries, which, in the case of this research, include both lending and reference data.

Table 6.23*Number of Total Volumes Issued at Central Libraries. 1910-1920*

<u>Central Totals</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>
Bradford	282,669	282,852	276,901	278,757	261,206	270,983	255,664			
Hull	32,906	232,131	233,724	243,268	233,709	202,761	227,606	274,692	294,003	245,986
Leeds	421,910	383,236	374,234	358,634	341,663					
Sheffield	89,653			94,723	86,184	87,555				
York	164,415	161,194	146,786	145,591	156,019	155,603	158,511	170,886	163,560	162,072
<u>Totals</u>	991,553	1,059,413	1,031,645	1,120,973	1,078,781	716,902	641,781	445,578	457,563	408,058

Table 6.24*Difference in Total Volumes Issued at Central Libraries from 1913 to 1919*

<u>Difference in Central Library Use</u>	<u>1913/1914-1914/1915</u>	<u>1914/1915-1915/1916</u>	<u>1915/1916-1916/1917</u>	<u>1916/1917-1917/1918</u>	<u>1917/1918-1918/1919</u>
Bradford	-17,551 (-6.3%)	9,777 (+3.7%)	-15,319 (-5.7%)		
Hull	-9,559 (-3.9%)	-30,948 (-13.2%)	24,845 (+12.3%)	47,086 (+20.7%)	19,311 (+7.0%)
Leeds	-16,971 (-4.7%)				
Sheffield	-8,539 (-9.0%)	1,371 (+1.6%)			
York	10,428 (+7.2%)	-416 (-33.6%)	2,908 (-10.5%)	12,375 (+7.8%)	-7,326 (-4.3%)

Table 6.23 indicates a noticeable variation in the various central libraries' volume issues before, during, and after the First World War. Each location had increases and decreases in the number of volumes issued to the public. After the outbreak of the conflict, between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915, all field study locations except York decreased the number of volumes issued. York increased by 7.2% (n=10,428). Looking at the changes between 1914-1915 and 1915-1916 (the year the conflict began and the year after), two cities increased the number of volumes, and two decreased the number of volumes issued.

In the middle years of the war, there was a combination of volume issues increases and decreases. The greatest of these increases occurred in Hull between 1916-1917 and 1917-1918, with a 20.7% (n=47,086) increase. The greatest decrease occurred in York between 1915-1916 and 1916-1917, with a 10.5% (n=2,908) decrease.

6.5.3 Central Reference Libraries

While the central lending libraries catered to patrons borrowing volumes for home reading, the central reference libraries provided patrons with in-house reading and information opportunities (McColvin, 1956). In a letter to the editor of *The Library* dated 1892, librarian P.M. Laurence noted the difference between the lending department and the reference library, explaining that

The contents of such libraries are usually divided into two classes, i.e. (A) books intended for circulation and (B) books which may not be taken out by readers, or which may be taken out only under special conditions, class B being commonly described as the "Reference Library (1892).

The differences between the two libraries, as Laurence (1892) illustrates in the journal column written more than twenty years before the First World War, remained the same throughout the conflict, providing stability and routine in the library during the uncertain chaos of the War. Table 6.25 pulls together data from four field-study locations to depict the issues accessed from each central reference library during in-house use. The data from Sheffield was not available at the time of fieldwork research.

Table 6.25*Volumes Issued at Central Reference Libraries, 1910-1920*

<u>Central Reference Totals</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>
Bradford	59,021	63,864	62,114	63,532	60,526	61,197	57,761			
Hull	32,906	30,165	28,549	32,213	27,675	20,758	19,659	20,065	19,701	
Leeds	143,267	124,774	125,748	127,464	120,481					
Sheffield										
York	7,333	5,722			11,411	14,792	10,197	8,139	10,065	11,100
<u>Totals</u>	242,527	224,525	216,411	223,209	220,093	96,747	87,617	28,204	29,766	11,100

Table 6.26*Difference in Total Volumes Issued at Central Reference Libraries from 1913-1919*

<u>Difference in Reference Library Use</u>	<u>1913/1914- 1914/1915</u>	<u>1914/1915- 1915/1916</u>	<u>1915/1916- 1916/1917</u>	<u>1916/1917- 1917/1918</u>	<u>1917/1918- 1918/1919</u>
Bradford	-3,006 (-4.7%)	+671 (+1.1%)	-3,436 (-5.6%)		
Hull	-4,538 (-14.1%)	-6,917 (-25.0%)	-1,099 (-5.3%)	+406 (+2.1%)	-364 (-1.8%)
Leeds	-6,983 (-5.5%)				
Sheffield					
York		+3,381 (+29.6%)	-4,595 (-31.1%)	-2,058 (-20.2%)	+1,926 (+23.7%)

Table **6.26** illustrates the variations in the volume issues before, during, and after the First World War in the Fieldwork reference libraries. After the outbreak of the conflict, between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915, all field study locations with available data decreased in the number of volumes issued. Looking at the changes between 1914-1915 and 1915-1916 (the year the conflict began and the year after), Bradford and York increased in volumes, and Hull decreased.

In the middle years of the war, there was an inconsistent pattern of the number of volumes issued, highlighting both increases and decreases. The greatest of these increases occurred in York between 1917-1918 and 1918-1919, with a 23.7% (n=1,926) increase. The greatest decrease also happened in York between 1915-1916 and 1916-1917, with a 31.1% (n=4595) decrease.

6.5.4 Branches, Travelling Libraries, and Delivery Stations

The sections above (**6.5.2** and **6.5.3**) looked at the central and reference libraries, respectively, and found that both increased and decreased at various points during the First World War. The following section evaluates the number of volumes issued at the branch services, travelling libraries, and delivery stations to round out these findings. It provides information illustrating whether or not communities outside the immediate city centres changed their usage practices as a result of the First World War.

Table 6.27

Volumes Issued. Divided by Branches, Mobile Libraries, and Overall Totals, 1910-1920

<u>Total Volumes Issued</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>
Bradford Branches	622,188	618,912	618,851	685,123	651,565	619,206	666,572			
Bradford Travelling Libraries	25,184	25,467	26,716	24,832	25,126	20,838	20,574			
<u>Bradford Totals</u>	647,372	644,379	645,567	709,955	676,691	640,044	687,146			
Hull Branches		515,341	520,059	515,136	462,522	407,361	446,599	506,848	523,581	467,867
<u>Hull Totals</u>		515,341	520,059	515,136	462,522	407,361	446,599	506,848	523,581	467,867
Leeds Branches	1,061,533	989,639	1,003,003	1,008,072	976,690					
<u>Leeds Totals</u>	1,061,533	989,639	1,003,003	1,008,072	976,690					
Sheffield Branch	467,552			457,043	463,792	444,313				
Sheffield Delivery Station	99,011			92,165	90,456	87,065				
<u>Sheffield Totals</u>	566,563			549,208	554,248	531,378				

Table 6.28

Differences in Total Volumes Issued for Bradford, Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield, 1913-1919

<u>Difference in Total Volume Issued</u>	<u>1913/1914-1914/1915</u>	<u>1914/1915-1915/1916</u>	<u>1915/1916-1916/1917</u>	<u>1916/1917-1917/1918</u>	<u>1917/1918-1918/1919</u>	<u>1914/1915-1916/1917</u>
Bradford Branches	-33,558 (-4.9%)	-32,359 (-5.0%)	47,366 (+7.7%)			+15,007 (+2.3%)
Bradford Travelling Libraries	294 (+1.2%)	-4,288 (-17.1%)	-264 (-1.3%)			-4,552 (-18.2%)
Bradford Totals	-33,264 (-4.7%)	-36,647 (-5.4%)	47,102 (+7.4%)			+10,455 (+1.6%)
Hull Branches	-52,614 (-10.2%)	-55,161 (-11.9%)	39,238 (+9.6%)	60,249 (+13.5%)	16,733 (+3.3%)	
Hull Totals	-52,614 (-10.2%)	-55,161 (-11.9%)	39,238 (+9.6%)			
Leeds Branches	-31,382 (-3.1%)					
Leeds Totals	-31,382 (-3.1%)					
Sheffield Branch	6,749 (+1.5%)	-19,479 (-4.2%)				
Sheffield Delivery Station	-1,709 (-1.9%)	-3,391 (-3.8%)				
Sheffield Totals	5,040 (+0.9%)	-22,870 (-4.1%)				

Field Study 1: Bradford

Table **6.28** illustrates the percentage change in public library use of the Bradford branch and travelling libraries before, during, and after the First World War. Bradford's branch libraries increased use by 2.3% (n=15,007) between 1914-1915 and 1916-1917. The travelling libraries lost 18.1% (n=4,552) in use between 1914-1915 and 1916-1917. Overall, use of Bradford's branch and travelling libraries between 1914-1915 and 1916-1917 increased by 1.6% (n=10,455).

Field Study 2: Hull

Unlike the gaps in this section's first three field studies, Hull provides a complete data set of branch library usage numbers during the war. Overall, Hull's branch libraries saw a 13.2% (n=61,059) increase from the beginning of the war (1914-1915) to the end of the conflict (1918-1919).

Field Study 3: Leeds

Due to the limited data available on the number of volumes issued in Leeds during the First World War, Table 6.36 compares the number of issues immediately before and after the outbreak of the conflict. Between 1913-1914 and 1914-1915, the number of annual volumes issued at branch libraries in Leeds decreased by 3.11% (n=31,382).

Field Study 4: Sheffield

Much like Leeds, gaps in the archival record at the time of this project produced gaps in the historical record from March 1916 to the end of the war. Owing to this gap, Table 6.36 presents the volumes issued at the Sheffield branch and delivery station libraries from 1914-1916. Overall, branch volumes decreased by 4.2% (n=19,479), and delivery station volumes dropped by 3.8% (n=3,391), leaving the total branch and delivery station numbers dropping a cumulative 4.1% (n=22,870).

The findings gleaned from the analysis of branch, reference, and central libraries provide vital information needed to understand the relationship between local working-age population use, the First World War, and the idea of intellectual sanctuary. Using the findings from section 6.5, it is now possible to assess if usage fluctuations promoted or hindered public libraries in the field-study cities as places of intellectual sanctuary.

6.6 Intellectual Sanctuary and Use

As previously stated, this research defines intellectual sanctuary as “any space free from direct personal, political, and social influences, inviting all thought”, ultimately representing patrons’ ability to control personal intellectual interactions within the public library (1.2).

This definition emphasises that the public library becomes a personal construct to each individual, allowing the patron to have autonomy over their own experiences within the public space.

6.6.1 Relationship Between Patron Use and Intellectual Sanctuary: Findings

As explored in sections 6.3 and 6.4, usage practices consider a triangulation of different variables and situations essential to understanding how different demographics utilise the public library. In conjunction with analysing societal situations, these variables, most notably the direct effects of the First World War, help to create an understanding of intellectual sanctuary regarding public library use. While it is impossible to determine if the local working-age population utilised the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary, a number of findings from the data analysis above help to create a clearer interpretation of the library as an intellectual sanctuary.

One finding emphasising the use of the public library during the First World War is that volumes issued did not follow one singular pattern. Of the five field study locations, Bradford, Hull, and York increased the number of volumes issued during the war, rising 0.52%, 14.21%, and 4.83%, respectively. The remaining two locations, Leeds and Sheffield, had incomplete data available. Hence, a definitive conclusion cannot be made on whether or not the populations of Sheffield and Leeds used the public library services more or less during the entirety of the First World War.

Looking at the individual sections of library service, it is clear that public library-using patrons increased and decreased their use of the central libraries. The available data shows that three of the four (Hull, Sheffield, and York) increased volumes issued at the central library during the war, while Bradford and Leeds both lost volumes. The data is entirely different when compared to the reference library numbers. According to the available data, all field study locations (except Sheffield, for which data was unavailable) lost use through reference issues. Volumes issued at branch libraries followed a similar pattern to the central libraries, with two of the four adding volumes and two decreasing numbers.

Overall, the data support the notion that the people of Hull were more likely to increase their volumes issued at the central and branch libraries than at other locations. At the same time, Leeds was most likely to lose numbers of volumes issued at the central, reference, and branch libraries. Although Hull increased in central and branch libraries, they also saw the greatest loss of reference volumes. Looking at the entirety of available data on the change in volumes issued, Hull's population increased their public library use more than any other branch.

Another finding established by sections 6.3 and 6.4 emphasises that the overall number fluctuations with the number of volumes issued do not directly correlate with the fluctuation of the number of borrower tickets issued throughout the First World War. Three of the four locations with available data (excluding Hull) decreased the number of borrower tickets issued. The number of borrowers may seem contrasting to the number of volumes issued; however, the variables that make up borrowers' numbers differ from those that make up volume issues. This contrast ultimately shows that although total numbers are important to the understanding of patron use, other individual factors such as age, gender, and occupation can also help to provide a more in-depth analysis of the communities and their situations. Such a contrast is most prominent in Leeds, where female users increased as a direct result of the First World War. The analysis conducted at Leeds also provides evidence that a significant number of users decreased use within the 15-25 age range, which can be directly linked to the outbreak of war and the inevitable call-up of eligible men from the age of 18 as a requirement of the Military Service Act of 1916. Considering occupations, one of the greatest losses of library users is within the occupations more likely to be called up to action, including 'Labourers' and 'Gentleman'. The tables also highlight increased use by men whose occupations resided on the exemption list. These included 'Medical/Dentist' and 'Architecture/Surveyors' (**Table 6.9**).

When the terms 'intellectual' and 'sanctuary' are combined, they represent an idea which spans location, gender, age, occupation, and class status: that a place can provide a space free from societal expectations, domestic responsibilities, and class prejudices. Intellectual sanctuary represents a place where a person can find mental, physical, and intellectual peace within an establishment that allows access for all. While this idea of intellectual sanctuary is an idealistic representation of the relationship between patron and public library, this research (particularly the current Stage 2) seeks to understand if library practices promoted

such a creation. Overall, the fluctuations in the number of borrower tickets issued, the number of visitors to the various public libraries, and the number of volumes issued help to promote the public library as a place where intellectual sanctuary could be cultivated. Suppose the idea of intellectual sanctuary is cultivated within the individual user. In that case, it is possible to understand fluctuations in use as an effect of the First World War, for it was a way patrons could deal with an unexpected and troublesome conflict. The relationship between the individual patron and their internal experiences of the public library will be further explored in Stage 4.

6.7 Concluding Thoughts

Stages 1 and 2 of the research engaged archival material, including official records, personal correspondence, statistical data, and newspaper articles, as a way to assess the availability and use of the five field-study cities during the First World War. This research stage highlighted that while the statistical information gathered from archival documents is integral to understanding usage patterns, elements of qualitative analysis are just as crucial to comprehending the patron experience during the First World War, for quantitative information does not provide an emotional element in its explanation of library use (Hudson, 2000).

While these two stages of the research focused on elements directly related to the patron and their use of the public library, one essential variable is still missing: the physical element of a public library building. The next stage of the research will look at the physical space and architecture of the public library and explore how intellectual sanctuary is related to the architecture of the public space. The findings from Stage 3, triangulated with findings from Stages 1 and 2, will encourage a more robust understanding of the public library as a singular establishment. It will explore if the public services provided suitable spaces that encouraged the cultivation of intellectual sanctuary. It will also provide detailed insight into whether architectural elements of the public library promoted or hindered the public from using the library as a place of intellectual sanctuary.

Chapter 7

Stage 3: Free Public Library Architecture and Spatial Sanctuary

The dwelling place of great spirits...without taking down a book, we felt the presence of something that appealed to the noblest in us. When we had got the best out of that feeling, we could take down a book and find what we sought: knowledge or chaste imagination, wings to soar above sordid circumstances, stimulus to faith when the world was at its darkest (Black, 2000b, p.73)

7.1 Introduction

Stage 2 (**Chapter 6**) discussed the public library's availability and its impact on increasing and decreasing availability to public library patrons in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York. Stage 3 (**Chapter 7**) looked at the quantitative use of public libraries, acknowledging different types of use found in each of the five field-study cities. This stage applies the adapted research framework, focusing on digital and physical historical records reflecting the state of architecture and space within each Yorkshire city during the First World War. The stage moves forward to consider the architectural importance of the historic public library, ultimately leading to an investigation between architecture, patron experience, and intellectual sanctuary.

7.1.1 Relationship between Architecture, Space, and Intellectual Sanctuary

Findings from the first two stages of the research (**Chapters 6 and 7**) revealed the importance of the library space, emphasising the need for a physical space freely available for use by the local working-age population. This chapter aims to further develop the idea that public library buildings have a role in constructing intellectual sanctuaries.

The relationship between architecture and public libraries dates back to the passage of the Public Library Act of 1850. After adopting the Act, each county was responsible for public library provision (Pepper, 2006). This included the construction of new buildings and repurposing buildings for use as public libraries (Kelly, 1977). Influences of provision did not solely come from the council but also through publications in local newspapers and industry journals. The historical publication *Building News* encouraged communities to be intentional

with the development of library services. It emphasises the design and structure of libraries, highlighting the importance of space and the responsibilities of the library should directly influence the building's design and construction (Black et al., 2009). An excerpt from the 27 June 1890 issue illustrates the importance of public library architecture:

The design of a library is so directly related to plan that it is not too much to say that an ill-planned library will be a source of continual vexation and expense, as no architectural exterior will atone for an arrangement that cannot be altered without radical reconstruction...

Building News goes on to note that

A library may also be made to include separate rooms, as lecture or classrooms, and we probably one day, when free libraries have developed their capabilities as public educational buildings, shall see them not only united to museums and picture galleries but to schools for the free education of the people (*Free Public Libraries*, 1890).

Although this excerpt predates the First World War by twenty-four years, it emphasises that architecture was influential within the early public library. It highlights the hope for what the establishments could become for the local working-age population of Yorkshire. Only some public library services emphasise such detail and intentionality through architecture, as noted in some field-study examples below. These excerpts also provide a springboard for understanding other primary source documents and a lens to view how academic sources interacted with the roles and responsibilities of historic public libraries and the overall idea of library architecture. This lens proves helpful when viewing, analysing, and interpreting archival documents as part of the research process (7.2).

7.2 Research Process

My relationship as an academic with architecture and sanctuary predates the start of this study. During my undergraduate degree in the criticism and history of art, I learned to analyse architectural blueprints, photos of library buildings, and architectural commentary. Adding knowledge gleaned from archival analysis processes during the completion of my Master's degree in archival management, both of these academic and industry experiences provided a critical understanding of the importance of space, architectural symbolism, and the transformative possibilities of architecture. Such understandings have been transferred to this study, allowing the analysis of archival architectural information. After utilising the Adapted

Framework developed for this study to influence the collection of archival information, several findings began to emerge, highlighting the interaction between the physical library and intellectual sanctuary. By visiting archives, libraries, and local studies libraries in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York, the realities of the lived experiences of historical public library patrons began to take shape, and the relationships between past and present started to emerge.

7.2.1 Adapted Framework Connection

Stage 3 of the research implemented the simplified version of the full Adapted Framework (**Figure 3.11**) seen below (**Figure 7.1**). The research process for this beginning stage follows three distinct steps.

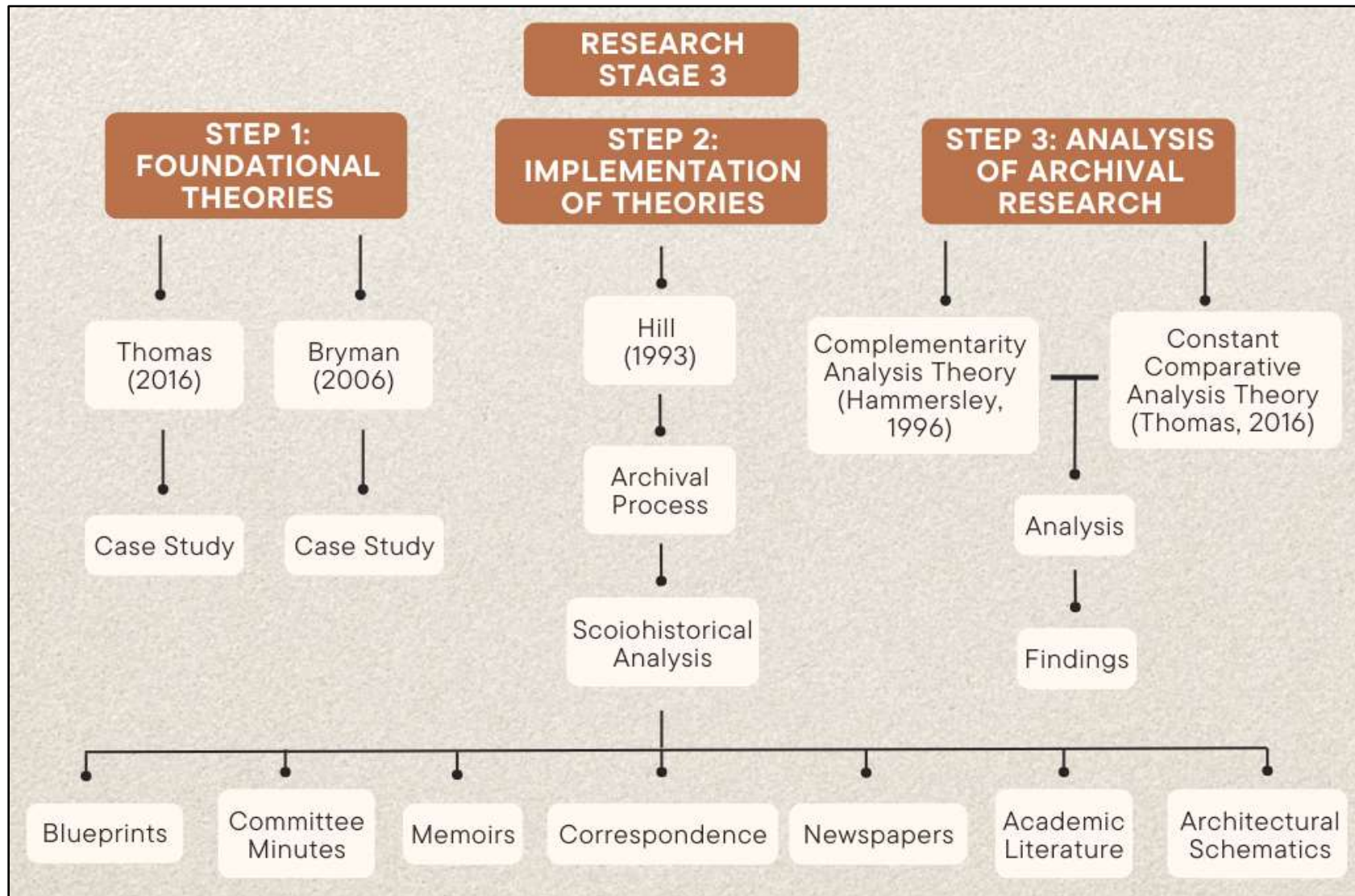


Figure 7.1. Adapted Framework. Stage 3

Like the applied elements of the Adapted Framework outlined in Stages 1 and 2 of this thesis, the first step (**Figure 7.2**) focuses on the foundational theories used as the basis for the research conducted in this stage. These include the case study methodologies of Thomas (2016) and Bryman (2006). The second step (**Figure 7.2**) used in this stage of the research process is the “Implementation of the Foundational Theories.”

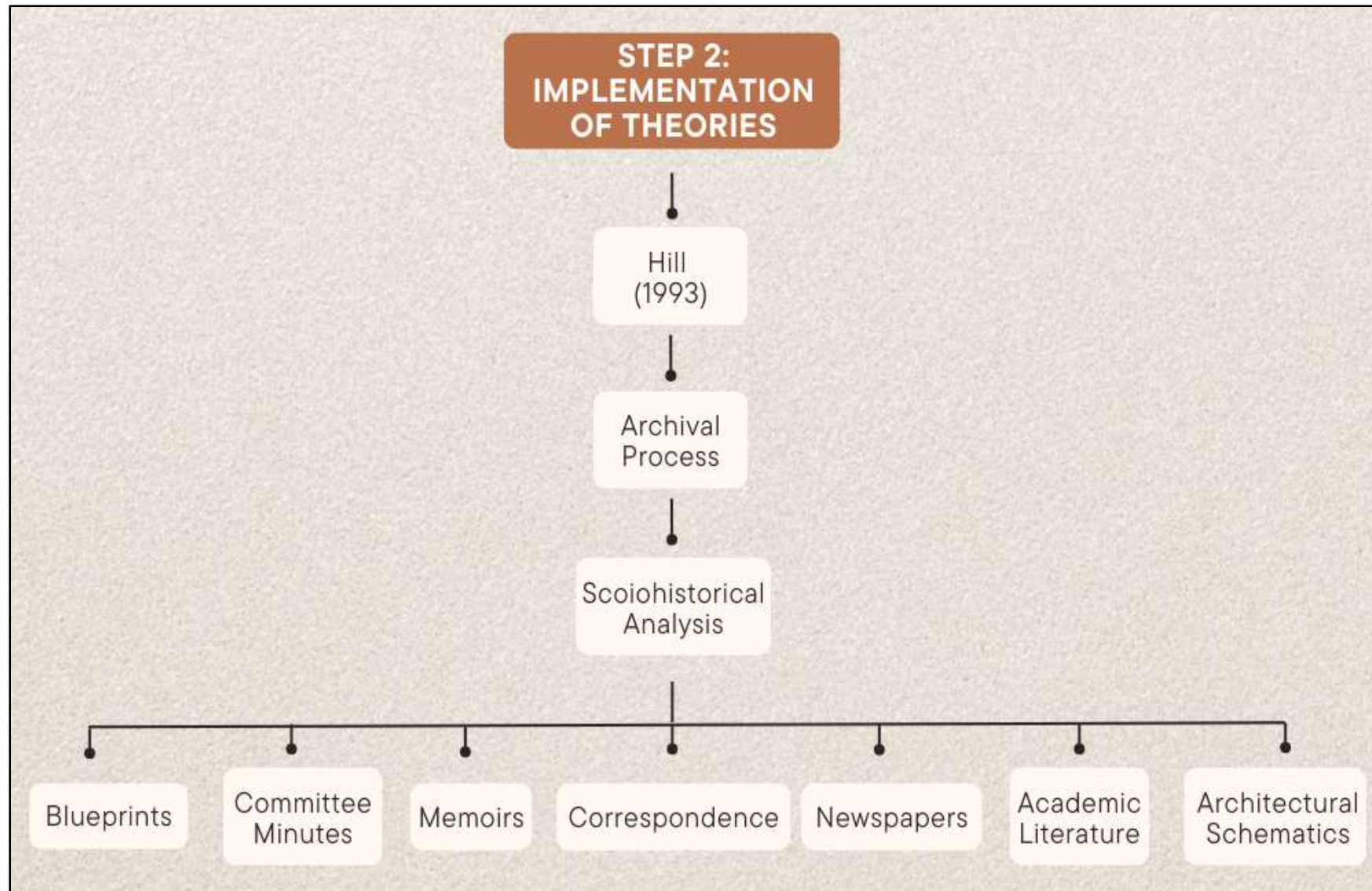


Figure 7.2. Detail. Adapted Framework. Stage 3. Step 2: Implementation of Theories.

After acknowledging the theories set out by Bryman (2006) and Thomas (2016) in step one, this second step of the research primarily utilises Hill's (1993) idea of sociohistorical analysis as a way to work through the various patron comments, correspondence, newspaper cuttings, academic and critical literature, committee minutes, user statistics, and library information such as operating hours per week, days open per year, and maps of library locations. He emphasises the importance of diversity in the historical archival process by explaining that "reflexivity, openness to alternative interpretations, attention to multiple data sources, and peripatetic investigation in archives" allow for a thorough "search for social scientific understanding of past events" (p. 69). Combining Hill's (1993) ideas on sociohistorical analysis with the above archival documents encourages analysis of the relationship between architecture, intellectual sanctuary, public libraries, and patrons during the First World War.

7.2.1 Research Methods/Research Objectives/Aims

Stage 3 of the research combines the aforementioned Adapted Framework techniques to address the following research objectives (see **1.3**)

- 1. To examine the public library sphere between the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act and to understand the long-range impacts of the First World War within the five identified public library services of Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York.*
- 2. To define both sanctuary and intellectual sanctuary and to explore if public libraries in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) mirror such definitions during the First World War.*

Overall, this stage in the research aims to add critical archival analysis regarding architecture and intellectual sanctuary to the overall research question addressed by this study (**1.3**).

7.3 Living Archives and Architectural History

The word 'archives' conjures up different images. Some people picture dusty, dry storage rooms where stuffy, brown-bow-tie curators enveloped in ancient cardigans look askance at anyone who speaks above websites where listeners can download podcasts of radio programmes aired just hours before. Some people think of old parchments, scrolls and leather-bound volumes of medieval treatises; others imagine electronic back-up copies of a corporate report or membership database (Millar, 2017, p.3).

Laura Millar (2017) paints a picture of archives' diversity among practitioners and those who have never stepped within an archive. Millar shows that there are often misconceptions about the nature of archives and what their use provides to society. In this light, it is essential to note that this study understands archives as living, breathing repositories which build agency to voices of the past to remain part of the present and ultimately help inform voices for the future. Such repositories hold the key to uncovering histories lost to time and allow communities to rediscover essential pieces of their community's lived histories (Brothman, 2001; Rasmussen, 2011). Ahmed (2019) notes that through reading,

...we are making connections that might not otherwise have been made across domains that might otherwise have remained distinct, such as biology, psychology, architecture, and design, which all make use of use to explain the acquisition of form (2019, p.8).

While Ahmed's commentary references reading as a means to make connections, her words can easily be associated with archival research within a living archival repository. She emphasises that reading (and, by association, research) provides the opportunity to grow understandings and build associations between different subjects. This research stage exhibits the importance of such connections, tying together personal lived histories and public library use by analysing library architecture, specifically focusing on how patrons used and interacted with such buildings. Incorporating these ideas regarding archives and public library architecture, alongside sections of the Adapted Framework (7.2.1), assists in developing a method to view the relationship between intellectual sanctuary and architecture.

7.3.1 Fieldwork Processes Research in Practice: Difficulties with Blueprints and the Passing of Time

The fieldwork process for Stage 3 followed the methods set out in the Methodology (Chapter 2). While a concrete methodology was developed for this study, elements of this research stage proved a challenge when combined with architectural archival material. These challenges included complicated accessibility to architectural blueprints in light of original library building absences.

Due to the large scale of architectural documents, the fragility of century-old paper and the fact that many are the only copy, viewing such documents required lengthy archival visits. In addition, due to the fragility of historical blueprints, preservation-related complexities also

included interpreting fading architectural drawings, indecipherable script, deteriorating paper, and obscure references to historical people, places, and committees (International Council on Archives, 2000). Images 7.1 and 7.2 illustrate an example of these difficulties. Image 7.1 is a blueprint from 1912, illustrating alterations made to the Sheffield Central Library Reference Department (CA663/1/8). This photo, highlighting several of the complexities above, illustrates the difficulties encountered with deteriorating paper, hard-to-read script, and the enlarged scale of fragile paper.

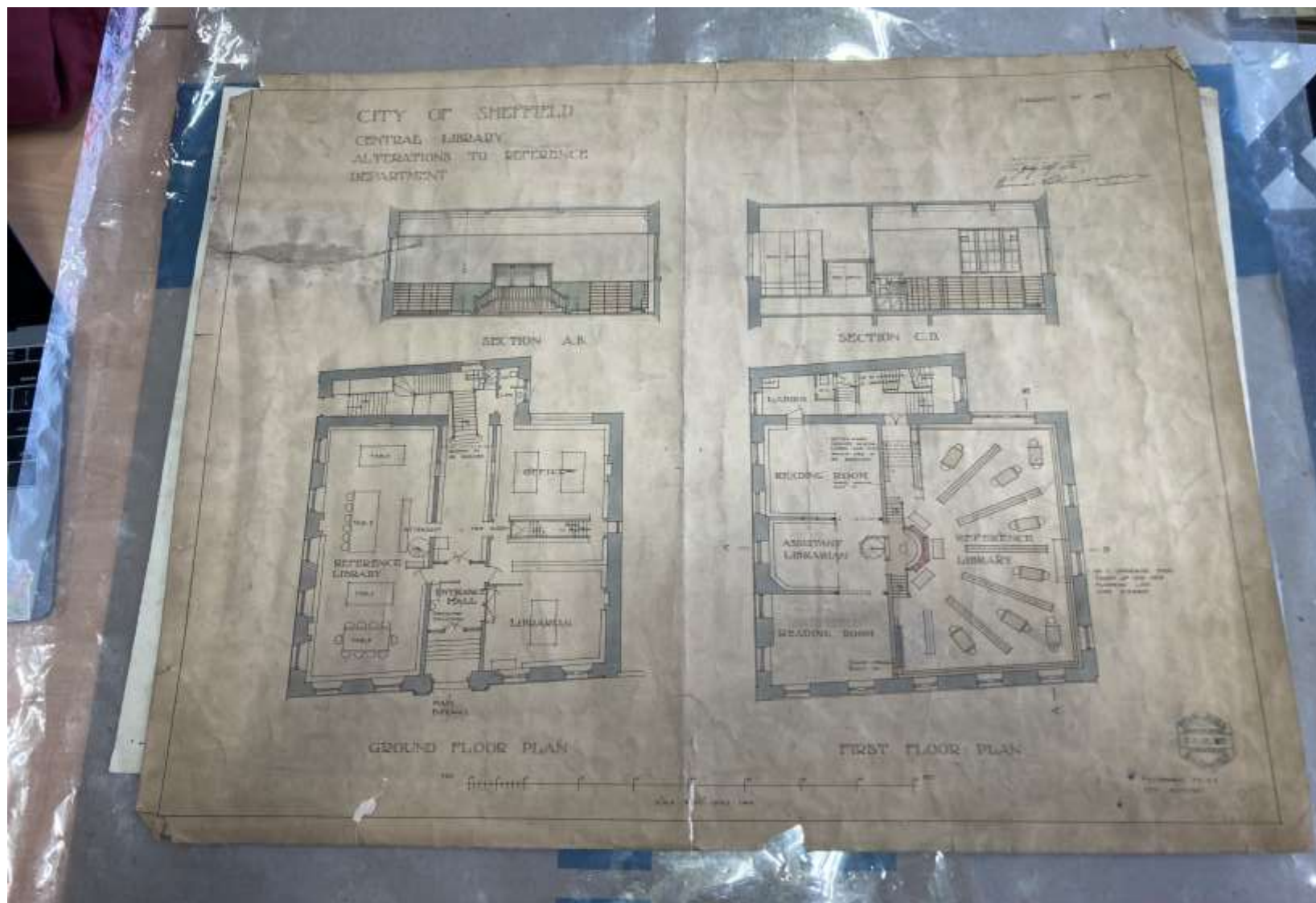


Image 7.1 .Central Library—Alterations to reference department—Sections, ground and first floor plans. (1912). [Blueprints]. Sheffield City Council Library Plans (CA663/1/8), Sheffield City Archives, Sheffield, England.

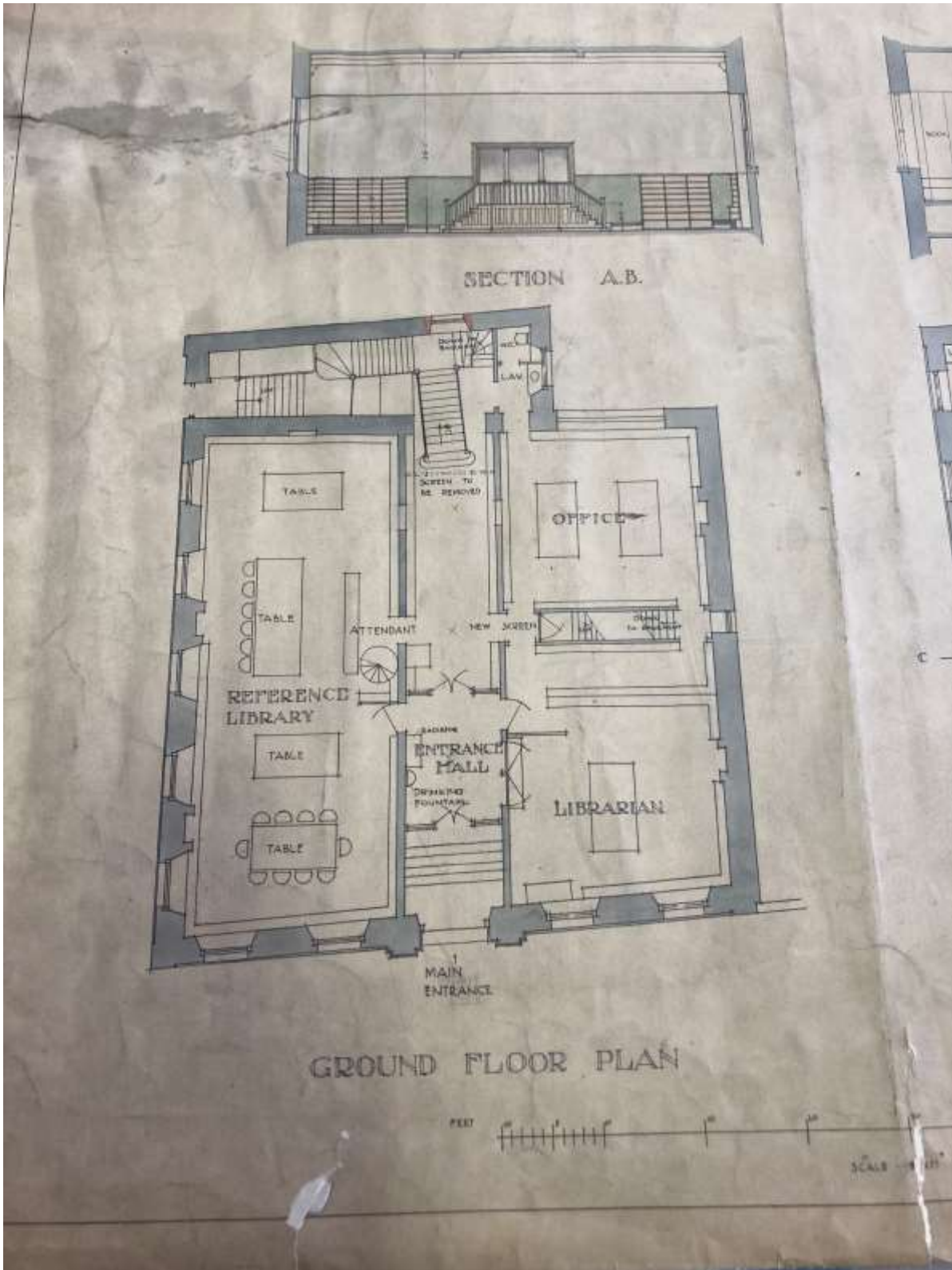


Image 7.2. Ground Floor Plan. Central Library—Alterations to reference department—Sections, ground and first floor plans. (1912). [Blueprints]. Sheffield City Council Library Plans (CA663/1/8), Sheffield City Archives, Sheffield, England.

Another aspect of architectural research practices that proved challenging was the absence of original library buildings. While this is not true for all five Yorkshire field-work cities, some

libraries no longer stand on their original site. This is a direct result of changing needs, building deterioration, library service movement, and damage from conflict. These factors influenced the closing, rebuilding, and movement of library services in their entirety to other existing buildings, into purpose-built accommodations, or, in some cases, complete demolition. Image 7.1 above exemplifies the public library moving into another accommodation as the Sheffield Public Library relocated into a building not built explicitly for public library use. The early 20th-century public library in Sheffield was located on Surrey Street on the site of the Mechanics' Institute. Before a permanent building was built for public library service in the 1930s, the Sheffield public library existed in a municipal building, not a purpose-built one. Patrons would frequent this building during the First World War (*City Libraries of Sheffield*, 1956). Not all original library buildings were demolished or repurposed, for many buildings, today still connect to public library services and remain an integral part of the community.

Ultimately, these architectural complexities illustrate difficulties for a modern researcher studying historical architecture. Nevertheless, the acknowledgement of such complexities, in addition to best usage practice publications such as the *Guide to the Archival Care of Architectural Records: 19th - 20th Centuries* by the International Council on Archives: Section on Architectural Records (2000), helps to construct ways to address limited access to original buildings. For example, a researcher might explore buildings by visiting them and investigating their features first-hand, even if they are no longer used as public libraries. When visiting library sites is impossible, reliable access to archival blueprints, first-hand accounts such as committee minutes, personal reflections, and official library committee(s) minutes can supplement information relating to the building(s). Processes which focus on archival documents have the potential to produce significant historical analysis just as in-person building access would allow, ultimately allowing researchers to assess the positives and negatives of the use of space and how the public interacted with architecture (International Council on Archives, 2000; Lowell and Nelb, 2006).

7.4 Architecture and the Public Library: Architectural Features of Yorkshire Public Library Services

As explored in Stages 1 and 2 (**Chapters 6 and 7**), central and branch libraries served their communities in various ways. These include fluctuations in library hours (**5.3.3**), gendered usage practices (**6.4.1**) and appropriate architectural elements, as explored in this section. The

preliminary search into the architecture of Yorkshire public libraries resulted in assessing similar components within the buildings. These included the common incorporation of WCs, rooms holding reference libraries, reading rooms, lending libraries, and news and magazine rooms. Differences were also apparent during the preliminary search, uncovering unusual but not unique components. These differences included museums attached to some libraries, art galleries next to the lending libraries, non-segregated reading rooms, and rooms specifically for children (Kelly, 1977). Through further analysis, including historical blueprints and personal recollections, it is possible to understand further the societal importance of such elements, including how they helped encourage and build a place of intellectual and spatial sanctuary for the communities they served.

The scope of this thesis did not allow for a thorough examination of every branch library in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York. This decision encouraged a focused approach to archival research, allowing for an in-depth account of specific library buildings rather than a general exploration solely based on location.

7.4.1 Field Study 1: Bradford: Blueprints and Photos of Central and Branch Libraries

As part of this research stage, the archival research unveiled architectural plans and photographs of the historical outlays of Bradford's central and branch libraries, which ultimately provided insight into the patron-facing elements, many of which are no longer used in the same capacity. The Bradford Central Library underwent significant restoration changes in 1905, leading to the reconstruction and reorganisation of library departments (City of Bradford, 1917). The reference library moved to the top floor. The reading room, a magazine room, and a students' room had accommodations separate from the foot traffic from the Lending Library (Hartley, 1906). According to the publication *A Survey of the Public Library Movement in Bradford: Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Library Association, 3rd to 7th September 1906* by Miles E. Hartley (the Deputy Librarian of Bradford), the refurbishment of the Reading Room provided a better Magazine and Newsroom with "brighter and more hygienic conditions." Images 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5 below illustrate the changes to the central public library in 1905, as noted by Hartley (1906).

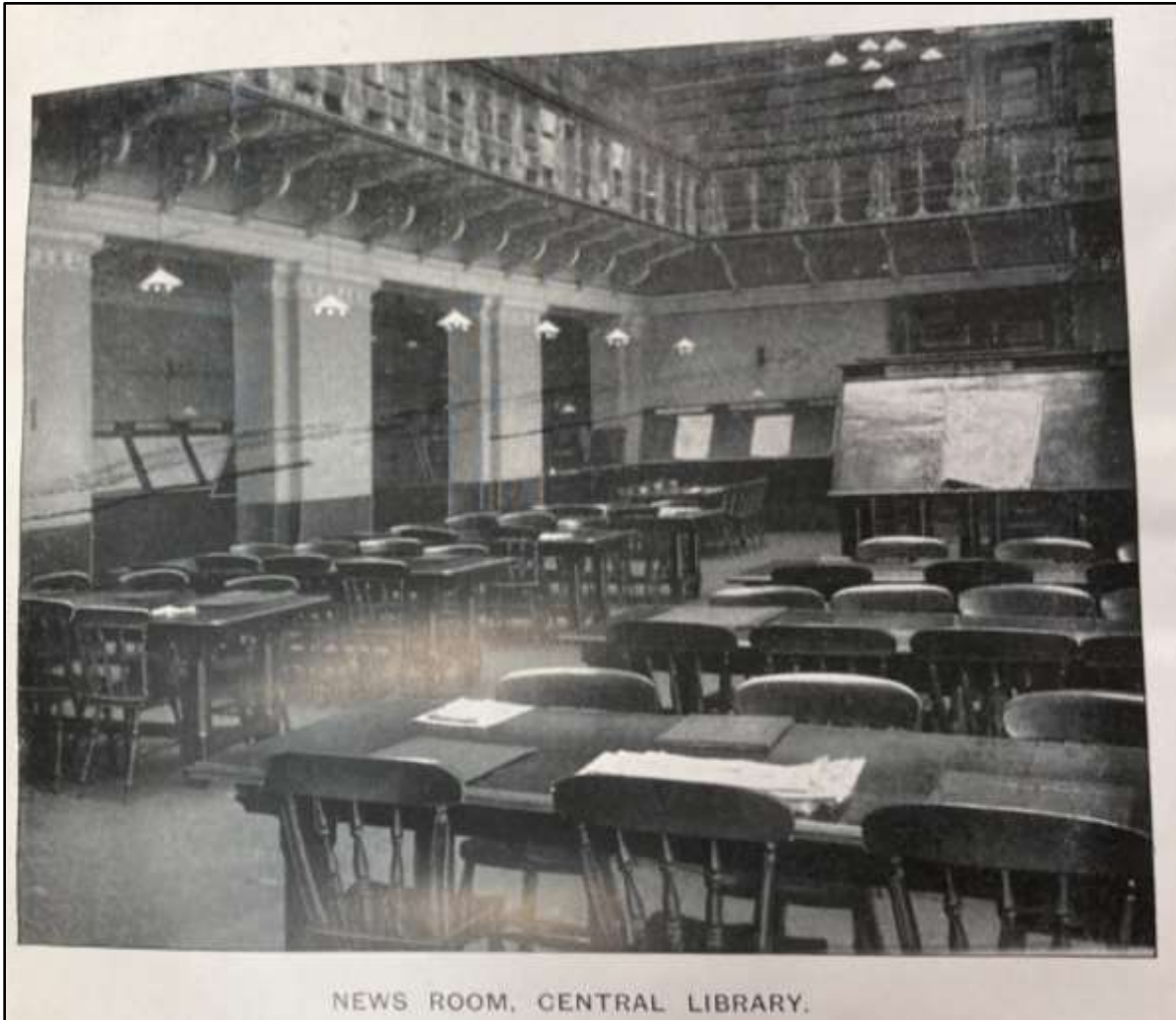


Image 7.3. Bradford, Central Library, News Room, Around 1906. From *Scrapbook*. (1886). Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The newsroom at the Bradford Central Library extended from a smaller room before 1905 to a larger space that allowed a greater number of readers. Image 7.3 provides a newsroom view and emphasises the room's height. This extended ceiling space not only provided additional bookshelf space but also would have allowed additional light into the room. Rather than light from desk lamps, the newsroom at the Bradford Central Library would have had ceiling light post-remodel. Image 7.3 also highlights the incorporation of newspaper stands and reference desks. Hartley (1906) vocalises the additional 120 yards' positive impact on the room. He states

...the area of the News Room was greatly extended, and the additional floor space about 120 square yards so gained relieved the congested state of the room, then so common a feature in the earlier part of the day. Space was thus made for the provision of many additional newspaper stands—a long-felt want—and the spectral of half a dozen readers crowding around a single newspaper became a thing of the past (p.14)

He further emphasises the response from library patrons, stating

No time was lost in bringing about the above alterations, and the frequenter of the Central Library and News Room welcomed the change from the old spatial conditions which, although well utilised, had long been far from ample. (p.14)

While the commentary by Hartley focuses on the newsroom, he mentions how the magazine room saw similar changes in user provision. Image 7.4 illustrates the magazine room at the Bradford Central Reference Library.



Image 7.4. Bradford, Central Library, Magazine Room, Around 1906. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The photo illustrates how the magazine room also extended light provision as a result of the remodel, allowing patrons to see further and later into the day. Image 7.4 depicts six ceiling lights extending over the magazine tables, with light coming through the out-of-photo windows (behind the photographer) and through the partition in the middle of the photo (leading into the reference library). The additional light and ventilation from the added windows and electric lighting would have provided a more comfortable experience for the users of the magazine and newsroom (Hartley, 1906).

The divider in the middle of Image 7.4 led directly into the main reference room. The partition is the same in the background of Image 7.5 below.

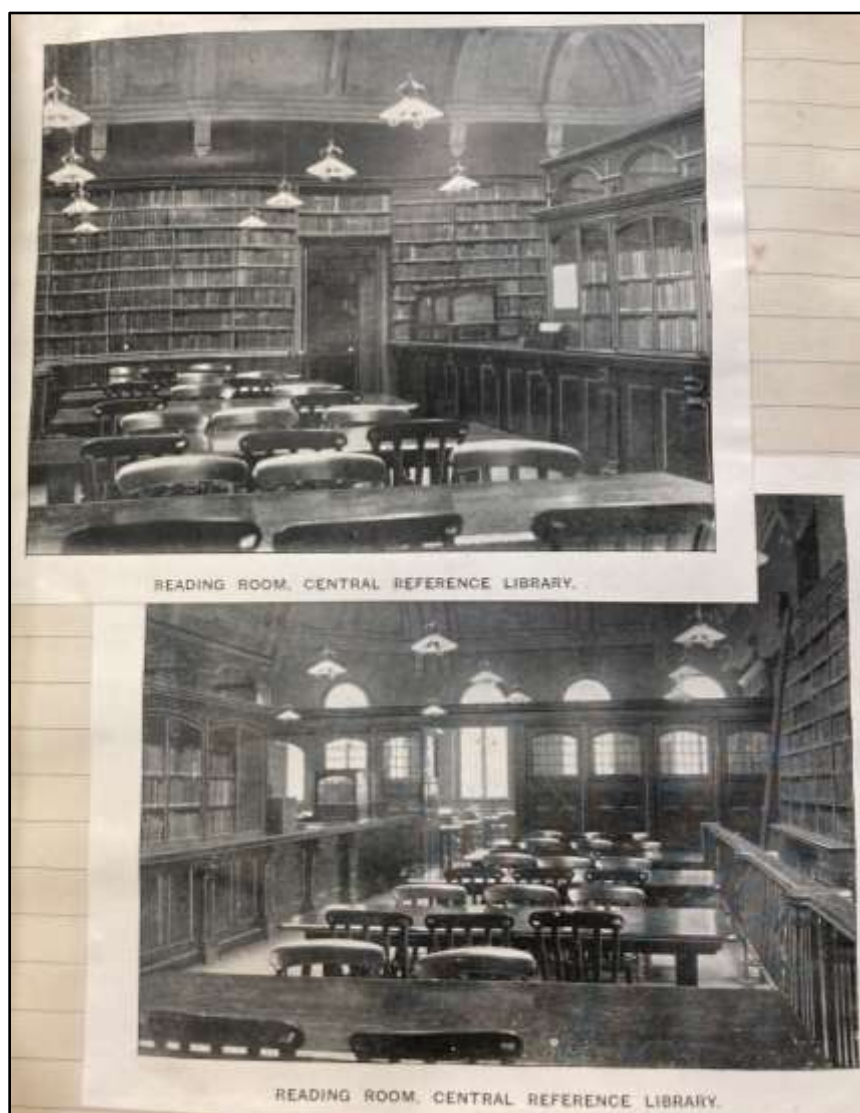


Image 7.5. Bradford, Central Reference Library, Reading Room, Around 1906. From From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The image depicts the central reference room with tables and chairs for at least twenty-four people. Outfitted with oak furniture and fittings, the reference room provided lighting fixtures above each desk. Accommodation for student study was provided in addition to the main reference room. This removed space was specifically set aside for students and their studies. The student's room (**Image 7.6**) provided individual bays for private use by students, which were allocated for personal study. The image also illustrates the proximity of the reference materials to the students.



Image 7.6. Bradford, Central Library, Corner of Students' Room, Around 1906. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The lending library is another example of the importance of the Bradford Central Library renovations of 1905 when it moved to the floor vacated by the Reference Library. Image 7.7 depicts the librarian's desk and the books available to the public who held lending tickets.

Access to the material was restricted in the lending library, requiring patrons to request materials via the librarian. The Bradford Central Library did not adopt open access until after the First World War.



Image 7.7. Bradford, Central Library, Central Lending Library, Around 1906. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The images of the various libraries within the Bradford Central Library demonstrate the versatility of adapting existing buildings for updated purposes. Bradford's renovation of the reference and lending libraries are two examples of library spaces made more conducive to research through building adaptations.

While the Bradford Central Library and its 1905 renovation focused on modernising an establishment already suited for library service, a number of branch libraries moved into new

buildings. Archival research at the West Yorkshire Archive Service uncovered three library branches in Bradford for which there are detailed accounts of building plans, including written references of architectural elements on their opening day.

Great Horton Branch

The Great Horton Branch opened at the High Street and Cross Lane crossroads on Thursday, the 8th of May 1913 (**Image 7.8**).

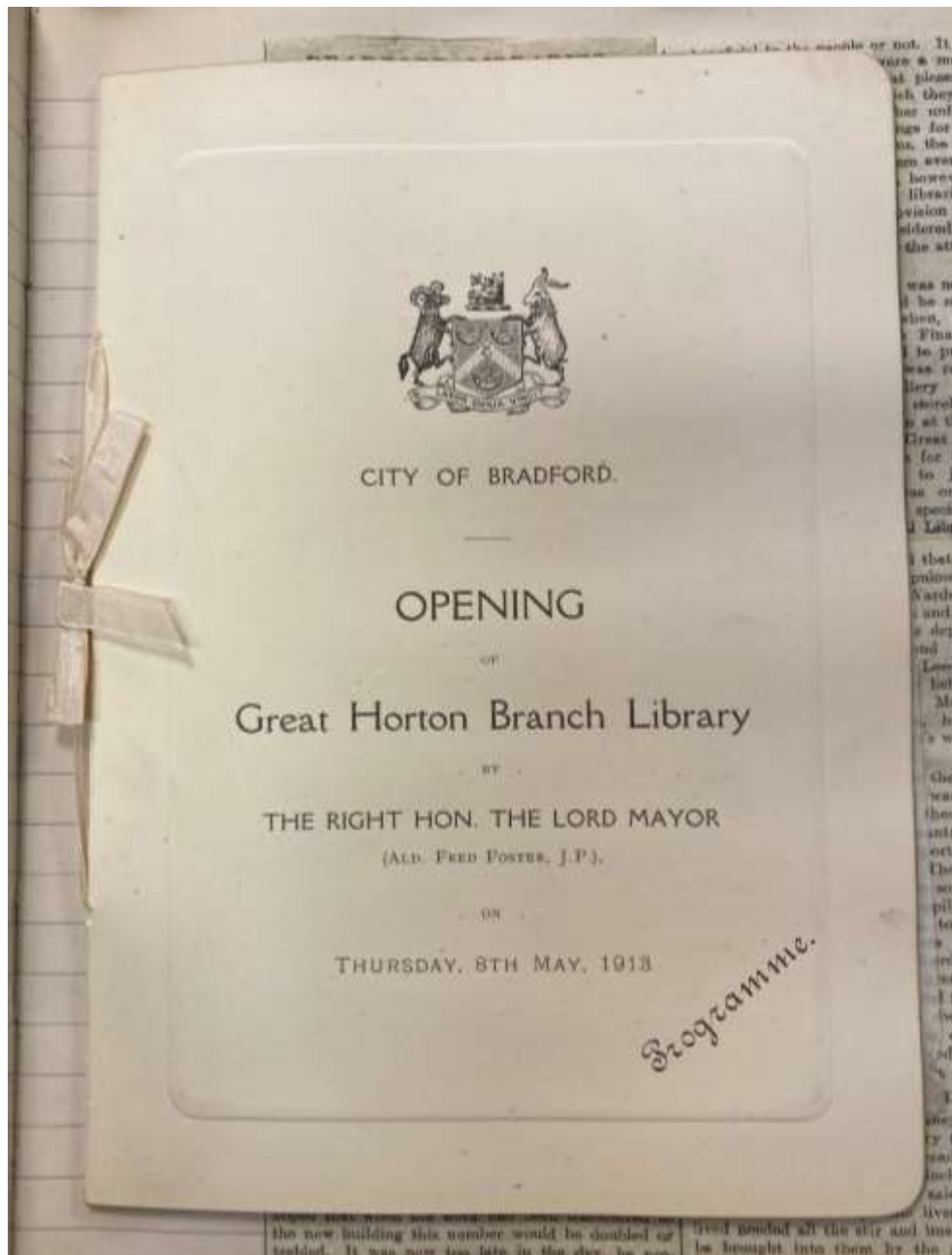


Image 7.8. Bradford. Programme for Opening of Great Horton Branch Library. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

To “avoid the busier thoroughfare of High Street”, the main entrance at Great Horton was built facing Cross Lane (Great Horton Programme, 1913). As seen in Images 7.9 and 7.10, blueprints and architectural plans illustrate the building’s orientation on Cross Lane, illustrating an abundance of shrubbery surrounding the sides of the building.

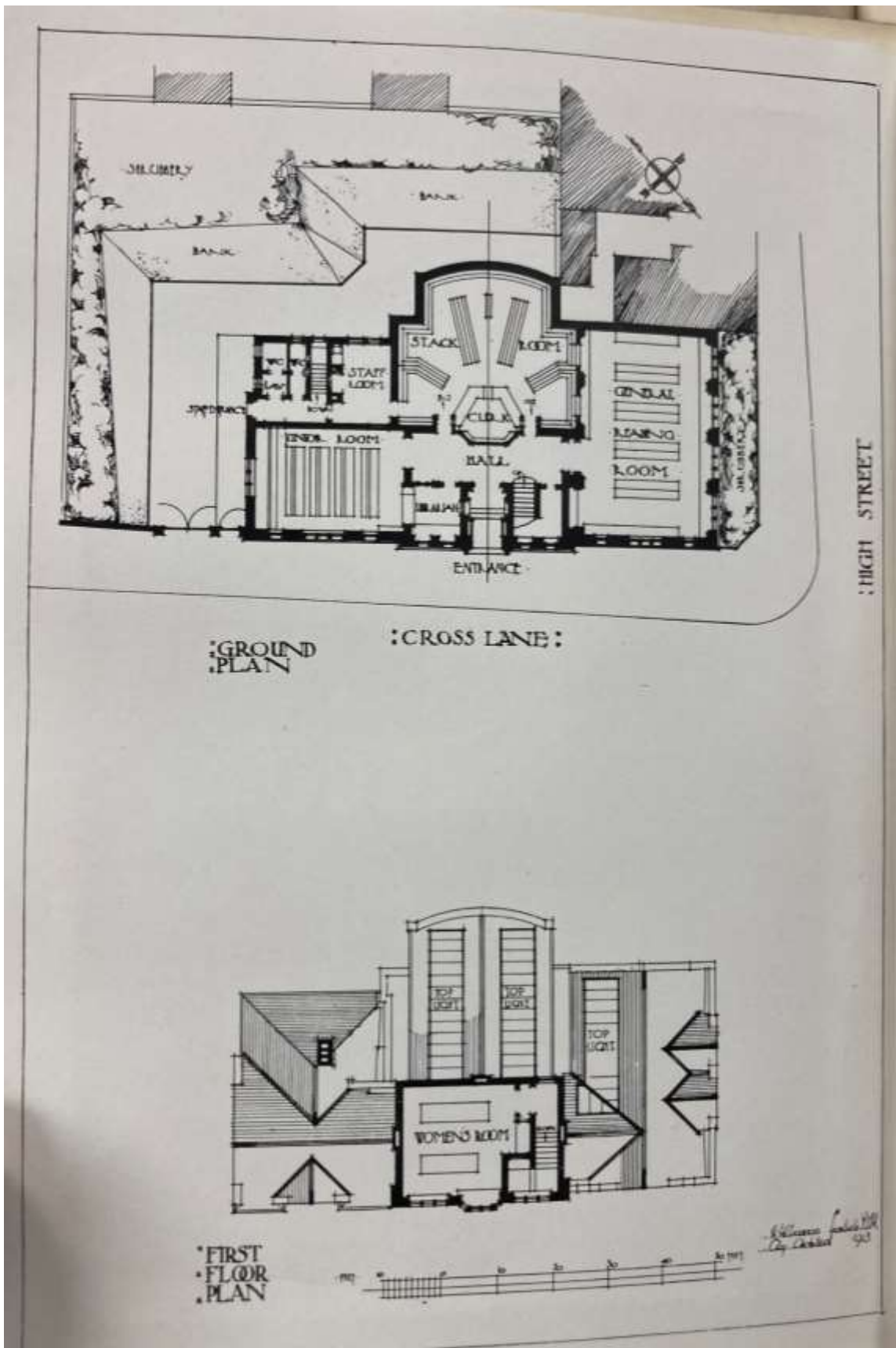


Image 7.9. Bradford. Great Horton Branch Library Blueprints. From Opening Programme. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

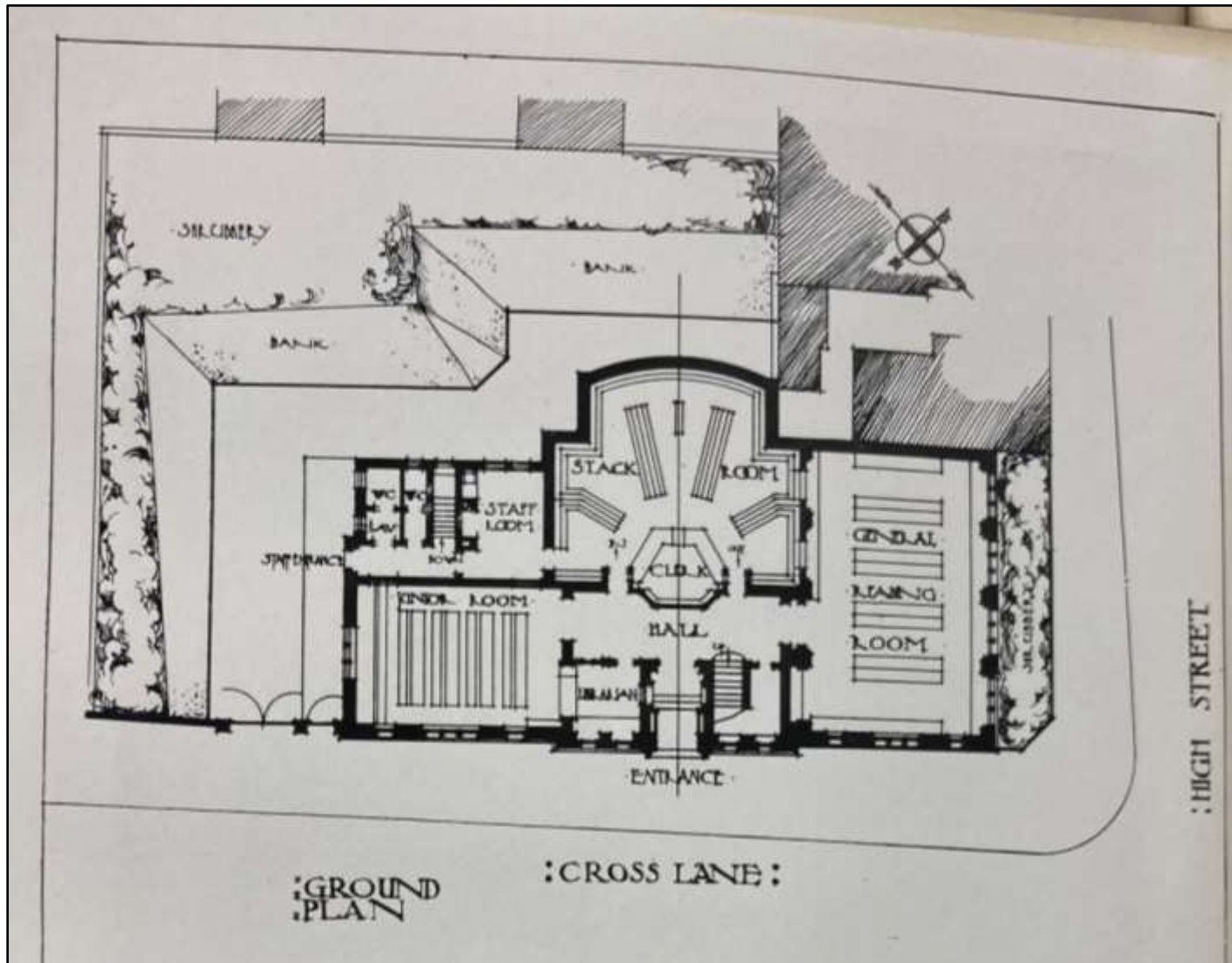


Image 7.10. Bradford. Detail of Ground Plan. Great Horton Branch Library Blueprints. Ground Floor. From Opening Programme. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The programme details elements such as the entrance hall and junior rooms, with meticulous descriptions of windows and stairs (**Image 7.10**). The entrance hall was located at the front of the building, which expanded 28 ft. x 9 ft. to accommodate “and avoid congestion by the book borrowing population” (Great Horton Programme, 1913). The librarian’s office, specifically for the lead librarian, was connected to the entrance hall, providing easy accessibility to patrons. The junior room was situated to the immediate left of the librarian’s office and could hold 31 young readers (**Image 7.11**).

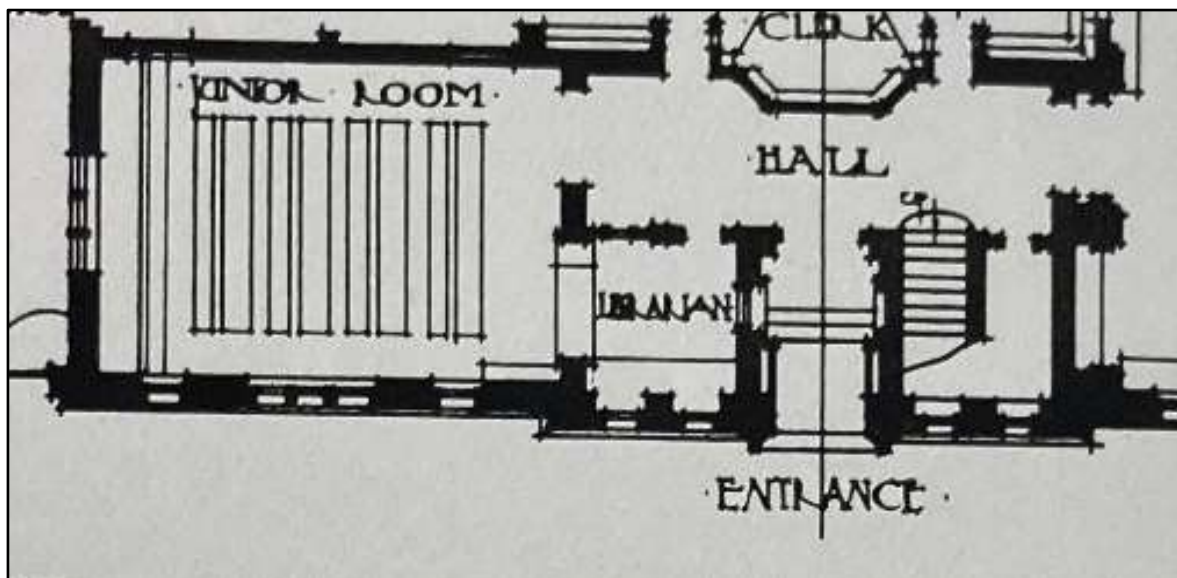


Image 7.11. Bradford. Great Horton Branch Library Blueprints. Ground Floor. Entrance Hall and Junior Room. From Opening Programme. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The lending library was connected to the entrance hall, with a lending desk, stack room, staff rooms, and two WCs (**Image 7.12**).

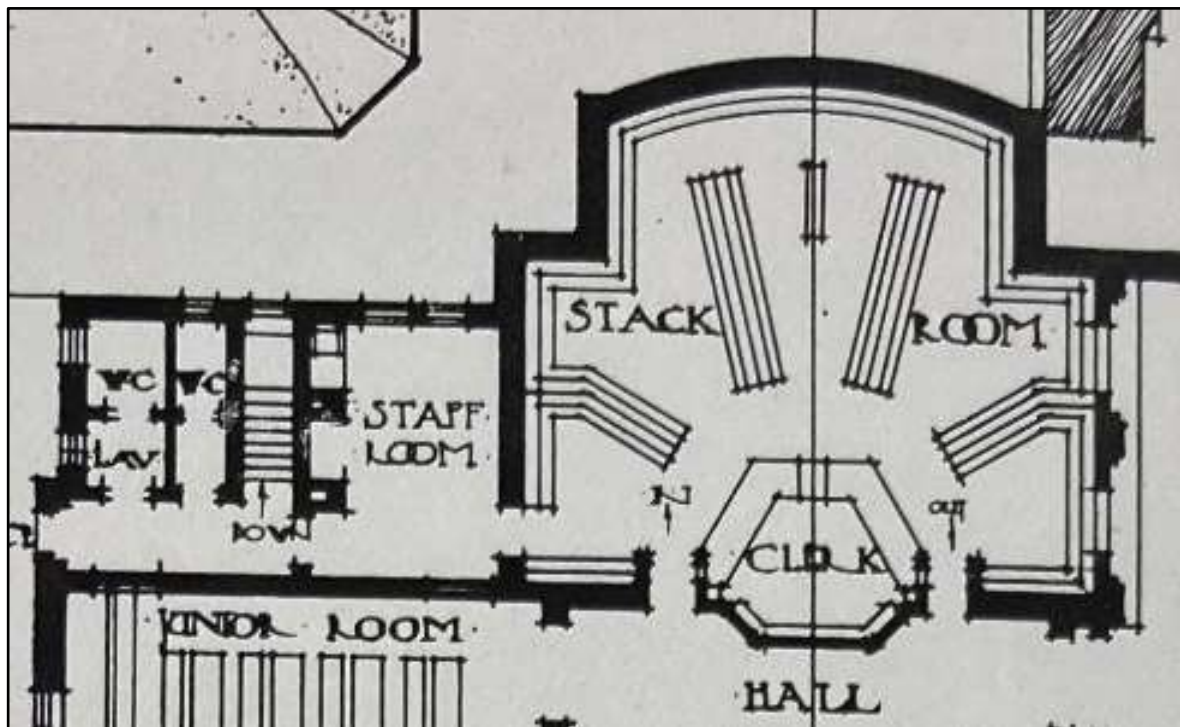


Image 7.12. Bradford. Great Horton Branch Library Blueprints. Ground Floor. Lending Library, Staff Room and WCs. From Opening Programme. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The lending library at Great Horton occupied a space of 32 ft. by 28 ft. It implemented a “safe-guarding open access system”, which allowed patrons to access the stack room (12,400 volumes) free from the interaction with a librarian that non-open access libraries mandated. The lending library implemented a barrier entrance system, which allowed patrons to enter if they had a ticket. The librarian’s desk sat at the front of the room, providing a watchful eye on patrons (Great Horton Programme, 1913).

To the right of the entrance hall sat the reference library and the general reading room (**Image 7.13**).

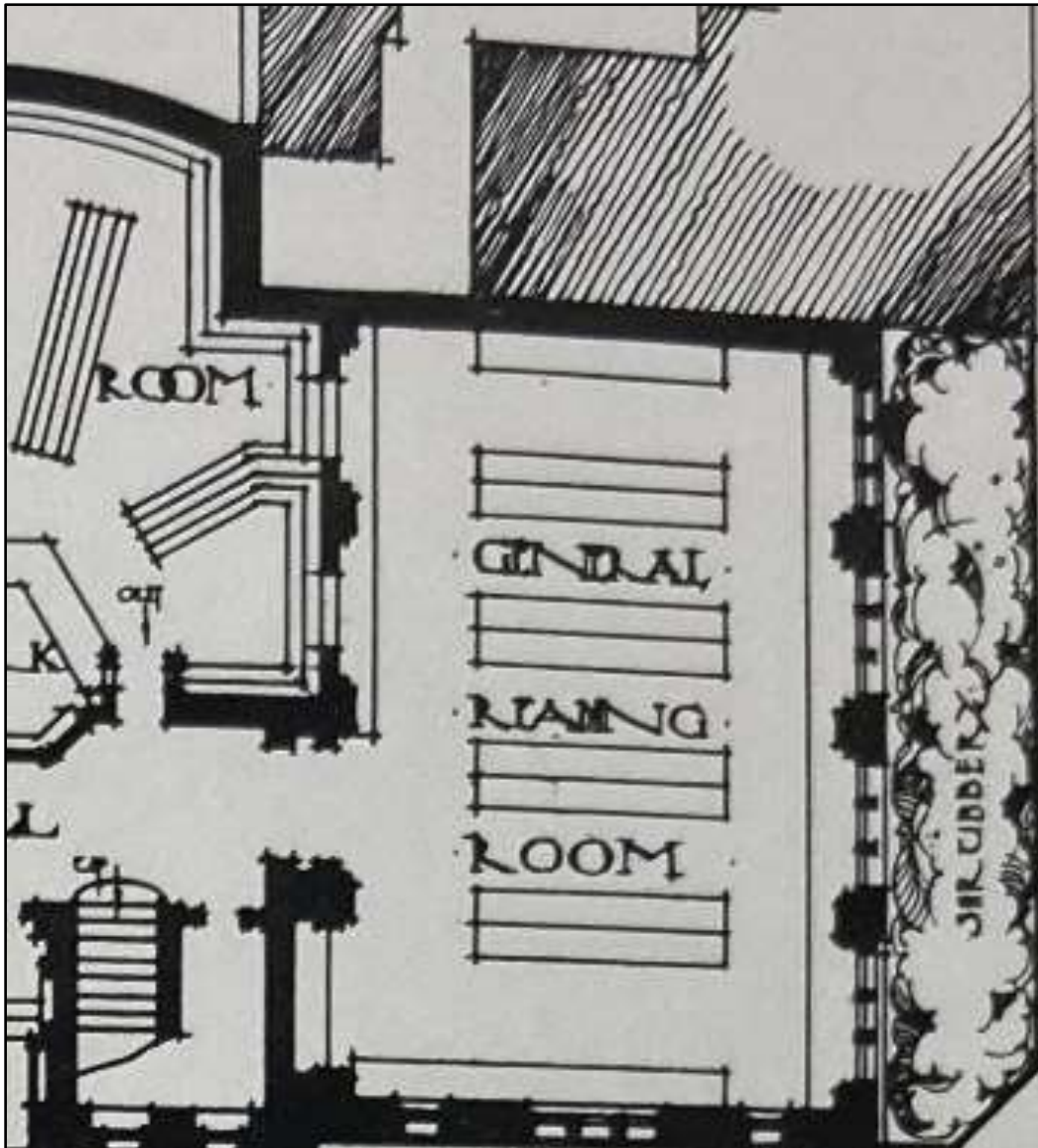


Image 7.13. Bradford. Great Horton Branch Library Blueprints. Ground Floor. General Reading Room. From Opening Programme. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

Spanning 37 ft. long and 24 ft. wide, the space was situated along a bay of long windows facing the High Street. Windows along the Cross Lane facing wall and ceiling lighting provided further illumination. The readers had access to 16 newspaper tables and 59 magazine tables, ultimately providing space for 75 readers to occupy the room.

The staircase on the ground floor led up to the first-floor women's room. As seen in Image 7.14, the women's room was the only room for patron use on the first floor and accommodated 22 readers in a 22 ft. by 19 ft. space. Skylights and ceiling lights provided the light.

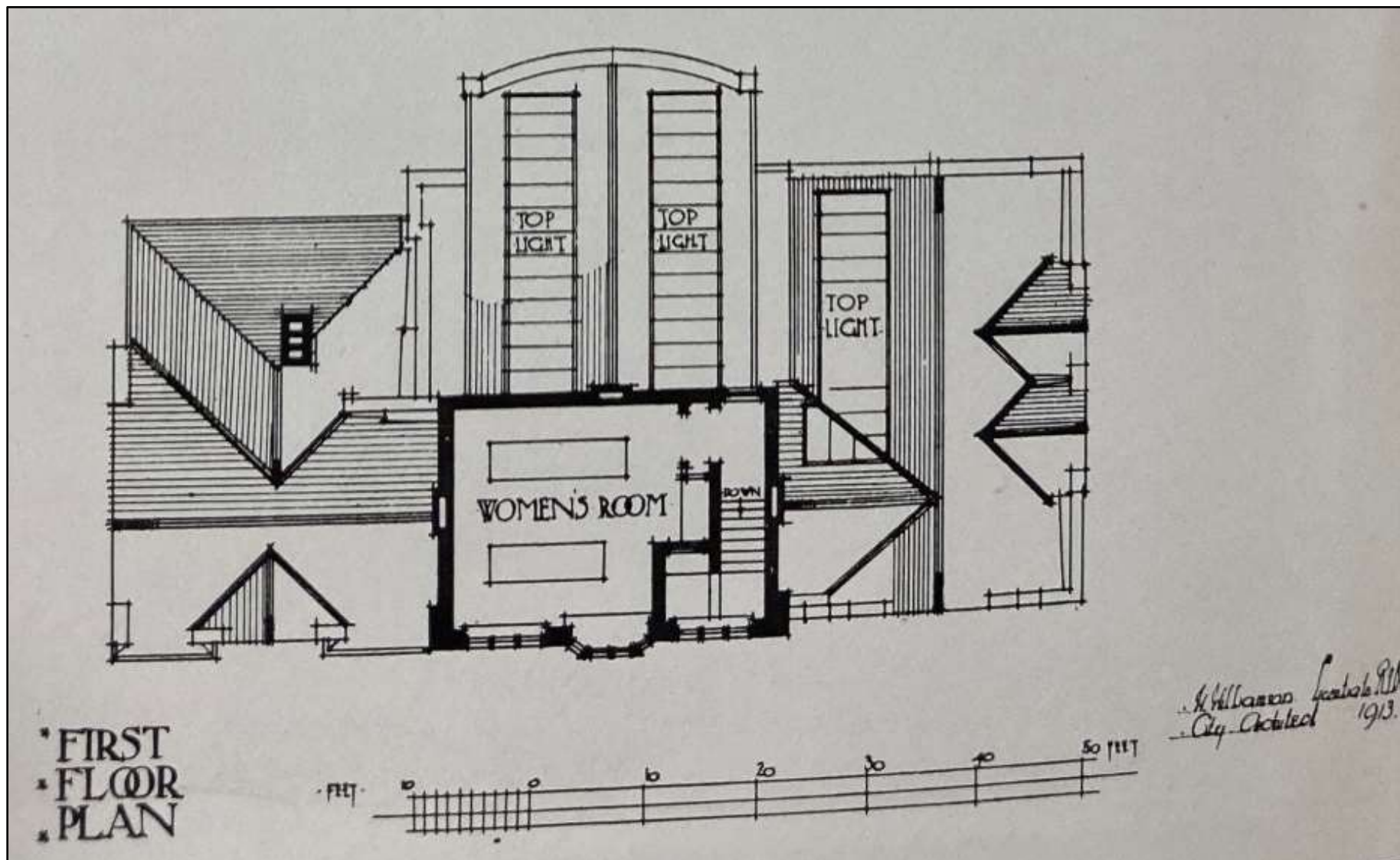


Image 7.14. Bradford. Great Horton Branch Library Blueprints. First Floor Plan. From Opening Programme. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The exterior of the Great Horton branch was functional rather than ornately decorated (**Image 7.15**). The building was built from local wall stone, including ashlar dressings, steel-casement fitted windows, and lead glazing. According to the opening programme, the city architect W. Williamson described the architecture as “Free Gothic”. The *Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (Curl, 2006) defines “Free Gothic” as a “Late-C19 style, in which Arts-and-Crafts and other influences were mingled, creating a non-archaeological, scholarly, yet highly individual style.” The intermingling of architectural styles mirrors the role of the public library in promoting the integration of social, political, economic, and cultural ideals upon those in the community.



Image 7.15. Bradford. Great Horton Drawing. From the Programme for Opening of Great Horton Branch Library. May 8th, 1913. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The branch at Great Horton delivered new provisions to the community by including the “safe-guarding open access system” alongside expected public library inclusions, such as the reference room and the women’s reading room. Those involved with renovating the branch provided furnishings and amenities to enhance the patron experience, which included local furnishings made with whole oak fittings, heating and proper ventilation systems, and the ability to access books without the librarian's help. The association between the patron and library experience is evident in branch additions, emphasising that architectural elements inside and outside played a part in the patron experience. The same can be said for the East Ward and Allerton branches.

East Ward Branch

The East Ward Branch Library is the second of the three Bradford branches with detailed accounts of building plans and written references of architectural inclusions at the time of opening. Situated in a 90 ft. by 67ft building on the corner of Undercliffe Street and Tennyson Place, the branch opened to the public on the 18th of April 1916.

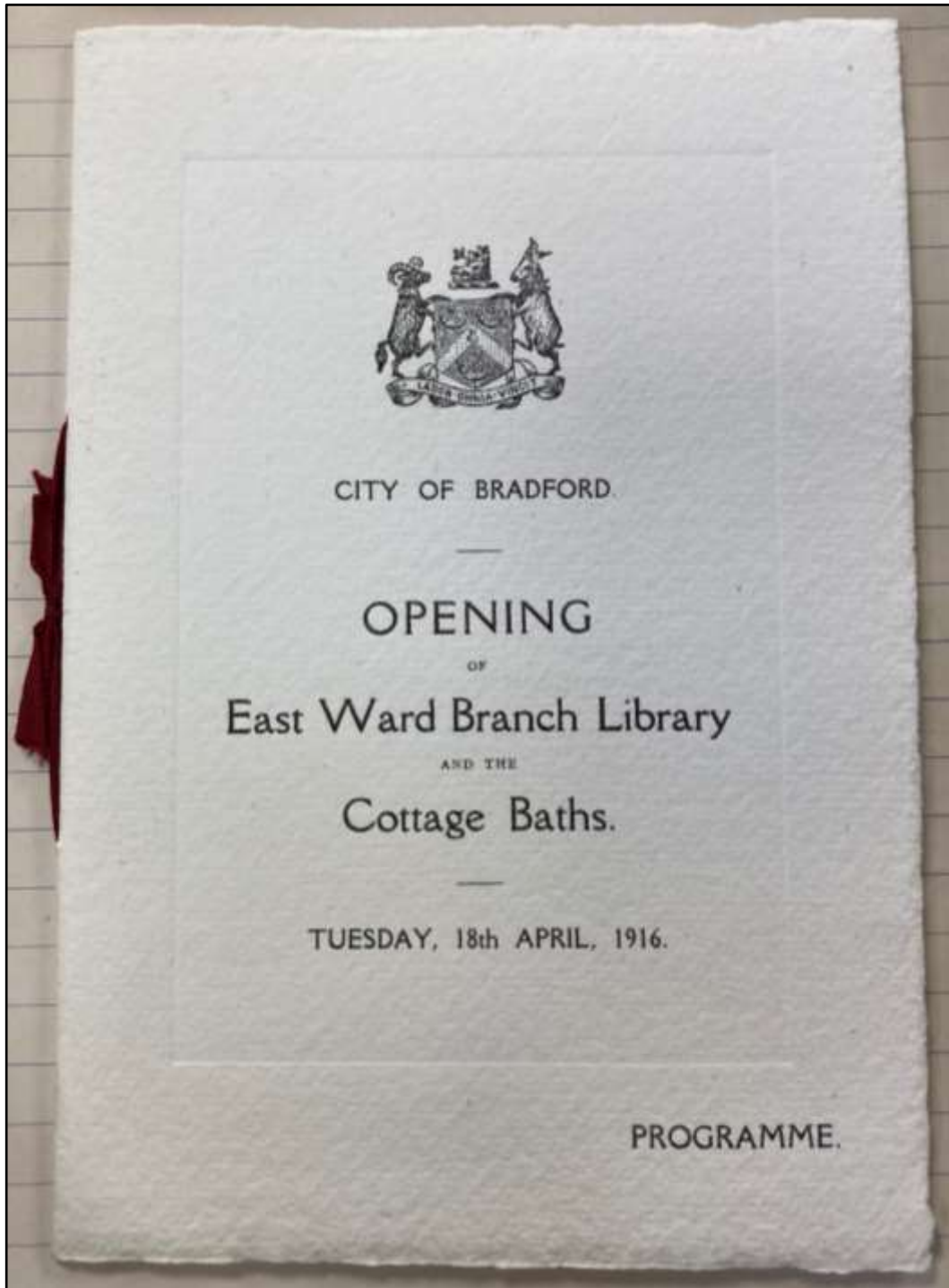


Image 7.16. Bradford. Programme for Opening of East Ward Branch Library. April 18th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The East Ward branch library was built on a significant gradient, resulting in an entrance on Undercliffe Street for the upper-ground lending library (**Image 7.17**). According to the description in the programme, the entrance hall measured 35 ft. by 8 ft. and provided “liberal

provision for foot traffic” as a result of the entrance on the street (East Ward Programme, 1916).

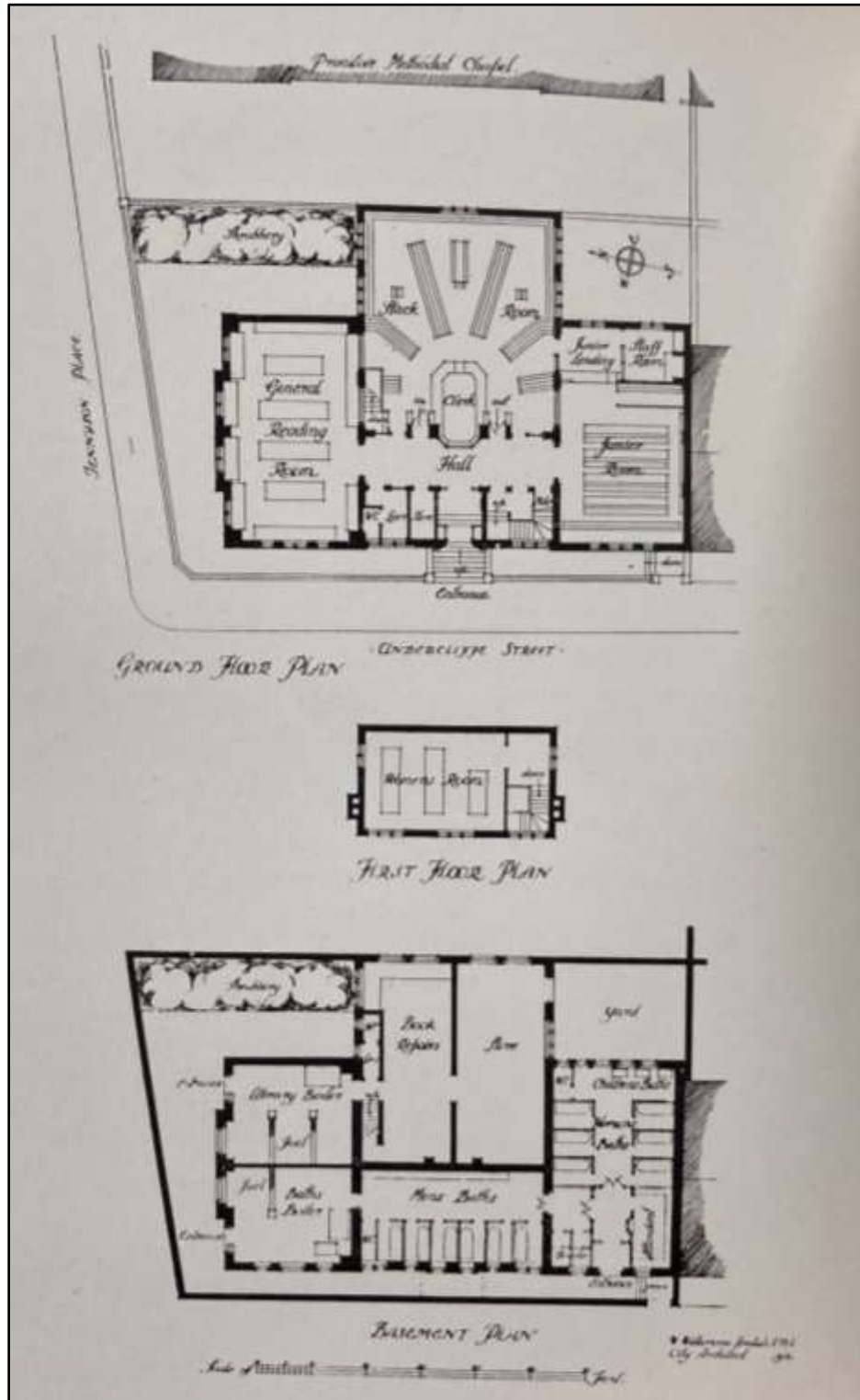


Image 7.17. Bradford. East Ward Branch Library Blueprints. From Opening Programme. April 18th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The ground floor housed the general reading room, the lending library, and the junior room (Image 7.18).

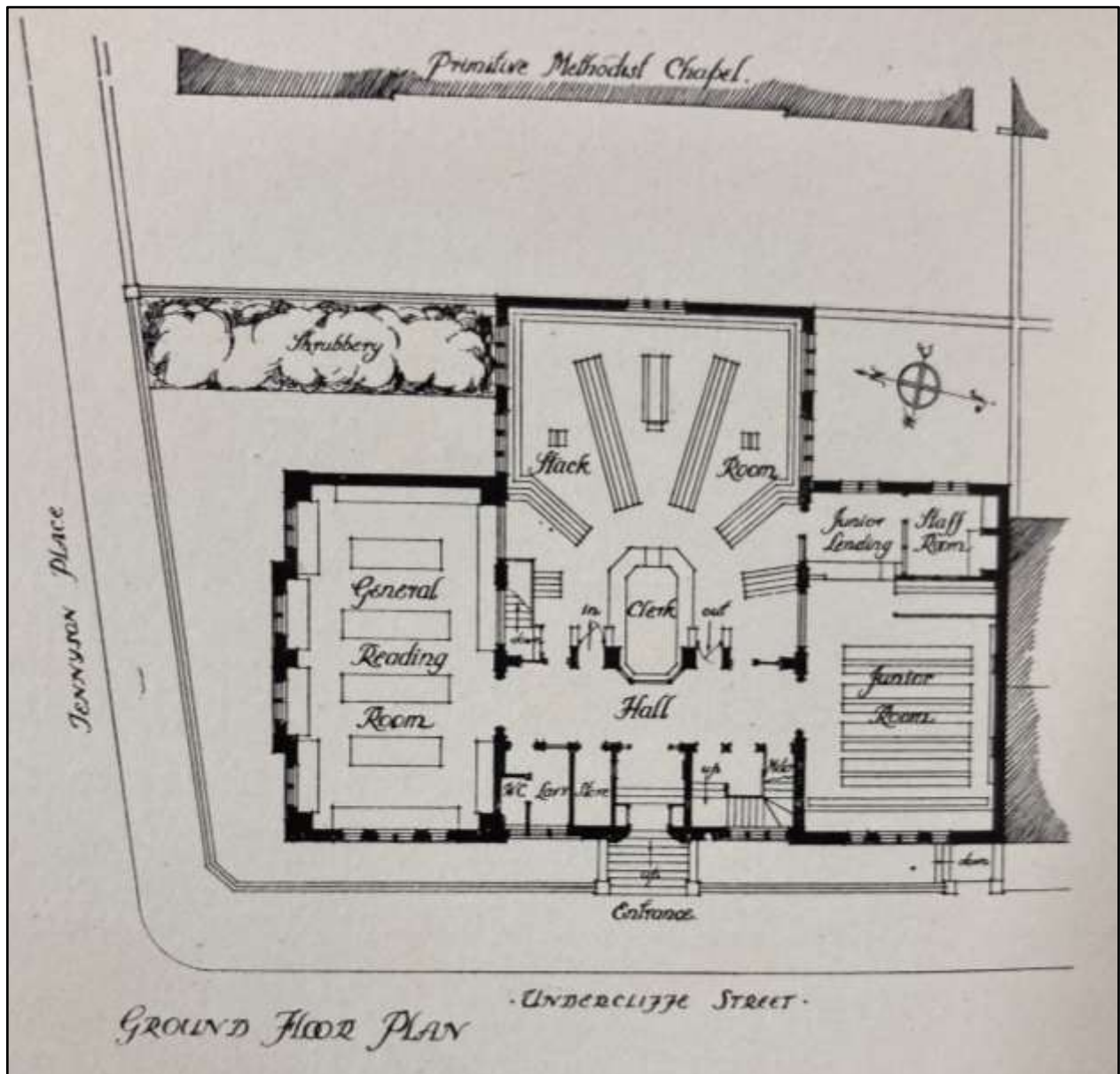


Image 7.18. Bradford. East Ward Branch Library Blueprints. Ground Floor Plan. From Opening Programme. April 18th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The general reading room, located to the left of the entrance hall and measuring 38 ft. by 22 ft., protected readers from direct sunlight and provided good ventilation and light for daily use. The blueprints note four large desks for readers and shelving units on all walls. The junior room was located to the right of the entrance hall, faced south and provided space for children to read and attend lectures. The lending library was attached to the entrance hall. Designed around the central librarian desk, the lending library provided a complete view of all

the open-access resources. Bay windows surrounded the lending library with “in” and “out” wicket gates to control passage to and from the open-access lending library. Bookstacks surrounded the library through radial stacks, providing extra frontage space for patrons to interact directly with the available books. The opening programme emphasised the motif and design of the lending library as one that provided “secure and efficient supervision”. It sought to “preserve the balance and symmetry of the library” (East Ward Programme, 1916).

The women’s room (**Image 7.19**), just as at Great Horton, was accessed through the spiral staircase connected to the entrance hall and was the only patron room on the first floor. The room was 25 ft. by 18 ft. and provided “privacy and convenience of access” to the community’s women. Windows covered the west facade of the room, allowing for lighting by the natural light from the evening sun (East Ward Programme, 1916). Like the branch at Great Horton, local oak furnishings adorned the various rooms. In addition to the furnishings, architect W. Williamson implemented a 'foul air' extractor to control the air quality inside the library.

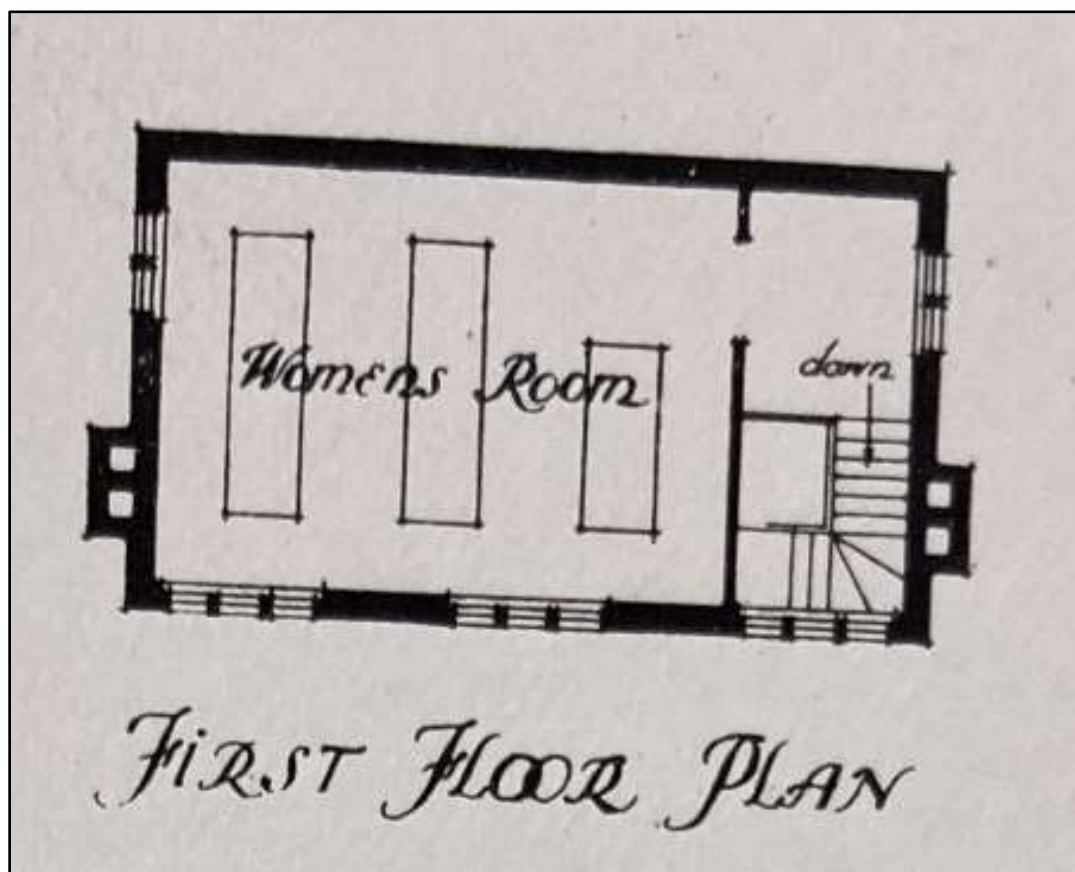


Image 7.19. Bradford. East Ward Branch Library Blueprints. First Floor Plan. From Opening Programme. April 18th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The East Ward branch was designed by W. Williamson, Licentiate P.L.B.A, who focused on local wall stone to cover the exterior of the building (**Image 7.20**). In addition to the local stone, the library's exterior was adorned with the crest of the city of Bradford above the main entrance: the only ornament on the exterior. The lack of ornamentation encouraged the exterior to be “simply treated” with “breadth and repose being the objective” rather than ostentatious design elements. Along with “good proportion and fenestration”, the exterior of the building was kept simple to emit a sense of importance and civility (East Ward Programme, 1916).



Image 7.20. Bradford. Exterior Of East Ward Branch Library. From Programme for Opening of East Ward Branch Library. April 18th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

Allerton Branch

Unlike the purpose-built libraries at Great Horton and East Ward, the Allerton branch replaced a building originally built as private cottages (**Image 7.22**). Opened on the 8th of July 1916, the Allerton branch consisted of two floors for patron use (**Image 7.21**).

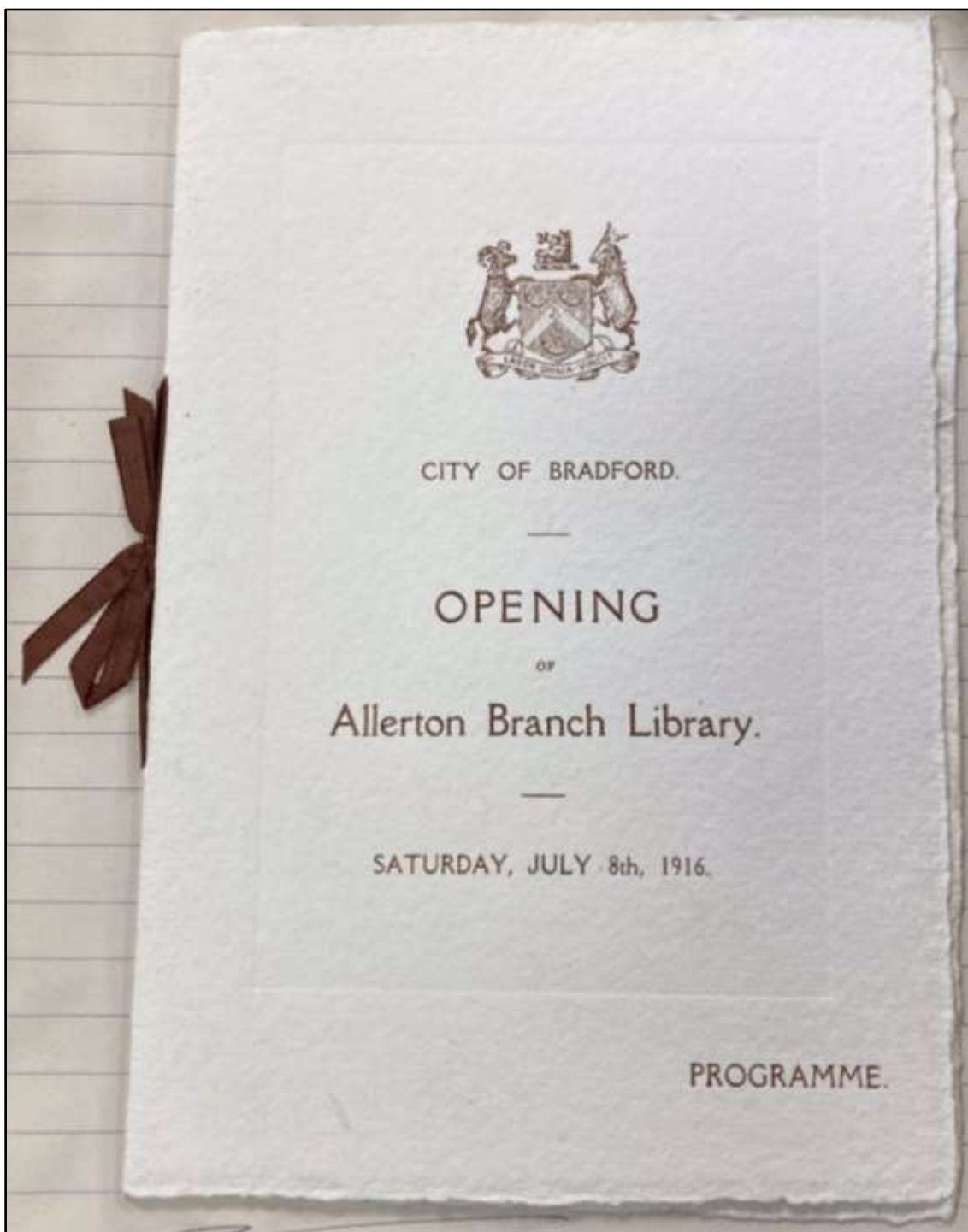


Image 7.21. Bradford. Programme for Opening of Allerton Branch Library. July 8th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.



Image 7.22. Bradford. The exterior of Allerton Branch Library. From Programme for Opening of Allerton Branch Library July 8th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The ground floor (**Image 7.23**) included a lending library, the women's reading room, and the staff room. In addition to the two library rooms, there was a generous green space outside the front entrance, allowing patrons to access fresh air.

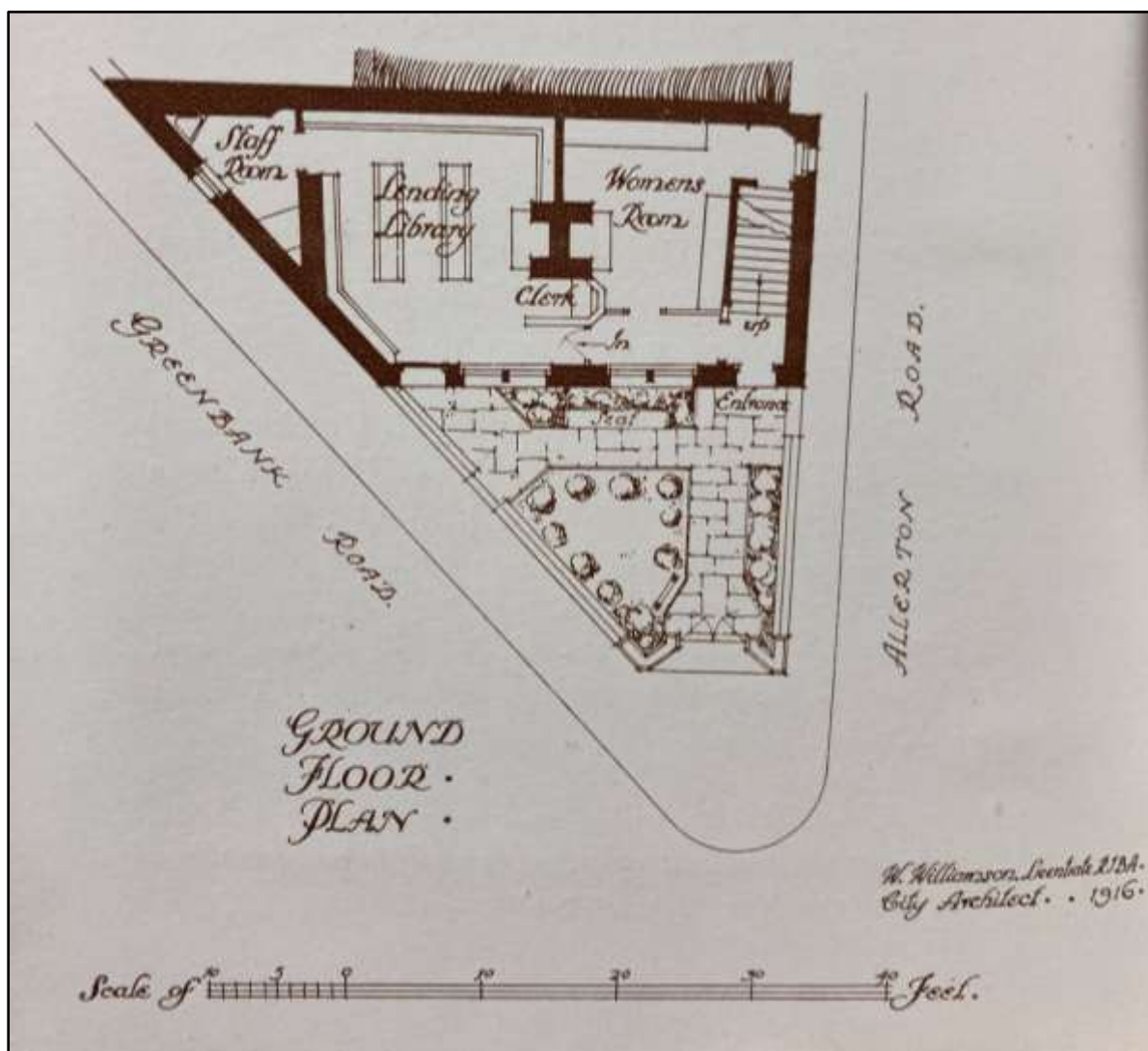


Image 7.23. Bradford. Allerton Branch Library Blueprints. From Opening Programme. July 8th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The lending and women’s libraries were accessible on the ground floor, providing easy access to both (Image 7.23). The lending library included an open-access design capable of holding 3,500 volumes. Much like the Great Horton and East Ward branches, this space was controlled by a wicket gate, allowing for the implementation of an open-access system. The women’s room on the ground floor had space for nine users simultaneously. It was screened off from the passage to the lending library, providing privacy to those using the dedicated room. The screen also provided privacy for patrons using the lending library and accessing the stairs up to the first-floor reading room. The library’s top floor held the general reading room, reference materials, a librarian desk, a store room, and a public W.C. (Image 2.24).

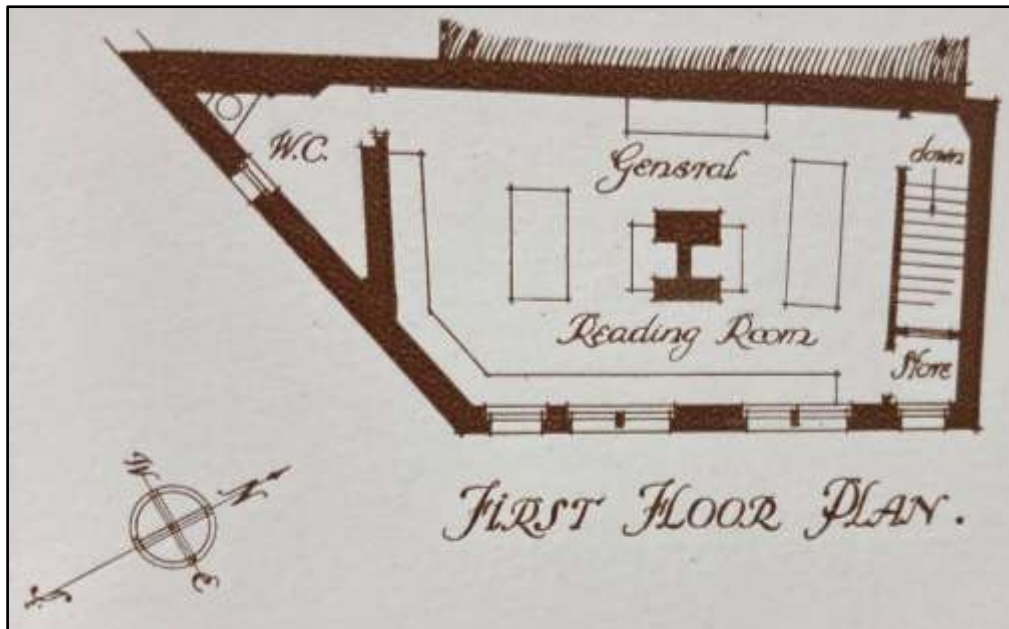


Image 7.24. Bradford. Allerton Branch Library Blueprints. First Floor Plan. From Opening Programme. July 8th, 1916. From Branch Libraries: Miscellaneous Branch Libraries (BBD7/7/32/1), West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, England.

The general reading room permitted twenty patrons to sit at tables, and another six at the newspaper stands. While the reading room was secluded from most foot traffic from the floor below, it was not protected from foot traffic caused by W.C. access. As the only W.C. in the building, patrons were required to cross the general reading room to access the facilities.

Overall, the Allerton branch provided a small yet convenient space for patrons to access library facilities. While not housed in a purpose-built building, the branch layout provided enough space for community patrons. The building focuses on quiet provision for women and those using the general reading room with convenient access to the lending library. While elements of the branch design may have affected the flow and tranquillity of the space, overall, it is evident that intentional thought went into the design of the space, making it possible to accommodate its patrons.

Bradford Overview

The specific focus on Bradford Public Library services has provided new insight into certain unique elements from the archival research. These unique elements at the Central Library, detailed from historical photographs referencing the library during the First World War, included a dedicated student room with separated cubbies for student use and a closed-access lending library. In contrast to the historical photographs available for the central library, the

branch library information came directly from original opening day library programmes. These programmes highlighted architectural blueprints and first-hand descriptions of each library. In these programme accounts, emphasis is placed on the newly implemented open-access system. The radial design implemented as part of such access allowed supervision from librarians and individual access from patrons. The analysis of Bradford library branches has indicated that, although not a universal practice at the time of the First World War, open access, due to its application between 1914 and 1918, started to appear feasible for implementation after the War. The services highlighted in this section mirror the tandem analysis of separate information streams used in the Complementarity Analysis Method by emphasising unique library elements and the importance of additional analysis streams through archival documentation (such as blueprints and historical photos). These additional analysis streams promote further connections between patron experience and public library architecture. This connection will be further discussed in sections 7.5 and 7.6.

7.4.2 Field Study 2: Hull, Exterior Photographs and Unique Designers

Unlike that of Bradford, where the archival information consisted of blueprints, historical photos and official descriptions, the archival information accessed in Hull focused on patron comments. Due to missing blueprints, the architectural descriptions for the libraries in Hull came from personal visits to the public libraries. The interior descriptions come directly from Historic England.

Central Library: Albion Street

Built in a Renaissance style by JB Gibson (**Image 7.25**), construction began on the central library on Albion Street in 1900 and was opened to the public on November 6th, 1901 (“Lord Avesbury’s Visit”, 1901; Rankine et al., 1963).



Image 7.25. Exterior. *Central Public Library / Kingston-Upon-Hull / Opened Nov. 6th 1901.* (1901). [Card]. Wilberforce House Museum (KINCM:2006.11205). Hull Museums, Hull, Yorkshire, England.



Image 7.26. Exterior. Hull Free Public Library. 1900-1. Hull, England. Author's Own Image. Designed by JS Gibson.

The Hull Public Library was built with a two-story accommodation that included ornamentation on the exterior. Images 7.27 and 7.28 below display the ionic pilasters (columns) with shell niches between each pair.



Image 7.27. Detail. Exterior. Hull Free Public Library. 1900-1. Hull, England.
Designed by JS Gibson. Author's Own Image

Situated above these pilasters is a carving of a classical woman (**Image 7.28**), once again emphasising the classical influence not only on the architecture but also as a way to influence patrons. It is unknown if the woman was initially constructed as an allegorical figure or if she represented a connection to a real person.



Image 7.28. Detail of Arch. Exterior. Hull Free Public Library. 1900-1.
Hull, England. Designed by JS Gibson. Author's Own Image

On the ground floor, double pilasters flank the entrance steps with the coat of arms affixed to the frieze above the entrance door. The words "Central Public Library" are also carved above the main entrance, flanked by two neoclassical reliefs.

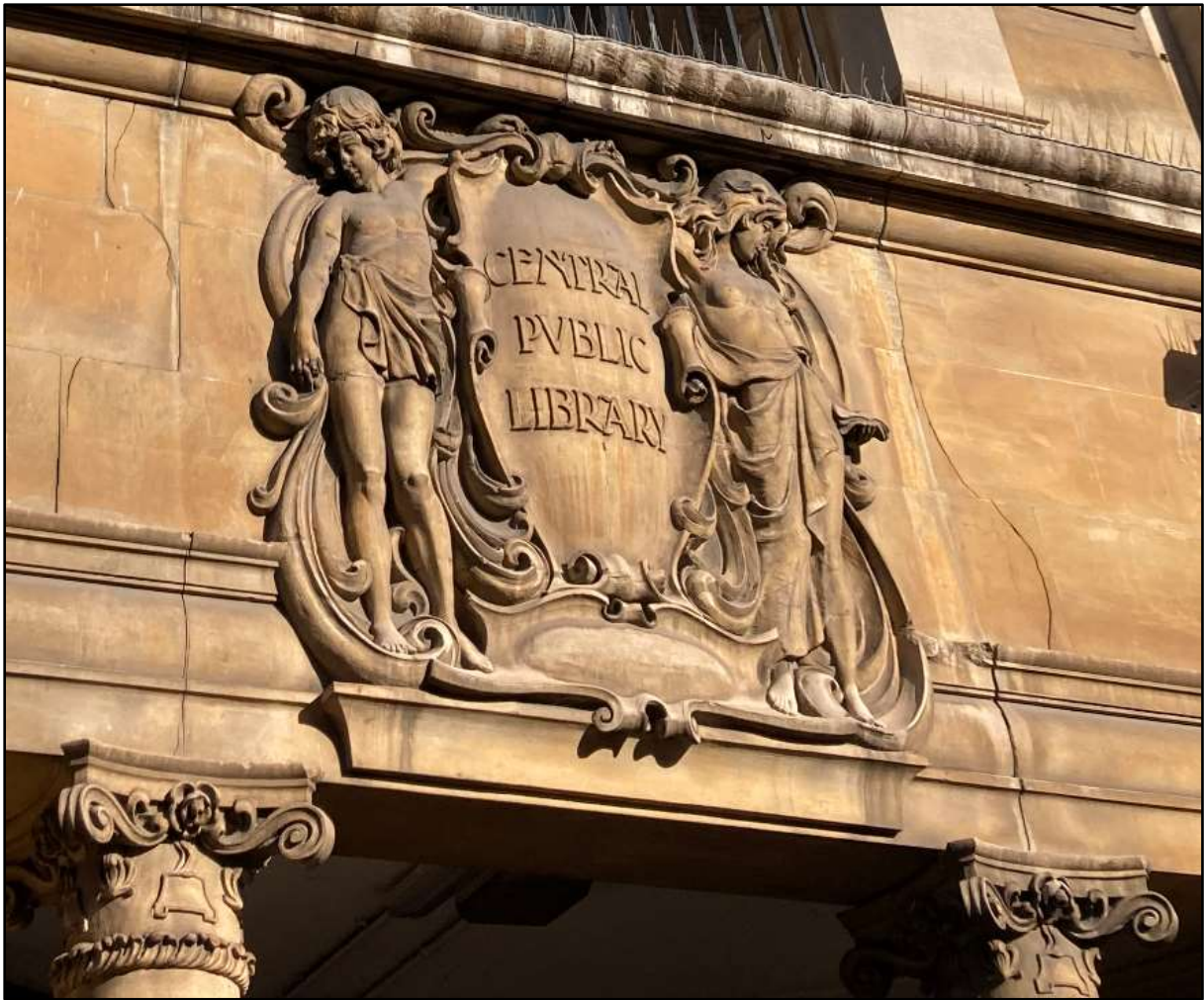


Image 7.29. Detail. Exterior. Hull Free Public Library. 1900-1. Hull, England. Designed by JS Gibson. Author's Own Image

While these photos of the exterior of the Hull Central Library are contemporary, by comparing **Images 7.26** and **7.25**, it is evident that there has been minimal change to the exterior of the building, meaning that today's exterior was the same exterior patrons interacted with during the First World War.

Moving onto the interior of the Hull Central Library, *Historic England* records that the interior entrance of the library included a saucer dome, fitted bookcases and cupboards, central double doors with a stained glass panel, and metal bookcases on two levels linked by an arched bridge spanning the central bay (“Central Public Library-Hull”, 1994). The *Hull Daily Mail* comprehensively describes the interior layout and furniture inclusions. It begins in the entrance hall, which

...gives access to a wide and spacious entrance hall containing the main stair, which is divided from the entrance hall by stone columns and arches, and the floor of this hall is laid with marble mosaic of appropriate design.

After entering the hall, the patron had the option to go left and enter the ladies' reading room, measuring

...25 feet long by 14 feet 6 inches wide, furnished with walnut with comfortable tables and chairs, while in the chimney piece is a fine piece of beautifully figured onyx, which enhances the appearance and cosiness of the room.

Directly next to the ladies' reading room was the lending library. Over thrice the length and double the width, the lending library reached

...62 feet long by 34 feet wide. The furniture of this room is of walnut - the fine counter with the indicator screen over being a beautiful piece of work...A wide corridor runs from the back of the hall to the Baker-street entrance, and off this corridor, near to Baker-street, is the newspaper reading room.

The reference library was situated on the first floor, requiring the patron to use the main stairs and is described as

...a fine room extending the whole length of the Albion-street frontage. The dimensions are 72 feet long by 30 feet wide and the 21 feet high to the top of the ceiling. The chief features of this room are the beautiful fittings of mahogany, inlaid with various coloured and expensive woods, and the finely moulded ceiling into which the City arms and the monogram of the Libray have been introduced ("Lord Avebury's Visit", 1901).

An account in the *Hull Daily Mail* sums up the thoughts of the Hull Central Library in 1901, writing

The new Central Library is unquestionably in a central position. It has, a fairly commanding appearance, and the interior arrangements excel in the anticipations of those who have long hoped for a comfortable, convenient, and accessible library ("Educational, Recreational", 1901).

The above account was written from a journalistic perspective and emphasised the people's need for a practical and comfortable library. The Hull Central Library conducted a number of

refurbishments and extensions over the years, but most of the building remained the same between its construction in 1901 and through the First World War. While it has not been possible to find first-hand patron accounts referring to whether or not they believed the library encompassed the original intentions of “comfortable and convenient access”, it is evident to conclude that, regarding the usage numbers (**Table 6.21**), patrons used the library heavily during the First World War and found comfort in the 1901 building.

James Reckitt Branch Library: Holderness Road

Built in 1888 and opened on December 10th 1889, the James Reckitt Branch Library was the first public library in Hull (**Image 7.30**). Established from the private purse of James Reckitt (“Once Upon a Time”, n.d.) as a result of the first failed vote of the Public Library Act of 1850, the library opened to the community. It provided sole access to free books until the passing of the Public Libraries Act in 1892 and the subsequent building of additional free libraries (Chadwick, 2020).



Image 7.30. (1890-1897). James Reckitt Public Library [Photograph]. Hull Museums. KINCM:1981.624.3a

W.A. Gelder designed the James Reckitt Library using red brick in a Gothic Revival style (**Image 7.31**). The entrance area of the two-story building incorporated double plank doors, iron hinges, five stone steps, and three arched windows (James Reckitt Public Library, 1890-1897). “The James Reckitt Public Library 1889” is carved in stone above the entrance doors (“James Reckitt Library”, 2004).



Image 7.31. (2023) Exterior. James Reckitt Public Library. 1889. Hull, England. Author's Own Image
Designed by W.A Gelder

The interior of the building housed a lending library, a reference library and a reading room. The Lending Library incorporated gothic-style columns and a timber issue desk with arcading on the front. The Reference Library included glass cupboards and a dedication plaque, which read, “This Reference Library given by Francis Reckitt Esq JP of Caenwood Towers, Highgate, London” (“James Reckitt Library”, 2004).

Northern Branch: Beverley Road

Designed by H. A Cheers of Twickenham in 1894, Northern Branch Library opened for community use on June 13th, 1895 (**Images 7.32** and **7.33**). Today, the back spire is missing, as are some roofing details (**Image 7.34**)



Image 7.32. (1895). The Free Library, Beverley Road [drawing]. Hull Museum. KINCM:1981.415.69



KINGSTON UPON HULL BRANCH LIBRARY COMPETITION Selected Design by H.A. Cheers, Archt

Image 7.33. (1893). Kingston upon Hull Branch Library Competition, Selected Design by H.A. Cheers, Archt [print]. Hull Museum. KINCM:2006.11203



Image 7.34. (2023). Exterior. Northern Branch Public Library. 1894. Hull, England. Designed by H.A. Cheers. Author's Own Image

Important exterior elements on the Northern Branch include the words “Public Library” sculpted in raised lettering above the entrance (**Image 7.35**), the coat of arms carved above the large left window (**Image 7.36**), the carvings above the entranceway, and those flanking the doorway (**Image 7.37**).



Image 7.35. (2023). Detail. Exterior. Northern Branch Public Library. 1894. Hull, England. Designed by H.A. Cheers. Author's Own Image



Image 7.36. (2023). Detail of Coat of Arms. Exterior. Northern Branch Public Library. 1894. Hull, England. Designed by H.A. Cheers. Author's Own Image



Image 7.37. (2023). Detail of Entrance. Exterior. Northern Branch Public Library. 1894. Hull, England. Designed by H.A. Cheers. Author's Own Image

Like Bradford, numerous articles were written about the library at its opening, including speeches and patron thoughts on the library. However, after numerous searches in the Hull History Centre and the British Newspaper Archive, I failed to find descriptions of the interior architectural features of the Northern Branch Public Library. The architectural features on the exterior of the library were standard at the time of construction, noting the purpose of the building (public library), location (coat of arms, Hull) and classical motifs (design above the doorway). Imagery such as those mentioned above is seen throughout the field-study cities.

Western Branch: Boulevard

Architect W. Alfred Gelder (of the James Reckitt Library) built the Western Library in 1894 using a Renaissance Revival theme, and it is the only branch in Hull with the same designer as another branch. The branch opened to the public on January 26th, 1895 and included two storeys with seven windows on the top floor and six on the first floor (**Image 7.38**).



Image 7.38. Exterior. Western Branch Public Library. 1894. Hull, England. Designed by W. Alfred Gelder. Author's Own Image

The pediment above the entrance is ornamented with two shields on either side of the double doors (“Western Branch Library”, 1994). These shields each have three crowns: the Hull coat of arms. In addition, “Branch Public Library” is carved in raised gold gilt lettering on the exterior. Just as with the Northern Branch, it was impossible to locate information regarding the interior architectural features of the Western Branch public library. This mirrors the imagery on the Northern Branch, providing an easy way for patrons to identify the purpose of the building and to whom jurisdiction falls.



Image 7.39. (2023). Detail of Exterior. Western Branch Library. 1894. Hull, England. Designed by W. Alfred Gelder. Author's Own Image

West Park (Carnegie Library): 324 Anlaby Road

In 1905, JH Hurst (the city architect) built Hull's only public library with Carnegie funding. Built half-timbered with a Domestic Revival style, the West Park branch opened to the public on April 18th, 1905 ("To-Morrow's Engagements", 1905) (**Image 7.40**).



Image 7.40. (1905-1910). Carnegie Library, Hull [Postcard]. Hull Museum. KINCM:1981.350.2

As is with the other libraries in Hull, written atop the entranceway is “Public Library”, although this time it includes “Carnegie” (**Images 7.41** and **7.42**). Unlike the other public library branches of Hull, there is no coat of arms, floral motifs, or carved reliefs on the library's exterior.



Image 7.41. (2023). Exterior. West Park Branch Library. 1905. Hull, England. Designed by J.H. Hurst. Author's Own Image



Image 7.42. (2023). Detail. Exterior. West Park Branch Library. 1905. Hull, England. Designed by J.H. Hurst. Author's Own Image

Historic England explains that the library's interior included an octagonal entrance hall with a mosaic frieze. It also mentions that the building incorporated leaded double doors with screens, a corniced issue desk with a screen, and fitted corniced bookshelves with a standard rafter roof in the main room ("Former Carnegie Public Library", 1994).

Key Points and Unique Aspects of the Hull Public Libraries

The research conducted in Hull regarding architecture revealed that the public libraries in Hull during the First World War connected the communities of East, West, North, and South Hull with free access to literature. As a result of these findings, several notable points have surfaced. Firstly, different architects (aside from Gelder) were appointed to design and build each of the libraries in Hull, which ultimately provided a diversity of architectural influences and building styles. The second was the inclusion of exterior ornamentation on each of the buildings (except for the Carnegie Library at West Park). This included noting the purpose of the building (all variations of "Free Public Library"), the location of the building (carvings of the Hull coat of arms), and neoclassical carved motifs (used as a way to tie the present back to classical innovation and progress).

Overall, while it was impossible to find historical photographs and complete written descriptions (aside from the Central Library) of interior layouts, the use of archival material such as historical and modern photographs, cards, prints, newspaper cuttings, and descriptions made it possible to construct a vision of the public library situation in Hull during the First World War.

7.4.3 Field Study 3: Leeds

Both Bradford and Hull had various documents referencing the public library situation during the First World War. These included historical photos of the library exterior and ephemera detailing the interior layout and features of the libraries. The archival record of public libraries in Leeds is unique to those in Bradford and Hull in that photos and descriptions are abundant of the libraries in Leeds. Whereas it was possible to develop an understanding of the situation in Bradford and Leeds through exterior photographs and blueprints, in Leeds, this understanding is built upon extensive interior photographs.

Central Library: Calverley Street

Begun in 1878 and completed in 1884, the Leeds Central Library opened to the public on April 17th 1884 (“Leeds Municipal Buildings”, 1884) (**Image 7.43**).



Image 7.43. Leeds. The Municipal Building. (1909). *A History of Leeds Central Library*. Leeds Library and Information Service. Leeds, Yorkshire, England.

The architect George Corson developed and designed the library, which was

...housed in the New Municipal Buildings, which we illustrated – a fine Palladian structure – comprising a reading-room, lending and reference libraries; the first 80 ft. by 40ft., divided into a nave and aisles by arches upon polished granite shells, carrying a vault of hexagonal bricks of various colours, resembling mosaic, the whole treated in a Romanesque manner.

...the news-room, lending library, and reference library from one wing of the main building have a separate entrance from the side street, quite distinct from the official department (“Free Public Libraries”, 1890).

On the ground floor, the newsroom spanned 80 ft. by 40 ft. (a double square), and was divided into a central nave and aisles by arches of six arches carried upon polished granite pillars.

The ceilings consist of transversely placed segmented vaults with their springs resting on transverse wrought-iron girders. The vaults were finished underneath with mosaic hexagon-shaped bricks. The *Leeds Mercury* article notes that

The tables in the news-room are placed transversely under each vault, the central division having tables about 16ft long and the side aisle tables about 6ft long. The light comes in from one side, each of the six bays having one window, and between each column and window there is a bookcase. The lending library over has these transverse bookcases arranged in the same manner between the shafts and window piers, forming a series of bays or alcoves on each side. The centre, or nave, is open and forms a large space, or lobby, for the public, a counter being fixed all round before the arcades, thus inclosing the aisles which contain the books, only accessible to the staff. [this is before open-access]. The reference library, on the top floor, have a semicircular roof, divided into bays by iron principles carried on stone corbels.

An important architectural feature included in the architecture of Leeds Central Library were the carved busts of literary authors. Directly visible from the patron's perspective, the busts represented the heights of knowledge. The *Mercury* article mentions

...Above are other panels harmonising with the general tone, and containing medallion busts of representative men in literature—Shakespeare, Homer, Milton, Goethe, Burns, Scott, Horace, and Macaulay...Overhead runs a diaper frieze in gold and turquoise blue, while the ends of the vaults are finished in gold mosaic.

The interior floors of the Leeds Central Library were fitted with oak, walnut, and ebony that created a similar texture to those of ancient Rome. Detailed walnut furniture provided space for patrons to view newspapers, magazines, and other library entertainment. Descriptions of the interior architectural fittings included

Sloping desks for newspapers are to fill the aisles. Long tables will occupy the central space, and close to the door is a semi-octagonal counter of walnut and carved line-tree fittings. Every attention has been paid to the ventilation of the room...Electricity will be the only night light. Clusters of incandescent lamps hang from the centers of the bays of each aisle and from each bay of the nave, making seventy-two lamps, with an illuminating power equal to that of 1,440 candles.

Perhaps the most striking internal feature was the library ceiling. The *Leeds Mercury* article writes

... many have formed an idea of internal magnificence from a glance at the bright-coloured scintillations of the Library ceiling. These scintillations may be taken as prophetic. They are quiet in harmony with the general tone of the interior, as we shall presently show... The treatment of the ceiling is somewhat original - a sort of bright mosaic work in hexagon bricks, red, buff, grey, and blue, with golden bosses. The design, too, is hexagonal, each figure being made the nucleus of another ("Leeds Municipal Buildings", 1884).

Overall, the Leeds Central Library provided a varied space for patrons to use the library services. While the exterior of the building is striking and sharp, the central library's interior more closely fits each room's purpose, providing seating and separate spaces for lending, reference, and news. The cosmetic elements of the library also influence the library service by encouraging public engagement and building a heightened sense of knowledge.

Chapel-Allerton: Harrogate Road

The Chapel-Allerton Library, sometimes called Chapeltown Library, originally opened in a temporary space in April 1878. On 28 Jan 1904, the library moved to new premises and fully opened to the public. Like the Central Library, this branch shared a building with the local municipal departments; this time, however, it was with the local police department (**Image 7.44**).



Image 7.44. (1904). The New Library and Police Station, Chapeltown. [Postcard]. Leeds Library. Leodis.

Designed by architect WH Thorp, the exterior of Chapel-Allerton was simple in decoration with an “entrance right with a round-arch doorway, bulbous Tuscan columns supporting scrolled open pediment containing cartouche with 'PUBLIC LIBRARY' in raised letters” (“Chapel Allerton Library and Police Station”, 1976) The interior included a “lending library, a commodious reading room, and a Ladies’ news-room” (‘Chapel Allerton - Library’, 1904). The newsroom (**Image 7.45**) incorporates ample exterior lighting from exterior-facing windows and electric lighting from above. It also had space for at least twenty sitting patrons and room for twenty standing along the perimeter. The large arched window on the right side of the photograph led into the lending library. On the left, the spiral staircase led to the balcony (Leodis).



Image 7.45. (1904). News Room. Chapel Allerton Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

The lending library at Chapel Allerton (**Image 7.46**) was run on a restricted access system, requiring patrons to request books at the lending desk which can be seen at the forefront of the photograph. The photo also highlights both the use of electric and natural light via electric lamps

and skylights. The columns at the back of the photograph flank the entrance to the newsroom (the same columns as **Image 7.45**) (Leodis).



Image 7.46. (1904). Lending Library. Chapel Allerton Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

Dewsbury: Dewsbury Road

The Dewsbury Branch Library opened on the 24th of July 1903 under the architectural leadership of F.W. Bedford and S.D. Kitson. The building is classical in style and includes three separate entrances from the street (**Image 7.47**).



Image 7.47. (1902). Exterior. Dewsbury Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

Over the main entrance is a “plaque with putti leaning on books with swags and 'PUBLIC LIBRARY' on the scroll...” (“Former Police Station and Former Public Library”, 1996). As noted in earlier commentary, public library buildings often referenced classical imagery to reiterate ties to the highest level of classical thought and knowledge. Such classical imagery is the only ornamentation on the facade of the building. The *Leeds Mercury* emphasises that

The building has been simply treated, though none the less effectively, the object being to obtain as much accommodation as possible on a rather limited site, rather than to erect an artistic structure which would soon be spoilt by the atmosphere (“Library Movement in Leeds - Branch Opened in West Hunslet”, 1903).

As a way to effectively share the library space amongst patrons, the Dewsbury Branch Library allocated space according to demographic needs. Image 7.48 illustrates the ladies’ reading room, which could hold at least four women at a time.



Image 7.48. (1902). Ladies’ Reading Room. Dewsbury Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

The lending library, like most in Leeds, remained a closed-access library. Images 7.49 and 7.50 highlight the lending counter and the extent of the lending volumes. Like others in Leeds, the lending library at Dewsbury Road spanned two floors, requiring staff to use ladders to reach the desired books.



Image 7.49. (1902). Lending Counter. Dewsbury Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.



Image 7.50. (Undated). Interior. Dewsbury Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

The Dewsbury branch also included a reading room (**Image 7.51**), utilising electric lighting, natural window light, and increased ventilation. Much like the layout of the reading room at Chapel Allerton, the patron sat in the centre of the room, with the magazine stands lining the perimeter.

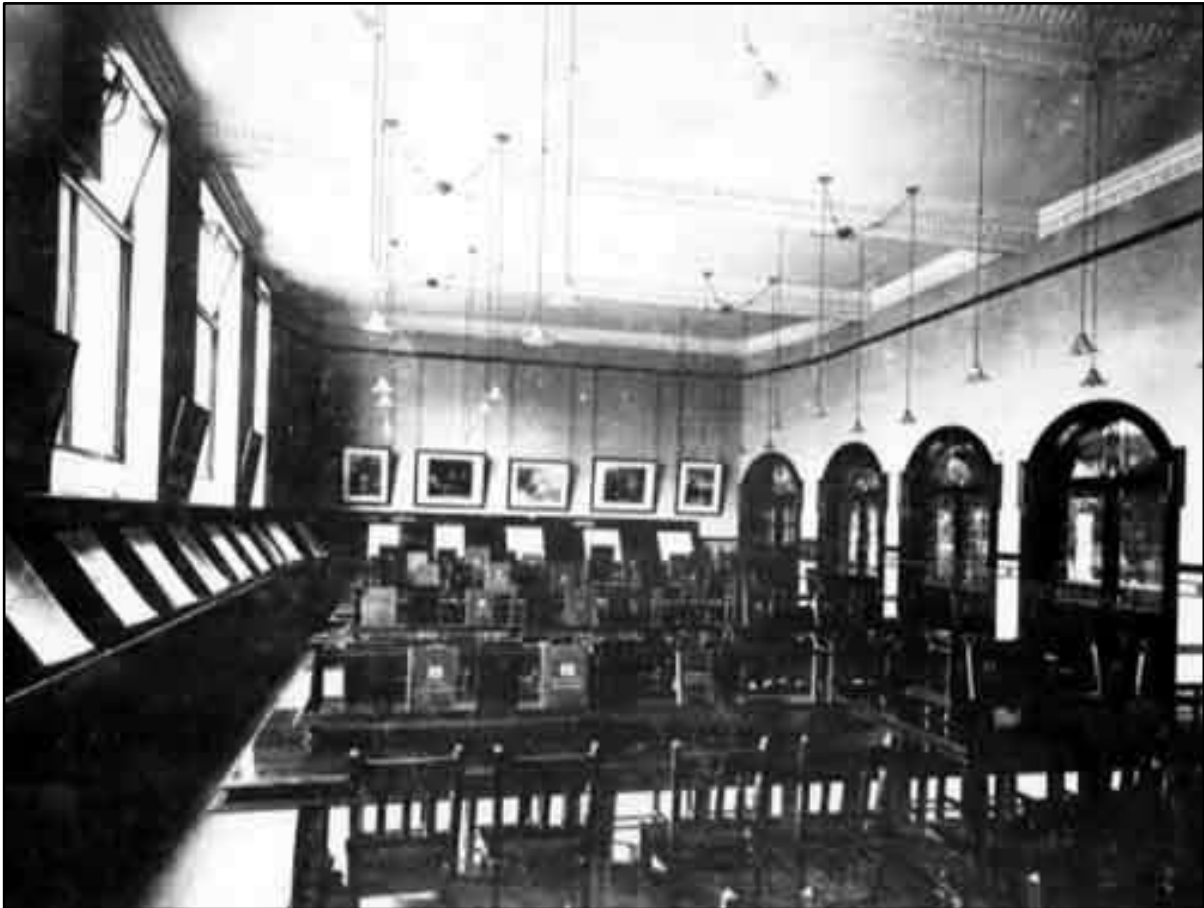


Image 7.51. (Undated). Reading Room. Dewsbury Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

Similarly, to other libraries in Leeds, the Dewsbury Road branch library was connected to the local police station. The continued connection to municipal buildings highlights the civic responsibility the city of Leeds placed on its public libraries. This is specifically true for the Dewsbury Road branch, as the location was centrally located within one of the manufacturing and industrial centres of Leeds (Leodis).

Holbeck: Marshall Street and Nineveh Road Junction

The branch at Holbeck opened officially on 15 October 1870 and moved into new premises on 26 November 1903. Designed by architect William Bakewell, the Holbeck Branch Library included a deep red brick facade with numerous windowpanes (**Image 7.52**). Above the entranceway resides a Leed's coat of arms in addition to "Art Nouveau plaques and scrolls" (**Image 7.53**) ("Former Holbeck Library", 1996).



Image 7.52. (1903). Exterior. Holbeck Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.



Image 7.53. (2011). Exterior Close-up Showing 'Public Library' Above Entrance. Holbeck Branch Library. Leeds (2011). Leodis. Copyright: Lynn Rhodes.

In an article detailing the events of the opening ceremonies, the *Leeds Mercury* provides insight into the layout of the branch library. The edition printed on 27 November 1903 illustrates that

...the building generally is of fireproof construction. The accommodation consists on the ground floor of a large reading room (26ft 6 in), lending library, ladies' room, and librarian's room. The juveniles' room is situated on the lower ground floor, together with the usual offices ("Holbeck's New Library", 1903).

Images 7.54 and 7.55 corroborate this account. Image 7.54 highlights the lending counter in the foreground. Like other libraries in Leeds, Holbeck's lending library was closed access at the time of opening and throughout the First World War. Unique to this photo is the indicator system at the bottom right of the photograph. The indicator let patrons know what volumes were available at any point in the day (The English Public Library, 2016).



Image 7.54. (Undated, Probably c1903). Entrance (Interior) Showing Indicator. Holbeck Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leeds.

Image 7.55 captures the reading room at the Holbeck branch. The photograph highlights the significant amount of natural light in both directions of the reading room. It also features electric lighting fittings. Both of these promoted better ventilation for the patrons using the reading room. Unique to this reading room, as opposed to many already studied in this stage, is the natural light coming from two directions rather than one. A deeper examination of

natural light and its relationship with encouraging intellectual sanctuary will occur later in this stage.



Image 7.55. (c1903). Reading Room. Holbeck Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

Woodhouse Moor: Woodhouse Land and Reservoir Street (later Clarendon Road)

The Woodhouse Branch Library opened in 1876 and moved to new premises on 12 March 1902 (**Image 7.56**). As another library and police-fire station combination, the Woodhouse branch incorporated a “freely-treated classic style of architecture” spanned four levels, one of which incorporated a clock tower (Leodis).



Image 7.56. (1902). Exterior. Combined Police Station, Fire Station, and Library. Leeds Library. Leeds.

The *Leeds Mercury* covered the opening, thoroughly accounting for both the ceremony and the schematics of the library area of the shared building. The 12 March 1902 newspaper edition pointed out that

The Lending Library provides for some 12,000 volumes...on the ground floor. Above it a large and lofty general reading-room, together with a ladies' reading room and a magazine room. (“Woodhouse Police-Station and Library”, 1902)

Images 7.57 and 7.58 visually document the account from the *Leeds Mercury*, displaying both the lending library and the reading room. Image 7.57 highlights the lending library, which shows the lending counter behind a closed-access gate. The book stock is outlaid in lined stacks behind the lending counter.



Image 7.57. (Undated). Lending Library. Woodhouse Moor Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

Image 7.58 shows the first-floor reading room. Unlike others in Leeds, this reading room has long central tables with newspaper stands along perimeter sections. The photo shows roughly forty-eight spaces for patrons, with at least thirteen at the newspaper stands.



Image 7.58. (Undated). Reading Room. Woodhouse Moor Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

York Road

Established in August 1878, the York Road Branch Library moved into a new building in October 1904 and opened to the public on Tuesday 4th, April 1905. The three-story Baroque-Revival building encompassed a library and the local public bathing rooms, providing civic services to the community around York Road. Image 7.59 illustrates the plans of the building during the design phase in 1902, and Image 7.60 represents the library at the time of opening.

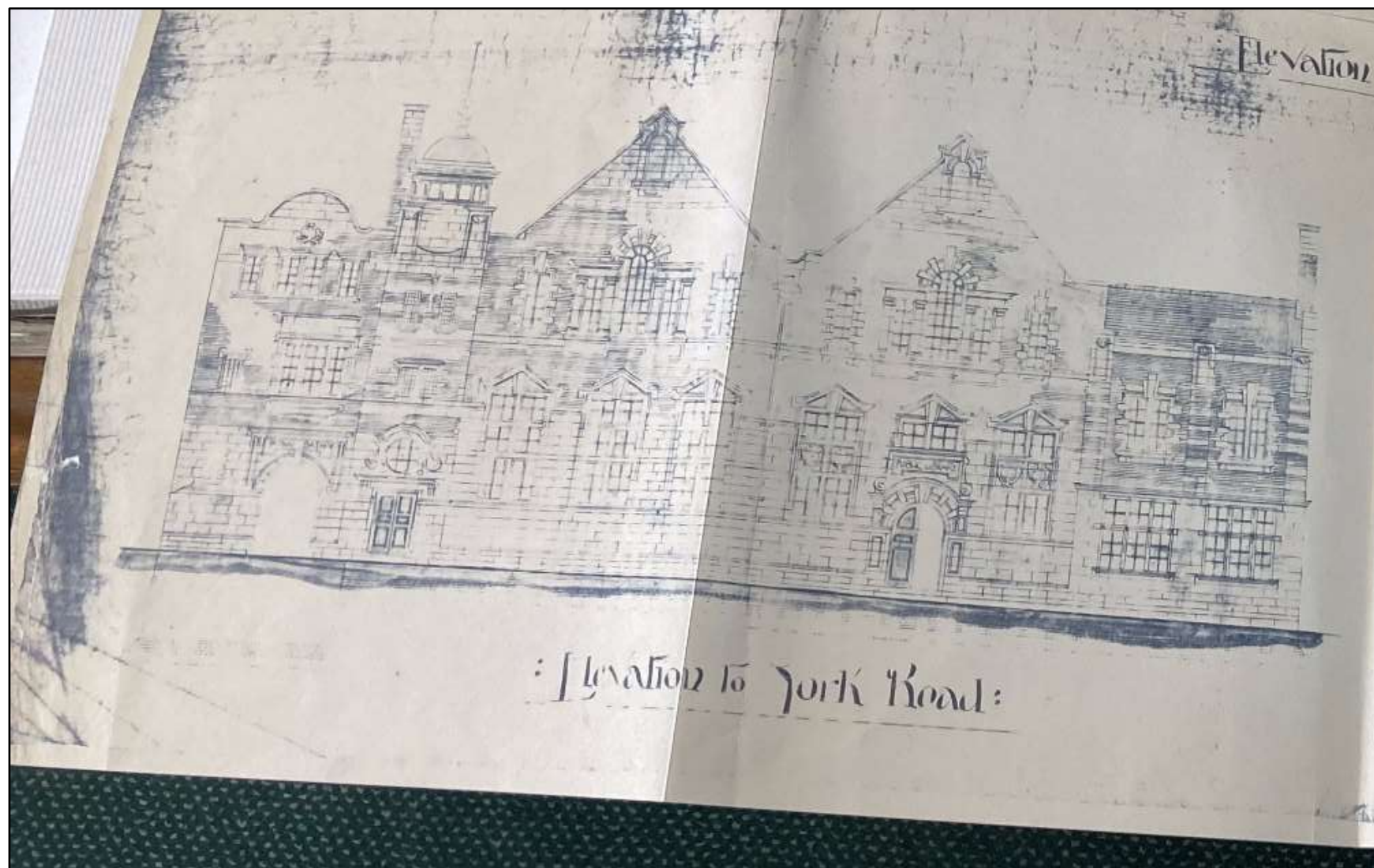


Image 7.59. Chapman, H.A. (1902). York Road Proposed Plans. [Blueprint]. Collection of Plans for Proposed York Road Library (L Q 727 Col). Leeds Local Studies Library, Leeds, England.



Image 7.60. (Undated). Public Baths and Free Library: York Road. [Photo-Tinted Drawing]. Leeds Library. Leodis.

The branch's exterior featured a number of Venetian-style windows and the words 'public library' carved over the double wood entrance doors. Along with 'public library', the architect H.A. Chapman inscribed names of famous authors above the windows, including Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Macauley (Leodis). This is unique to the York Road branch as other literary features appear in the interior (as in the central library).

The interior of the public library building featured traditional library rooms, including a ground-floor lending department, newsroom, and ladies' reading room. The first floor comprised offices, the lending library, a boy's room, and a girl's room (Building News, 1902). Blueprints for the York Road Branch Library corroborate this printed account of the library's layout (**Image 7.61**).

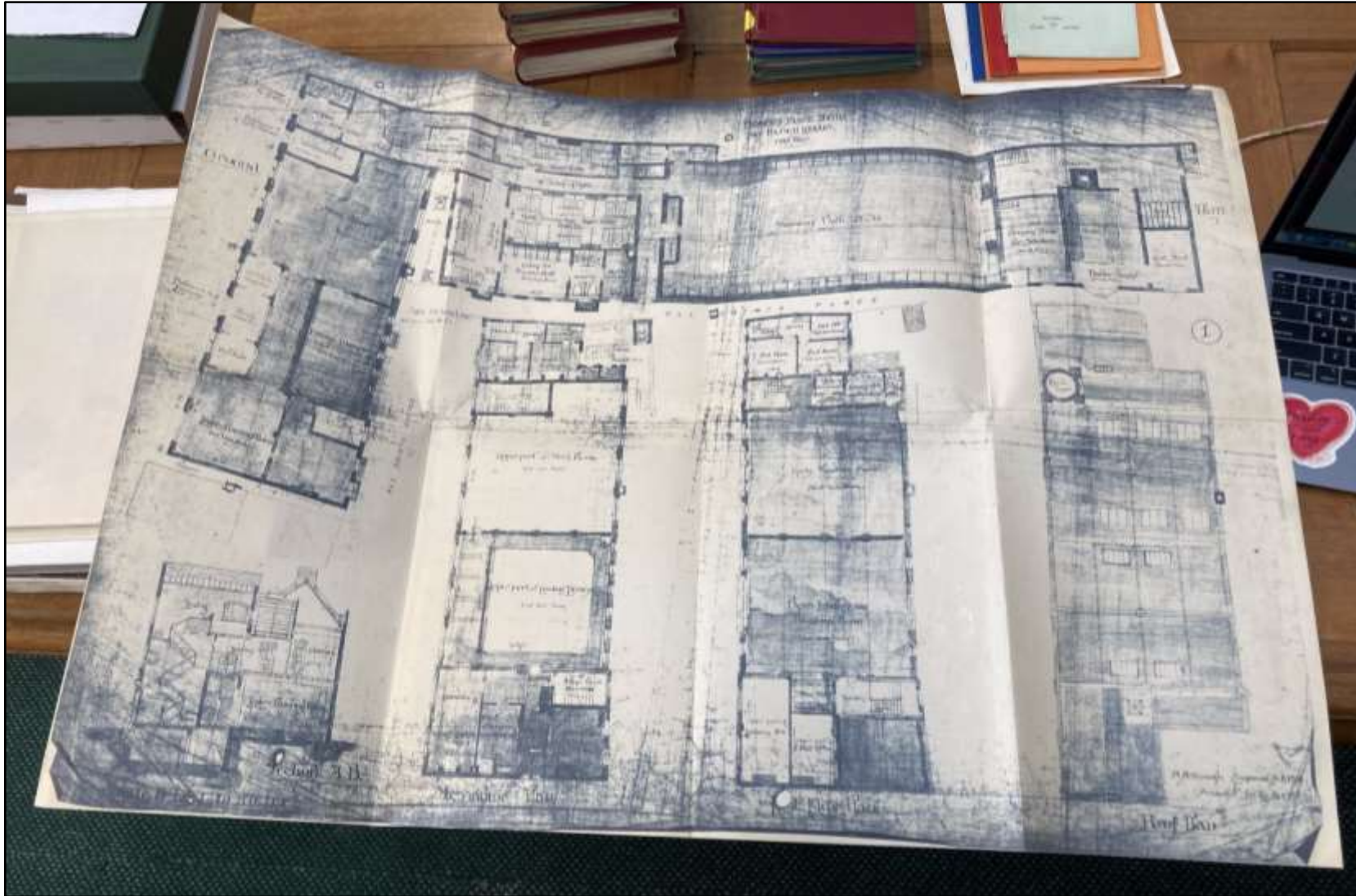


Image 7.61. Chapman, H.A. (1902). Detail. York Road Proposed Plans. [Blueprint]. Collection of Plan for Proposed York Road Library (L Q 727 Col). Leeds Local Studies Library, Leeds, England

Upon entering the library, the patron would immediately encounter a floor mosaic of an owl (**Image 7.62**). Not only did this establish the York Road branch as part of the city of Leeds and its library service, but it also represented the classical representation of wisdom and knowledge, a tie many of the branch libraries of Yorkshire integrated into their architecture (Leodis, ID: 2008513_166736).



Image 7.62. York Road Library, close-up of the terrazzo floor.
York Road Branch Library. Copyright: Sam Hirst.

After crossing the mosaic, the patron would immediately come into contact with three essential library spaces: the lending library (**Image 7.63 and 7.64**), which could hold 20,000 volumes but remained as a restricted access library until after the First World War; the newsroom (**Image 7.65**), which permitted 96 readers; and the ladies' reading room (Leodis).



Image 7.63. (1904). Lending Library. York Road Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.



Image 7.64. (1904). Lending Library. York Road Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

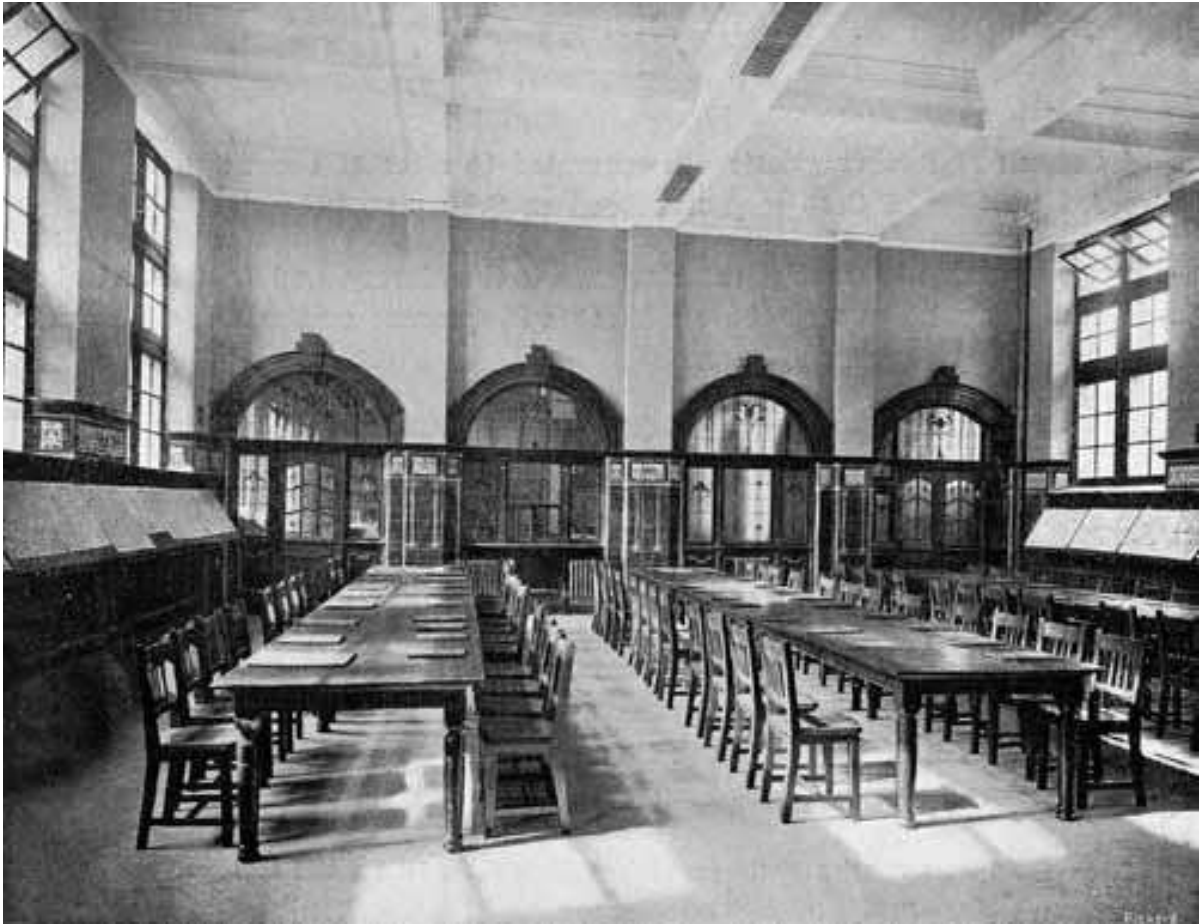


Image 7.65. (1904). Newsroom. York Road Branch Library. Leeds Library. Leodis.

While it was impossible to cover every branch library service in Leeds during the First World War, the libraries included in this section highlighted important architectural features within the available archival documentation. These included tandem municipal building use, extensive natural light and ventilation, and ties to the classical past. The architectural features highlighted by this section are only some of the ways libraries in Leeds emphasised the relationship between public library buildings and the patron. The architectural features, primarily viewed from historical photographs, newspaper accounts, and historical building listings, actively encouraged this relationship in both the interior and exterior of the Leeds public libraries.

7.4.4 Field Study 4: Sheffield: Historical Drawings and Detailed Photographs

Known as one of the first cities to pass the Public Library Act of 1850, Sheffield Public Libraries passed the Act in 1853 and opened it to the public in 1856. These provided essential library services throughout the city, giving the community access to a central library and numerous branch libraries. As described in Stage 1 (5.3.5), these libraries were scattered

throughout Sheffield, covering most of Sheffield's diverse communities (*The City Libraries of Sheffield: 1856-1956*, 1956).

The archival information for Sheffield comes from primary-source published materials. Like the explorations of Bradford (7.4.1), Hull (7.4.2), and Leeds (7.4.3), the archival documentation used in Sheffield, primarily photographs from *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956* (1956), are supplemented with documents from the Sheffield City Archives and Local Studies Library.

Central Library: Surrey Street

As a result of logistical troubles, the first Sheffield Central Library opened in the then Mechanics' Hall on Surrey Street. In 1910, the lending library and newsroom moved to the Music Hall while the reference library remained in the Mechanics' Hall. It would not be until after the First World War that the Sheffield Central Library moved into a bespoke purpose building (the same that stands today, also located on Surrey Street). As a result of the demolition of the Music Hall and construction of the current 1930s library building, the Sheffield Music Hall, the location of the central library during the First World War, no longer stands (*The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*, 1956). As a result of the building no longer standing, it is required to rely on archival prints and photographs to understand the library service and architecture during the First World War. Image 7.66 illustrates what the central lending library and newsroom service would have looked like during the First World War. Image 7.67 depicts the Mechanics' Hall and the location of the reference library during the First World War.



Image 7.66. The Music Hall, used as Central Lending Library and Newsroom, 1910-1932. *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*



Image 7.67. The Mechanics' Hall, Surrey Street. Used as a Reference Library in 1910. *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*

The lending library occupied three floors, utilising different classical architectural motifs on each floor's exterior. The ground floor utilised four central windows on the front facade and two arched entryways flanking the windows on either side. The first floor comprised six windows on the street-facing facade, incorporating Doric columns flanking the two windows on either far side of the building. Decorative lintels were incorporated on top of each first-floor window, pulling from the classical order of architecture. The top floor had a pyramid-shaped roof with four lintel-topped windows. The Music Hall was separated from the street by an iron gate, controlling the foot traffic to the two designated entrance doors. The Music Hall building turned central lending library was

...transferred to the ground floor of the Music Hall, the concert room was made into a newsroom, and the side room was converted into the ladies' reading room...The magnificent file of local newspapers...was stored in the balconies. Directories and a few quick reference books were also shelved in the newsroom.

The account from *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956* goes on to note how the Council Chamber of the Mechanics' Hall was

...made into the reference library with reasonable seating accommodation, and the other rooms became available for book storage, administrative offices and committee meeting room (1956, p. 25).

The above description emphasises how the early library service in Sheffield utilised non-purpose-built buildings to accommodate the library patrons. The Music Hall was ultimately rearranged from its original purpose of hosting concerts and music events to a building promoting increased use of public libraries. During the renovations, each room was adapted for appropriate use by Sheffield's public library patrons (*The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*, 1956).

Image 7.68 illustrates the newsroom layout in 1910, initially used as a concert space, as noted by the performance stage in the photo's background. Tall windows on both sides of the room allow for natural light in addition to the electrical lamps hung from the ceiling. Pictures and marble busts were housed on each side wall, and a bookcase of documents stood at the front of the stage. The reference room moved to open access in 1913-1914, providing patrons to roam the collection as they pleased.



Image 7.68. Sheffield Central Newsroom. 1910. *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*.

Like those in Leeds, the lending library in the Sheffield Music Hall was a closed-access accommodation. As seen in Image 7.69, the room included little ornamentation. It included an issue counter, a return counter, shelves for the latest acquisitions, a small table for patron use, and floor-to-ceiling bookcases. Compared to others in Yorkshire, the lending library in Sheffield during the First World War was stark and neutral.



Image 7.69. Sheffield Central Lending Library. 1910. *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*

The central libraries in Sheffield during the First World War were unique and spanned two separate buildings. While not the ideal situation, as noted in the fall of usage numbers from 1913-14 to 1915-16 (**Table 6.16**), the separation of the lending library/newsroom and the reference library furnished increased accommodation for patrons and provided space free from distractions of the other library. This unique library and its relationship to intellectual sanctuary will be further explored at the end of this stage.

Brightside (Later Burngreave) Branch Library: Gower Street

Built as Sheffield's first purpose-built branch library, the Brightside Branch Library opened to the public in September 1872. The branch (later changed to Burngreave) provided specific and tailored premises to the community of Brightside. The exterior of the branch was simple in design, which emanated a "classical and chapel-like design with a pediment and round-headed windows" (Harman, 2004, p.180) (**Image 7.70** and **7.71**).



Image 7.70. Burngreave – The First Branch Library Building. 1872. *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*



Image 7.71. (c 1872) Sheffield Free Library, Brightside Branch - plan, front elevation and sections. [blueprint]. Burngreave (Brightside) Branch Library (CA663/6/4/120) Sheffield City Archives. Sheffield, England.

Designed primarily with “bricks and freestone facings”, the interior was relatively simple, unlike the exterior (Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 17 August 1872). The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* explored the interior of the Brightside branch:

Downstairs the space is divided into the library, ladies reading-room, with a lavatory attached, and small stock room. The library is fitted up in a superior manner, a striking feature in it being the handsome mahogany frames on each side of the lending counter, in which is arranged with is known as the “Indicator System”...The library room is capitably lighted. There is a small gallery at one end, with economises space, and is also ornamental. The shelves in the library and stock-room together will be capable of holding about 14,000 volumes.

The interior of the Brightside branch, as a result of the purpose-built nature of the building, provided elements precisely positioned for library use. This included thought-out rooms with public conveniences attached, a plethora of natural light via large windows. The article from the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* further outlines the upstairs of the branch:

Upstairs is the Public Reading Room, which is perhaps one of the most commodious and comfortable rooms of its size in the borough. It is lofty, well-lighted by day and night, and is 41 feet long by 32 in breadth. The ceiling is panelled, and the centre pieces being pierced, form efficient ventilators... On the stair landing, to the right of the reading room door, is a lavatory, &c (*Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 17 August 1872).

Image 7.72 below corroborates the above description. Although the blueprint is from the 1920s conversion to open-access, it visualises the space described in the account above. It establishes what the permitter of the branch would have been in the First World War, highlighting the architectural foundations of the building. The image includes the lending counter (marked ‘Staff Enclousure’), the stock shelves of the lending library (the space with bookshelves), and the entrance to the library (marked ‘Entrance Vestibule’ and ‘Lobby’).



Image 7.72. Edwards, F.E.P. (22 June 1925). Brightside Branch Library - proposed conversion to open access system. [blueprint]. Burngreave (Brightside) Branch Library (CA663/6/4/118) Sheffield City Archives. Sheffield, England.

As the middle building in a row of terraced establishments, the light levels at Brightside were not ideal. It was not until the 11th of September 1902 that Brightside was fitted for electric lighting, adding much-needed illumination to the natural light from the three front windows (Hewson, 2020).

Highfield Branch Library: 279 London Road

Designed by E. Mitchell Gibbs, the Highfield Branch Library was opened on 1 August 1876 (Image 7.73).



Image 7.73. Highfield Branch. (1876). *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956*

Gibbs designed the branch library under a “Florentine Renaissance” style, including a quotation from Thomas Carlyle above the entranceway (**Image 7.74**). It reads:

‘That there should one man die ignorant who had capacity for knowledge, this I call a tragedy, were it to happen more than twenty times in the minute as by some computations it does.’



Image 7.74. (2023). Detail of Entranceway. Highfield Branch Library. Author’s Own Photo

In addition to the standard carved ‘Free Public Library’, the entranceway includes two allegorical statues. These two statues represent Literature and Medical Science and flank Carlyle’s quotation. Both the quote and statuary help to establish the importance of knowledge as a general way to better the mind and the significance of the relationship between said knowledge and the intended purpose of the public library (Pevsner Architectural Guide, 2004; ‘The Highfield Branch Library’, 1876).

The *Sheffield Independent* laid out the blueprint for the interior of the Highfield branch in an 1876 printing. It provides insight into the distribution of floor space, noting that

On the ground floor is the lending department, 48 feet by 30 feet, and there is also a ladies' reading room, 22 feet by 30 feet. The general reading room, which occupies the first floor, is approached by a stone staircase, 70 feet long and 30 feet in breadth, with open-timbered roof. There is a large oriel window at the end. Special attention has been paid to its heating and ventilation ("The Highfield Branch Library", 1876).

A blueprint from the Sheffield City Archives supports this account. Image **7.75** illustrates the ground floor, including the lending library (restricted access throughout the First World War) and the ladies' reading room, as they would have appeared during the conflict. This blueprint is unique to most used in this study, as it was drafted during the First World War (1915) rather than before the conflict, like many in Bradford, Hull, and York.

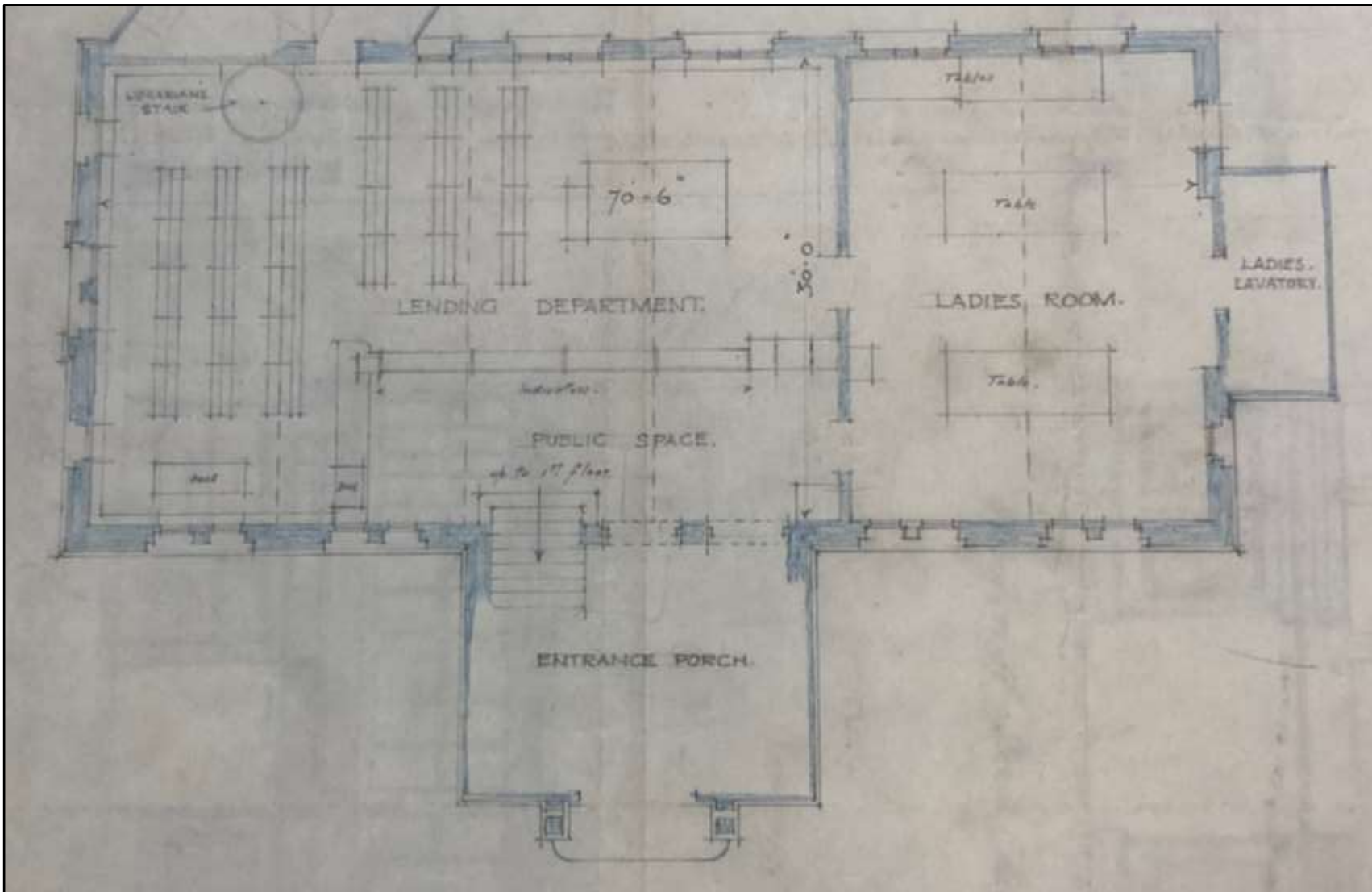


Image 7.75. Edwards. F.E.P. (23 Jan 1915). Highfield Branch Library. Ground floor plan; plan as at present. [Blueprint]. Highfield Branch Library. (CA663/166). Sheffield City Archives. Sheffield, England.

Upperthorpe Branch Library: 5 Daniel Hill

Whereas Brightside was Sheffield's first purpose-built branch library, it was not the first branch in Sheffield. The original Upperthorpe Branch Library was established on 4 October 1869, three years before Brightside was built. However, like in Leeds, the branch outgrew the original 'temporary premises' at the Tabernacle Congregational Church on Albert Terrace Rd. A permanent purpose-built building opened for Upperthorpe on 8 May 1876, providing ample room for growth and library activities. Built as a sister library with the same architect and architectural fittings as the Highfield branch, the move to 5 Daniel Hill took the library from cramped temporary housing to specific purpose-built premises (Reading Sheffield, 2017; Pevsner, 2004) (**Image 7.76**).

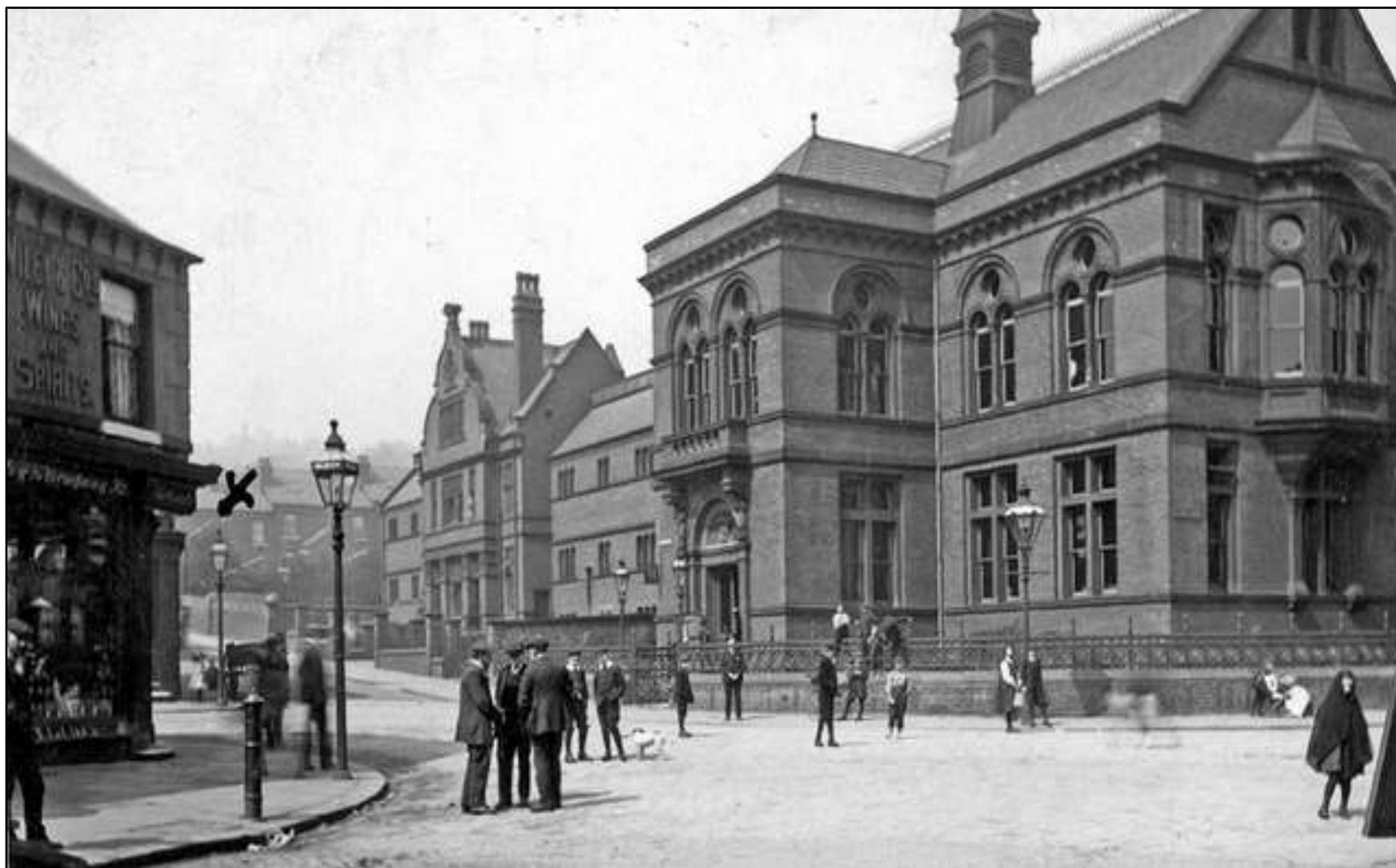


Image 7.76. (Un-dated) Upperthorpe Branch Library (foreground) and Corporation Baths, rear, Upperthorpe, from Upperthorpe Road. [Photograph]. Picture Sheffield.

Image 7.77 depicts the entranceway to the Uppertorpe branch library. It highlights the same layout as the Highfield branch, including the Italian-inspired architecture style, allegorical figures, the phrase ‘Free Public Library’, and classical motifs. However, a striking difference is a change from a quote above the entranceway to the coat of arms of Sheffield and classical floral imagery.



Image 7.77. (2023). Detail of Uppertorpe Branch Library Entrance. Author's Own Image.



Image 7.78. (2023). Detail. Uppertorpe Branch Library Entrance. Author's Own Image

The intricacy of the entranceway symbols at Uppertorpe highlights the library's intended audience. Unlike the quote on the Highfield Branch Library exterior, the Uppertorpe symbols directly represent the working class. To the left stands a workman, and on the right, a factory girl reading a book. These two images reference the working-class history of Uppertorpe and the importance the public library had on such a community. The statues directly connect to the working class, emphasising that all classes were welcome in the library. The Sheffield coat of arms is carved between these two factory workers. Made up of crossed arrows and bushels of wheat, the coat of arms establishes a sense of place, making it known that the library served the people of Sheffield (Pevsner, 2004, p. 284). The *Sheffield Independent* gives further insight into the above imagery. It highlights

...the main entrance deserves special mention, for it is exceedingly graceful and effective. Over the doors — the entrance is six feet wide— there is a stone arch, the semi-circular space in which is filled by a carded panel, having a shield bearing a carved representation of the borough new arms. The cornice piece is supported by a bracket on either side of the door, and on these are two happily designed and ably executed carved figures. One is that of a Sheffield factory girl intently reading a book, the idea conveyed, of course, being that the library will be the means of giving instruction. The other figure represents a young Sheffield workman, with shirt sleeves rolled up, and hands resting on the handle of a large hammer. He is in an attitude of deep thought, and is endeavouring to apply to his work some of the technical knowledge he has gained from the books in the library. The sculptor both of the figure and the shield is Mr. J . W. Cooper, of Sheffield and Cambridge, and the work reflects upon him the highest possible credit (“Uppertorpe Branch Library”, 1876)

The same edition of the *Sheffield Independent* used above goes further and presents an overview of the interior layout of the branch.

Immediately opposite the entrance is the door leading to the lending department — a spacious room 48 feet by 30 feet. Of this 24 feet by 10 feet is set apart to the public... Adjoining the lending department is a ladies' reading and news room, 30 feet by 22 feet, leading out of which are a lavatory and other conveniences. The general reading and news room is on the upper floor, and is approached by a staircase immediately opposite the counter in the lending department, so that any one passing either in or out can be seen by the librarian. This room is 70 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 27 feet high, It has an open timber roof and handsome oriel window, and is a room unequalled in the town for its comfortable and effective appearance. Both the ladies' and men's reading rooms will be well supplied with magazines and periodicals (“Uppertorpe Branch Library”, 1876).

As with those for Highfield, the blueprint below corroborates the account from the *Sheffield Independent* and illustrates the set-up of the ground floor of the Upperthorpe Branch Library in 1915. Image **7.79** highlights the restricted-access lending library and counter, the ladies' room, the entranceway, and the stairs up to the general reading room.

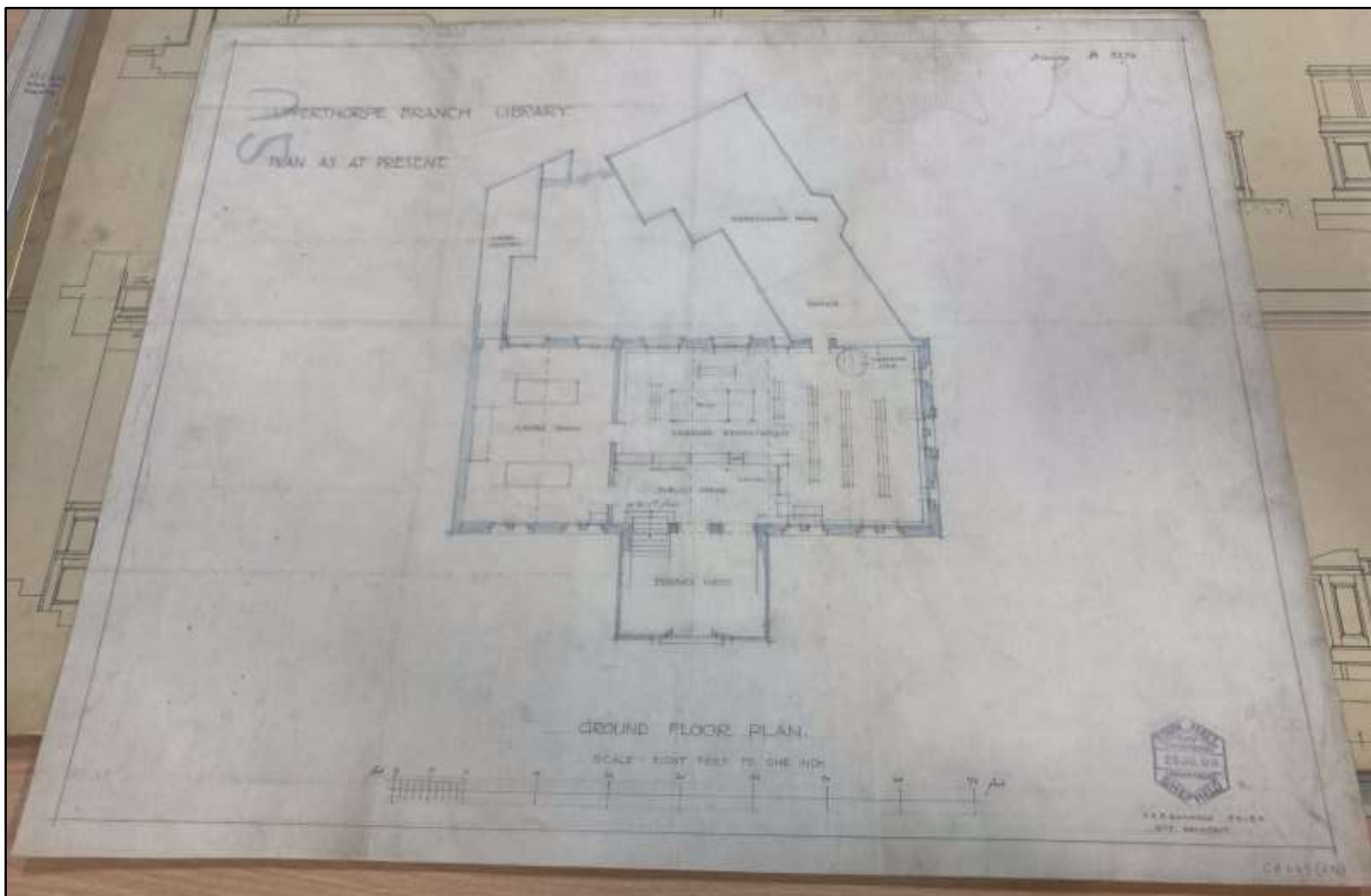


Image 7.79. (23 Jan 1915). Upperthorpe Branch Library, plan as at present - ground floor. [Blueprint]. Upperthorpe Library (CA663/33/1/270). Sheffield City Archives. Sheffield, England.

Walkley Branch Library (Carnegie Library): 403 South Rd

Built from a grant from Andrew Carnegie, the Walkley Branch Library opened on 14 December 1905 (Walkley Public Library, 1993). Hemsoll and Patterson designed and built the Carnegie-funded library, implementing a Tudor-style design on the corner site on Walkley Road (**Image 7.80**).



Image 7.80. Walkley Branch: the only Carnegie Library in Sheffield. 1905. *The City Libraries of Sheffield 1856-1956.*

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* covered the opening ceremonies and noted the plan for the building along with the day's events. It gives a brief outline of the library, stating that the building is "comprised [of] the lending department, gentlemen's and ladies' reading rooms, and committee room" ("Opening of Walkley Library", 1905). While the earliest plans of the Walkley branch at the Sheffield City Archives are from the 1930s, the foundations of the building would have remained the same, providing the ability to envisage the library's layout during the First World War (**Image 7.81**).

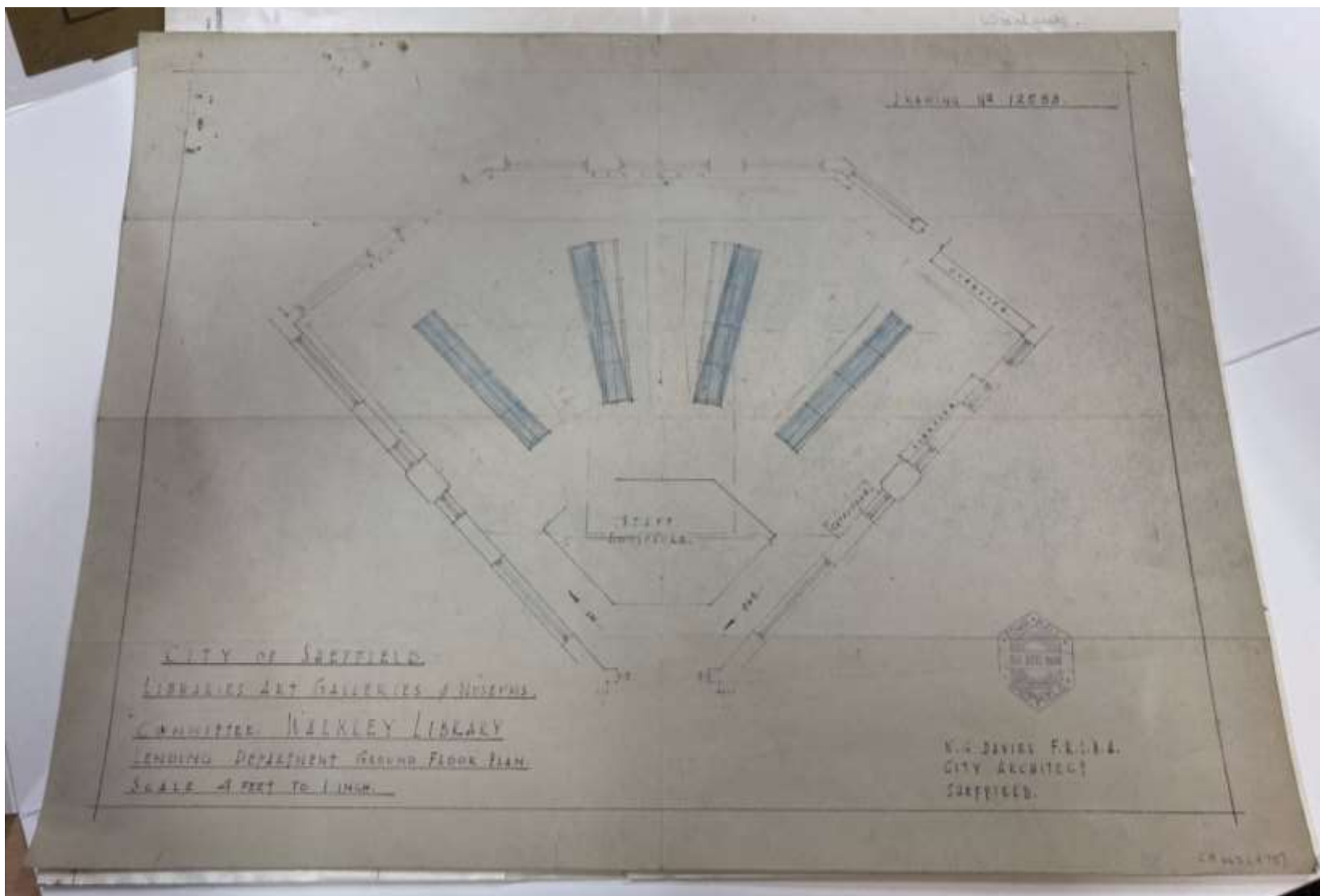


Image 7.81. (22 Dec 1938). Walkley Library, Lending department ground floor plan. [Blueprint]. Walkley Library (CA663/34/2/275). Sheffield City Archives. Sheffield, England.

The blueprint above also brings up a unique aspect of the Walkley Branch Library. Unlike most libraries in Sheffield during the First World War, Walkley ran under an open-access lending system. Introduced in 1913-1914, the open-access system allowed patrons to handle books directly rather than relying on the librarian at the lending counter (Hewson, 2021).

The exterior also features unique elements that distinguish Walkley from others in Sheffield. Aside from the style incorporating Tudor building elements, the use of windows at the Walkley branch provides immense natural light. The blueprint below (**Image 7.82**) and the exterior photo of **Image 7.80** highlight no less than forty-one windows. Not only did this provide increased lighting to the library's interior, but it also increased ventilation, ultimately increasing patron comfort and well-being during library use.

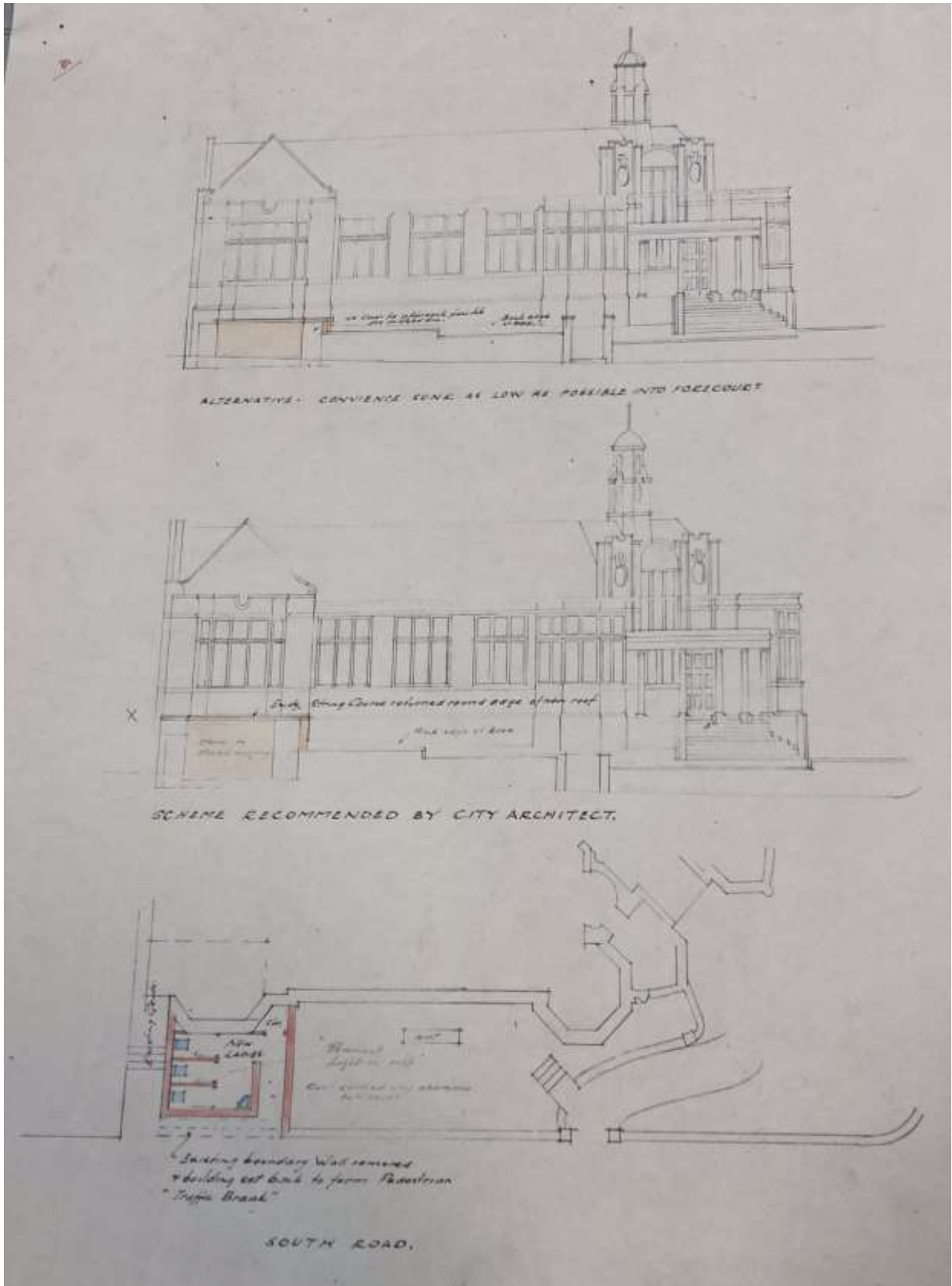


Image 7.82. Walkley public convenience—Proposed siting [shows library elevations]. (20th Century). [Blueprint]. [Sheffield City Council Library Plans](#) (CA663/34/6), Sheffield City Archives, Sheffield, England.

The library service in Sheffield paved the way for other library services in Yorkshire. While the history of the libraries in Sheffield is complicated at times, unique building features and decisions helped influence how each public library interacted with its patrons. One of these unique decisions was the separate buildings at the Sheffield Central Library, dividing the lending library and reference library between 1910 and 1932. Another unique building feature was the words atop the entranceway at the Highfield branch. It was usual at the time to include either ‘free public library’ or ‘public library’ outside the building; however, the branch breaks this mould and includes an inspirational quote from Carlyle. The number of windows at the Walkley branch is also a unique feature, which allowed abundant light into the building. These unique elements, each in their own right, helped build a relationship between the public library and the patrons, creating space for physical and intellectual sanctuary. This connection will be further discussed after exploring the York Public Library in the next section.

7.4.5 Field Study 5: York: Singular, Non-Purpose Built Building

The library services in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield all incorporated one glaring difference compared to York. Whereas the other fieldwork cities had both a central library and multiple branches, the library service in York had one singular library. Although this separates the library in York from the other services regarding building numbers, there is a link between York and Sheffield in that the library in York was also housed in a non-purpose-built building during the First World War.

Central Library: 12 Clifford Street

Originally located on the top floor of the York Institute of Science, Art, and Literature, the York Public Library transitioned into a free library in 1892 (**Image 7.83**). W.G. Penty, who utilised exterior arches filled with coloured glass and civic emblems, constructed the York Institute building between 1883 and 1885 (“12 Clifford Street”, 1978; The Rowntree Society, n.d). Externally, the building included several frieze panels with carved scrolls, leaves, and roses. These are accompanied by carved panels with the words ‘science’, ‘art’, and ‘literature’ written in individual sections (**Images 7.84, 7.85, and 7.86**).



Image 7.83. (2023). Exterior. 12 Clifford Street. Once York Public Library, 1892. York, England. Author's Own Image.
Designed by W.G. Pentney



Images 7.84, 7.85, 7.86. (2022). Exterior Details. 12 Clifford Street. Once York Public Library, 1892. York, England. Author's Own Image. Designed by W.G. Penty

The entrance to the 12 Clifford Street premises incorporated symbols of the city of York, establishing a sense of place within the community. Images 7.87 and 7.88 depict large crossed keys. These keys represent those of St. Peter and the York coat of arms (historyofyork.org.uk, n.d.). These keys, along with the carving of “art”, “science”, and “literature”, help to build an

identity of civic pride and to promote the importance of learning and knowledge in the community of York (**Image 7.89**).



Image 7.87 and 7.88. Exterior Detail. 12 Clifford Street. Once York Public Library, 1892. York, England. Author's Own Image. Designed by W.G. Penty



Image 7.89. Exterior Detail. 12 Clifford Street. Once York Public Library, 1892. York, England. Author's Own Image.
Designed by W.G. Pentney

While the exterior incorporated elements of civic pride in the community of York, the library's interior was refurbished to encourage pride in knowledge. After the York Institute departed 12 Clifford Street, the York Public Library expanded into the vacant space, converting multiple floors to serve as the library. While not built initially as a public library, the interior of the York Public Library reimagined spaces once used as classrooms and labs by the York Institute. The blueprints below are found in ExploreYork! (the City Archives of York) and illustrate the original layout of the York Institute. Although the blueprints focus on the building before conversion, it is possible to cross-reference with early 20th-century photographs (later in this section) in order to piece together what the public library would have looked like during the First World War (**Image 7.90**).

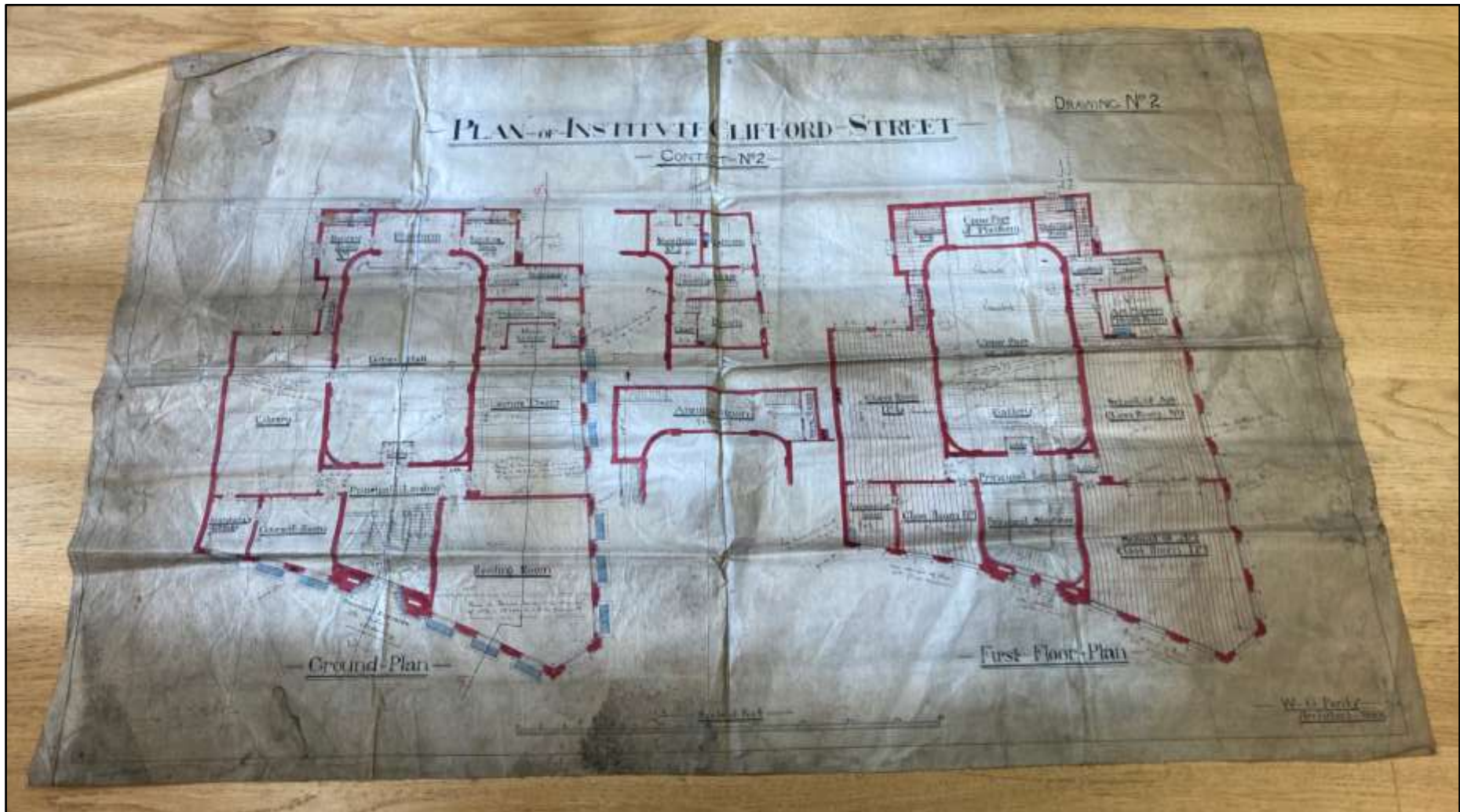


Image 7.90. Penty, W.G. (April 1884). Plan of Institute, Clifford Street. Drawing No 2. [Blueprint]. York Institute. (Y/EDU/5/2/11). Explore York! York, England.

With the current availability of resources, it was only partially possible to map out the layout of the York Public Library. Photos place the lending library on the ground floor. Image 7.91 below reflects the restricted access-lending counter with a large proscenium arch and stage in the background. Looking back to the blueprint (**Image 7.90**), the lending library matches the shape of the once-lecture hall. The lending library includes a counter with display boxes and an indicator system. The photograph highlights the division of the indicator system into genres and specific topics so that the patron knows what is available to lend. The book stock shelves were behind the lending counter and within the archway in order to prevent access by patrons.



Image 7.91. (1907). York Public Lending Library. [Photograph]. Photographs of York Public Library and Branch Libraries (Y/EDU/5/3/19) Explore York!. York, England

In addition to the lending library, photographic evidence showcases other rooms in the library post-conversion. The photos below highlight the magazine room in Images 7.92 and 7.93, which had large windows on one side, providing natural light and ventilation to patrons using the room. It also incorporated electric light from the high ceiling. The room was fitted with wood furnishings and provided patrons access to magazines directly from the desks.



Image 7.92. (1907). York Public Library Magazine Room. [Photograph]. Photographs of York Public Library and Branch Libraries (Y/EDU/5/3/19) Explore York!. York, England



Image 7.93. (1910). York Public Library Magazine Room. [Photograph]. Photographs of York Public Library and Branch Libraries (Y/EDU/5/3/19) Explore York!. York, England

Without other photographic evidence, it is possible to assume that York's reference library (**Image 7.94**), depicted here in 1911, would have remained the same between 1914 and 1918. Like the magazine room, the reference library was fitted with dark wood furnishings and provided accommodation for in-house use. Electrical lighting hangs from the ceiling, and while not explicitly shown in the image, it can be assumed that windows covered the back wall due to the shadows in the photo.



Image 7.94. (1911). York Public Reference Library. [Photograph]. Photographs of York Public Library and Branch Libraries (Y/EDU/5/3/19) Explore York!. York, England

York's newspaper room is a unique feature as it is separate from York's magazine room. In other library services in this study, newspapers and magazines were usually housed together, utilising the same room for both services. Photographs 7.95 and 7.96 spotlight the numerous newspaper stands within the room, providing space for at least forty patrons. Image 7.96 highlights the sitting and standing access patrons had in front of the newspapers. In addition to the wood furnishings, floor-to-ceiling windows provided natural light, with electrical lamps hanging from the ceiling. Not only did these elements supply the patrons of the York Public Library with the personal choice of which newspapers to read, but it also gave them the autonomy to choose their reading location.



Image 7.95. (Undated). Library, Clifford Street, Newspaper room. [Photograph]. Photographs of York Public Library and Branch Libraries (Y/EDU/5/3/19) Explore York!. York, England



Image 7.96. (Undated). Library, Clifford Street, Newspaper room. [Photograph]. Photographs of York Public Library and Branch Libraries (Y/EDU/5/3/19) Explore York!. York, England

The York Public Library was forced to repurpose academic spaces after the conversion from the York Institute. However, when comparing archival photos and the usage numbers in Tables 6.19 and 6.20, it is possible to see that the space used during the First World War provided well-used premises. The singular public library provided the population of York free access to books, updated news of the day, and, ultimately, a shelter from the conflict.

This section used archival techniques and analysis processes to gather information about the five field-study cities in Yorkshire. While not every library branch has been explored above, the branches included in Stage 3 have brought unique aspects of the various library services. These varied elements all help to encourage personal choices and decisions and ultimately help to encourage elements of intellectual sanctuary from the First World War. Section 7.5 below takes these elements and investigates one example of why such elements have power within the library services.

7.5 Spatial Sanctuary and the Importance of Architectural Features

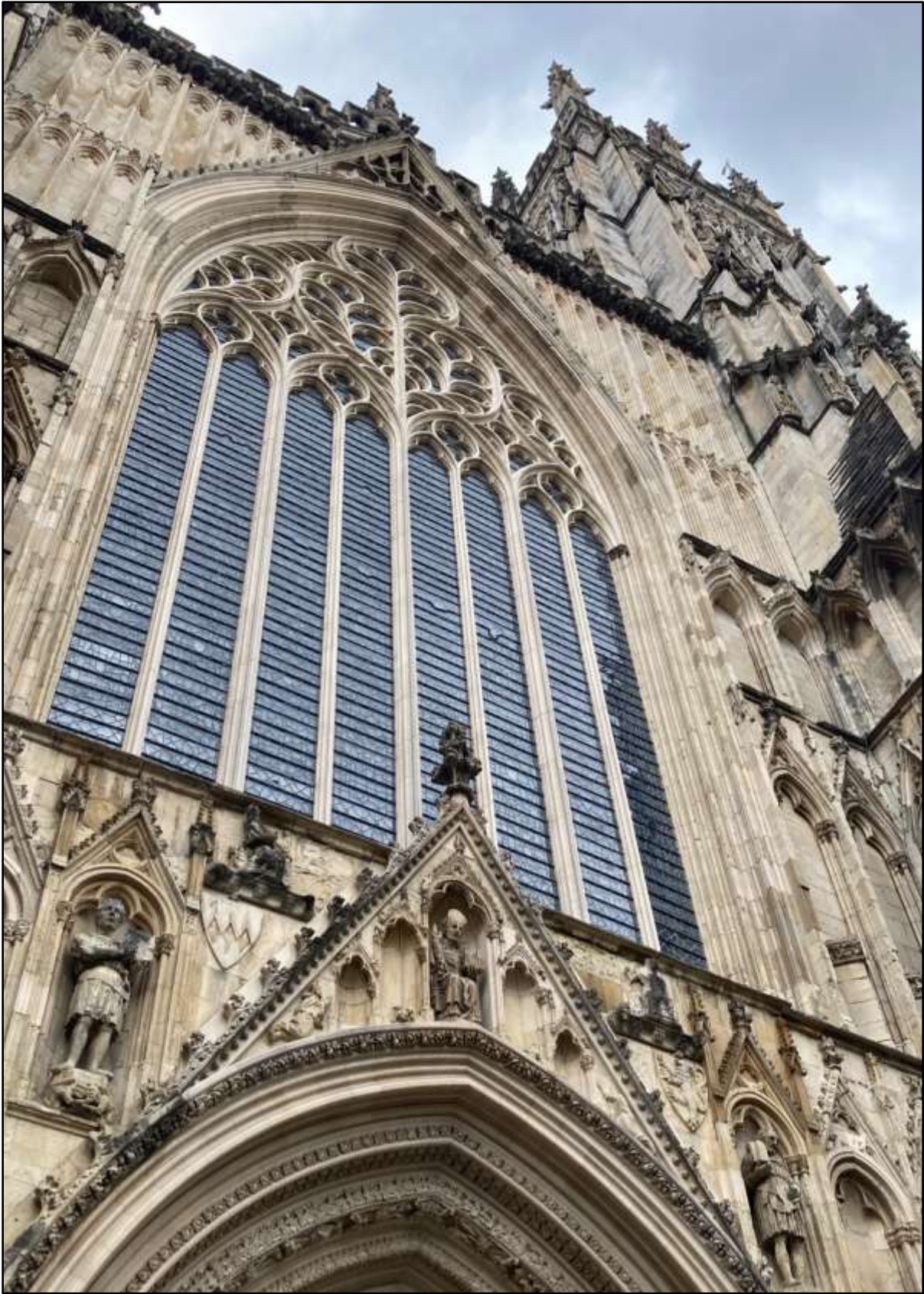
Historical references highlight the need during the First World War for physical shelter from Zeplin attacks, bomb raids, and homesoil conflicts between 1914 and 1918 (3.3.2). These circumstances encouraged communities to seek physical shelter in locations that provided safety from conflict (Moore and Pullan, 2015; DeGroot, 1996). This section focuses on the idea of spatial sanctuary, its connection to different types of buildings, and how it ultimately transfers to the local working-age population of the field-study cities. This is primarily argued by using historical Christian religious architecture and iconography as a way to process the influence of iconography. This section, combined with assessing architectural features in 7.4, provides a way to analyse the architectural importance of public libraries during the First World War.

While this section does not go in-depth into studying the library as a sacred religious space (as Schultz, 2020), it does investigate images present in religious architecture, most notably how the public library implemented parallel practices. Specifically, this stage focuses on entranceway iconography, often incorporated into religious buildings, and how similar visuals are found in a number of entranceways of the field-study locations. It also considers the influence of entranceways and the significance of passing underneath.

7.5.1 Parallels to Christian Religious Architecture

Christian religious architecture places importance on the visual, focusing on interior and exterior features, and ultimately emphasises meaning between the relationships of such features and the communities they serve (Barrie, 2021; Cahill, 2009; Jones, 2000; Kieckhefer, 2004; Weightman, 1996). While Christian religious architecture and the public library during the First World War are not always intertwined, there is a significant connection to be made between religious architecture, exterior iconography, personal experience, and intellectual sanctuary.

Religious architecture often includes religious iconographies as part of the foundations of the church. The entranceway arches throughout the York Minster are a prime example of iconographical Christian architecture in Yorkshire. For example, the west-facing narthex (**Image 7.97**) depicts Evangelists, important patrons of the Minster, and clergy related to the church. Images 7.98, 7.99, and 7.100 provide detailed representations of the story of Adam and Eve located on the west-facing entrance (Clutton-Brock, 1899).



Images 7.97. (2023). Exterior of York Minster: West Facing Narthex. 1230-1472. York, England. Authors' Own Image



Images 7.98. (2023). Detail. Exterior of York Minster: West Facing Narthex. 1230-1472. York, England. Authors' Own Image



Image 7.99. (2023). Entrance Arch Detail. Exterior of York Minster: West Facing Narthex. Detail(s) of Entrance Arch 1230-1472. York, England. Authors' Own Image



Image 7.100. (2023). Entrance Arch Detail. Exterior of York Minster: West Facing Narthex. Detail(s) of Entrance Arch 1230-1472. York, England Authors' Own Image

York Minster's entranceway, or 'portal' into the sanctuary, actively transfers the worshiper from worldly practices to the divine, where one could leave the world's toils behind and be alone with God. The imagery and symbolism of the Evangelists, financial patrons of the Minster, members of the clergy, and biblical iconography found on these portals encouraged and bestowed such an idea while emphasising ideals of morality, benevolence, and, ultimately, the blessing of God onto those who actively interacted with the images (Durandus, 1893; Kaur, 2012; Steffler, 2002). These blessings did not discriminate against class status or literacy capabilities, nor did they see gender, colour, or physical ability (Kendall, 1998). Many believed messages and blessings adorning the church walls could be physically transferred to anyone who passed under them (Durandus, 1893).

If the relationship to God is removed from the above example, what is left could easily be written about secular buildings and, in the case of this thesis, the public library. As explored in section 7.4, many examples of public libraries throughout the field-study cities utilise the space above the entrance to welcome patrons with knowledge, civic pride, and accessibility to literature. The Bradford branch at Great Horton is an example of including such iconography above the entrance to the library. Image 7.101 details the relief carving located above the entrance doors. It illustrates the Bradford coat of arms consisting of two goats, a symbol of the prominent woollen industry of the area, and three bugle horns, representing the historical call to service between John of Gaunt and John Northrop of Manningham in the 1300s (Macnamara, 2019). In modern times, the coat of arms is seen as a call to service aimed at the woollen industry, many of whose labourers made up the local Leeds working-age library community. Under the coat of arms is the Latin phrase "Labor, Omnia, Vincit", which translates to "Work Conquers All." This phrase, in addition to the coat of arms and the carved goats, emphasises the importance of the woollen industry to the city of Leeds and, in turn, the importance of the public library to both their personal and working lives. Suppose the library door acted as a physical portal, as in religious architecture. In that case, it is possible to conclude that the library patron entered a sanctuary where one could encounter the blessing of literature and knowledge.



Image 7.101. (2023) Detail of Entrance to Great Horton Library. Google Maps.

Like the branch at Great Horton, the imagery on the exterior of the Highfield and Upperthorpe branch libraries also represents 'blessings' through symbolism and iconographical representations above the entrance to the library buildings. Instead of religious dedications, the branch at Highfield (**Image 7.102**) presents the quote by Carlyle to patrons passing under (**7.4.4**). The quote, in addition to the allegorical figures of Literature and Medical Science, emphasises the determination of the public library to fulfil its intended purpose: a place of knowledge and growth for the community. The Upperthorpe Branch Library (**Image 7.103**) mirrors that of Highfield. It uses the space above the branch entrance to include Sheffield's coat of arms, carvings of a working man and a reading woman, and the phrase "Free Public Library." It can be surmised that the imagery placed above the entrance of Highfield and Upperthorpe helped promote civic pride and a sense of purpose in the community. The imagery interacted with each patron as they passed under, just like religious architecture's iconography.

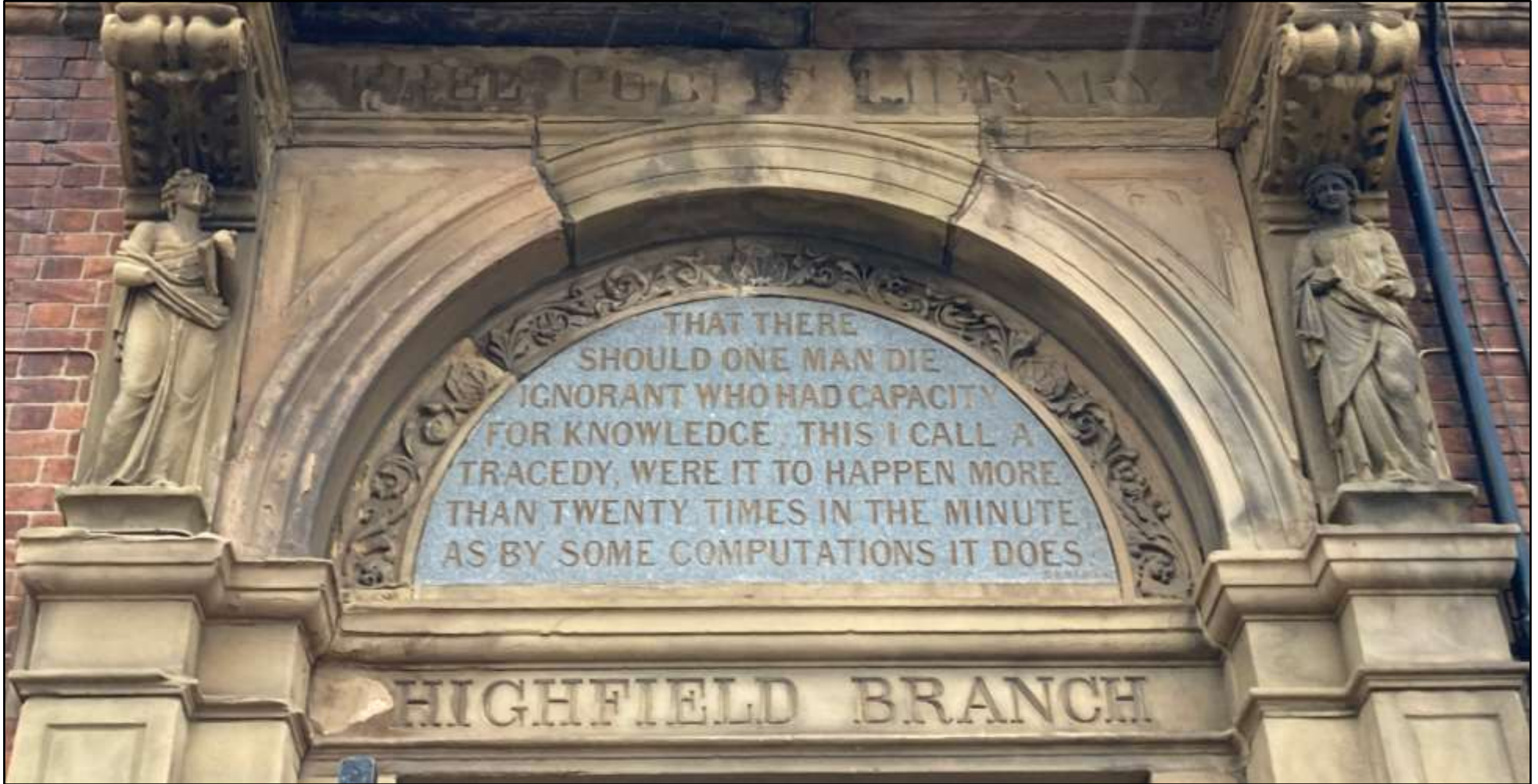
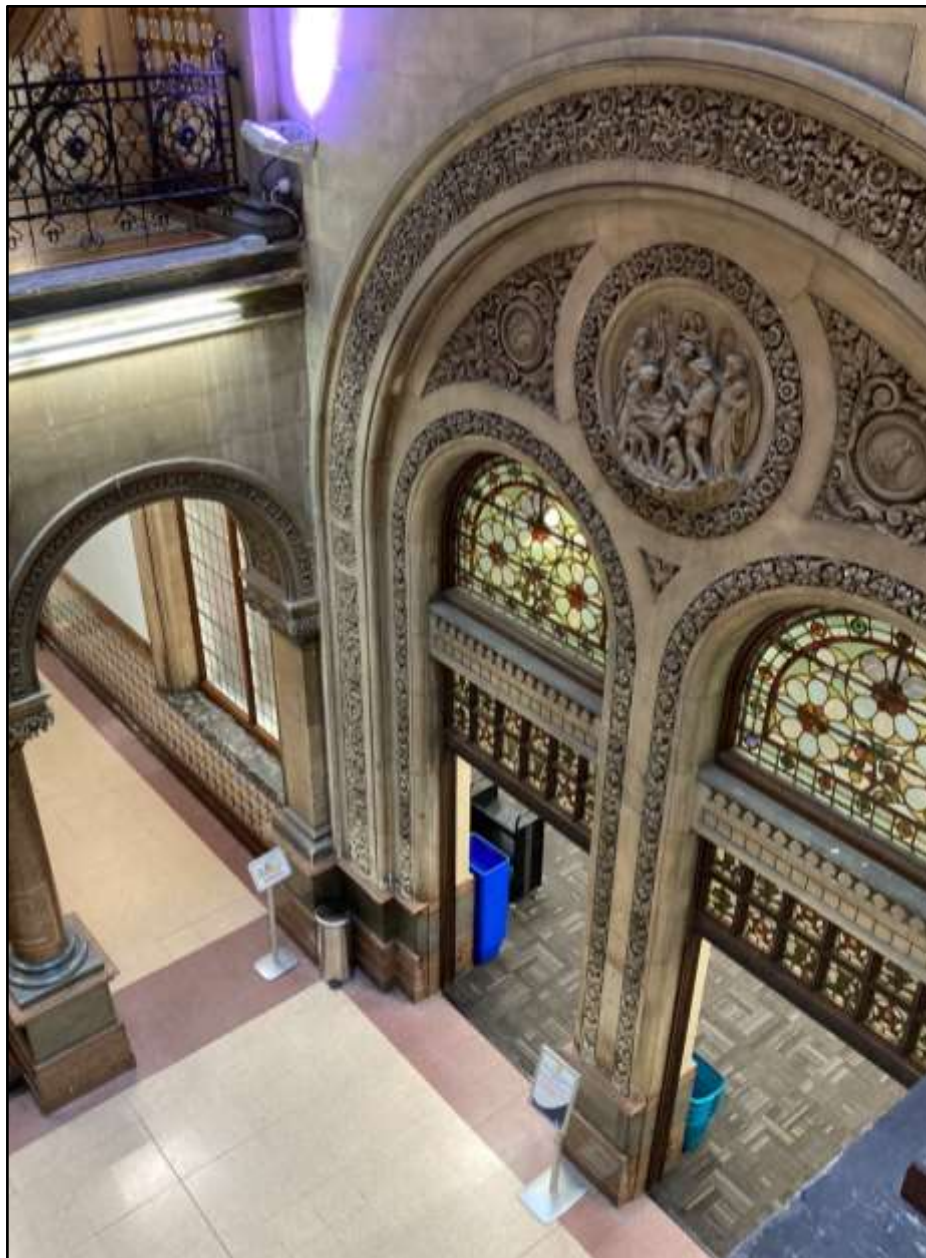


Image 7.102. (2023). Detail of Entranceway. Highfield Branch Library. Author's Own Photo



Image 7.103. (2023). Detail. Upperthorpe Branch Library Entrance. Author's Own Image

Unlike Bradford and Sheffield's external iconography, the central library in Leeds incorporated iconography inside the building. Whereas the Great Horton, Highfield, and Upperthorpe branches were used only as a library, the Municipal Building in Leeds once housed several community services. The space now used as the lending library was once a tax collection space (Leeds Library and Information Service, n.d.). This is reflected in the carving above the door, illustrating citizens participating in tax collection. It is possible to interpret this as a visual message once used to encourage good citizenship, a message then made appropriate to the passing patrons after the conversion to a lending library (**Images 7.104** and **7.105**).



Images 7.104. (2019). Detail of Entrance to Lending Library. Ground Floor. Leeds Central Library. 1884. Author's Own Photo



Images 7.105. (2019). Detail of Entrance to Lending Library. Ground Floor. Leeds Central Library. 1884. Author's Own Photo

Together with examples from both York Minster and branches from the field-study cities, the close relationship between Christian architecture and public libraries connects building iconography and symbolism. Parallels connecting the church portal to the public library's entrance help establish both places as locations capable of physical and intellectual sanctuary. The following section (7.5) takes this connection and establishes how intellectual sanctuary and architecture overlap as seen through specific building elements.

7.6 Intellectual Sanctuary and Public Library Architecture

A paper by Adewale et al. (2020) describes the role of architecture in the modern era. It expresses the

...role of architecture is to create spaces that meet the needs of users. Architecture of buildings is influenced by many factors such as behavioural, socio-cultural and physical which affect the design, meaning and use of space to different individuals and group of people (p.1).

The paper further states that architecture's "purpose is to make places where people feel more human, more alive and more fulfilled" (Adewale, 2020; Moore, 2006). Although a modern interpretation of architecture, this interpretation of architecture reverberates back to the early twentieth century. While it is impossible to know definitively whether or not the architecture of the First World War public library fully encouraged intellectual sanctuary for all patrons, to connect specific architectural features to the ways they might have supported the construction and usage of the public library as intellectual sanctuary during the First World War.

The ideas surrounding intellectual sanctuary and public libraries are twofold: they incorporate the idea of sanctuary as the physical library space and intellectual sanctuary as the personal experience of library users. After examining public library architecture in each field-study location (7.4), it is now possible to investigate similarities and differences between the building features of Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York and to assess if these comparisons helped create an intellectual sanctuary. As mentioned earlier in this stage, some public libraries in this thesis are no longer functioning libraries; some have been demolished altogether. This required archival information gleaned from archives and local studies libraries, not always from individual libraries. Therefore, comparing architectural elements and their role in creating intellectual sanctuary is based on primary source blueprints, correspondence, committee minutes, reports and ephemera. In the cases where the original library still stands, comparisons also include references to photos taken between 2019 and 2023.

Historically, many original Yorkshire public library services found homes in already-established municipal and community buildings. While optimism for the future of library services in Yorkshire was built through launching new library services, the chance of financial loss was great, and the threat of permanent closure was possible. Utilising buildings such as city halls, museums, and Mechanic's Institutes, the pioneers of the public library movement often sought relatively cheap accommodation to house newly established public library services, aiming to build them into lucrative community facilities. While both purpose-built and adapted municipal and community buildings provided physical space for the various public

libraries to survive, they provided different levels of accommodations (Black, 2000; Kelly, 1977; McColvin, 1942; Sykes, 1979). Dedicated spaces for lending, in-house reading and reference, newspapers, and magazines were required for the most efficient provision (Edwards, 1869; Keeling, 1968). Looking at the origins of the various field-study libraries above, seventeen were housed in purpose-built buildings during the First World War. Contrasting to purpose-built establishments, several libraries studied above occupied re-purposed buildings, adapting them into a space for library provision. Three of the twenty libraries from section **7.4** were housed in adapted buildings during the First World War.

There are some important considerations when looking at adapted vs. purpose library buildings, specifically ones that impacted intellectual sanctuary. Purpose-built buildings established spaces for library service from the onset of provision. The architecture of these buildings fits the immediate needs of the library. However, library services in re-purposed buildings were required to fit the library within the pre-existing architecture. An extreme example of the limited space of re-purposed buildings is the branch library at Allerton (Bradford). As seen in Image 7.23 above, blueprints highlight the intentionality and precise planning of the library layout required to fit the service in the provided space. For example, the reference library encompassed the first-floor space, allowing the most room for extended patron use. At the same time, the ground floor accommodated smaller rooms for a lending library and a ladies' reading room, which were not used for extended stays. While not initially intended as a library, converting the cottage into a public library provided a space safe from the elements, providing community access to a free library (Allerton Branch Library, 1916).

There were many different iterations of public library buildings in Yorkshire before and during the First World War. The architectural foundations of both purpose-built and re-purposed library buildings ultimately depended on four factors: financial feasibility, availability of space, civic popularity, and legislative ability (Black, 2012). Existing buildings were reconstructed to fit needs, while purpose-built libraries were constructed outright to fit the community's needs. It is possible to infer that, while the library building provided physical sanctuary from environmental factors, the attention to and its effects on patron experience is what shaped intellectual sanctuary.

7.6.1 Exterior: Free Public Library, Civic, Literary, and Decorative Carvings on Exterior

While some buildings are similar in build, architectural style, and configuration, each tells its story through iconographic symbols and messages. Black (2012) writes

Buildings communicate with us and we with them...the messages invested in, and generated by, library buildings are perhaps more meaningful and potent than those associated with a great deal of other material culture (p.440).

His excerpt emphasises the importance of messages on exterior library buildings and how they promote good citizenship, knowledge, and the dual relationship with library patrons. Examples of this, as previously explored in this research stage, include city coats of arms and other civic emblems that helped establish a sense of place (location) and acknowledged civic involvement. Additional examples come from decorated entranceways encouraging engagement with thought, knowledge, and learning. However, while the above examples are significant to the patron experience, the most prevalent feature was the inclusion of 'Free Library', 'Free Public Library', or 'Branch Library' on the exterior of the library buildings. Not only did these words establish the building as a public library, but they also established a sense of familiarity within the patron experience. While it may seem like an insignificant addition, including the word 'free' to a community building allowed patrons to immediately recognise the public library as free for anyone to use both physically and mentally. This triangulates back to the idea of physical and intellectual sanctuary; whereas the physical library building provides a place for physical shelter (physical sanctuary), it also establishes a place for mental shelter (intellectual sanctuary.)

7.6.2 Interior: Windows, Lighting, and Ventilation

The exterior features of library buildings were vital to the library establishment as they represented patrons' first point of contact. However, the importance of library features did not end once the patron entered the building, for the interior elements were just as important (Cotsgrove, 1901; Duff Brown, 1907; Soule, 1912). Whereas the exterior analysis above assessed the unique elements included on the exterior of the building, this section looks at features common to most libraries yet still encouraged elements of intellectual sanctuary.

The most visible design element was library lighting. Emphasised heavily in early 20th-century literature, it was argued that lighting created by windows and electricity helped improve the

patron experience (Prizeman, 2012; 2022). An example of this was written by Soule (1912), who wrote

The eyesight of everyone that enters the building is dependent on the steady soft incidence, reflection, diffusion, concentration, abundance, of natural and artificial light supplied; their comfort summer and winter depends on the amount of heat tempered or admitted; the clearness of their brains, their ability to read and comprehend depends on methods of ventilation; the permanent health of all obliged to stay any length of time in the library may be seriously affected... (p.108)

While the public library's physical lighting helped construct an intellectual sanctuary by simply allowing the patrons to see within the building. Soule emphasises the importance of lighting type, noting that soft electric light and natural lighting were the most conducive to comfort within a library. It is not possible to know if such electric lighting had a “soft incidence” or “soft diffusion”, but it is possible to see that windows were not lacking in the libraries of the field-study locations in Yorkshire for most of the libraries studied as part of this thesis included many windows and electric light provision.

The natural lighting of the public libraries in the Yorkshire field-study locations helped to encourage healthy eyesight, thus extending the comfort of patrons using the public libraries. However, when it came to the provision of electric lighting, hardship befell the libraries once the Fuel and Lighting Order (1918) was enacted (Kelly, 1977). During the fuel crisis of 1918, the public libraries had to actively plan how to keep the services open, which was especially troublesome during winter's limited daylight. In a time when libraries had to rely on electric lighting, winters were tough on the patron experience. Ultimately, the limitations of the Lighting Order of 1918 were responsible for certain branches to edit their weekly opening hours.

Like the importance of lighting, ventilation and heating were also critical to creating a patron experience conducive to an intellectual sanctuary. As mentioned above in the excerpt from Soule (1912), ventilation helped to build a “...clearness of their brains, their ability to read and comprehend depends on methods of ventilation...” (p.108). The importance placed on ventilation from Soule is corroborated by the numerous Sheffield branch reports written by Hall in the 1917 Annual Report of the Bradford Libraries, Art Gallery and Museum Committee (full excerpts can be found in Appendix E). Furthermore, most municipal buildings, including

public libraries, were heated with coal, coke, and firewood before electric heating. These methods exposed patrons and staff to open flames, hot-to-the-touch heating apparatuses, and heating practices' by-products, such as hazardous fumes and soot. Exposure to hazardous by-products of heating and ill-ventilated rooms continued in several public library services throughout Yorkshire well into the First World War. Whereas Hull's expenditure on potentially hazardous heating and lighting elements increased significantly until at least 1915, Bradford decreased exposure by introducing electrical lighting in the Bradford Central Library building in 1889 (*Scrapbook*, 1886). The differences in heating and ventilation within the different field-study cities are significant and emphasise the different experiences of library patrons during the First World War.

While not an exhaustive list of lighting, ventilation, and heating examples within the years of the First World War, the examples above pinpoint insight into the influence each had on the public library experience. The intersection between intellectual sanctuary, lighting, ventilation, and heating emphasises one idea: that the public library provided a place that not only provided comfort but also promoted better health. It also stressed that exterior and interior elements directly link the creation of the best possible patron experience, including variables encouraging patron comfort (interior) and building architecture (exterior), as a way to build a foundational understanding between library architecture and intellectual sanctuary (Prizeman, 2012).

7.7 Stage 3 Findings and Concluding Thoughts

Several authors in the late 19th century and into the early 20th century noted that the interior of the public library should always take precedence over the exterior due to its direct impact on the user experience, emphasising that library exteriors should be plain and utilitarian (Cotsgreave, 1901; Soule, 1912). While this may have been true for many public libraries in England, the research conducted as part of this stage argues that the exterior plays just as much a role in creating intellectual sanctuary as interior features. While the method of creating elements of intellectual sanctuary may differ (i.e. exterior iconography vs. lighting), the emphasis on patron experience is the same. Through analysis of architectural elements, it is possible to comprehend the interconnectivity between the library patron, public library architecture, and intellectual sanctuary.

By exploring examples of branches in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York, it is possible to conclude that interior and exterior elements integrated into library buildings helped encourage intellectual sanctuary. In this section, through the process set out by the Adapted Framework and Hill's (1993) parallel chronologies elements of his spatiotemporal chronologies focus, it was possible to compare each fieldwork location's similarities and differences, ultimately providing a way to comprehend how interior and exterior features of public libraries worked toward providing an intellectual sanctuary for the public library communities they served. This research stage argues that exterior elements such as purpose-built buildings, iconography, and civic emblems help create a sense of community and civic pride. It also highlights the importance of imagery and iconography and its active role in creating patron experience. Ultimately, this stage argues that the interior and exterior elements work together to create a space of comfort and safety.

The architectural elements highlighted in Stage 3 directly affect the personal experience of the public library patron. The physical experience of the patron, however, leads to the final theme of this research: finding the self within the public library. While the architectural elements of the public library help to encourage elements of intellectual sanctuary, it is now essential to understand how architecture (in addition to library availability and use) encourages one to find themselves within the boundaries of the library, especially during the First World War.

Chapter 8

Stage 4: Finding Self in the Public Library

8.1 Introduction

Chapters 1, 2, and 3 focused on the environmental factors that made up the Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York public libraries during the First World War. The interpretations drawn from archival research and the previous three findings chapters developed a picture of the environmental factors: availability, use, and architecture. Common to all three of these environmental elements is the involvement of each public library service. However, as important as these three factors are in the development and integration of public library provision to public library patrons, the fourth and final theme, finding the self, builds on the environmental factors to paint a picture of the subjective experiences of public library patrons. As seen in the chart in Figure 8.1, availability, use, and architecture combine to influence the finding of self. This, in turn, helps further build the overarching idea of the public library as an intellectual sanctuary.

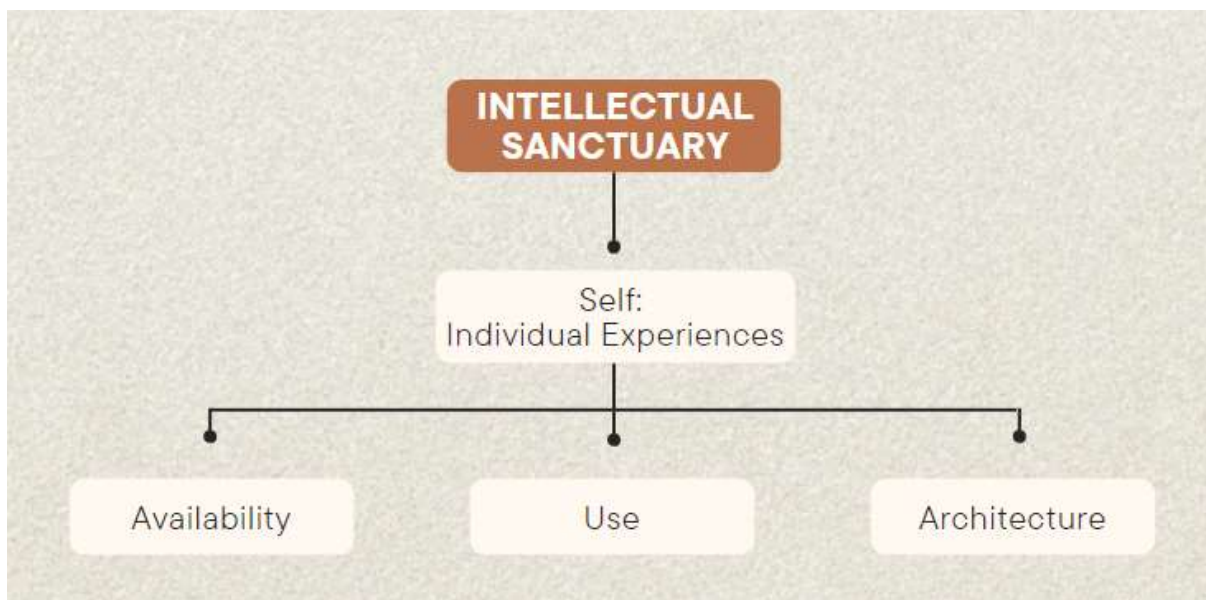


Figure 8.1. Hierarchy of Themes under Intellectual Sanctuary.

User engagement with the library has always been an inherently personal relationship. The duality of exterior and interior factors mirrors the duality of physical sanctuary and intellectual sanctuary. Suppose sanctuary is understood as a physical place and intellectual sanctuary as the personal experience of said place. In that case, it is possible to see that while libraries are important establishments, the patron's personal experience further attaches

meaning to the public library. Unfortunately, due to the nature of archival records, the personal accounts of public library patrons, especially those that fall under the ‘local working-age population’, are difficult to find. Whatever the reasoning for the difficulties in procuring personal accounts of public library use in Yorkshire, it is possible to piece together elements from the previous findings stages with the personal accounts available in the archival record. Doing so furthers our understanding and helps tie together the environmental factors of the public library with the personal experiences of library patrons. Stage 4 pulls together questions addressed in the findings chapters on availability, use, and architecture. It superimposes them over patron experiences, ultimately helping to uncover if the public library influenced the finding of self.

As covered in the literature review, specifically section 2.3.7, the conversation surrounding the relationship between ‘self’ and public libraries is not novel. Elements of finding the self within the public library are present in writings as early as 1894. A significant contribution comes from Thomas Greenwood (1851-1908), who engaged with the theoretical importance of the relationship between the public library and the patron, writing:

The essence of the whole thing is, that the spirit of self-reliance, the spirit of true and genuine manly independence, should be preserved in the minds of the people. If the individual loses his self-reliance, if he learns to live in a craven dependence upon wealthier people rather than upon himself, he incurs mischiefs for which no compensation can be made. It is in the spirit of these words that the Public Library movement will continue to make headway (1894, p. 68).

He implies that unless users (in this case, solely identified as male, but in reality, all genders) of the public library retain their dependence on the public library and the abundant educational benefits of the institution, the enduring sense of self amongst the people could significantly decrease. Greenwood also emphasises the necessity of the public library within the user’s decision process and highlights the relationship between “self-reliance” and the personal decisions of public library users.

While Greenwood illustrates the nature of the public library in the last years of the nineteenth century, the sentiment reverberates into the twentieth century and the years of the First World War (Pateman, 2005; Black, 1996a; Black, 2000b). This final stage of the research takes the idea of the self and connects it to the personal experiences of library patrons. It takes the

decisions of public library patrons and acknowledges if such decisions help to establish intellectual sanctuary within the public library.

8.1.1 Outline of Stage 4

Stage 4 adheres to the following outline to achieve the research objectives and aims mentioned in (1.3). Section 8.1 introduces the stage and engages with the framework developed for this study, focusing on the methodological processes, the primary use of qualitative resources, and how the stage uses the terms intellectual sanctuary and ‘self’ interact. Section 8.2 introduces this stage's research processes, including the relationship to the Adapted Framework, research aims and questions. 8.3 progresses to present the findings of the final stage of the research, which focuses on individual experiences within the public library rather than quantitative data. Section 8.4 builds upon the previous by relating findings on self and user experience to the overall idea of intellectual sanctuary. The final section (8.5) overviews the stage by reiterating the framework elements used to guide the chapter, the specific parts of the research design and an emphasis on the unique hardships this stage of the study faced. This concluding section also summarises the relationship between the creation of the self, the public library, and the First World War, focusing on the interconnectivity of self and intellectual sanctuary.

8.2 Research Process: Research Methods/Research Questions and Aims

This final findings chapter introduces and outlines Stage 4: finding self. As with the previous research stages, qualitative and quantitative primary source information from archival fieldwork provided essential insight into the personal experiences of public library patrons and their engagement with the themes presented in Stages 1, 2, and 3. This final stage of the research seeks to engage with the following research objectives:

3. To investigate if elements of availability use, architecture, and the development of self, promoted the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuaries for the local working-age population of Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) during the First World War.

4. To understand if unanticipated conflicts, specifically the First World War, heightened the need for intellectual sanctuaries available to the local working-age population in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York).

8.2.1 Adapted Framework Connection

Stage 4 implements the simplified version of the full Adapted Framework (**Figure 3.11**) seen below (**Figure 8.2**). As mentioned earlier, the Adapted Framework is based on the combination of archival practices and social science methodological processes to formulate a method to explore if the public libraries in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire were conducive for the local working-age population to find an idea of the self within the public library.

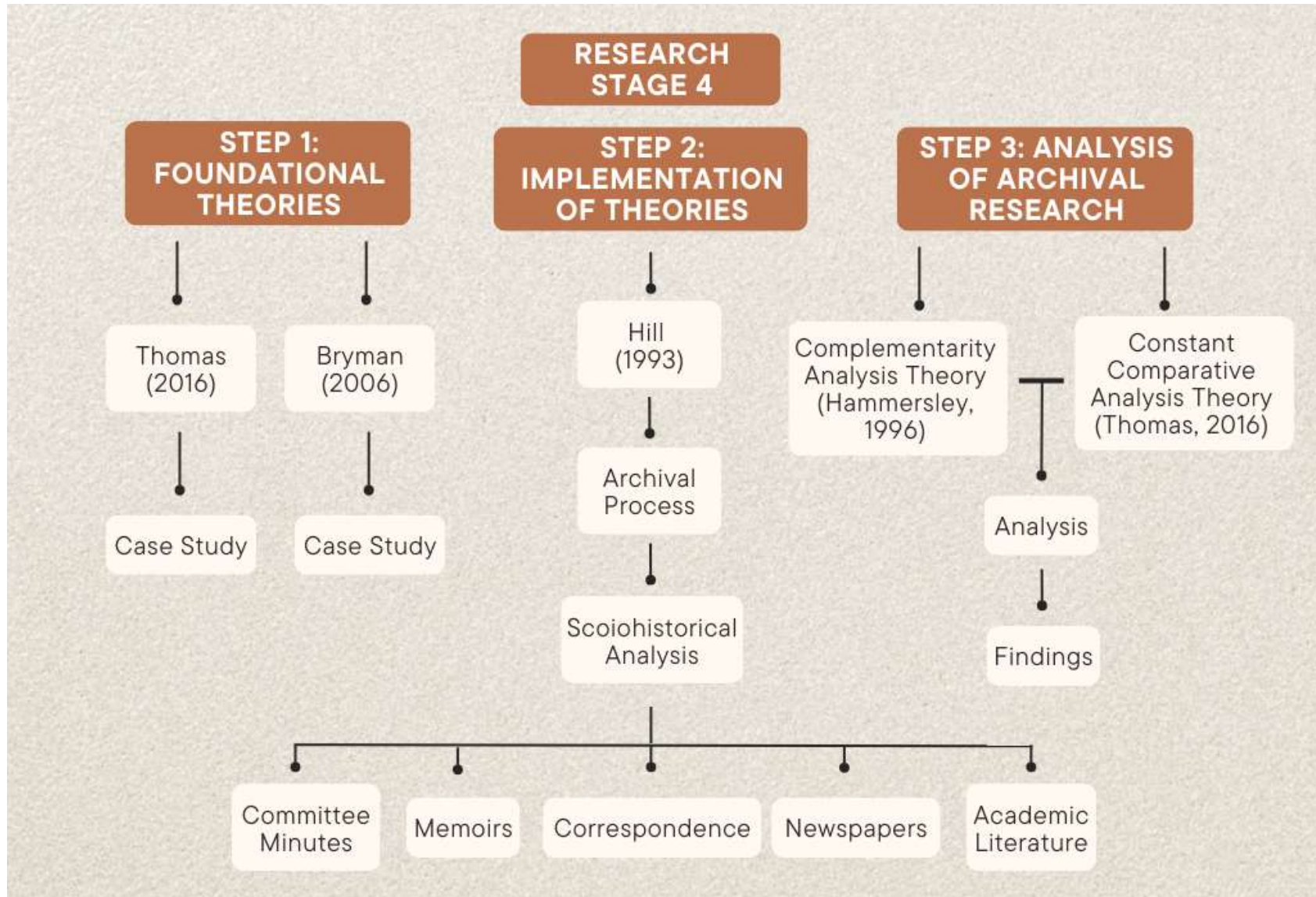


Figure 8.2. Adapted Framework for Stage 4.

As previously noted in the explanation of Figure 3.11, Steps 1 and 3 implement the same processes throughout the research stages (**Figure 8.2**). Step 2, however, utilises unique archival documentation to differentiate the stage from the previous three (**Figure 8.2**).

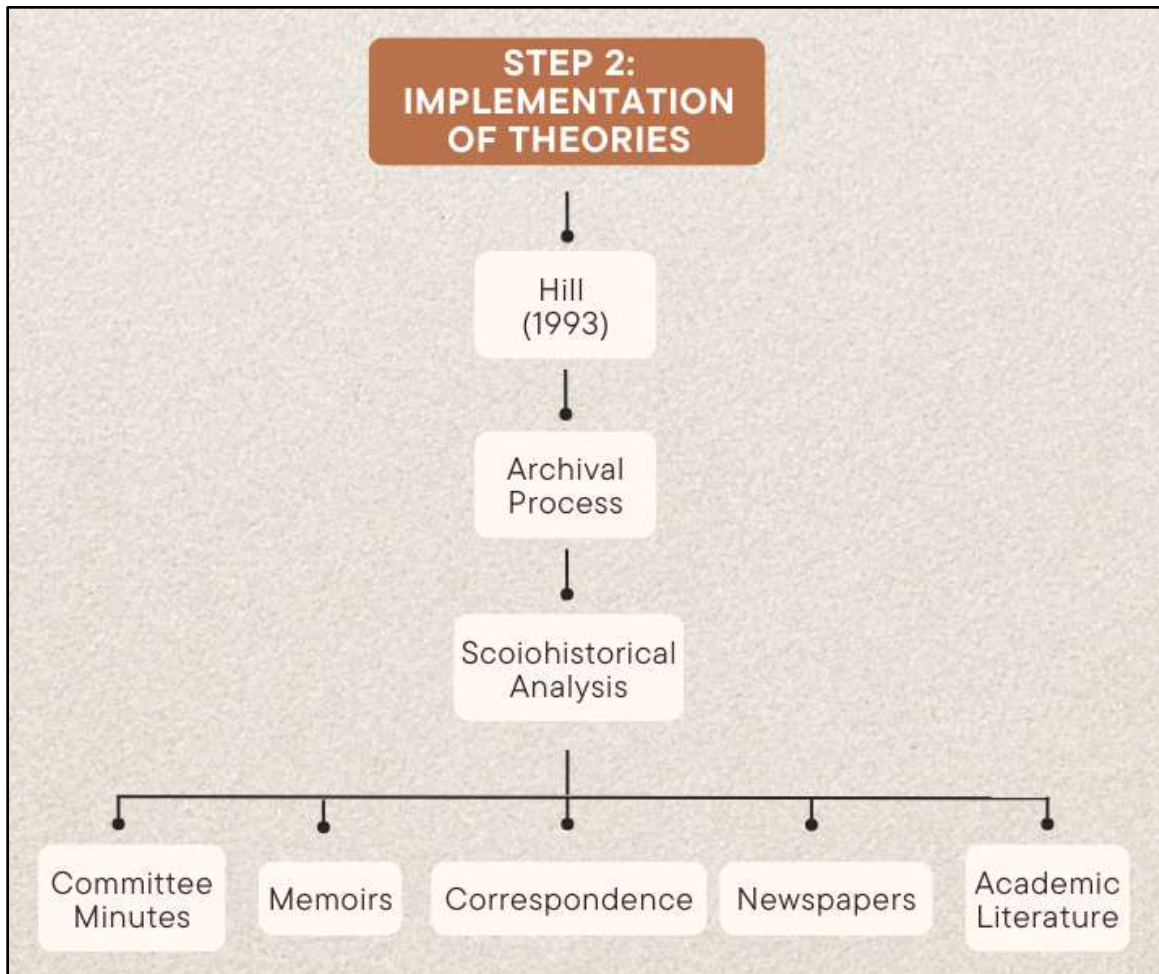


Figure 8.3. Detail. Adapted Framework. Step 2: Implementation of Theories.

This second step of the research stage utilises Hill's (1993) idea of Sociohistorical Analysis as a way to work through the various memoirs, personal recollections, academic literature, newspaper cuttings, transcripts of correspondence, and committee minutes to view and understand the patron experience within the public library.

Overall, Stage 4 utilises analysis processes outlined earlier in the thesis (**Figure 3.11**), which ultimately encouraged analysis of the relationship between architecture, intellectual sanctuary, public libraries, and patrons before, during, and after the First World War. These relationships are highlighted in the findings addressed below.

8.3 Public Library User Experience in First World War Yorkshire

Findings from previous stages highlighted the environmental importance of elements such as use, availability, and architecture regarding the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary. Before exploring the relationship between the public library and finding self from individual subjective experiences, it is essential to paint a picture surrounding elements that contribute to the overall patron experience. This is achieved by analysing archival documents highlighting the experience of the individual patron. Analysis of documents (as noted in **Figure 8.2**) such as personal correspondence, newspaper articles, memoirs, and committee minutes ultimately help to visualise further how personal experiences encouraged the finding of self within the walls of the public library (**8.4**).

It is important to remember that the outbreak of the First World War began an extreme change in societal expectations and social conventions, even more so between the local working-age population and their experiences within public libraries (DeGroot, 1996; Braybon, 1981). As acknowledged earlier in this thesis, these changes included additional female responsibilities at home and in the workforce (**Chapter 4**), the rationing of fuel and food, which caused turbulence on the commercial and domestic fronts (**Chapter 4 and 5**), and new understandings regarding the relationships between the library services and the patrons they served (**Stages 1 and 2**) (Kelly, 1977; Minto, 1932; Ogle, 1897). Patron-focused publications, such as the National Home Reading Union (NHRU), emphasised the impact of the above changes on society and public library use. In the following excerpt, the NHRU highlights the importance of the public library to those remaining at work during the conflict. The article *To Keep Sane* illustrated the need for reading during the turbulent time of War rationing, austerity, and conflict, stating that people have been

...cut off from luxuries and comforts and familiar habits; but more vitally still, a strain on our inward temper... In loss, in discomfort, in anxiety, we can keep our heads clear and our thoughts high. This is one of the things in which reading helps us... (1916).

The NHRU's emphasis on reading, although expressed nationally in this example, helps to provide a picture of the experiences amongst the local working-age population and their ties to reading. It is even more representative of the impact of reading and book access on communities during the First World War. The need for distraction was a direct consequence

of the increased social changes, which were evermore present within the local working-age population of Yorkshire.

Greenwood (1893) furthers the idea surrounding the need for books in a time of heightened turmoil by investigating the relationship between the public library and the working population of the late nineteenth century. While the scope of Greenwood's quote reflects the late nineteenth century, his sentiments remain true against the circumstances of the local working-age population. In the example below, Greenwood paints a picture of the hardships experienced by the working population of Barnsley, an industrial city in Yorkshire. As a reaction to the establishment of the public library in Barnsley, he focuses on the situation of the working population, explaining,

...He [working person] looked upon that [public library] as an end in itself highly to be recognised and as one of the most useful objects of an institution of that sort; because, in days like these, when there was so much hard, dreary, and monotonous work in the world, when the time of men was taken up by the labour which was forced upon them by this fierce battle of modern competition, it was of vast importance that there should be the means offered to persons of all classes that would afford them some opportunity of brightening their lives and relieving the monotony of the conditions which pressed upon all men who were engaged in work in these times...(1893, p. 132).

Greenwood's inclusion of detailed imagery involving not only the labour conditions of the working population but also the conditions surrounding the industrial North reinforces the hardships that the local working-age population endured, including monotonous factory work, smog-filled streets, and an increased lack of individuality (Altick, 1957; Black, 2000; Greenwood, 1893; Sturges, 2006).

The above changes to society and primary source excerpts emphasise the personal turmoil experienced in English communities throughout the First World War. Now that a connection between conflict and consequences felt by the local working-age community has been established, it is possible to go further and connect the different ways in which availability, use, and architecture affected public library experiences.

8.3.1 Environmental Factors and the Relationship to Self.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 mentioned that the circumstances surrounding availability, use, and architecture were integral in providing spaces conducive to patron use. Some of the most prevalent arguments within England's broader public library history ask if public library provision encouraged equal opportunities amongst patrons, which inevitably circle back to the environmental factors of library availability, use, and architecture (Black, 2000a; Cart, 1992; English Heritage, 2014; Evans and Sturges, 1996; Kelly, 1977). For example, not all libraries allocate separate rooms for men and women. In the case of the York Public Library, all patrons were required to use a singular space, regardless of gender. Not only did a singular space mean the mixing of genders, but it also meant the integration of library material once separated by the gender gap. In this letter dated the 7th of October 1918, the secretary of the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women writes to the Chief Librarian of York regarding providing apt reading materials for women seeking employment. It reads as follows:

7th October 1918
The Secretary,
Central Bureau for the Employment of Women
5 and 6, Princess Street
London, W.1

Dear Madam,

Replying to your of the 4th inst. I shall be glad to place in our Reading Room a copy of "Women's Employment" if presented regularly, as desired. We have no separate Reading Room for Women. Of course, I have to accept this gift subject to any action my Committee may take, but I feel sure that this course will be approved.

Yours Faithfully,

City Librarian
(*Letter Book*, YEDU/5/3/3/13, 1918)

This letter acknowledges the demand for material aimed at women and highlights the importance of including reading material for all genders in the single reading room. This correspondence is significant as it identifies the consequences of the change in domestic responsibilities women faced as a result of the First World War. Using *Women's Employment* as an example, it is possible to see the influence access to women-focused publications had on the female public library user. As a published resource from the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women, *Women's Employment* provided resources to "deal with the

professions and employments of educated women and journal of the students' career association" (Central Bureau for the Employment of Women, 1912). Including this journal within the shared space of the York Public Library allowed women, specifically those displaced by the return of men from the First World War, to proactively seek re-employment resources. By diversifying the library stock of books, magazines, newspapers, and periodicals, specifically those aimed at women, the York Central Library proactively created a space that catered to both men and women, ultimately providing the individual patron with the opportunity to decide for themselves what to read, when to read, and where to read, thus increasing the opportunity for personalised experience within the libraries.

The availability of library stock also had a considerable effect on the patron experience. Using Sheffield as an example, the fieldwork conducted at the Sheffield City Archives uncovered a number of accounts highlighting the uncertainty of the daily library stock within the local library. For example, in a letter to the Public Library Committee, the Reverend Rennie J. Brown of Darnall Road voices his concern about the current provision in the Darnall Reading Room. His letter reads

Rev. Rennie J. Brown,
The [xxx] 240, Darnall Road, Sheffield.

5.6.18

Dear Sir,

We [xx] rather at a disadvantage in the Darnall Reading Room of late. London papers were not here again on Monday. And The Times has been lacking for weeks, for which the Telegraph & Yorkshire papers do not provide a substitute as to official lists in the days and certain other items. I am not writing in my own interest alone. Yours

Faithfully, Rennie J. Brown.

Sent to "Mr. Alderman W.H. Britain, Chairman, Public Library Committee" (*Report on the Branch Libraries and Delivery Stations*, CA-L/2/3, 1917)

In his letter, Rev. Rennie Brown highlights a lack of newspaper provision at the Darnall Branch Library. He notes that his comments were made as a single patron and on behalf of Darnall's wider community of library patrons. The letter emphasises the patron's need for reliable and constant service, especially during the First World War. However, in many cases, changes in

availability were out of the hands of library services, often having no say in publication delays. The following note, attached to the postcard from Reverend Brown, helps to balance out this assumption. It reads

June 15th 1918.

The Managers at Weston's, Change Alley, informed me that Mrs. Kay received all, but the London Papers between 6 and 7 a.m. every morning.

The London Papers arrive on Mondays at 8-30 am other days about 7-45 am. These are dispatched to Mrs. Kay as soon as possible. I am informed by the Manager that there are occasions on which the Parcel containing the London Papers go astray on the Railway, and this causes a late delivery to Mrs. Kay (*Report on the Branch Libraries and Delivery Stations, CA-L/2/3, 1917*).

Book availability inevitably fluctuated based on the different loan practices of each library service (for example, in the York Public Library, 1916-1919). However, expectations were different regarding the availability of magazines and newspapers. There was a patron expectation that libraries would provide consistent access to the daily or multi-week magazines and newspapers housed there. For many patrons, these magazines and newspapers were the only way to receive news, especially with news of the War ("Libraries in War Time", 24 October 1916). The letter and postcard above highlight the contentiousness between the patron and the library staff, emphasising both the patron's expectations and the unpredictability of situations out of the control of the library staff. The wavering external availability of magazines and newspapers, as seen in the letter from Rev. Rennie Brown, directly affected the patron, for it complicated the patron's access to information and obstructed the subjective experience of the patron within the library. This ultimately hindered their understanding of the world (Jast, 1915). A lack of external access to such literature also took away the ability of the patron to understand their civic role in the community ("Public Library Work during War Time", 1916). The examples above, in addition to the commentary of the historical literature, provide direct insight into the subjective patron experience at the time of the First World War. These sources highlight the connection between patron and current events, significantly when their livelihood on the home front depended on the situations on the continent.

Furthering the exploration of individual experiences within the public library, another critical factor regarding the patron experience included environmental provisions. One of the most helpful resources uncovered throughout the archival research again comes from the Sheffield City Archives. The *Sheffield Public Library Remark Book* (CA-L/2/2) provides many years' worth of visitor comments from 1888 to the First World War. One of the most prominent contributors to the *Remark Book* was a patron called A. E. Steedman. He began his entries on November 10, 1910, and continued regular entries until December 1917. His first entry reads

November 16th, 1910

Cannot the Ref Library be heated to a reasonable temperature and ventilated apart from draughts from open windows? A thermometer might be placed in the room which certainly is not attractive in cold weather but _____, even to a lover of books. I have been sat here for hours unable to do anything.

A. E. Steedman

And his last

December 19th, 1917

The Central New room is again very cold. 52 at 10:15, 18 degrees too low. There can be no excuse. _____ was received today, there is the heating apparatuses and _____. I again suggest as I _____ a few years ago in regard to the Ref Library that the New Rooms be either heated sufficiently or that the Library be closed and the _____ of the staff be dispended worth. The library is not attractive _____, and dangerous to the health of the _____ and the _____.

A. E. Steedman

Both entries note the poor conditions that befell the library before and during the inter-war winters, noting its strong effect on patrons. Steedman's entries question the intentions of the Library Committee in Sheffield, emphasising the need for a well-heated and ventilated reading room and reference library. He highlights how bad environmental situations caused him to be "...sat here for hours unable to do anything" and how it was "dangerous to the health of the [patrons]..." These expressions of external environmental experiences demonstrate a clear tie to the mixed subjective experiences of library patrons.

While the personal concerns in the correspondence of Rev. Brown from York and the visitor comments of Steedman are similar in their concerns of public library environmental variables, they differ in the institutional response from library leaders. As noted above, there was a clear response from the York Public Library leaders (attached to the postcard from Brown) actively addressing the issues. The *Remark Book*, in contrast, specifically Steedman's comments, have little acknowledgement from library leaders. Some of Steedman's entries have official acknowledgements, but these are rare, and overall, there is no specific note stating that conditions within the central library would be addressed. At the same time, it is impossible to create a comprehensive picture of the personal experiences of library patrons. Insight into first-hand accounts such as those from Rev. Brown and Steedman helps to create a sense of library experience. This experience further connects patrons to environmental factors and vice versa. It also helps to connect the influences of certain circumstances on the finding of self and, ultimately, intellectual sanctuary. The element of self is inherently personal; the 'self' is undoubtedly influenced by environmental factors established and maintained by the library service. While the correspondence from York emphasises the library's responsibility in providing access to diverse material, the *Remark Book* from Sheffield highlights the opportunity for the individual patron to influence environmental factors, ultimately creating their comfort, which translates to the finding of self and the idea of intellectual sanctuary.

8.3.2 Establishing Self and Intellectual Sanctuary for Different Groups: Articulating the User Experience and the Power of Archival Silence

The above section (8.3.1) sought to look at the different environmental factors that affected the patron experience within the public library. While this is important in establishing the relationship between environmental and subjective factors, connecting other elements, such as patron demographics and personal experience outside the library, is also integral as it can further build a clearer picture of how one finds oneself in the public library. Focusing on primary sources exploring patron experience, this section explores how personal experience and finding self was a catalyst for creating intellectual sanctuary. Highlighted below are three demographics: women, children, and other members of the local working-age population. It also acknowledges the idea of leisure and if such an idea helped create a sense of community and self.

Power in Voices, Power in Silences

There is a definitive gap in the archival accumulation of local working-age voices in relation to the user experience within the public library. It is mainly present in the lack of accessible written narratives from the local working-age population, specifically during the First World War. Personal accounts have no doubt been challenging to find, and it is the job of this section to expand on such silences to emphasise that while there is power in voices, there is also power in silence.

In the previous three findings chapters, the research looked at the interrelationships between the free public library as an institution, those leading the public library services, and the diversity of patrons. The findings from these stages illustrated the intricacies of said relationships, highlighting how they made library services accessible during the First World War. However, as mentioned earlier, archival gaps (8.1.4) uncovered that not all written relationships have survived in the historical narrative. Carter (2006) emphasises this by noting, "...it is impossible for archives to reflect all aspects and elements of society....inevitably, there are distortions, omissions, erasures, and silences in the archive. Not every story is told" (2006, p. 216). Many marginalised groups have been silenced throughout history, leading to a severe lack of recorded experiences (Carter, 2006; Cook, 1997; Garnar, 2018; Gutsche-Miller, 2020). This is no exception to the local working-age population of the field-study cities, where many were denied the opportunity, the confidence, or the time to voice their opinions (Carter, 2004; Bradley, 1999). Local working-age population accounts are generally abundant, including those detailing factory life, domestic duties, and changes in expectations from the outbreak of war. Archival research conducted in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York uncovered a definitive gap in the voices of the local working-age population in relation to the user experience of the public library. This is especially present in the lack of written narrative surrounding the public library and the local working-age population during the First World War. The following subsections focus on primary source materials to highlight the user experience within specific demographics of library users, noting possible reasons for silences while also considering the effect such silences had on personal experiences and the overall idea of finding self.

Individual Experiences and Underrepresented Demographics: Women & Children

The role of women during the First World War is unmistakable. Previous sections illustrated how women held the home front as the men went to war (6.3), learned new trades at the

height of the munitions boom (3.3), and increased domestic responsibilities (6.6). In addition to such civic changes, there were significant changes in how women used public libraries (see Stage 2 for changes through First World War usage numbers). While quantitative research is essential to tell the story of the public libraries in the five field-study cities, additional insight into the personal experiences of the local working-age women within the First World War public library is also necessary.

The changing dynamic of females at the home front, especially those under the umbrella of the local working-age population, challenged preconceived notions of the relationship between women and public libraries. Before beginning this project, I gravitated toward the idea that the public library was a natural location to find reprieve from the struggles of life during the First World War. Months of combing literature encouraged this belief, finding many hardships and struggles placed on women during the First World War. It continued my belief that women in Yorkshire needed refuge within a location removed from factory work and the home. However, during the fieldwork stages of this thesis, I became aware of a noticeable gap in the historical record. The archival silences within Yorkshire public library history, especially surrounding women, were deafening, and it remained to be seen if the women of Yorkshire definitively used the public library as a sanctuary. There is no conclusive solution to questions such as: Did women count their experience in the public library with such reverence? Did women use the library as a place to escape the hardships of the First World War? Did women use the public library for the same reasons and with the same methods as before the outbreak of the conflict? However, with the available archival documentation, it is possible to paint a general picture of the female experience within the public library. By utilising the limited available records directly related to the female experience, it is possible to emphasise what it was like to experience not only environmental factors such as availability, use, and architecture but also show the individual experiences within the public library. Through these paths, a fuller understanding of self is developed.

Mr Bailey, a community member living in Edwardian England, gives an example of the role of women during the later Edwardian period, explaining that it was “a hard life for women in the country, and in the town too, where they used to go into the factory and bring their family up too...so apart from the family, the wife had to look after the men as well” (Braybon, 1981, p. 162). The First World War saw many men sent overseas, leaving women to run the various factions of society historically run by male citizens, extending the additional expectations

throughout the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and through its conclusion. This included women and children taking on additional responsibilities at home and work with the expectation that they manage both simultaneously (Hughes, 2014; Moore and Pullan, 2015). While the social expectations of women in Yorkshire mirrored those throughout the rest of the country between 1914 and 1918, it intensified throughout the conflict due to the increase in the need for munitions (Hughes, 2014; Moore and Pullan, 2015). This, alongside the constant loss of men to the War, saw a dramatic change in women's roles during the First World War, signifying an increased need for sanctuary away from the bustling factories and increased domestic responsibilities (Braybon, 1981; DeGroot, 1996; Stevenson, 1984).

Analysing the gendered use of public libraries during the First World War (**Stage 2**) established a clear understanding of the increase in female use within the five field-study locations in Yorkshire (**6.3**). For example, in Leeds, women accounted for 43.39% of borrowers before the War and increased to 53.95% after the outbreak (**Table 6.7**). Bradford also recorded an increased female use. A search through *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Libraries, Art Gallery and Museum Committee For the Year Ending August 12th, 1917*, provides the following statement:

...one of the effects of the war is shown in the reduction of the number of male and the increase of female borrowers from the libraries, as may be seen from the appended tables...

The report then goes on to say

...there is an increase in the total number of books issued, and this is probably due to the fact that people are turning to literature as a distraction from the inevitable anxieties of these times... (Libraries, Art Galleries and Museum Committee, 1917)

This report references the following table:

Table 8.1*Volumes Issued at Bradford Central Lending Library by Gender, 1910-1917*

<u>Department</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>
Men's Lending	107,074	107,523	94,983	93,048		78,199	71,085
Women's Lending	80,425	80,320	84,153	82,741		93,192	90,293
Totals	187,499	187,843	179,136	175,789	171,459	171,391	161,378

Note. Adapted from *Agendas and Annual Reports: Library Committee (1913-1917)*. BBD7/1. West Yorkshire Archive Service.

The figure above highlights the fluctuation of women using the Bradford Central Lending Library, showing over a 10,000 increase in volumes issued amongst the women of Bradford from 1913-1914 to 1914-1915. This report makes an important point. It directly correlates the increased book issues and the number of female users to the “inevitable anxieties of these times” (*Forty-Seventh Annual Report, 1917*). Such comments help to emphasise the additional troubles caused by the conflict and highlight the understanding that the War affected all levels of society. These *Committee Minute* entries, as well as the quantitative data of Table 8.1, are essential to understanding the environmental factors that affected women’s library use; however, as they come from an official capacity and not from first-hand accounts, it is difficult to pinpoint if such “inevitable anxieties” were felt in the individual experiences of the female patron.

Archival research revealed that many accessible correspondences, remarks, suggestions, and oral histories focused on the male experience within the public library. Female-focused testimonies and comments from the local working-age population during the First World War are even rarer in the historical records of Yorkshire. For example, the *Sheffield Remark Book* includes many years of observations from A.E. Steedman (8.3.1). However, between 1888 and 1920, only a handful of entries came from the female perspective. One entry recounts women’s trouble in the public library regarding the women in the Ladies’ Reading Room and the constant male gaze. Pricilla Johnson writes

March 7, 1905,

I think if the door that leads from the Lending into the Women's Reading Room ought to be done something to.

It's not pleasant for respectable girls & Women to be stared at by Boys and then going to and from their reading room.

Pricilla Johnson
(*Remark Book*, 1881)

Following this comment, library staff acknowledged Johnson's concern. The official response reads

No action to be taken.

[signed]

It is encouraging that library leaders commented on this concern of Pricilla Johnson, for this was not always the case in Sheffield. However, while the response encouraged acknowledgement of patron concerns, the library-issued response also suggests that staff did not take Ms. Johnson's concern seriously. Due to being the sole female comment in the *Remark Book*, it is impossible to fully know if such a dismissal from the library staff deterred other women from expressing their views to the library leaders. The available archival documents in the Sheffield City Archive also make it challenging to know if women voiced other comments or complaints within the public library context. The distinct lack of first-hand female accounts relating to their experiences within the public library extends to the other five field-study locations, further complicating a complete understanding of the subjective experiences of females within public libraries. However, while it is impossible to understand their subjective experiences due to the archival silences, it is possible to gather that women did find comfort in the Wartime public library as numbers increased for many field-study locations. Whether or not this comfort was solely found in literature, in the public library environment, or both remains unclear. What is clear is the continued use of the public library in times of uncertainty and added stress.

Like the change in female domestic responsibilities mentioned above, the responsibilities and expectations of the local working-age children also increased due to the First World War, as many were required to pick up additional domestic responsibilities at home and in their places

of employment. It was expected, particularly in the industrial north, for children to leave school after twelve to begin working towards a family income: many children ended up leaving their education to assist their family in earning a wage (Denham, 2006; De Groot, 1996; Stevenson and Kershaw, 1984).

Much like the archival silences present regarding the individual female public library experience, there is a significant gap in first-hand written experiences from the perspective of the local working-age children during the First World War. Some exceptions are found in memoirs illustrating childhood experiences during the First World War, some of which reference trips to the public library (Albaya, 1984). While these memoirs are essential in piecing together a retrospective understanding of personal experiences within the public library, at the same time, they do not illustrate an in-depth account of experience at the time of use. Archival research undertaken for this thesis displayed archival documentation referencing children, but more often than not, from an adult's perspective. For example, many accounts come from adults such as librarians, library staff, council members, headmasters, and headmistresses who speak on behalf of the children. One instance of an adult speaking for a young person is found in the Hull Public Library Committee letter by Igna Hetland, the Social Secretary at Hargreaves Bros & Co. Limited. It reads

1 December 1913

Hargreaves Bros & Co. Limited
Social Secretary's Department,
Gypsyville, Hull
29th November, 1913

I am desirous of putting before the Committee an appeal which I hope will meet with favourable consideration. A Social secretary of the above works I have become very conscious of the lack of sound and suitable literature in our factory. In the dinner hour, especially, one has glimpses of undesirable books and magazines, and little can be done to abolish this without substituting better. In other towns, certain factories are treated as branch distributing office in connection with a Free Library, thus bringing good books within easy reach of every employee. Could not such a privilege be granted by the Hull Libraries Committee? It 50 to 100...books were put to the disposal of our girls, I feel sure they would make every use of such an opportunity, and the splendid results on a social and moral sense would be unquestionable. The Company would, in all cases, act as guarantor, and the necessary rules and regulations would be strictly enforced. Realising the great need of moral training, I think no better step can be taken than by

putting healthy literature within the easiest possible reach of our factory girls.

Hoping this appeal will receive careful consideration.

I remain,

Yours truly,

Igna M. Hetland

(*Minutes of Proceedings*, 1913)

While this letter was written before the outbreak of the First World War, the concern for an underrepresented demographic remains. In her letter, Ms Hetland emphasises the poor accessibility of the working girls to “sound and suitable literature” within the factory. She ultimately questions the possibility of establishing a branch library within the factory. Ms Heland acts on behalf of the factory girls by speaking for the girls rather than for themselves. The archival silences are deafening when it comes to working children. While archival documentation like the one from Igna Hetland acts as a window into the lives of underrepresented demographics, it is still an example of the lack of experiences directly from such demographics.

While the silences in the archival record regarding the personal experiences of working children, or those through an adult perspective, are significant in the archival repositories accessed as part of this research, environmental accounts of children using the public library are clear. Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York all had juvenile accommodations integrated into their primary Lending and Reference Libraries. However, few had separate children’s accommodations. The exception is Bradford, where a number of branch libraries incorporated separate areas for children to access books. It was not until after the First World War that Sheffield and Leeds established their children's accommodation within the central library (*City Libraries of Sheffield*, 1956; *Partial History of Leeds Central Library*, 2018). It is possible that, due to the intimidation of adult-focused spaces, lack of a designated space for juveniles and a gap in specific children’s staff, adults found it necessary to speak on behalf of children. Such a statement is corroborated by W. Albaya (1984), whose memoir emphasises the intimidation of the public library in the eyes of a child. She illustrates the library as

...a Victorian building with narrow windows, and railings separating it from the street. A door at the side gave access to a lobby which led into the library proper, remarkable because the only thing on view was a high, solid mahogany counter with no books visible. I found it very

daunting at the age of eight, when I first joined, to stand on tiptoe at this counter to ask a somewhat stern and unsympathetic librarian for a book of fairy stories. If I had been capable of putting my impressions into words at this time, I would have said that the whole atmosphere seemed to deter rather than to encourage reading. This was emphasised by the rather reluctant way the librarians seemed to vanish into the dim interior, to reappear with a single volume they thought you might like to read. Compared with the library scene in those far-off days which appeared to me to be dull and uninteresting, modern libraries overflow with books, and are full of light, colour, and exciting displays (*A Sheffield Childhood: 1911-1921*, 1984).

The intensity with which Albaya depicts the First World War library demonstrates that while juvenile library provision was present throughout the conflict, it did not allow openly free access to material, but rather, access based on librarian and staff choices. Although Albaya's memoir was written almost 80 years after the conflict, it is an essential commentary on the accessibility, use, and architecture experienced by a First World War child and how such environmental factors influenced the child's personal experiences within the public library.

The research process has emphasised a gap in the archival record regarding children's experiences within the public library in Yorkshire during the First World War. A comparison of the correspondence between Ms Hetland and Albaya (1984) suggests that the adult-focused impact of public library provision is heavily idealised, while the child-focused reality of the public library was more genuine. It is difficult to entirely paint a picture of the children's experiences in the public library during the First World War without direct first-hand accounts from 1914 to 1918; however, through the environmental factors highlighted in the available archival documentation, it is evident that the public library during the First World War was not entirely conducive for individual use by the local working-age children.

Individual Experiences, Local Working-Age Population, and Leisure and Free Time

The individual experiences of the women and children referenced above have provided limited archival evidence surrounding the individual experience, noting the distinct gap in first-hand accounts within the archival record. This section builds on such experiences, explores the subjective experiences of the local working-age population in the public library, and addresses the relationship between leisure, free time, and the public library.

The turn of the twentieth century brought tighter rules regarding overtime and extended workweeks. These new rules emphasised the negative consequences of overworked employees and encouraged time off from labour. The outbreak of the First World War changed labour dynamics amongst the working population, causing both free and leisure time to become cherished commodities (Altick, 1957). Time away from the factories and other locations of labour allowed the men, women, and children to spend non-working hours attending to their heightened domestic responsibilities and, at times, partaking in leisure activities outside their working day (Altick, 1957). While free time increased due to the passage of labour laws, such laws could not promise increased leisure time. Although labour laws limited working hours, the local working-age population did not always have time for leisure activities. The leaders of the public library were aware of the struggles of the local working-age population, and it was through the implementation of diversifying hours of the central public libraries, delivery stations, travelling libraries, and school libraries that the local working-age population used the establishments (DeGroot, 1996; Stevenson, 1984).

However, while the regulation of the working week had been standardised to an extent after the turn of the century, an increase in war work, including the production of munitions and other war commodities, disrupted established daily routines among the local working-age population (Braybon and Summerfield, 1987; DeGroot, 1996; Pycroft, 1994). An example comes from Leeds, where women took up munitions work at the Barnbow Munitions Factory. They faced dangerous work environments there, leading to several munitions explosions and deathly exposure to toxic materials, including gas and production waste (*How the Shells Were Filled*, 1919; Leeds Library, 2016). Images **8.1** and **8.2** below highlight the working conditions in the Barnbow Factory. Many of the women depicted perished due to dangerous environments during the First World War.



Image 8.1. (1919). Women of Barnbow Munitions Factory from *How the Shells were Filled: The Story of Barnbow, told now for the First Time*



Image 8.2. (1919) Women of Barnbow Munitions Factory from *How the Shells were Filled: The Story of Barnbow, told now for the First Time*

The change in domestic employment affected many of the local working-age population in Yorkshire during the First World War. However, as archival documents corroborate, such changes did not stop the individual experience of library use (Braybon, 1981; DeGroot, 1996;

Hayes and Morris, 2005; Kelly, 1977). Many primary resources survive, highlighting the dynamic between the public library, the local working-age population, increased labour expectations, and individualised experiences during the First World War. An excerpt from the *Leeds Mercury* highlights the effect the change in labour dynamics during the First World War had on libraries. It reads

24 October 1916

The effect of War conditions on the public libraries at Leeds is referred to in the annual report of The Corporation Libraries and Arts Committee

...

this decrease of 77484 volumes is chiefly due to the war has affected the work of the library's many of The Regular readers and students are when Active Service what others are occupied in munitions making...("Libraries in War Time: Darkened Streets Keeping People Indoors", 1916).

The article above represents a realistic view of the consequences of the active call to service, noting the decline due to the shift in employment expectations. On the other side of the spectrum, Hand (1915), the city librarian in Leeds during the First World War, notes a more positive shift in user dynamics, highlighting the purpose of public libraries amongst the changing employment dynamics during the First World War. He writes

...in consequence of the preoccupation of the public mind with the war and the heavy demands made upon the workers of Leeds in the clothing and other trades for Army work, there has been a tendency to return to lighter forms of literature, and an antidote from the mental and physical strain of the times through which the county is passing ("Libraries in War", 1915).

This *Yorkshire Post* excerpt reinforces the relationship between the local working-age population and the public library. It also emphasises the First World War's adverse effect on the community, including the heightened need to separate oneself from the toils of the conflict and for distraction outside of employment. Hand recommends the library as the place where such distraction can take place. The relationship between the local working-age population, leisure, and free time is complicated, with an already complex relationship before the outbreak of the First World War (Snape, 2006; Sturges, 2006; Hayes and Morris, 2005). Just as it was important for the female and child accounts of individual experiences within the public library, first-hand accounts are critical in piecing together the Hand's comments,

which, while necessary in an institutional sentiment, still comes from a professional point of view rather than from the individual user. While this perspective is crucial in understanding the idealised library, it does not illustrate physical library practice. Nevertheless, the library's point of view has its benefits, and the viewpoint from the patron can reveal the practical outcomes of library practice, documenting individual experiences.

It was relatively easy to find general patron experiences within the archival record of the five field-study cities. In these published accounts, patrons expressed complaints, praises, recommendations, and solutions to myriad issues. While many of these written experiences have already been explored in this findings chapter and others (see 4.3.3, 5.3.4, and 6.3.2 for some examples), viewing an example through the lens of personal experience of leisure and free time is essential. In a letter to the editor of the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, an unnamed citizen from the Hunslet area of Leeds voiced their concern over the proposed closure of the local library branch. The letter, in its entirety, reads

The Closing of the Hunslet Branch
21/9/15

The Reason and the Protest
To the editor of the YEP

Sir as a citizen of Hunslet, I beg, through the lined medium of your paper, to protest against the actions of the Leeds Corporation in closing the public library and newsroom in Hunslet Road, which, I suppose, was the best the Corporation could give us, notwithstanding the elaborate creations in other parts of the city. It was certainly better than nothing, and it will be a deplorable state of affairs if it is closed, as is intended from the notice displaced there. Do the city fathers think we people of Hunslet, who provide the bulk of the rateable value of the city, are not interested in books? If they do, they are very much mistaken.

It is hardly acting up to the principle laid down by the City Librarian who in his interview with the Evening Post urged that we should develop and enlarge public libraries ready for the demand after the war is over. I should like to know what the councillors for East Hunslet were doing to approve of us being placed in such a position.

HUNSLET CITIZEN (“Closing of the Hunslet Branch”, 1915)

The commentary from the Hunslet citizen demonstrates the value the local community places on their local public library. Such value is evident when the citizen asks, “Do the city fathers

think we people of Hunslet, who provide the bulk of the rateable value of the city, are not interested in books? If they do, they are very much mistaken.” This first-hand account of the experience of the anonymous Hunslet citizen and the wider Hunslet community redefines the community's need for public library provision. It emphasises the significance of the physical space, noting “...it was better than nothing...” while stressing that without library service, the community “...will be a deplorable state of affairs if it is closed...”. The location of the published commentary is also an important aspect of the above account. Whereas some patrons went directly to the library committee or the *Remark Book* (such as Johnson, Steedman, and Brown), others turned to the public visibility of the local newspaper. Sending the commentary to a widely circulated publication that would have reached the wider Leeds community and possibly influenced other community members encouraged the community to fight for continued service. While this first-hand account does not explicitly mention leisure or free time within the column, it can be inferred through the intensity of the comment that this closure would have significantly affected the available time spent experiencing the library.

The above sections examine the personal experiences of underrepresented demographics and the community during the First World War. It highlights the struggles and worries experienced by women, children, and the local working-age population and how these affected their public library use. While not abundant in numbers, the available archival documentation and examples used in this section provide a way to piece together a sense of individual experience. They relate the individual to the personal and environmental factors and vice versa, creating a foundational understanding of the relationship between the public library and its patron. Now that these foundations have been built, it is possible to assess if and how subjective experiences and environmental factors within the public library encouraged the finding of self and, if so, their ramifications on the overall idea of the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary.

8.4 Intellectual Sanctuary, Individual Experience, and Finding Self in the Public Library

The first three sections of this stage expressed the importance of investigating individual library experiences by accessing personal recollections such as memoirs, personal histories, committee minutes, and newspapers. These sections recognised the difficulties caused by gaps and silences within the archival record, especially amongst underrepresented demographics within the local working-age population. Findings from archival research used

to illustrate such experiences focused on themes such as the power of voice, personal expression of experiences, and public library use during leisure and free time. This section takes the commentary from the above three sections and explores how it builds the idea of finding self. It also explores how finding self (with the influences of availability, use, and architecture) encouraged elements of intellectual sanctuary within the public library for the local working-age population.

8.4.1 Relationship Between Individual Experience, the ‘Self’, and Intellectual Sanctuary

As noted throughout the previous seven chapters of the thesis, the First World War tremendously affected the public libraries of the five field-study cities in Yorkshire. While the effects of the First World War on public libraries in Yorkshire could easily constitute an entire thesis, this section focuses on the need for intellectual sanctuary during the worldwide conflict. As noted earlier in this findings chapter, social dynamics drastically changed between 1914 and 1918, including changes to labour practices, conscription requirements, fuel and food rationing, and an overall increased sense of anxiety (DeGroot, 1996; Hughes, 2014; Moore and Pullan, 2015; Braybon, 1981). Whereas archival documents used earlier in this stage referenced the diversity of home front experiences in relation to women, children, and communities and the use of libraries as places for leisure and free time, archival documents used in this section provide further analysis focusing on documents that emphasise the individual experiences of library patrons as a way to find elements of the self.

Findings in research stages 1, 2, and 3 highlighted the subjective experiences within the public library involving environmental elements of the public libraries' availability, use, and architecture, emphasising a layered approach to finding an idea of self. Stages 1, 2, and 3 also helped to build a physical understanding of the public library, noting the patron's ability to choose when they read (availability), how they read (use), and where they read (architecture). However, while these four stage themes are each their own entity, looking at these environmental factors together furthers the depth at which it is possible to piece together a sense of the public library experience. The following account in the *Yorkshire Observer* from July 10th, 1916, exemplifies the inevitable interconnectivity of library availability, use, and architecture. It reads

10 July 1916

The library was the workshop of the scholar, and he [The Lord Mayor] hoped that the building would be much frequented....Apart from the educational value of reading, one could pass many pleasant hours in reading books of a lighter character, which enabled one for the time being to live in the land of other folks and gave one a widened experience of humanity. A well-written book was good company, because it was full of conversation without being noisy; and he believed they would agree it was easier to take reproof from the written page than from the tongue (“Bradford Libraries: New Branch Opened at Allerton”, 1916).

The connections between availability, use, and architecture make it clear that combining such environmental factors helped create an ideal location to hide from the world's hardships. With the combination of environmental factors, this article is a perfect example of a situation that encouraged the finding of the self. The sections of the article reference use and availability in excerpts such as “...hope that the building would be much frequented...” and “...one could pass many pleasant hours in reading books...”. It acknowledges architecture when it notes the library acting as a “workshop of the scholar”, emphasising the library building as a place of creation and learning, where the craft of knowledge is discovered, understood, and sharpened. Comparing the library to a workshop, a common term within the industrial community, emphasises the establishment as a place that promotes the personal creation of knowledge and community. This experience within the public library allows the patron to engage with their subjective thoughts and, thus, a deeper awareness of their self (Allred, 1972; Black, 1996b; Robinson, 1976). Although not always explicitly stated, the connection between the environmental elements of the public library and the subjective self appears throughout the archival record. It is through the analysis of availability, use, and architecture that it is possible to understand how the library promoted finding the self.

8.4.2 Theory and Practice of the Self

Ultimately, understanding how individuals experienced the library as a place of finding oneself is the final element needed to appreciate how the libraries in the five field-study cities worked towards the idea of intellectual sanctuary. As I noted earlier in **8.4.1**, the public library was promoted as a place where all could come to learn, promote good citizenship, and correct turbulent moral upbringings (Black, 2000; Kelly, 1976; Robson, 1976; Sturges, 2006). An excerpt from *The City Libraries of Sheffield: 1856-1956* emphasises this idealised public

library perspective. Alderman Barton writes about the role of library promoters in the early 1850s. He writes that the establishment of public libraries in Sheffield

...had the welfare of the common man deeply at heart, and because this social concern was intertwined with his intellectual interests he was convinced of the missionary value of the public libraries. In them he saw, as did early workers in the movement, the greatest instrument for self-education, and being a self-educated man himself he had a firm belief in its value both for the development of the individual and the good of the community (1956, p. 41).

Alderman Barton emphasises the idealised nature of the public library when he calls the public library the “greatest instrument for self-education” and “the development of the individual and the good of the community.” While in theory, such praises regarding creating an understanding of the inner self were easy for those responsible for promoting the public library, what was unclear was if such praises translated over to community practice. This was made more complex as archival gaps amongst the local Yorkshire working-age population relating to their experiences within the public library limited the scope of available evidence. However, pieces gathered from other sources, such as the one below from the perspective of a university student, provide an understanding of the library environment experienced by the general patron. In the detailed report below, the university student notes the situation of the 1915 Leeds Central Library, noting

There is to be found in the heart of this smoky city, a building which has its interests for a multitude. To it come men, women, children of every class, whose purpose vary in kind and degree. Some have an overdue gas-and-water bill to settle; for other an altercation with the City Engineer is the aim in view. Others again wander around the galleries of art that here find their abode. Scoring fresh delights and Charlie Chaplin, they pay their respects to the pictures of the old school, and incidentally practise war-time economy. The libraries are three in number, and provide literary food for as many classes of readers. The precincts of each would seem sacred, though nominally they are open to all....

Environmental factors of the public library are expressed when the student references Leeds as a “smoky city” during the First World War, referencing its ties to the city's industry. The student also emphasises the diverse ways the patrons used the various library sections, referring to each of the three main sections as “sacred”. The inclusion of the word ‘sacred’ in addition to phrases “open to all”, “literary food”, and “every class”, ties the environmental

factors to the personal experiences of the patrons, emphasising the seriousness of accessible library service. Furthering this tie, the student also details the architectural layout of the library. It reads

...The Newsroom, though the most plebeian of the trio boasts possession of the first floor. As if to offset this advantage, its uninviting entrance is situated in a narrow cross-street. Confronted by the back of some printing-works, hemmed in between the drab exterior of a cloth warehouse and the noisy depot of an obviously provincial dairy, the avenue to this realm of journalism is known only to the initiated.

Inside, everything to the newcomer seems dismal and lifeless. The array of notices urging Silence do little to relieve the apparently dull monotony. But look closer, and at the risk of being thought inquisitive give a sidelong glance at the journals and another at their readers. "Every picture tells a story." Here is a young but broken man eagerly scanning the employment columns a of daily; there a pater- familias explaining to his offspring in an undertone the mysteries of the Illustrated London News. Further down the room a quondam actor, superficially spruce, is arrogantly turning over the leaves of the *Era*, the next chair being occupied by a diminutive chap, not yet in his teens, who finds amusement in the Stage, much to his neighbour's disgust.

The students' use of words such as "uninviting", "dismal", "lifeless", and "monotony" do little to encourage the thought of intellectual sanctuary from simply the environmental factors. However, incorporating personal experiences of utilising the library materials, as he does in the second paragraph, changes the student's demeanour. The phrase "Every picture tells a story", in addition to positive words such as "eagerly" and "amusement", expands the dreary physical room into a room that encourages better personal experiences, increased civic awareness, and progressive outlooks on the troubled world. While the student's account does include instances of negative experiences, for instance, his note of a "neighbour's disgust", the positives gained from utilising spaces within the public library are encouraged, ultimately emphasising the subjective experiences and the development of the self can be constructed amid poor environmental factors.

Perhaps the most striking statement in the Leeds student's account of the library is his comments on the lending library. He begins by stating the harsher realities of First World War public library access by stating that

Everything here is prosaic in the extreme. The department for juveniles, placarded with the injunction of “Clean Hands Please,” lays its claims elsewhere while the domain of Garvice and Le Queux do not interest us. The saving grace is revealed in the room labelled “Non-Fiction” for further particulars see Catalogue, obtainable at counter....

Following the praise of the “Non-Fiction” room, the student writes

...Old and young, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, all are equal neath the figure of Shakespeare whoever gazes approvingly on the diverse throng below (1915).

Whereas the examples used earlier in this stage reference one demographic group or one type of user, this final statement in *The Gryphon* emphasises that all factions of society used the Leeds Public Library and, at times, functioned as a space conducive for building one’s sense of self. Not only were the “old and young, rich and poor, learned and illiterate” all welcome to the public library, but they were also welcome in the eyes of Shakespeare (in this example, used as a way to embody literature as a whole).

This article not only illustrates a realistic view of public library space in Leeds, but in doing so, the article contributes extensively to the different factors that influence finding the self. It emphasises that troublesome personal situations can be calmed and that a more sympathetic and knowledgeable understanding of current conflicts can be built through the literature and civic interactions within the public library. The above perspective does not lecture or make an effort to be condescending. It emphasises the diversity in patron demographics and highlights how much public patrons used the space. While never defining the self explicitly, the Leeds student builds on the personal experience of the library patron, subtly noting the importance of personal choice within the public library. Through these subjective experiences, a better understanding of one’s situation and, in turn, one’s inner identity can be established.

This section has established how both environmental factors and personal experiences emphasise the finding of self. It has noted the importance of the library as a place to understand the world further and as an establishment to better understand oneself. It has also highlighted that environmental factors were not always ideal, but even so, they helped to encourage patrons to find elements of themselves in the public library. The section below addresses these findings in relation to the overall idea of the public library as an intellectual sanctuary.

8.4.3 Finding Self and Intellectual Sanctuary?

Up to this point, Stage 4 has focused primarily on the user experience and its influence on finding the self. It also interlocked environmental factors and findings from Stages 1, 2, and 3, establishing the interconnectivity of such factors within the finding of oneself. While the findings and themes from all four stages represent essential stand-alone themes within the twentieth-century English Public Library, it is imperative to connect them to piece together how the subjective patron experience helped encourage intellectual sanctuary within the public library.

Before synthesising the environmental factors (availability, use, and architecture) with subjective experiences (the finding of self), it was impossible to understand the thread that attached each research stage together. Now that each of the four stages has been fully assessed, it is possible to see that intellectual sanctuary is experienced directly through each individual patron. It emphasises that a patron's subjective experience can actively build an intellectual sanctuary unique to each individual. Public library patrons come into contact with the four variables at different points in their library use, experiencing both positives and negatives relating to availability, use, architecture, and finding the self. With this idea, it is possible to understand that intellectual sanctuary, while constantly influenced by fluctuations of the four variables, is found within one's own person.

Environmental elements themselves can influence one's current interpretation of intellectual sanctuary, but ultimately it is the patron's subjective experiences that build it. This is especially true when factoring in the First World War. Read initially at a conference in Bradford and then published later, the article "Libraries After the War" explores patron experiences during the conflict. First, the article explores the current importance of the public library to patrons. It reads

21 September, 1916

At the present time...there was a danger of people becoming obsessed with the war to the exclusion of other matters which concerned the general wellbeing...*[librarians should make sure]* the public were provided with the literature needful to form a proper appreciation of the struggle in which we were engaged, and to enable a sane and

sensible standpoint to be taken as to outcome of the struggle would mean to future generations.

...

No greater relief could be obtained from the anxieties of the present than reading of good literature.

The first section of the article emphasises the hardships the public community endured during the conflict. It emphasised to those living in Bradford that the public library was a vital resource they could rely on to calm their fears and educate themselves on the conflict. After emphasising the perceived relief the public library offered patrons during the years of the First World War, the article further explores the consequences of the closing of the libraries during the conflict. Henry Guppy writes

It would not materially help the country financially to economise in things of the mind or in any of the things that gave a genuine grace and dignity to life.

The financial results of such economy were so small as to be tremendously outweighed by the irreparable loss to the country of intellectual force and of all the means by which a nation's spirit was kept alive.

The nation that was starved in mind and fancy was as little likely to survive the test of war as was the nation that was starved of bread.

...libraries were the keepers and dispensers of accumulated experience, and it should be the function of libraries to arrange that material and make it accessible to those who were seeking to better and cheapen the technical process of manufacture.

In every great industrial centre there should be side by side with a fully equipped technological library in which the latest authorities and the up-to-date text-books, dealing with the industries of the district would be available for the staff of the schools, the students, and the people in the industries themselves (Libraries After the War: The Problems of the Future, 1916).

This second part of the article furthers the commentary on the public library during the First World War by relating the importance of personal experiences to the establishment. Guppy builds on this in the first sentence when he notes, "It would not materially help the country financially to economise in things of the mind or in any of the things that gave a genuine grace and dignity to life." He is actively communicating the dire situation that could occur in the community if resources and literature used to improve oneself were taken away by austerity

measures. Guppy's remarks directly tie the library to improving oneself, noting the significance of such experiences on those who worked within hard industry. While the article above (and those included earlier in this findings chapter) does not explicitly mention the internal development of intellectual sanctuary, it does support the idea that the finding of self, with the support of environmental factors, helps encourage elements of the public library as an intellectual sanctuary. It emphasises the war's detrimental toll on the community's mental stability. It shows how direct access to literature had the ability to calm subjective and external "fears and anxiety" (Libraries After the War, 1916). It highlights the mental clarity the public library could provide as an escape from the industrial north smog due to the First World War. Through a clearer understanding of one's self through subjective library experiences and fluctuating environmental variables, it is clear that the construction of intellectual sanctuary belongs to each individual patron.

8.5 Stage 4 Findings and Concluding Thoughts

Overall, primary source archival material analysis uncovered several essential findings relating the finding of self to the overarching idea of intellectual sanctuary. These include the development of personal experience, silences in the historical record, and the integral role the finding of self had on establishing intellectual sanctuary.

The first finding from this research stage is that personal experiences significantly affect finding self. This stage found that external factors relating to availability, use, and architecture had an equal role in encouraging the finding of self. Together, availability, use, architecture, and the creation of self, help promote the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary.

Secondly, this research stage found that silences in the archival record are just as powerful as visible records. While it is almost impossible to state whether the archival silences encountered during this research were intentional or not, it is possible to recognise that gaps directly affect the ability of contemporary historians and academics to reconstruct history. For example, in this findings chapter, archival silences prevented a deeper understanding of the first-hand experiences of the women and children of the local working-age population in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York. While this silence did not wholly prevent an absence of patron experiences, it severely limited the resources used to gather a well-rounded account of patron experience in field-study cities. This is also relevant to the local working-age population, where accounts directly linked to the working demographic are either missing

from the record or not distinguishable as a working-age account. Using general patron comments, accounts, and editorials helped alleviate this gap and ultimately created a foundation to ask the same questions under a different lens.

Thirdly, this research stage found that finding the self is essential to fully understanding the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary. Combining the definition of self as established in the Literature Review (2.3) and the archival-based understanding created in this stage, it is clear that the relationship between self and intellectual sanctuary is inherently interwoven. However, it also has identified the integral inclusion of environmental variables (availability, use, and architecture) as part of the relationship between the two. This stage has solidified that environmental factors in the library and the subjective experiences of individual patrons work together to create a place conducive to mental refuge from the toils of the First World War. As noted in section 8.4.3, a deeper understanding of oneself through the combination of public library availability, use, architecture, self, and public library experiences solidifies the ability to interact with the library as a source of relaxation and inner peace, with autonomy in one's own experiences.

Chapter 9

Concluding Discussion of Research Findings

9.1 Restatement of Research Question, Aims, Objectives, and Framework

Until this point, each stage of the research focused on a particular element of the public library, each highlighting one of the themes identified through the literature review (**Chapter 2**). Each of the empirical stages focused on themes of availability (**Stage 1**), use (**Stage 2**), architecture (**Stage 3**), and finding self (**Stage 4**), all which were related to the idea of intellectual sanctuary.

This thesis aimed to critically explore the impact of public libraries on the communities they served during times of conflict. Specifically, this research sought to investigate the extent to which the public libraries of Yorkshire served as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age population during the years of the First World War. The research engaged primary source archival material alongside critical academic literature to understand the importance of these community service points during the beginning of the 20th century.

To achieve this aim, an overarching research question was established:

To what extent did the public libraries in Yorkshire serve as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the local working population during the First World War?

A combined qualitative and quantitative research design has addressed this question by considering four research objectives (**Figure 9.1**). These research objectives provide the basis for a detailed investigation of the local working-age population's relationship with the library in Yorkshire. The following table re-states these objectives from section **1.3**:

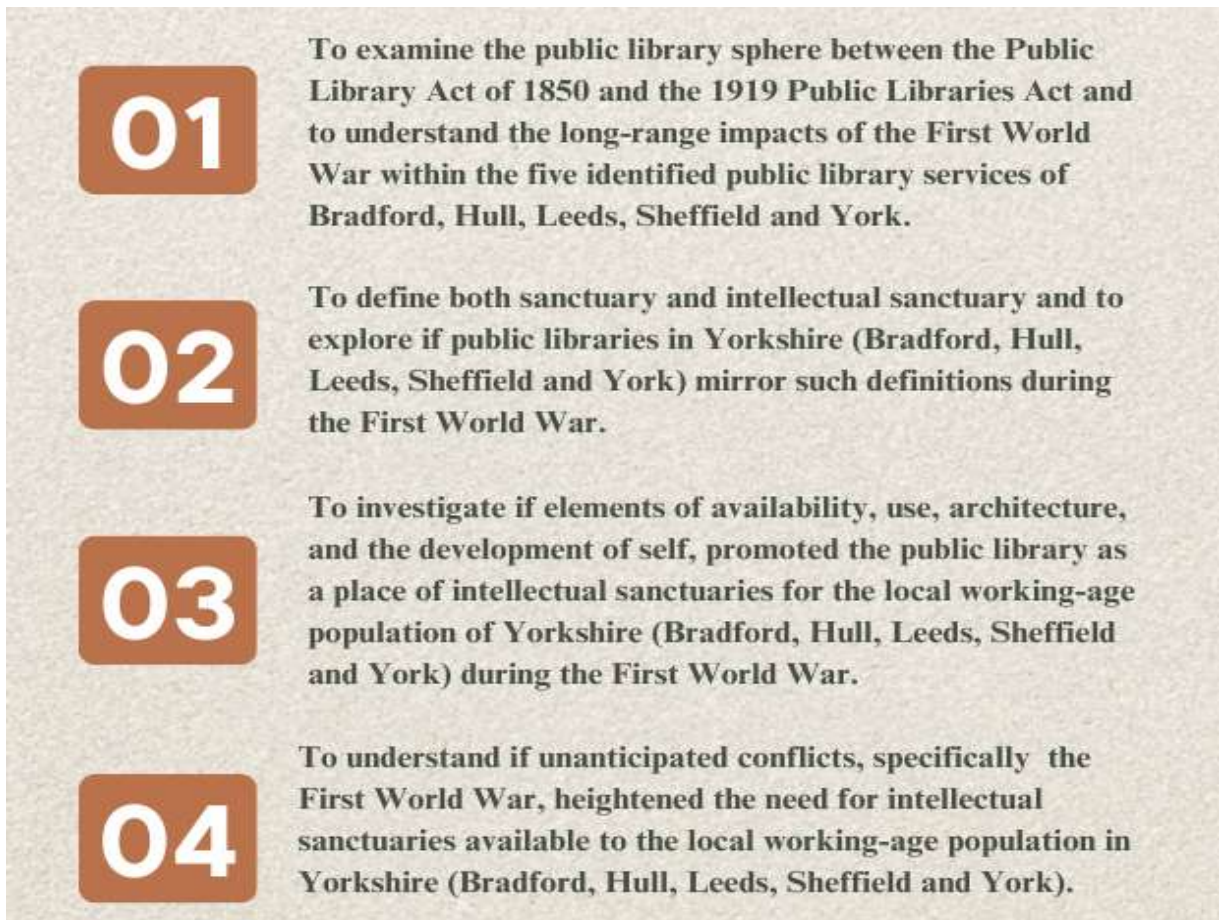


Figure 9.1 Re-stated Research Objectives.

To begin assessing the relationship between public libraries and the local working-age population of Yorkshire during the First World War, a literature review (**Chapter 2**) was conducted. This literature review not only established the four major themes of this research: availability (**3.2.3**), use (**3.2.4**), architecture (**3.2.5**), and finding self (**3.2.6**) but also provided essential historical information through which to investigate said themes. This review of the literature revealed an extensive historical narrative highlighting the history of public libraries in England (**3.3**) and the toll of the First World War on the people of Yorkshire (**3.3.2**). The review of the literature also provided significant insight into three main research frameworks (Bryman, 2016; Hill, 1993; and Thomas, 2006), which in turn influenced the creation of an Adapted Framework utilised as part of qualitative and quantitative data-based research (**3.1**). Below is a reminder of the Adapted Framework, which maps directly to the research objectives in section **9.2**.

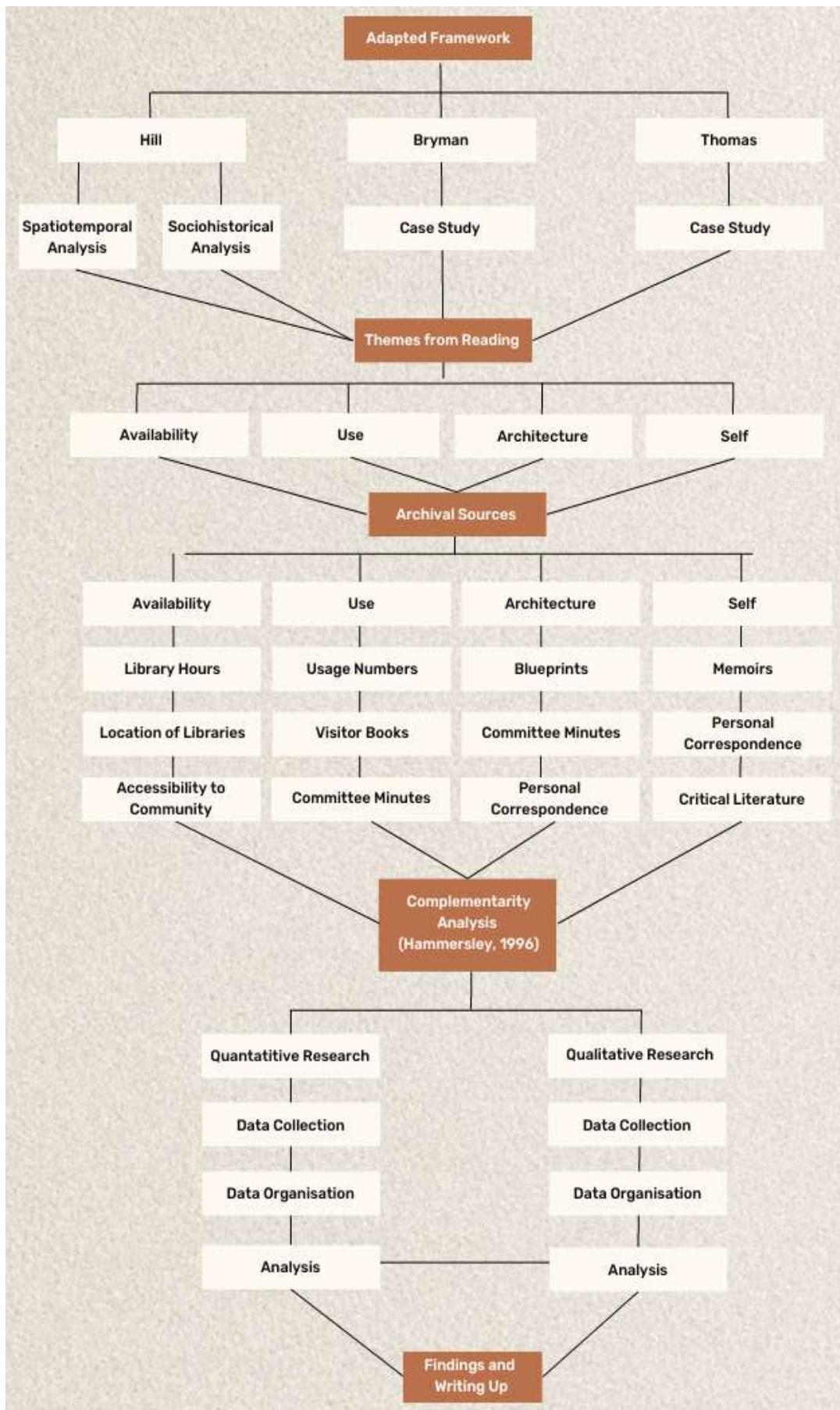


Figure 9.2. Adapted Research Framework.

The framework allows a replicable process to view each fieldwork location's public library history, providing a method to incorporate archival and library collections. Stages 1, 2, 3, and 4 investigate the relationship between the themes and how they present themselves in each of the five public library services in Yorkshire. Figure 9.3 represents the interconnectedness of the research themes, visually depicting the four stages of the research and their connection to one another.

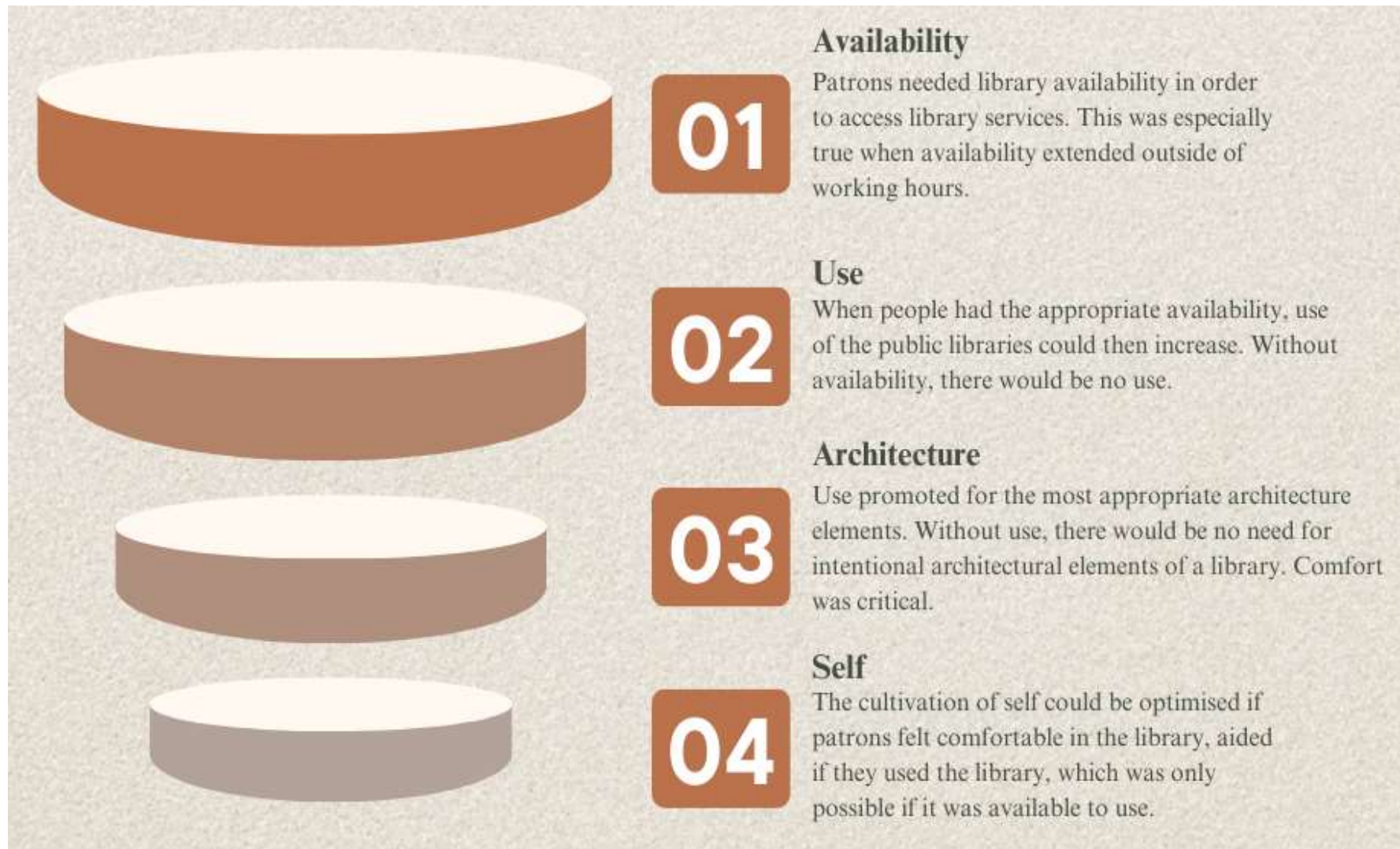


Figure 9.3. Interconnectivity of Research Themes.

Stage 1 focused on the availability of the five public libraries in Yorkshire during the First World War. It brought together quantitative elements such as the number of library services open to the public during the First World War, the average number of days per year library services were open, and foundational numbers regarding the average number of users of libraries at the five fieldwork locations. In addition to the quantitative element, qualitative elements include committee minutes, first-hand accounts of library services (private and professional), patron letters, geographical maps of library locations with additional reference to known factory locations, and critical literature.

Stage 2 built on the findings of Stage 1 by highlighting the use of public library services in the five Yorkshire field-study cities under the umbrella of public library availability. This stage used both quantitative and qualitative archival documents. While the stage used items such as written reports of libraries, letters from patrons, and newspaper articles to convey a qualitative user narrative, it primarily focused on quantitative information. Gleaned from annual printings of usage statistics, committee reports, comparative statistics of issues, and written reports from libraries, these numbers provided a unique ability to compare statistics across all five field-study locations in Yorkshire.

Stage 3 took the information gathered in Stages 1 and 2 and added a physical element to address the architectural elements of the library. This provided an investigation using archival materials such as architectural blueprints, historical photographs and drawings, opening day programmes, newspaper accounts and articles, and contemporary photographs. These archival documents and critical literature provided further situational information to view the impact of the public library as intellectual sanctuary.

Stage 4 completes the thematic stages of the research by exploring the connection between the environmental factors present in the library, their relationship to finding self, and the ultimate connection between them and intellectual sanctuary. This stage utilised pamphlets, professional and personal letters, remark book entries, annual reports, memoirs, historical photographs, newspaper articles, issue numbers based on gender, and critical literature to examine if the patrons of the Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York public libraries were able to, under the umbrella of library availability, use, and architecture, to cultivate personal ideas of 'self' and therefore, create intellectual sanctuary.

This final chapter of the thesis combines the findings from research stages 1, 2, 3, and 4, culminating in an assessment of the overall findings about the relationship between the local Yorkshire working-age population and public libraries during the First World War and how they work to answer the research objectives and aim.

9.2 Addressing the Research Objectives and Discussion of Findings

This section addresses the research objectives and presents findings based on each research stage.

9.2.1 Research Objective 1: *To examine the public library sphere between the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act and to understand the long-range impacts of the First World War within the five identified public library services of Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York.*

The English public library shifted significantly in the sixty-nine years between the implementation of the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act. Between legislative changes, the number of libraries available to the public, and the hardships of the First World War, public library services were knowingly impacted. An investigation of the long-range impact of the First World War within the five Yorkshire field-study cities (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York) has enabled a thorough look into the experiences of the local working-age population during a conflict which caused unprecedented changes in social conventions and domestic responsibilities. Results from the findings chapters regarding the long-range impacts of the First World War on the public libraries in Yorkshire illustrate effects such as progress through adopting new services and the increased intentionality towards public library services by library leaders.

- Progress Through the Adoption of New Services

The historical context stage of this research (**Chapter 5**) established the move from a broader public library focus to a more concentrated one, highlighting the impact of the First World War on library provision at the local rather than the national level (**5.2**). The ideological shift from national to local provision encouraged changes within the public library and, as seen from the analysis in Chapter 5, proved immensely influential to the continuation of public library services within Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York.

The First World War caused specific conversations surrounding progress within the public library to be revisited after the conflict. As a result, several facets of Yorkshire's five field-study library services changed to accommodate such progression. Changes such as the increased employment of women (5.2.5), greater rural library provision (5.2.3), and the building of bespoke commercial libraries (5.3.1) all proved that, while the First World War had detrimental effects on the overall public library services, the conflict inspired new and reimagined ways to provide public library availability to the community. This directly relates to the cultural importance of public libraries, as Black (2000b) explored. He states that the role of the public library between 1914 and 1918 (First World War) was two-fold: the first was "To create a civil consciousness through the promotion of education" and the second to "...help reconstruct the national economy by supporting education and disseminating technical and commercial information" (Black, 2000b, pp. 13-14). Both of these elements mirror the five Yorkshire field-study cities. The First World War began a shift to adding commercial and technical libraries into service after the War and increasing rural services to communities that did not have previous library provisions. Such shifts provided further library services to the people of Yorkshire, adding to an already progressive level of availability (5.2.2).

- **The Increased Intentionality of Public Libraries**

As noted above, the First World War promoted progression in public library provision. While progress did not happen immediately, the ideas were centred on lessons learned during the turmoil of the First World War (5.2.5). Such lessons influenced further intentionality amongst the library services, providing a more intuitive understanding of community needs due to the changes in post-war society.

Many of the libraries studied as part of this thesis were built before the outbreak of the First World War (7.4). It is argued that libraries built towards the beginning of public library provision in England (1850s) and up until the outbreak of the First World War were "the worst period of library architecture" and that "in later years [post-1918] better adapted to its purpose" (Savage, 1942, p.190). While this argument is historical, it remains an essential criticism as it notes the opinions of those who experienced the library architecture first-hand. This argument is based on the idea that, initially, many libraries were not built for purpose.

Instead, it was built to start library provision as efficiently as possible. Evidence of this is further discussed in library publications within Stage 3, noting building descriptions, maintenance reports, repair and refurbishment comments, and building problems within the library (7.3).

Due to austerity measures during the conflict, few libraries were built during the First World War. However, the built libraries profited from the newly realised need for modernisation. Buildings constructed and opened during and after the War were built quickly to provide public library provision at that particular moment, with special emphasis on the patron and the service provided for their respective communities (Black, 2000; Kelly, 1977). While some libraries built in the late 1800s masked provision with elements of ornamental extravagance, the libraries built during the War and after focused on the patron's needs (7.5.1). Often, these new branches provided library provision closer to patron houses and places of employment. Examples of branches opened during the War included the Bradford branches of East Ward and Allerton, both opened in 1916, which took into consideration the aspect of purpose and incorporated elements such as modified open access, good ventilation, comfortable furnishings, and junior rooms (7.4.1).

By the time the conflict ended, the public libraries built before the First World War desperately needed refurbishment, including modernisations of book classification, cleaning of interior accommodations, and, in some cases, a complete rebuilding after total demolition. While many pre-war libraries were not built for library use, implementing long-range modernisation effects after the First World War prompted refurbishments, including adding commercial libraries, building children's libraries, and transitioning segregated reading rooms into mixed-gendered spaces. Primary archival research (see the individual library service sections in findings **Chapter 7**) emphasises that the First World War influenced long-range ideas imperative to the longevity and the increased civic presence of public library services in Yorkshire.

Achievement of Research Objective 1

This research objective aimed to investigate the time between the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act, focusing on the local working-age population of First World War Yorkshire. Investigating this point in English library history adds a new county-focused approach to public library history research. It has used the adapted research framework (**Figure**

9.2) to emphasise the importance of foundational historical information and its role in better understanding the specific scope of the research (Hill, 1993). As the literature review has identified, many investigations surround the idea of conflict and public libraries (2.2.2). However, while the First World War is present in many of these, a gap related to the local working-age population remained. In addressing this first research objective, the research sought to identify the long-range effects of the war on the people and their use of the public library as an intellectual sanctuary in the industrial North. This research has examined the history between the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act (**Chapter 5**), noting the implications and consequences of the First World War on public library services. The research has also addressed the implications of the First World War on the adaption/establishment of new services and the newfound purpose of public library services in the five Yorkshire field-study cities, both of which, it can be argued, helped to establish an idea of intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age population of Yorkshire.

9.2.2 Research Objective 2: *To define both sanctuary and intellectual sanctuary and to explore if public library services in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) mirror such definitions during the First World War.*

The literature review defined many essential terms used in this research (3.2). Amongst the most important is the definition of ‘intellectual sanctuary.’ Using multiple streams of definitions gleaned from a number of origins of the word ‘sanctuary’, this research utilised the following definition of intellectual sanctuary until now: **any space free from direct personal, political, and social influences inviting all thought.**

While this definition is still appropriate, elements within the primary-source archival research have helped to further the understanding of intellectual sanctuary in relation to the public library. The archival research has provided insight into the personal use of the public library and, therefore, helped to encourage a more subjective understanding of intellectual sanctuary.

Intellectual sanctuary falls under the umbrella of sanctuary, but the two terms separate when the method of experience is discussed. This research has emphasised that a sanctuary is a physical place: a brick-and-mortar establishment. This physical space fosters a “space free from direct personal, political, and social influences inviting all thought.” It is within this space that intellectual sanctuary is physically cultivated. After analysing the research

findings, intellectual sanctuary is now understood as the inward personal experience of sanctuary that allows for clarity and safety of the mind. It can be experienced anywhere someone feels safe and secure. As explored in Stage 4, environmental and subjective experiences within the sanctuary help build the overall experience of intellectual sanctuary. The findings in Stages 1, 2, 3 and 4 make it evident that environmental variables and subjective experiences influence one another. In broader terms, if sanctuary is understood as the body, intellectual sanctuary is the mind: Having one without the other is impossible.

Throughout this research, the idea of intellectual sanctuary has grown. Now that the definition of intellectual sanctuary has been fully formed, it is possible to take specific findings from the archival research to further relate the idea of intellectual sanctuary to the public library services in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire. Section 9.2.3 goes further in-depth into how themes of availability, use, architecture, and finding self, help encourage intellectual sanctuary.

This section ties the field-study cities to the definition of intellectual sanctuary. The findings are divided into three distinct influences to investigate how the public library services at the five Yorkshire field-study cities mirror the definition of intellectual sanctuary. These three influences mirror the preliminary definition of intellectual sanctuary: the public library as a place free from personal influence, free from direct political influence, and direct from social (peer) influence. It then goes further, taking a more exhaustive understanding of intellectual sanctuary and recognising if and how each public library service mirrored such an interpretation.

- *Personal Influence*

The first is the library as a place of direct personal influence. This research understands the term 'personal influence' as influences directly related to the patron. These include family and domestic responsibilities affected by shifting social expectations from the First World War. Excerpts such as one from September 23rd, 1915, highlight the personal troubles experienced by members of the community and their need for a place free of influence. It emphasises the need for relief from the turmoil of war, recounting "...there has been a tendency to return to lighter forms of literature, and an antidote from the mental and physical strain of the times through which the county is passing ("Libraries in War Time", 1915).

Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York's library services all provided space for patrons to escape from the turmoil of the War. Each, apart from York, serviced their communities with multiple branches covering the majority of each city (5.3.5). Through environmental factors such as availability, use, and architecture, it is clear that the relative flexibility of each establishment allowed patrons to choose when, where, and why to use the services.

- *Political Influence*

The second influence is the absence of direct political influence during the First World War. The literature surrounding the beginning of the public library movement is heavy with political policy and debate (Black, 1996; Hamby and Najowitz, 2008; Kelly, 1977; McMenemy, 2009; Sykes, 1979). Findings from the archival research note that Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York never truly rid themselves of political influences (see the influence of the Public Library Act of 1850 and the 1919 Public Libraries Act). Traces of political sway permeated the public library services of the five field-study cities in Yorkshire. An article in the *Leeds Mercury* notes the presence of political pamphlets in Leeds's libraries, noting, "the libraries have been extensively used during the war for the circulation of a large number of placards pamphlets and leaflets in connection with the recruiting campaign" ("Libraries in War Time: Darkened Streets", 1916). In York, the local council required the public library to accommodate military personnel. An excerpt from *The City of York Libraries, 1893-1943* illustrates the ramifications of the occupation on the patrons frequenting the central library, stating

...the smell of cooking pervaded the air at all hours of the day, and at unexpected times a brass band would strike up, usually with the strains of 'Poet and Peasant'. After a time the soldiers left, but heavy machinery was installed, and the building rumbled and shook from morning to night, until one felt that 'Poet and Peasant' would have been a relief (1943).

While selections from the archival record above note the political presence within the libraries, details of library services requiring patrons to interact with the political material and personnel are relatively absent. Stage 4 of this research promotes the idea that political engagement was based on personal patron decisions. As the archival record shows, the government influenced public library services. They were required to abide by the policies

established by the Public Library Act of 1850 and other decisions made from a local council perspective. However, the archival record also illustrates that while the public library services could not entirely rid themselves of government influence, the decision to be influenced remained with the patron.

- *Social Influence*

The last of these influences is direct social influence. This research made it a point in Stage 4 to promote the importance of finding the self within the public library. Black (2000b) describes it best when he writes that the public library

...encapsulates the aspirations of the modern self: a liberal desire for progress, self-realization, social emancipation, freedom of thought, the questioning of 'things established' and, although respectful of tradition and history, for release from the chains of custom (p. 169).

While social influences are always present, especially during a significant conflict such as the First World War, this thesis has discovered that specific elements of the public library help to distance one's self from the influence of others. One example of this is the adoption and implementation of the open access system. Except for a number of branches in Leeds, which adopted the open-access system in 1912, and Sheffield's Central Reference Library, which adopted and implemented the open-access system to patrons in late 1912, open access was not integrated into many of the public library services until after the First World War (**Stage 3**). The change to open access was a topic of lengthy discussion. It highlighted the importance of direct contact between the books and the patron, ultimately encouraging individual personal choice and, thus, increasing the subjective experience within the public library. Archival data uncovered as part of this research highlights this experience. An article from the *Yorkshire Post* noted how

The reader is brought into direct contact with the books, from which he makes his choice without the necessity of consulting a catalogue. The system elsewhere has led to a greater use of the library and a more varied selection of books by the readers (*The 'Open Access' System at Leeds, 1920*).

Another example, this time from Sheffield, references the importance of patrons having the opportunity to choose their own books without the influence of others. Hall (1917) wrote

I was present when several readers called to [xx] books; and in no case did they know what they wanted; there is no open access to the bookshelves and readers seem to rely entirely on the librarian to guide them in deciding what to take (*Report on the Branch Libraries and Delivery Stations*, 1917).

These examples and others throughout the research provide insight into the importance of personal choice, for without it, the influences of society, the government, and personal circumstances could hinder the subjective experience of the public library. At the conclusion of the research process, it is clear that while not always the case, many times, public libraries in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York acted as a place where one could escape physical troubles, government trials, and personal responsibilities the door and have full autonomy over their experience within the public library. At times, the public library services in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire provided a sanctuary where patrons could engage with their own thoughts without input from anyone else - a clear construction of intellectual sanctuary.

Achievement of Research Objective 2

This objective aimed to define both sanctuary and intellectual sanctuary, emphasise the difference between the two, and explore if public library services in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire mirrored such definitions. This research employed multiple sources to define intellectual sanctuary within the scope of the public library. While it is almost impossible to definitively state whether or not public library services in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire served as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age population, findings suggest that specific elements of the libraries chosen as field-study cases do mirror the definition of intellectual sanctuary. The Adapted Framework (2.5) encouraged the analysis of primary source documents alongside critical secondary literature to produce an understanding that promotes elements within the public library services in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York as places of intellectual sanctuary.

9.2.3 Research Objective 3: *To investigate if elements of availability, use, architecture, and the development of self, promoted the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuaries for the local working-age population of Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York) during the First World War.*

Stage 1: Availability and Intellectual Sanctuary

After conducting primary source field-study research, as noted by the Adapted Framework (**Figure 9.2**), it was possible to collate information regarding the availability of the public library. This included the number of libraries open to the public, the weekly hours of operation for each location, the number of days open per year, and the geographical location of each branch within each field-study city (**5.3.5**).

The empirical research above shows that the outbreak of the First World War directly affected the libraries' opening days and hours. The same is seen at the end of the War and the conflict's effect on the opening hours of each library. While the data gleaned from the research shows that increases and decreases happened throughout the conflict (as seen in Bradford, Appendix **E**) the information gleaned from Sheffield solidifies that the initial outbreak of the First World War caused significant changes to library services. In Sheffield, these are present in the data collected from the central library. The data includes numbers for the central reading room, lending library, and reference library, highlighting that in the fall of 1918, all three sections of the central library decreased their hours open to the public. Each lost seven, six, and six hours, ultimately decreasing patrons' time to access the central library.

While availability through days and hours open to the public is an essential element of the overall availability of public library services, it is just as important to note their geographical locations. Section **5.3.5** considers the locations of all branches in the five field-study cities against many of the major factories in each city. In comparing these locations in each field-study city, Hill's (1993) idea of varied chronologies helps to further understand the geographical impact on intellectual sanctuary. Looking at the relationship between public libraries and factory locations, the research suggests that there was no general intention to build library buildings close to factories. It is, however, possible to see that in all cities except York, public libraries were never far from the major industrial centres of each respective city. The maps incorporated into section **5.3.5** highlight that the local working-age populations had access to public libraries in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield. While it is possible that external circumstances such as family responsibilities, employment constraints, or transportation difficulties could have affected patron availability, if solely considering geographical location, it is possible to conclude that the local working-age population had many opportunities to utilise their local library.

Overall, the research demonstrated that the First World War directly affected the availability of the public library through analysis of primary source historical data; it is possible to see that availability both encouraged and stalled intellectual sanctuary.

Stage 2: Use and Intellectual Sanctuary

The data gleaned from the archival research produced several findings relating to the relationship between the library as intellectual sanctuary and its use by the local working-age population of Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York. The first finding from the research is that ticket use fluctuated in every fieldwork city during the First World War. Two studies (Bradford and Leeds) provided usage statistics based on gender, and in both cases, overall male use decreased while female use increased during the First World War. Unlike Bradford and Leeds, Sheffield provided the total number of tickets issued to the public, foregoing gender, occupation, and age, in recorded quantitative data. However, similar to Bradford and Leeds, Sheffield had various increases and decreases within the years of the First World War. Sheffield's numbers focused on the branches of the city, highlighting that although the whole of the city decreased in use by -34.0% (n=9,577) (including scholar tickets) between 1913-1914 and 1915-1916, there were instances where branch tickets increased. This is the most prevalent at the branch in Tinsley, where tickets increased every year of available data. Unlike the available data in Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield, the data in York illustrated the total use of their magazine and newsroom. This data revealed a more even distribution of increases and decreases in user numbers. Five of the eight years of available data decreased, and three increased.

The second conclusion that can be drawn from the research is that the number of volumes issued to the public did not necessarily mirror the ticket issues at each individual Yorkshire field-study city. Table 9.2 below visually represents the increases and decreases from the data analysis in each location of library provision. The parentheses after the location represent the increase or decrease in volumes issued to the patrons.

Table 9.1*Volume Trends amongst Yorkshire Field-Study Cities, 1913-1919*

	1913/1914 - 1914/1915	1914/1915- 1915/1916	1916/1917- 1917/1918	1917-1918- 1918/1919
<u>Bradford</u>	Central (-) Reference (-) Branch (+) Travelling Libraries (-)	Central (+) Reference (+) Branch (+)		
<u>Hull</u>	Central (-) Reference (-) Branch (+)	Central (-) Branch (+)	Central (+) Branch (+)	Central (+) Branch (+)
<u>Leeds</u>	Central (-) Reference (-) Branch (-)			
<u>Sheffield</u>	Central (-) Branch (-) Delivery Stations (-)	Central (+) Branch (-)		
<u>York</u>	Central (+)	Central (-)	Central (-) Reference (-)	Central (-) Reference (+)

Note. Based on quantitative data from Stage 2.

The findings gathered from the above usage statistics support the idea that the First World War directly affected usage practices of the local working-age population, increasing and decreasing public library use. Ultimately, these usage practices help to establish that, at times, the public library was used as a place to retreat from the troubles of war and ultimately provided elements that supported the creation and use of the public library as an intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age populations.

Stage 3: Architecture and Intellectual Sanctuary

The empirical information gathered from this research stage primarily consisted of architectural blueprints, historical photographs, newspaper accounts, committee minutes, correspondence, and paraphernalia related to the opening ceremonies of several libraries. These primary source documents and accounts, mixed with analysis methods from the

Adapted Framework, showed clear findings between intellectual sanctuary and architectural elements of the public library.

The first of these findings is that interior and exterior architectural elements are equally important to the overall creation of sanctuary. The analysis from Stage 3 (**Chapter 7**) revealed the importance of elements such as interior and exterior imagery (**7.6.1**), building materials (Bradford and Leeds), and library layout (**7.6**). Exterior elements such as the inscription and allegorical figures on the Highfield Branch in Sheffield (**Image 7.73**), depictions of literary authors on Leeds's Central Library (*Free Public Libraries*, 1890), and representations of local industry at Bradford's Great Horton Library (**7.102**) are just a few examples in the thesis that promote a sense of comfort and community to local patrons. This is also seen within interior elements such as the inclusion of effective windows (**7.79**), electric lighting (Dewsbury Road, Leeds), and proper ventilation ("The Highfield Branch Library", 1876). All of these elements have a footing in a location where the local working-age community could escape the turmoil of the war and, therefore, proactively encouraged intellectual sanctuary.

Another finding emphasised by the archival research was that the layout of the public library buildings was also integral to the overall idea of intellectual sanctuary. Analysis of the architectural blueprints and patron comments highlighted the importance of the location of certain rooms in the library. The layout also encouraged open access in a number of locations, allowing the public to choose their own reading material.

Overall, archival documentation was integral in investigating the relationship between architecture and intellectual sanctuary. Elements of architecture proactively connect the idea of intellectual to the physical sanctuary of the public library by encouraging a safe place where personal experience could be cultivated based on the needs and wants of each patron. The public library encouraged usability through architecture and helped build a place for elements of intellectual sanctuary to flourish.

Stage 4: Self and Intellectual Sanctuary

As explored in the final findings chapter, finding self is an integral element of the overall establishment of the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary. This stage reflected the findings of stages 1, 2, and 3, focusing on user engagement related to elements of use,

availability, and architecture. Extensive use of archival material, as set out in the Adapted Framework, including correspondence, remark books, memoirs, photographs, and newspaper articles, helped to come to such conclusions. The synthesis of such findings helped to create findings relating to the finding of self.

The first is that environmental factors of library availability, use, and architecture all work together to create an environment conducive to finding self. Stage 4 highlights the importance of availability, use, and architecture in the idea of intellectual sanctuary and emphasises the role of subjective experience in the larger creation of intellectual sanctuary.

The second is that finding self through personal experiences enhanced by public library availability, use, and architecture encourages the use of the public library as a way to clear the mind of the turmoil of the First World War. Analysing these environmental elements alongside the empirical work using Hill's (1993) idea of 'parallel comparisons' recognises that personal experience and personal choice directly influence the construction of self rather than influences of social conformity to physical and material goods.

Combining this understanding with the public library, finding the self transfigures to each individual's needs. The research emphasises that the 'self' is an inherently personal creation essential to each patron's public library experience and, thus, a significant factor in fulfilling the public library as an intellectual sanctuary to the local working-age population.

Achievement of Research Objective 3

This objective aimed to investigate how each of the four stage themes (availability, use, architecture, and the creation of self) encouraged elements of public libraries in the five Yorkshire field-study cities to embody the idea of intellectual sanctuary. Qualitative and quantitative archival data brought together a bridge between historical narrative and historical data, promoting a robust understanding of the library as a place of intellectual sanctuary. While it is impossible to conclusively state that all public libraries acted as intellectual sanctuaries to their communities, the research aims to provide how specific environmental and personal factors helped influence intellectual sanctuary. This was primarily through the availability of the services, the use of the public libraries, the physical and mental shelter of the public library through architecture, and finding self through uninfluenced subjective library experiences.

9.2.4 Research Objective 4: *To understand if unanticipated conflicts, primarily the First World War, heightened the need for intellectual sanctuaries available to the local working-age population in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire (Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield and York).*

This research has identified four main themes representing pillars upon which intellectual sanctuary is built. The previous three research objectives have detailed the formation of such pillars, noting how this research has defined, researched, and analysed the themes in their own right. This research has also taken an academic and practical approach to understanding the historical need for intellectual sanctuary. Utilising critical secondary literature, academic sources, and archival research, this research has also identified the need for an intellectual sanctuary that promotes the library as **‘any space free from direct personal, political, and social influences inviting all thought.’**

To understand how different communities used their respective public libraries during unanticipated conflicts, the research focused on the years of the First World War (1914-1918). The literature review (**Chapter 3**) and the historical context (**Chapter 4**) chapters of this research acknowledged further needs within the local community for a place free from the hardships of war, as seen in the excerpt from “Libraries After the War,” which illustrates how “No greater relief could be obtained from the anxieties of the present than reading of good literature...” (*Yorkshire Observer*, 1916). Such findings also included archival documents corroborating a need based on economic strains in the industrial north (**5.3**), changes in domestic responsibilities due to men leaving for the front (**Images 8.1 and 8.2**), employment hardships, and increased labour expectations. Such hardships were often seen in reports at the library committee level. An example such as the one seen in the report from the Bradford Libraries, Art Gallery, and Museum Committee read

21 May 1917

With a view to bringing the public library into a more intimate relationship with the **commercial interest of the city, and to the more perfect adaptation of its machinery to meet the immediate re-organisation rendered necessary by the War**, it was resolved that a Commercial Library, reading-room, and information bureau be established on the lines suggested in the scheme now submitted by the Chief Librarian, and that all necessary arrangements be made to this

end” (*Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Libraries, Art Gallery and Museum Committee, For the Year Ending August 12th, 1917, 1917*).

These documents paralleled with secondary source literature and analysed under the Adapted Framework, emphasised the hardships placed on the local working-age population of the five Yorkshire field-study cities. The First World War's unexpected conflict changed how society worked in England. Ultimately, it was this change that brought up the realisation of the need for a quiet place, away from the overwhelming disruptions that plagued the years of the First World War (Braybon, 1981; De Groot, 1996; Hammersley, 1996; Hill, 2003; Snape, 2006; Stevenson, 1984; Thomas, 2016).

The archival and secondary source literature highlights the increased need for intellectual sanctuary as the conflict progressed. This is predominantly through the need for an establishment blind to judgment and religious affiliation. Cognisant of the constant tension between industry, English social norms, and radical class differences, this idea of refuge from the turmoil of the War grew significantly after the outbreak of the First World War and remained at the forefront of library provision until after 1920 (**8.3.2; 6.6; 6.6.2; 5.3.1**) (Black, 2007).

Achievement of Research Objective 4

This final research objective aimed to investigate if unanticipated conflicts, primarily the First World War, heightened the need for intellectual sanctuaries available to the local working-age population in Yorkshire. Some examples have been included in this discussion, but others have been used elsewhere in the research to emphasise the need for intellectual sanctuary during the First World War. While it is not possible to make this claim outright, it is possible, using the findings from primary source archival information, analysis, and the adapted framework, to state that elements of the First World War, primarily the effects on the local working-age population, aided in the need for intellectual sanctuary.

9.2.5 Concluding Thoughts Based on the Research: Re-Addressing the Research Question

The discussion above highlighted the different ways in which the research interacted with the research objectives. It emphasised that the long-range impacts of the First World War had considerable effects on the library services in the five field-study cities in Yorkshire, including the continued and changing influence of library legislation, the need for additional

services, and increased intentionality from library leaders (**RO1**). The discussion also highlighted how elements of the public library mirror the definition of sanctuary and intellectual sanctuary established for this thesis (**RO2**). Furthermore, the discussion above also spotlights the direct influence of availability, use, architecture, and the creation of self on the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary (**RO3**). Finally, the discussion culminated in an overall analysis of the environmental and personal factors presented in the thesis. Ultimately, this last discussion found that, as a result of the First World War, all factors influenced the local working-age population's use of the public library as an intellectual sanctuary (**RO4**).

It would not be realistic to state conclusively that public library services in Yorkshire unswervingly served as an intellectual sanctuary for all members of the working-age population throughout the years 1914-1918. However, the four identified elements employed in this research (availability, use, architecture, and finding the self in the public library) have provided a practical framework to understand how sanctuary evolved during the First World War and how members of the local working-age population experienced it. Although the use and impact of the public library fluctuated during the First World War, it is possible to conclude that during times of unexpected conflict, public library services across Yorkshire provided many citizens with both physical and intellectual sanctuary where they could escape the turmoil of the First World War.

9.3 Contributions to Knowledge

This research's contribution to the public library history field can be summarised in three principal ways. These include contributions to gaps in the literature, a way to bridge the gap between the social sciences and the arts and humanities, and methods to approach regional histories.

- Gaps in the Literature

This thesis significantly contributes to the existing literature on the public library as sanctuary. As noted in the literature review (**2.3.1**), except for a number of published materials looking at school libraries as places of sanctuary, there is a significant gap in literature paralleling libraries as places of sanctuary. This is specifically true within an English context and almost non-existent within the context of Yorkshire (Chapman, 2019;

Evarts, 2006; Gabaldón, 2020; Lambert, 2004; Wallace, 2020; Lubbock, 1891; Jeavons, 1883; Schultz, 2020, Burchell, 2018; Isaacson, 2004). Even more is the contribution this research adds to the discussion surrounding the public library in Yorkshire and its role as a place of intellectual sanctuary. To my knowledge, there has not been an investigation into the public library as an intellectual sanctuary for the local working-age population of Yorkshire during the First World War. By adding to this gap in the literature, this research begins a new branch within England's more extensive public library history.

- *Bridging the Gap Between the Social Sciences and the Arts and Humanities*

This research makes a significant contribution towards bridging two academic disciplines: the social sciences and the arts and humanities. Whereas interdisciplinary scholarship bridging the two areas is present in academic literature (Amugo and Orji, 2007; Hill, 1993; Swinnen, 2023; Bourke and Skinner, 2022), this thesis furthers this by creating a replicable process through which to conduct further interdisciplinary research. Not only will it encourage further research within the broader idea of interdisciplinary work, but with the development and application of the Adapted Framework (3.5.2), academics, researchers, and archivists alike now have a new way to undertake archival research with ties to both the social sciences and the arts and humanities.

Bridging the gap between these two distinct academic disciplines provides an archival method to combine a shared interest in social beliefs and shared histories. Implementing the Adapted Framework with the influences of Hill's (1993) 'Sociohistorical' methods provides in-depth historical investigations informed by scientific perspectives, ultimately creating a more comprehensive range of perspectives and a "new understanding of our society and our disciplines that [provide] greater clarity and equanimity into the future (p 7).

- *Regional Histories*

Another significant contribution this research highlights is the importance of regional histories. As Peatling (2004) said, "...national or regional variations in British or English public libraries are largely ignored" (p 3). Encouraging library authorities in Yorkshire and other parts of the country to establish a working understanding of their library history would provide essential information not only as an addition to the overall archival record but also as

a way to understand conflicts around them in the present, and also how best to deal with conflict in the future.

9.4 Limitations of the Research

The following section reemphasises the significant limitations encountered during the research and highlights how I attempted to minimise their impact on the overall research.

- Gaps in the Qualitative Archival Record: Missing Personal Accounts

As highlighted in **8.3.3**, archival silences are not uncommon within the archival record. Such silences can occur on many levels, from the separation of collections through accession practices to loss from user error to creators not seeing the value in certain documents (Hill, 1993; Moss and Thomas, 2021). One of the most restraining limitations encountered during the research was the lack of detailed personal experiences of the local working-age population and their use of public libraries in the five field-study cities during the First World War. Ideally, this research would have consulted written and oral histories directly from the working population, allowing for a comprehensive account of their experiences within the libraries. However, as Moss and Thomas (2021) write, “Sometimes, they [certain accounts] were the things left out, not deliberately but because they were not seen as important at the time” (p 2). It can never be known whether such experiences were documented in the first place or lost to history. However, I have strived to utilise the accounts available at each of the five fieldwork archival repositories to paint a picture of the individual experiences (and the environmental factors that influenced such experiences) to inform a collective understanding of the local working-age population’s library use.

- Gaps in the Quantitative Archival Record: Missing Data

As was noted in the limitation above, gaps in the archival record caused gaps in the quantitative data sets used in this thesis. While ultimately, this limited a complete look into usage numbers from 1914 to 1918, there was enough information for each type of usage statistics to make informed conclusions. For example, Tables **6.22**, **6.24**, and **Figure 6.5** all acknowledge gaps in the data. It can never be known why such gaps exist in the available archival record. However, I have endeavoured to address the effect of the missing data by breaking down numbers based on data type, aiming that a broken-down system of analysis

could provide a more detailed analysis and thus lessen the overall effects of missing yearly usage statistics.

9.5 Covid Casualties

The section above highlighted two significant limitations of the project, noting the effects of missing data on the research. However, further elements of the research process proved challenging, most notably due to COVID-19.

- Decreased Accessibility to Archives and Procedural Changes

Each stage of the research presented its own difficulties, highlighting the unpredictability of archival research. As mentioned in (3.5.3), one of the most significant hardships I encountered during the PhD process was the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. I began this research in Fall of 2019, six months before the first lockdown. Initially, I had planned to conduct the fieldwork stages of the research after my confirmation review in 2020, spending the next year travelling within Yorkshire and around the country to find archival information related to my research. However, government restrictions and national lockdowns confined this research to digital and online access only. During this time, I could not fully explore the literature surrounding historical public library services in Yorkshire, the local working-age population, the First World War, and the overarching idea of sanctuary. The outbreak of COVID and the subsequent three mandatory lockdowns pushed back my fieldwork until late 2021, leaving me roughly one year to conduct and process the fieldwork.

As mentioned above, reliable accessibility to archives was another casualty of the COVID-19 pandemic. Setting aside the governmental restrictions and national lockdowns, archives around the country were placed in a difficult position. In a field that relies on in-person visits, research, and collaboration, archives around the country implemented new rules and processes, changing how researchers and patrons interacted with their records. Some archives closed their doors completely until COVID-19 restrictions ended, stopping contact with documents entirely. A number of archives limited their weekly hours of operation and the days they opened to the public, preventing consecutive research days at the archive and creating logistical complexities regarding travel.

In addition to the general changes, further modifications to the access policies implemented by the archives included a change to pre-booked visits. In some cases, this permitted two researchers at a time to access records. Explore York and The Hull History Centre both implemented such processes. They both restricted use to two researchers able to book in the morning and two in the afternoon. As with bookable slots for researchers, booked users had to request the items needed for their time in the archives well before the booking. In some cases, this was required a week before a visit. A limit on the number of records was also implemented. While it is not uncommon for there to be a limitation on the number of records a researcher can access at once, during the height of the COVID procedures, I could, at most, access six documents a booking. The access to these records was also conditional on them having been in ‘document quarantine’ for at least forty-eight hours before an appointment. If this quarantine had not been met, the researcher had to re-book the appointment for the records to complete their quarantine.

While the restrictions above were completely valid and important for the safety of the archivists, librarians, staff, and fellow researchers during the COVID-19 pandemic, they also significantly limited how much time I could spend in the archives. It also increased the number of secondary and tertiary visits to repositories and libraries. While I was ultimately able to conduct a significant amount of archival research during my PhD, it limited the range of archival repositories I could use. This primarily affected planned trips to archives and local studies libraries outside Yorkshire (Imperial War Museum, the National Archives, etc.).

Overall, access to the archives was not detrimental to the research process. However, it did require much more pre-planning than pre-COVID. Through continued communication with archivists and local studies librarians, I often found a convenient time to access their repositories. These hardships also encouraged me to proactively anticipate records vital to this research. Thus, I undertook multiple trips throughout Yorkshire to access records according to the policies of each respective archive and library.

9.6 Recommendations

This section presents recommendations for future research and practitioner and professional implementation.

9.6.1 Recommendations for Future Research

In this section, I present recommendations for future research that will extend the reach of this thesis.

- *Research into the public library as intellectual sanctuary within additional industrial cities in Yorkshire.*

Given the intensity of archival research and the time constraints of this thesis, it was not possible to conduct more than the five case studies included in this research. However, with the development of the Adapted Framework, a process-based approach could benefit further archival research at additional industry-heavy locations. Not only would this continue to build further understanding of the effects of the First World War on patron experiences, but a more comprehensive understanding of the relationships between the local working-age population and their use of public libraries could be added to the growing historical record.

- *Research into local archival silences, noting potential causes and impact of silences*

As the thesis has presented, archival silences are an inevitable and present difficulty in almost any archival repository. However, while research associating such silences to inevitable misplacement and catalogue mishaps is present in the literature, to my knowledge, there is little UK research on silences present at individual locations. This could take the form of case studies focusing on singular library services and the silences in their historical records. Further exploration into potential reasons for present archival silences could provide a good foundation for uncovering missing data.

- *Research into the wider English public library during times of conflict*

Gaps in the literature present before this thesis briefly acknowledge the public library as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the communities they serve. Whereas this thesis focuses on five specific field-study cities in Yorkshire, further exploration into the broader scope of English public library services and whether practices (following the Adapted Framework) created a space conducive to intellectual sanctuary. Not only would this research provide important insight into the public library as an intellectual sanctuary, but it would also begin a discussion missing from the literature that focuses on the experiences of public library

patrons during national and personal conflicts. Ideally, this research would result in a comprehensive account of public library patron experiences throughout all counties in England, focusing on the significant national conflicts and conflicts affecting local populations throughout history.

- *Research into libraries as sanctuaries, both physical and intellectual*

There is more research that highlights the public library as a general sanctuary than research based on public libraries as intellectual sanctuaries. While this thesis establishes essential environmental and personal factors used to assess libraries as intellectual sanctuaries, further research using such environmental and personal processes as established in the Adapted Framework could significantly add depth and understanding to the already established academic interest in libraries as sanctuaries. Furthermore, historical research could link to additional modern research, bridging the gap between modern sanctuaries and historical. Tying together the modern and historical could benefit not only the present state of research and interest in libraries as sanctuary but it could also bring the experiences of the past into a modern context, ultimately establishing a way to use past experiences as a way to assess the present, and to proactively inform future decisions regarding libraries as sanctuaries.

9.6.2 Recommendations for Professional Practitioners

Recommendations for Archives and Libraries

- Increase focus on archival digitisation, focusing on digitally accessible items for remote research. Ideally, this would include a focus on digitisation of collections, online accessible transcription of items and text, and updated online metadata listings.
- Highlight archival silences in local repositories by acknowledging and explaining the presence of archival gaps. This is especially important regarding vulnerable communities such as the working-age population, the working class, women, children, the poor, and the elderly. Additionally, locating missing documents within the local repository and other archives could further increase the scope of established collections. Prioritise acquisition of documents that fill in known gaps; work with other locations to bring together documents from the same collection to fill in gaps in the historical record.

- Writing and updating of digital finding aids at the item level. Specifically, make findings aids available online for remote consultation. Readily accessible updated findings aids would allow for more flexible research practices, ultimately building a more reliable online archival search process.
- Develop research guides specific to public libraries within each local library and archive. This would include searchable lists highlighting personal recollections, experiences, comments, and oral history transcriptions. Such online and in-person guides would encourage modern patrons and researchers to engage with public library history.
- The development of a digital archive preserving patron experiences and interactions with the public library during periods of conflict in Great Britain. Ideally, this archive should be subdivided by conflict and localities within a focused geographical region (i.e. First World War – England – Warwickshire – Stratford upon Avon or Second World War – Ireland – Munster province – Limerick).
- Prioritise oral history projects to proactively preserve personal experiences for future access. This could include audio recordings, video footage, typed reflections, and digital photographs.

While the above points are not an exhaustive list of recommendations for professional practitioners, they do begin a discussion on library preparedness for remote research, digital access, and filling in archival silences. By recognising and prioritising the uncovering of missing data in the historical record, specifically regarding industrial communities within the years of the First World War, repositories could provide a more compressive historical account of the library's role in the First World War. Eventually, the process established in the Adapted Framework could be utilised worldwide to establish library histories and uncover patron experiences within their local libraries.

9.6.3 Recommendations for Library Organizations

Recommendations for CILIP

- Further emphasis and focused scholarship of individual public library service histories between the Public Library Act of 1850 and the present day. These would take the form

of archival collections, published literature, research guides, and other forms of accessible material. This would allow for more developed and intentional engagement between CILIP members and their professional history and provide fundamental opportunities to learn from the past and understand how the past directly influences the present.

- Developing and integrating seminars and workshops focused on the historical public library and sanctuary. This could include seminars on the environmental and personal factors that encouraged or helped to build the library as sanctuary, workshops on how to integrate historical experiences into decisions of the modern library, and trainings that work together with organisations such as Libraries of Sanctuary to connect the past library practices to the present. Ultimately, these historical-based seminars and workshops would provide a platform to learn from past decisions to help inform those of the present and future of the profession.
- Schedule seminars and workshops integrating public libraries, regional histories, and archival work. This could include practical workshops such as introductions to archival research, seminars and training in using online archives and catalogue searches, and classes that emphasise the importance of public library history on the current practitioners and professionals in the field.
- Introduce the term intellectual sanctuary into publications, lectures, workshops, guidance publications, and outreach programs. Ideally, this would include a separate subsection within CILIP that deals with libraries as sanctuaries (such as the Libraries of Sanctuary movement under the City of Sanctuary organization), which conducts subjective and external outreach to promote the libraries as places for all people.

Recommendations for Libraries of Sanctuary (City of Sanctuary)

- Incorporate historical case studies, literature, and documentation into current organizational aims. This would further the connection between the historic public library, the idea of sanctuary, and the modern interpretations of libraries as sanctuaries.
- Further the scope of published literature and new projects recognising the historical relationships between libraries and sanctuaries to inform the current upkeep and designation of modern libraries as sanctuaries. This could include pamphlets, research

guides, adaptable frameworks, and resource packs (much like the one created for the Libraries of Sanctuary movement.)

As explored throughout this thesis, the idea of libraries as sanctuaries is not new. By incorporating the historical elements into the current work of the Libraries of Sanctuary movement, the current sanctuary seekers would understand that they are not the first to go through troubles and seek the library for help. They would be able to understand that sanctuary seeking, whether it be physical, intellectual, or both, is a serious subject and one that has affected many people since 1850. More practically, the Libraries of Sanctuary could use the historical information outlined in this thesis to inform their decisions moving forward. Libraries of Sanctuary could use historical research to assess the current work throughout libraries across the country and help inform them of the best ways to encourage sanctuary amongst the most vulnerable.

9.7 Chapter Summary and Closing Thoughts

In this chapter, I have presented how the research answered each research objective and the overall conclusions relating the public library to an intellectual sanctuary. I outlined this thesis's contributions to academic literature and practical archival practices. I then synthesised the conclusions from the research, with gaps in both professional practice and academic literature, to determine recommendations for future research, professional practitioners, CILIP, and Libraries of Sanctuary.

At the beginning of this thesis, I quoted a 2003 conference speech given by Pam Munoz Ryan. The quote related the public library to a “temple(s) unabridged with priceless treasure(s).” From the beginning of this process, I associated this quote, now the title of this thesis, with tangible books held in the library. This was heavily influenced by the time spent working in a public library. I saw how people used books and knew what they meant to them. Now, however, with the culmination of this thesis, it is possible to interpret ‘priceless treasure’ in another way, as **the personal experiences cultivated, encouraged, and housed in the public library**. Understanding the ‘priceless treasures’ as a reflection of the library patron, it is possible to see that this could refer to the minds of the library patron. If public libraries are temples (sanctuaries) and they hold priceless treasures (minds), then it is natural to link the public library as a place sacred to the mind. While the conclusions made in this thesis cannot definitively claim that the historic public library in the five Yorkshire field-

work cities during the First World War as an intellectual sanctuary, it is possible to see that there were distinct elements integrated into the environment of the public library that encouraged the library patron to find an idea of self, and in turn, to find places that reflect intellectual sanctuary.

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Appendix A: Policies

Item A1: Research Ethics Policy Note no. 9

The University of Sheffield **Research Ethics Policy Note no. 9**

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

1. PERSONAL DATA IN ARCHIVES

All archival research that involves ‘personal data’, whether in public or private archives, requires ethics review and approval via the Research Ethics Approval Procedure. The University’s Research Ethics Policy uses the General Data Protection Regulation definition of personal data:

‘Personal data’ means any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural (living) person (‘data subject’); an identifiable natural person is one who can be identified, directly or indirectly, in particular by reference to an identifier such as a name, an identification number, location data, an online identifier or to one or more factors specific to the physical, physiological, genetic, mental, economic, cultural or social identity of that natural person’

Archival research involving personal data is subject to all the strictures and principles of the Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue.

2. OTHER ETHICAL ISSUES IN ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Notwithstanding the above, much archival research relates to individuals who are not living and, therefore, does not involve ‘personal data’, thus defined. This does not, however, mean that there are no ethical issues involved in this kind of archival research.

Public archives are generally straightforward, in that the material in them can be considered to be in the public domain already. Even here, however, there may be issues about ownership, publication and confidentiality that require explicit agreements.

The following ethical issues should be considered when undertaking research in private archives (which should be taken to mean everything from modest files of individual or family documents to large, managed documentary repositories, and to include on-line material as well as hard copy).

First, there is a responsibility to treat ethically the owner(s) or controller(s) of the archive. Explicit agreements should ideally be entered into, and recorded, about:

- the uses to which archival material will be put;
- if relevant, the nature of any anonymising strategies that will be employed;
- the ownership and copyright of the material; and
- the rights of approval of publication (if any) of the owner(s) or controller(s).

There may, depending on circumstances, be other matters to consider in this respect. It is important, and in the best interest of all parties, that factors such as these be dealt with explicitly and recorded appropriately.

Second, the competence and legal right of ownership (or control) of those with whom access to archival material is negotiated should not merely be assumed. It is a researcher's responsibility to satisfy her/himself of the propriety and legality of her/his actions in this

Finally, it should be remembered that the dead may have living relatives, whose sensitivities should at least be explicitly considered. This does not mean that those sensitivities should always be able to prevent research or publication. It does mean that researchers should be clear and transparent about their reasons for setting such sensitivities aside, should they deem this to be necessary or appropriate.

THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD
POLICY ON GOOD RESEARCH AND INNOVATION PRACTICES

1.2 GOOD R&I PRACTICES IN MANAGING RESEARCH DATA

Research data, like publications, are R&I outputs in their own right which require careful management. In recent years research funder policies, journal requirements and disciplinary initiatives concerning research data management have evolved considerably. It is important to be aware of and observe funder and journal conditions, as well as the University policy below.

Ensuring research data integrity (i.e. so that it is complete, documented, verifiable and undistorted) is critical to ensuring the validity of research results and requires planning and management of data throughout the research process.

Enabling others to access research data is critical. All R&I activities are governed by some terms and conditions which will usually specify provisions for published outputs. There may be a requirement to delay the release of research data for a reasonable time period on commercial grounds or to allow for the de-identification of data in research involving human participants. In rare circumstances the University may not be able to publish information on the grounds of National Security. Where restrictions apply it is important to state the reason for the restriction and how others can access the data in any associated publications. PGR students may embargo both their thesis and research data, in discussion with their Supervisors, and under certain conditions (e.g. where it is necessary to delay access to a thesis until after publication of results).

However, research data must be available to others in order to enable its credibility and reliability to be verified independently.

It is good R&I practice to continue managing research data after publication to safeguard its ongoing value. This includes enabling continued access to and active preservation of research data and metadata in formats that can be used by researchers across disciplines over extended periods. The value of some research data increases over time, whereas other research data may decrease in value as the focus of research moves, so the utility of research data being preserved should be assessed regularly.

Research Data Management Policy

1. Preamble

This policy aims to provide a strategic framework for the management of data generated by research projects at the University of Sheffield. The term “data” is intended to be interpreted widely in this context as the evidence used to inform or support research conclusions, and includes observational data, experimental data, and some software code, independent of format. Data could also be information from archives, videos of performances or recorded interviews. There are particular challenges with the management, storage and long-term curation of digital research data, which the policy seeks to address. This policy applies to all research undertaken by staff and research students of the University, regardless of whether or

not it is externally funded. It aims to encourage a positive approach to the management of research data across the institution.

The University regards the effective management of the data generated by research projects as an integral part of good research and innovation practice. It believes that there are important drivers for effective research data management, including:

- Maximising the impact of research
- Assurance of research integrity and reproducibility
- Enhanced data security and reduced risk of data loss
- Facilitation of data sharing and collaboration by aligning with the FAIR principles
- Maximising opportunities for new research based on reuse and recombination of data from multiple sources, including data mining
- The principle of open access to publicly-funded research outputs, recognised by UKRI, OECD and universities around the world
- Improving the likelihood of success in future grant proposals
- Compliance with the requirements of research funders.

2. Data Management Requirements and Responsibilities

The responsibilities outlined here apply to all those involved in undertaking research across the University, whilst recognising that research practices vary by discipline. Therefore faculties, departments and research groups may wish to develop a more specific policy relevant to local research methods.

2.1 All researchers

All researchers, including postgraduate research students, have a personal responsibility to manage effectively the data they create. All researchers are expected to:

- Ensure that there is a data management plan for all research projects they are working on and implement this plan. Topics covered by the plan should include data collection, appropriate storage, use, re-use, security, access, archiving, sharing and publication. It is recognised that for students, the level of detail required is likely to be significantly less than for a staff member undertaking an externally funded project.
- Manage personal data in line with the University's *Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue*, and data protection legislation.
- Consider IP, contractual or data licencing and sharing issues before the research commences and ensure any necessary agreements are in place.
- Ensure that data they have generated, collected or derived is shared with a supervisor or lead researcher during the research and before they leave the University to minimise the risk of data loss.
- Document research data and software appropriately and store this documentation alongside the data and software in line with the FAIR (Findable, Accessible, Interoperable and Reusable) principles. Documentation and research data should be shared in a research data repository unless there are financial, legal or ethical reasons

which mean this is not possible. Documentation, data and software must be given to a supervisor or lead researcher before leaving the University.

- Include data access statements in published research and formally cite data which informs published research.

2.2 Lead researchers / principal investigators (PIs)

The primary responsibility for effective research data management during the course of research projects lies with lead researchers/principal investigators (PIs). PIs are expected to:

- Set clear expectations with respect to appropriate data management and ensure that all members of their research team(s) are aware of their responsibilities and have the skills, understanding and support necessary to carry these out effectively (and where required, assist team members in gaining the necessary skills and understanding).
- Have an up to date, documented copy of data from research undertaken by students, postdoctoral research associates and other researchers during the project and in particular before they leave the University.
- Seek to recover the direct costs of managing research data from the research funder. This may include costing in storage for projects involving large amounts of data and the support of a member of the Library Data Management team or a research data manager, where data management needs are likely to be complex and may require additional support and advice.

2.3 Supervisors of students

Supervisors of students at all levels are also responsible for setting clear expectations with respect to data management, and ensuring their students are aware of their data management responsibilities. Supervisors are expected to:

- Hold discussions with students about data management throughout the student's project and support them in developing the necessary skills, to a standard consistent with their level of study.
- Discuss data management with postgraduate research students as part of the Doctoral Development Programme's training needs analysis.
- Support postgraduate research students in maintaining an appropriate Data Management Plan throughout the project, to be submitted as part of the student's record of their personal development at the end of their research.
-
- Have an up to date, documented copy of all data from research undertaken by students throughout the project and in particular before they leave the University.

2.4 Postgraduate research (PGR) students

In addition to the general responsibilities for researchers, all PGR students are required to:

- Submit a Data Management Plan for assessment as part of their Confirmation Review,
- Maintain their plan over the course of their research.
- Share their data with their supervisors during their research project and make sure that a copy remains with their supervisors when they leave The University of Sheffield.

3. Ownership of research data

Unless the terms of research grants or contracts provide otherwise, data generated by research projects are the property of the University of Sheffield. The University recognises the importance of making research data available as part of the research process. This will frequently involve granting a non-exclusive licence (e.g. a Creative Commons licence) to a data repository, but researchers should exercise care in assigning rights in data to publishers or other external agencies.

4. Support from the University for research data management

The University provides:

- Training on research data management for research students, early career researchers, and other researchers who request it
- Guidelines and advice on research data management, including data management plans, costing of research data management into research proposals, creation of descriptive metadata, intellectual property and Freedom of Information requests
- Additional infrastructure and services for research data management including resilient, secure storage, to be developed in consultation with researchers.

This policy will be kept under regular review by the Research & Innovation Committee.
June 2020

COVID-19 recovery survey

Executive summary

Introduction

The National Archives, with its leadership role for the archive sector in England, undertook an initial COVID-19 impact survey in April 2020. This was followed by a [Business Continuity Survey](#) in the early summer 2020 and a [second impact survey](#) in the autumn 2020. In 2022, a new survey to investigate any continuing impact of the pandemic on services and how they are recovering from periods of closure was undertaken. 125 responses were received.

The New Normal

Responses showed that most services are now offering many services that they did pre-pandemic, particularly the core services of enquiries and reading rooms (over 90%), albeit with some tweaks, such as pre-booking and ordering or changes to opening hours. Community and Education services are being offered by many services but some are still to reinstate these. At most services, staff were either back working largely onsite (42%) or were hybrid working (49%). Indeed across most areas of archive services work (conservation, accessioning), the majority of services reported no continuing impact on their capacity to carry them out. Over half (58%) did not think there would be any change in focus in terms of onsite activities.

Whilst the pandemic had led to widespread delays or cancelled projects (over two thirds of services reported this), many (44%) had already resumed or were planned to (15%). The proportion of archive services that indicated the period of closure would change the way they planned for the future had decreased by over 10% since 2020 (from 58% to 45%).

Increase in digital and online services

The pandemic has led to an increase in those providing digital and online services: 40% of archive services started to offer online talks, webinars, events during the pandemic and are still providing them now, the same is true of 16% of services for online access to exhibitions and 6% for access to digital collections. Open comments suggest this is due to increased interest and engagement from audiences, more investment and focus within services or closures allowing staff more time to focus on digital activities. Services also reported an increase in the proportion of their collections available online. Before March 2020, 20% of archive services reported that 6% or more of the collections were available online. By April 2022, this had increased to 27%.

In comparing 2020 and 2022 survey data, there is further evidence for services increased usage of digital and online tools to engage audiences during closure, with those who used social media, virtual tours, blogs and online events all having increased in 2022. However, 10% fewer services were providing online events now (as compared to during closure), some

comments explained that it was hard to commit staff to this now they are back on site and needed for other tasks.

Many services have realised the benefits of providing digital resources and services in developing new audiences. This may explain why many services anticipated an increased focus on online resource provision (70%) and social media (45%) and why digital functions are where the highest proportion of services reported an increase in capacity. Nearly one fifth of services have seen an increase in capacity in the following areas: accessioning digital material; digitising material, preservation of digital material, cataloguing digital material. These increases in capacity are mainly driven by higher education services, a sector where funds have been available for providing services such as virtual reading rooms.

The use of online activities and social media appears to have led to an improvement in relationships with new and potential audiences (52% of services). These online methods may also have helped improve relations within services' wider organisations, with 46% reporting improved relationships.

The 2020 survey found there could be the beginning of a 'digital gap', where smaller services had not been engaged in online activities or social media to maintain relationships with audiences or offer services online. The 2022 survey suggests this has continued with fewer smaller and independent services providing online activities, virtual access to exhibitions and online access to collections. They were also more likely to report decreased capacity to carry out digital functions (e.g. accessing digital material, preservation of digital material). This all seems to have had an impact on relationships, with 49% of smaller services seeing an improvement with new and potential audiences compared to 58% of larger services.

Fewer onsite visits

Visit numbers had begun to recover in 2021/22 but were still a long way behind levels seen in 2018/19 and 2019/20. There were 214,834 fewer visits in 2020/21 (the year most affected by lockdowns and resulting closures) than in 2018/19, an 88% decline. The difference between 2018/19 and 2021/22 still represented a decline of 67%, despite the number of days open to the public only being 33% less. A number of factors will have impacted on this including: effect of the pandemic on the public's confidence to visit indoor public spaces and use public transport; services limiting numbers; advanced booking being required; limited opening hours; and more resources, events and services now being available online.

Decreasing Capacity and Funding

A large number of services are concerned about funding, 47% reported either already seeing or anticipating an impact on their funding and this was generally (89%) expected to be a decrease. Few services felt that the expected increased focus on online and social media provision would correspond with an increase in resources or a decrease of activities elsewhere (45% did not think it would, 35% were unsure and only 20% thought it would). Open comments showed that services often felt they were expected to do more with the same or less resource or capacity and similarly, a major area highlighted in open comments on how future planning would change was planning for fewer staff and smaller budgets.

The areas where most services reported a decrease in capacity were: cataloguing of physical material (34%), transcribing (29%) and accessioning physical material (26%). Services that had already seen or anticipated an impact on collections due to the periods of closure, increased from 23% in 2020 to 34% in 2022. Comments revealed that the biggest impact was on backlogs in cataloguing and accessioning new material, with several services noting that backlogs in these areas meant they could not accept any new material for the time being and a few noted that this was in part a result of the increased focus on digital, meaning there was less time to give to these functions.

Decreasing Volunteer engagement

44% of services reported a decline in the number of volunteers they had now compared to pre-pandemic and 37% of services reported having no volunteers in April 2022 compared to 20% pre-pandemic. In terms of volunteers' working location, whilst just over half had volunteers back on site to some extent, a quarter (26%) did not have volunteers back on site at all. Relationships with volunteers was also the area where the highest proportion of services reported a worsening or negative impact, with nearly half (48%) reporting this, many citing a long period of volunteers being unable to be on site and ongoing restrictions on numbers allowed on site as a reason for that. There were however, some services that had developed virtual volunteering opportunities.

The long gap in provision has also impacted on relationships with regular users, with over a third of services reporting a worsening of relations.

Support from The National Archives

There was widespread awareness of the online support (both guidance and information and services and activities), in both 2020 and 2022, at over 90%. A higher proportion however, had used the online support in 2022 than in 2020, perhaps as more services re-opened and turned to sources of support. Fewer were aware of the one-to-one support in both years 60% in 2020 and 66% 2022. The subject areas that services reported accessing guidance on were predominantly COVID-19 guidance and advice (two thirds of respondents) and one fifth was around digital or digitisation. Almost all rated the support accessed as useful.

Where there were suggestions for improvement, this was around how quickly guidance was published and some felt it could have been more in depth. In terms of continued funding for the impact of COVID-19, most felt this should continue but some felt that the programme should be broader in scope.

Appendix B: DMP

A Temple Unabridged with Priceless Treasure: An Investigation of Yorkshire Public Libraries as Intellectual Sanctuary During the First World War: 1914-1918.

Defining your data

During this project, I have collected both physical and digital data at libraries and archives in Bradford, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, and York. This included taking digital photos of physical documents, document transcriptions, handwritten notes, and downloads of digital files. This included historical newspapers, library committee minutes, architectural blueprints, photographs, historical publications, paper-based paraphernalia, memoirs, and library statistics. I have also collected digital information from the British Newspaper Archive, The National Archives, Leeds University, and the Office for National Statistics. The data collected from these locations included digitised newspaper articles, census data, digitised paraphernalia, and county population statistics. Such data was collected from the respective repositories using the recommended processes from each location in addition to those implemented in my research framework. This process began in February 2020 when a pilot study was conducted in Sheffield. Due to COVID restrictions, the beginning of the fieldwork did not begin until 2021.

Due to the historical archival nature of this project, I did not produce any original data apart from calculating percent changes between published data and text produced from transcribing archival materials. Some of the data accumulated from these visits resulted in .png formatted photographs which were partly used as photographs in the written thesis and partly used to create tables within the several stages of the document. Some of these tables are referenced in the appendix of the final thesis.

Looking after data during your research

The data collected from archival sources is stored both on my university-encrypted password-protected laptop and within a secure cloud server (University Google Drive), to ensure effective backup precautions. Once transcribed, the digital data will be securely protected on the university-issued laptop and Google Drive.

In order to remain consistent with the collection of data from different sources and archives, I will name and organise my files by following the International Standard for Archival Description (General) [ISAD (G)] standard. This will require the following format: the reference code of the item, the title of the item, the location of creation, the location of the archive and or library collected from, the date of creation, the scope and the format of the collection.

Storing data after your research

After the project's completion, the photographs taken of the archival material will be deleted from the university laptop. Collated tables of information will remain in the thesis for access if further projects come from the research.

While no original data was created as a result of the historical thesis, it was imperative to collate the historical data into tables, many of which were used in the thesis. The data present in the research is taken from historical accounts already published in their respective city councils.

Sharing data after your research

While the thesis presents archival data and information from the archives and city libraries within the thesis, the original data must remain at their respective repositories. The nature of the archival research process requires any primary source material to remain in their own repositories. The archival material used in this thesis is included in the References section of the thesis, which includes the location of the holding. This will provide a definitive list of all archival collections used in this project.

I will look to provide my research to the relevant historical groups around Yorkshire who may be interested in using or referencing my work. This work will also be available to those outside of Yorkshire who are interested.

As per University recommendations, the completed thesis will be made available in the White Rose eTheses Online repository.

Putting your plan into practice

Throughout the thesis process, it has been my responsibility to implement and review plans for data storage and management. It has been possible to discuss any issues, such as best practice procedures regarding secure data storage and data collection practices from archival documents (including the transcription of historical documents) at regular supervision meetings. As the thesis has progressed, the plan has been put into practice with the support of my supervisors. It has been reviewed on a need-to basis.

Appendix C: Archive Inquiry Emails

Item C1: Example of Email Sent to Archives and Local Studies Libraries

To Whom It May Concern,

My name is Molly Newcomb and I am a second year PhD student in the Information School at the University of Sheffield.

I wanted to make contact with you to inquire about the current services the _____ is offering during the national lockdown and to establish whether there are additional digital resources while access to the physical archives is restricted.

My research seeks to critically explore the impact of public libraries on the communities they served during times of conflict. More specifically, my study will investigate the extent to which the public libraries of Yorkshire served as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the local working population during the years of the First World War.

I hope to utilize various primary sources including newspapers, visitor logs, usage statistics, census records, and any memoirs about _____. I am in the process of combing through the online catalogue and making notes on which items will be useful for my research. Moreover, if you have any recommendations on collections that may be helpful then I would be very appreciative of the suggestions.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing back from you.

Molly Newcomb
PhD Candidate
Information School
University of Sheffield

Image C2: Example of Email Received from Initial Inquiry

[SC #271989] AutoReply: Research Inquiry and Current Services

1 message

Special Collections enquiries via RT <specialcollections@library.leeds.ac.uk>

8 February 2021 at 15:51

Reply-To: specialcollections@library.leeds.ac.uk

To: manewcomb1@sheffield.ac.uk

Thank you for your enquiry entitled "Research Inquiry and Current Services", a summary of which appears below.

This message has been automatically generated to acknowledge receipt of your enquiry. Your ticket has been assigned an ID of [SC #271989].

The University has opened many parts of campus whilst still following Government guidelines. We do have a small number of staff on site and are able to offer a range of services. Please see our website for further details:
https://library.leeds.ac.uk/info/1500/special_collections

Please include the string [SC #271989] in the subject line of all future correspondence about your query. To do so, you may reply to this message.

We normally aim to respond to email enquiries within 3 working days but we are currently working with limited staff. We apologise in advance for any delays and thank you for your understanding.

Thank you
specialcollections@library.leeds.ac.uk

To Whom It May Concern,

My name is Molly Newcomb and I am a second year PhD student in the Information School at the University of Sheffield.

I wanted to make contact with you to inquire about the current services the library and special collections is offering during the national lockdown and to establish whether there are additional digital resources while access to the physical archives is restricted.

My research seeks to critically explore the impact of public libraries on the communities they served during times of conflict. More specifically, my study will investigate the extent to which the public libraries of Yorkshire served as a place of intellectual sanctuary for the local working population during the years of the First World War.

I hope to utilize various primary sources including newspapers, visitor logs, usage statistics, census records, and any memoirs about life in Leeds. I am in the process of combing through the online catalogue and making notes on which items will be useful for my research. Moreover, if you have any recommendations on collections that may be helpful then I would be very appreciative of the suggestions.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing back from you.

Molly Newcomb
PhD Candidate
Information School
University of Sheffield

Image C3: Example of Email Received from Initial Inquiry

Inquiry/Follow-up: Hull Free Public Library History Sources

2 messages

Molly A Newcomb <manewcomb1@sheffield.ac.uk>
To: hullhistorycentre@hcandl.co.uk

7 October 2021 at 11:49

To Whom It May Concern,

My name is Molly Newcomb and I am a third-year Ph.D. student in the Information School at the University of Sheffield.

I emailed earlier in the year regarding locating materials regarding Hull public library history and was told that you did not hold anything relating to this topic. I've just seen the Hull History Center's blog post for Libraries Week regarding the history of the James Reckitt Library in the late 1800s and am having trouble locating the documents that were used in this post and finding any other sources related to public library provision from between 1910 and 1920 in Hull. Within the blog post, I found [L SP/18] listed but am not having any luck locating it within a catalog search.

Is this something you could help me with? I am hoping to travel to Hull to conduct some research, but need to know if there are materials I will have access to.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing back from you.

Molly Newcomb
PhD. Candidate
Information School
University of Sheffield

Leaver Paul <Paul.Leaver@hcandl.co.uk>
To: Molly A Newcomb <manewcomb1@sheffield.ac.uk>

8 October 2021 at 10:02

Enquiry No. G21/00614

Dear Ms Newcomb

Thank you for your latest enquiry.

There are two secondary sources you could try. First is the Victoria County History, County of York, East Riding Volume 1 Kingston upon Hull. This is available as hard copy and at:-

www.british-history.ac.uk

There is also Geoffrey Drewery's 'History and Development of Libraries in Hull' published in 2002. We have lending copies here as well as reference copies should you wish to see it.

16/09/2023, 16:19

University of Sheffield Mail - Inquiry/Follow-up: Hull Free Public Library History Sources

the minutes , but after that they were bound into separate volumes. The catalogue for the reports is not yet online. The minutes would seem to be the most likely source of information for your time frame.

There are also additional papers relating to the libraries at reference C TCPL, the records of the Public Libraries Committee. I'm afraid this catalogue is not yet available online, it is hard copy only. This can be viewed here at the centre. Having had a quick look, most of the papers that seem to have been catalogued relate to the establishment of libraries, from the 1890s. There does not seem too much fitting in with your date period.

The reference from the blog you mentioned (L SP/18) relates to some of our older collections for whom there is no online catalogue yet. This is why you may have had trouble locating it on the online catalogue as it has yet to be uploaded. Again, these papers are from the late 1880s early 1890s.

Please see the following reading access to our collections and how to book a visit.

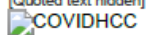
[Using Archives and Reference Material | Hull History Centre](#)

Yours sincerely

Enquiry Team

From: Molly A Newcomb [mailto:manewcomb1@sheffield.ac.uk]
Sent: 07 October 2021 11:49
To: Hull History Centre <Reception.HullHistoryCentre@hcandl.co.uk>
Subject: Inquiry/Follow-up: Hull Free Public Library History Sources

You don't often get email from manewcomb1@sheffield.ac.uk. [Learn why this is important](#)

[Quoted text hidden]


This email and any files transmitted with it are confidential and intended solely for the use of the individual or entity to whom they are addressed. If you have received this email in error please notify Hull Culture and Leisure Limited on 01482 300300 or email business.support@hcandl.co.uk
Hull Culture and Leisure Limited Company No. 09451253.
Registered Address: Pacific Exchange, 40 High Street, Hull, HU1 1PS. Registered in England
Hull Culture and Leisure Limited is a Company controlled by Kingston Upon Hull City Council as defined in Section 68 of the Local Government and Housing Act 1989

Item C4: Example, Hull History Centre Booking Policy 2021

Dear History Centre Visitor

Hull History Centre search room enquiry

Thank you for contacting the Hull History Centre about using our search room service.

We are happy to be able to now welcome our visitors back to the Centre.

We are sure that you will understand the service will look very different, so please bear with us whilst we adapt to the new way of working.

The steps we have taken to ensure the safety of both staff and visitors comply fully with the government's guidance on managing the risk of COVID-19 and we will be reviewing this regularly and updating our procedures where necessary.

Please read all of the following so you are aware of the new way of working and how to reserve a seat in the search room.

For your safety and the safety of other visitors and staff, in line with Government guidance of 8th August 2020, it is mandatory for anyone entering our building to wear a face covering for the duration of their visit. This includes collecting books through the select and collect service or whilst using our search room. Please come prepared with your face covering as you will not be able to use the Centre's services without one.

Please see <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/face-coverings-when-to-wear-one-and-how-to-make-your-own/face-coverings-when-to-wear-one-and-how-to-make-your-own> for government guidance on face coverings and exemptions. Please note that our search room is regarded as a 'public reading room' for these rules.

Points to note

- The search room will be open Wednesday, Thursday and Friday each week, 10am-12.00pm and 2.00pm-4pm. **Wednesdays will be for access to City Archives and Local Studies Material ONLY.** If you want to use University archives you will need to book for a Thursday or a Friday. You are very welcome to look at both City Archives, Local Studies material and University Archives on a Thursday and Friday. Please check our online catalogue <http://catalogue.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/>
 - City Archives – references beginning **C**
 - Local Studies material – references beginning **L**
 - University Archives – references beginning **U**
- We will be looking to give access to as many people as possible during our restricted service but as demand is likely to be high there may be occasions when we have to limit visits to one day a week. This, along with all our other arrangements will be kept under review.
- Search room visits and orders for archives and reference material must be booked one week in advance of your visit by telephoning on 01482 317500; emailing at hullhistorycentre@hcandl.co.uk or by writing to Hull History Centre, Worship Street, Hull, HU2 8BG
- You will need let us know what you want to look at so that we can make sure you come in on the right day to look at City, Local Studies or University material.

- During the restricted service period you will be able to order 10 items.
- 4 seats will be available to book in the search room at each of the two sessions a day. You will be allocated a seat and advised of your table number when we confirm your booking
- You will also be advised of your locker number when we confirm your booking. Please use this to put all your belongings in. You can take a pencil, your research, paper and camera into the search room. Please advise whether you will be bringing a laptop so that we can allocate you a table with access to power if required. These are limited and will be allocated on a first come first served basis.
- Please come on your own as there will be no group bookings including couples, to ensure social distancing. If you need assistance to make your visit and will be bringing a carer or helper with you, please let us know at the point of booking so we can arrange our seating accordingly.
- Please bring everything you need during your visit including pencils, pencil sharpeners and paper as we are unable to provide these at this time.
- We recommend you bring a camera or use your phone to take copies as staff are unable to take photocopies for you. To assist you with this we have introduced a £10 session fee which will enable you to take as many images as you wish during your 2-½ hour session. Should you be staying for two sessions in one day and wish to continue to take images, the normal £15 day pass will apply. Please pay using contactless wherever possible.
- We ask that you inform us as soon as possible if you are delayed or cannot visit.

Making a reservation

All reference books and archive items must be ordered one week ahead of your visit. We will need to know the date and session you would like to visit (e.g. 10am or 2pm or all day).

At the time of booking we will ask you for your full name and address, including postcode, contact details and the reason for your visit (such as family or local history, academic research) – this will enable us to enter details in the visitors book for our statistics and enable us to assist the NHS test and trace service (further details below).

We will also need to know the references of all the material you wish to view during your visit. This will help us ensure that you book the right day to look at City archives, Local Studies material or University archives. You are very welcome to look at both City, Local Studies and University material on a Thursday and Friday.

As we are currently using a temporary search room, you will not be able to browse the search room bookshelves. If you know that you would like to use the Council Minutes, a Street Directory, a Telephone Directory, an Electoral Register between 1950 and 2019, please include these in the list of items you would like to view and we will retrieve them for you. These items will be counted as part of your 10 items.

Once you have made your reservation

Please do not travel to the History Centre unless you have received confirmation from us that we have arranged a date and timeslot for you to visit the search room. If you do arrive without an appointment you will be turned away and asked to come back at the arranged time or arrange a new time. It is important however that you **DO NOT** come to the History Centre if you are experiencing any symptoms of Corona Virus.

We will confirm your booking as soon as we can. At the same time, we will explain more about the procedures to follow whilst at the Centre.

Thank you for your patience and understanding at this time. We will keep you up to date of any developments via our website at www.hullhistorycentre.org.uk

Please note that following government guidance we will be keeping a temporary record of your visit for 21 days, after which it will be destroyed. Should it become necessary, we may share your details with the NHS test and trace service but we will only pass your details to the NHS if a visitor to the Centre on the same day as you tests positive for COVID-19. By following this government guidance we are helping to reduce the risk of a local outbreak and protect our staff, visitors and the wider community.

Kind regards,

Hull History Centre Enquiries Team



Researcher undertaking concerning access under the General Data Protection Regulation and UK Data Protection Act 2018 to archives that are subject to restricted access.

NAME.....

ADDRESS
.....

REASON FOR USE (please be specific about why you need to access these record/s and how you will use the information contained therein - continue on separate sheet if necessary)

I REQUEST PERMISSION TO CONSULT - ARCHIVE DOCUMENT REFERENCE/S:

and agree to make use of any personal data contained therein in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation 2018 and UK Data Protection Act 2018.

My research will not be used to support measures or decisions with respect to particular individuals and will not cause or be likely to cause substantial damage or substantial distress to any person who is the subject of those data while he or she is alive or likely to be alive (assuming a life span of 100 years).

I will not make the results of my research available in a form that identifies any data subject without the consent in writing of the data subject or the data controller.

I understand that I shall become responsible for compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation and UK Data Protection Act 2018 in relation to any processing by me of personal data obtained from the above records and undertake to dispose of this data in an appropriate manner when it is no longer required for my research.

Signed.....Date.....

To be completed by an archivist

Authorised by (sign and print).....

Date.....

Item C6: Example of Sheffield Local Studies Library Inquiry and COVID-19 Response

Local Studies Library Appointment

7 messages

Molly A Newcomb <manewcomb1@sheffield.ac.uk>
To: Library Archives <archives@sheffield.gov.uk>

19 May 2021 at 15:27

To Whom It May Concern,

My name is Molly Newcomb (library card number 300030057) and I was inquiring about booking an appointment for the Local Studies Library for this coming Saturday (22/05)? I am available at either the 10-12/2-4 time slots. If this is not possible then I am also available Friday (21/05) at either the 10-12 or 2-4 slots.

In addition, do we need to request items that we are hoping to access, or will the stacks be open for browsing/searching?

Thank you for your time,

Molly Newcomb
Ph.D Candidate
Information School
University of Sheffield

Library Archives <Archives@sheffield.gov.uk>
To: Molly A Newcomb <manewcomb1@sheffield.ac.uk>

19 May 2021 at 15:41

Hi Molly

Visits are strictly to look at items which have been ordered in advance so that we can quarantine them so you need to let us know within the next half an hour really what it is you want to look at if you want to visit us on Saturday. There is not enough time to quarantine items for a visit on Friday. There is no browsing I am afraid and it will not be possible to look at any items on the day other than what you have previously ordered.

Unless it is very straightforward it might be better to book a visit for Wednesday next week (26th) as there isn't really enough time this afternoon to check for multiple items or anything which might have a query attached to it.

Also when you say 'we' do you mean that someone is coming with you? All visits need to be booked individually at the moment so they would need to e-mail us with their details as well.

Sorry for any inconvenience but it is due to the Covid situation I am afraid. We will try to help as much as we can.

Kind regards

Pat Dallman
Archives and Heritage Assistant
Sheffield Archives and Local studies Library

Dear Ms. Newcomb,

Thank you for your reply. We will have these items ready for you when you visit on Wednesday 26 th May.

Please see the following important information regarding your visit:-

1. If you develop symptoms prior to your visit please contact us to cancel /rearrange your appointment.
2. **Your appointment is for: Wednesday 26 th May 10-12 a.m. and also 2-4 p.m. if required.** We will be closed during the lunch period 12-2 p.m. You will not be admitted if you arrive early. You can of course leave early if you wish.
3. **Your booking is for one person only;** Please get in touch if you need to bring a carer or helper with you.
4. To comply with track and trace regulations we have recorded your mobile (or landline) phone number as a condition of your booking. On arrival you will also be required to check in with the NHS Test and Trace service with your smart phone. You can download the app from the Apple or Google Play store in advance. If you do not possess a smart phone we will rely on your booking information.
5. You will need to wear a face covering at all times. If you forget to bring one staff can provide one.
6. Unfortunately, we are unable to provide toilet facilities at this time. There are customer toilets available in The Graduate pub across the road or in M and S department store on Fargate
7. Please bring your own pencil and note paper.
8. Please sanitise your hands on arrival and departure. There is a foot operated sanitiser at the entrance.
9. On arrival, please report at the desk in the Central Library foyer and you will be directed to the Local Studies Library on the first floor. Please go to the counter there and follow the queuing markers on the floor
10. Please maintain a 2 metre distance from staff and other customers, when queuing and throughout your visit
11. You can only consult pre-ordered documents – no browsing will be allowed. If you require more documents, you will have to book another appointment at least 72 hours in advance.
12. You have been allotted a table number and your documents will be waiting for you.
13. There will be access to two PN computers, if you wish to use one please book it advance and to coincide with your visit if you require other services. We have free WiFi so you can connect to the internet via your own device if you have one. It is unlikely you will have access to a plug so we advise ensuring your device is fully charged.
14. There will be access to two microfilm reader/printers machines, if you wish to use one of these please book them in advance

15. No staff will be available to help you use the microfilm or PN machines, but written instructions will be provided.
16. If you wish to photograph any documents or undertake any photocopying please ask a member of staff first
17. Unfortunately we do not have facilities to accept card payments so you may wish to consider bringing some cash with you.
18. At the end of your visit please leave all documents on your table. If you wish to come back to carry on your research with the same documents please speak to a member of staff.

Kind Regards

Claire Bourne

Archives & Heritage Assistant

Libraries, Archives & Information Services

Sheffield City Archives, 52 Shoreham Street, Sheffield S1 4SP
0114 203 9395
archives@sheffield.gov.uk
www.sheffield.gov.uk/archives

Local Studies Library, Central Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield S1 1XZ
archives@sheffield.gov.uk
www.sheffield.gov.uk/archives

-

We have the following 3 online catalogues :-

Sheffield Archives

Sheffield Local Studies Library (Select from Library Catalogue)

Picture Sheffield

Please click on the link below to access these catalogues:-

<https://www.sheffield.gov.uk/home/libraries-archives>

In light of the ongoing coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic in the UK access to the City Archives and Local Studies Library is strictly by appointment only. We are currently offering morning and afternoon research sessions of two hours duration at City Archives on Saturdays, Mondays and Tuesdays and Local Studies Library Wednesday to Saturday. Researchers must book an appointment in advance to see any material. Please email us to book a time slot: archives@sheffield.gov.uk

Appendix D: Qualitative Library and Archive Data

Item D1: Report for the Public Libraries Committee. Darnall. (CA/L/2/3: Report on the Branch Libraries and Delivery Stations, 1 Jan 1917)

Report for the Public Libraries Committee. Darnall.

[pg.1]

“I visited the reading-room and delivery station at 14 &16 Nightingale Street, Main Road, Darnall on Monday the 20th Aug., 1917 and remained there for an hour.

The building is a **makeshift of the worst type**. It consists of two end cottages in a row of eight cottage-houses which let for about 5% a week.

These two cottages have been thrown into one; walls have been removed and the back yards have been roofed over to provide a reading-room on the ground floor. This reading-room has its roof partly made of glass and partly of slate, it is lighted from the top only. In appropriating the two backyards as the site of the reading-room, the privies and ash pits had to go and the present occupants of what were two cottages have no privy or W.C, no ashpit or receptacle for refuse on the premises but an arrangement with the landlord the conveniences next door are available for use by the occupants of the librarian's dwellinghouse and the reading-room there is a door from the books delivery station into a side passage, which leads to the neighbour's yard, where the so-called conveniences are.

...

Nightingale Street runs between Staniforth Road and Main Road Darnall. It is near Craven's Works, The Picture Palace and The Darnall Public Hall. I was told by the men in the reading-room that the neighbourhood of Nightingale Street was convenient for the Darnall people and when a new site is wanted there is plenty of vacant land in and near to Nightingale Street.

[pg.2]

...but whatever the cause may be the fact remains that the place to-day is in a disgraceful condition and totally unfit in every way for a public reading-room and books delivery station. The glass and slate roof over the reading-room is in a decayed and dangerous condition, the rain comes through and floods the reading-room and whenever it rains, water drips from the roof onto the table where readers sit and if the rain is heavy it floods the floor to the depth of an inch or more....they have taken away as much as twenty buckets full of water at a time, after a storm. The effect of all this water is that the floor has become quite rotten in places. This must have immediate attention or someone will sprain his ankle, the linoleum should be taken up and the floor examined, as rot spreads very rapidly; and it seems probable that there is no ventilation under the floor boards....some broken glass has recently been removed from the roof of the reading-room and replaced with large sheets of rough glass, which new glass has not been darkened with green paint...

[pg.3]

...like the rest of the skylight.

The reading-room has no fireplace and the only heat is from one small gas stove which is worn out; a new and more effective stove or heating apparatus is urgently needed before winter.

The lighting is by gas; and more wall-brackets are needed, as some of the newspapers attached to the walls are too far from the pendant lights to be read by people, whose eyesight is failing.

Opening out of the reading-room is a little dark room (the kitchen of one of the cottages) with a borrowed light, which is used as the books delivery station. There are not more than 110 books in the place, these are dirty and badly selected, one of the readers (named Lee) grumbled at the lack of choice.

...

There should be a "Suggestion Book" on the table of the reading-room in which readers could write their suggestions and complaints; and they should be invited to do so.

As far as I can see there is no provision for juveniles at this reading-room and lending library.

The glass panelled door between the reading-room and the books delivery station hangs by one hinge and will fall into the reading room before long, it should be repaired at once.

The supply of newspapers is thoroughly representative and the reading-room is often over-crowded at night; as many as fifty readers being there at one time and the accommodation is inadequate.

To summarize the position I may say, that the place is a disgrace to the City and to the Libraries Committee.

[pg.4]

It is beyond repair and is totally inadequate for the district. It should be abandoned and a new reading-room erected on modern lines with ample floor space light and ventilation and it is a question whether a branch library should not be added as the district is rapidly being built up and the population increasing as the works extend towards Handsworth.

The people of Darnall have to pay their share of the Library Rate and get very little in return.

...

If the Carnegie Trustee send a representative to Sheffield he will have to see the Darnall Reading Room and I fear he will report that a City that can tolerate such a place deserves help from the outside. The Carnegie Trustees are not likely to help those who, though many years of prosperity, have considered the Darnall Reading Room good enough for their working population.

T. Walter Hall
Citizen Member
26 August 1917

Item D2: Gower Street (Brightside) Library [Report]. CA/L/2/3: Report on the Branch Libraries and Delivery Stations, 1 Jan 1917

Department of the Medical Officer of Health
Town Hall, Sheffield
16th March, 1917

I beg to submit the following report with regard to the above - Part of the front drainage is carried away by means of a rainfall pipe at A which is in direct connection with the drains.

[pg.1]

The rainfall pipe at the left side of the entrance to the library discharges over an iron trap which is connected to the main drain and two brick sumps, one on each side of the approach to the library in the forecourt.

The sump on the right-hand side is untrapped and connected to the main drain on the sewer side of the inspection chamber, and is therefore acting as a sewer ventilator on the ground floor level near the entrance to the library. The one on the left-hand side was silted up, but apparently is acting as a drain ventilator on the ground level.

The main drain of the premises appears to pass from the small open yard at the back right underneath the main building and comes into a back inlet gully in a recess in the inspection chamber. This drain also takes the lavatory bowl waste next to the women's water-closet, the men's water-closet on the first floor and the lavatory adjoining, the drinking fountain waste in the large reading room and the roof water at the back of the building.

The women's water-closet is of the cottage basin type with a boxed-up seat, and discharges into the inspection chamber in the small open yard at the rear. The lavatory bowl has a trapped waste pipe discharging over a trapped gully in the open yard at the rear. The drain passes into the inspection chamber.

[pg.2]

There is a 3" light iron ventilation shaft connected to the inspection chamber in the open yard. The top of the ventilation shaft is carried up above the eaves.

There is a rainfall pipe which takes the back roof water from the women's reading room, the lower length of which inside the room is broken. When water was poured down this spouting, it appeared to be choked and some of the water overflowed through the crack onto the reading room floor.

The waste pipe from the drinking fountain in the large reading room on the first floor is trapped and discharges into the lead gutter and apparently over an untrapped drain at this point. The waste pipe from the lavatory bowl is treated in a similar manner.

The water-closet is of the pedestal type and is connected to a lead T piece by means of a slip putty joint, which again is connected to a light 4" iron soil pipe, the top of which is carried up above the eaves. The upper length of iron pipe of this soil pipe was rusted away and a portion was taken off for the purpose of stopping up the soilpipe when the tests were being applied, and was not replaced owing to its defective condition. There are two rainfall pipes in the small open yard at the back which discharge over the yard surface.

Smoke-test I.

This test was applied to the drain on the left side of the front which takes the sump and the rainfall pipe. Smoke escaped through the ground underneath the sumpstone in volumes into the office of the librarian and into the book room; also through the top of the rainfall pipe.

Smoke-test II.

_____ This test was applied to a drain from the front inspection chamber and leading out to the right. The use of this drain could not be ascertained as when rods were put up it appeared to come to a dead end about 12ft. Away from the inspection

[pg.3]

Chamber. Smoke however, escaped from this drain into the cellar in considerable quantities near the front wall.

Smoke-test III.

Smoke was applied to the main drain underneath the building from the inspection chamber at the rear. Smoke was found to escape into the building in sufficient quantities to cause the whole of the building to smell, but no definite point could be found where the smoke came in.

Smoke-test IV.

Smoke was applied to the water-closet basin on the first floor. Smoke escaped very freely into the cellar and could be seen between the joists of the cellar ceiling, also through the floor at another point, and from the cellar into the whole of the building. The soil pipe up above the connection of the water-closet is apparently choked up solid with rust as we could not get any smoke through.

Smoke-test V.

Smoke was applied to the ventilation shaft from the inspection chamber in the open yard at the rear. Considerable quantities of smoke could be pumped into this short length of drain and the smell of smoke could be readily discerned in the library but not definite point of entry could be found. This shaft appears also to be choked up with rust as no smoke could be forced out at the top.

Smoke-test VI.

Smoke was applied to the drain which takes the surface water from the small open yard and the waste water from the lavatory bowl in the women's reading room. This also would take unlimited quantities of smoke and the smell was found in the women's room but not definite point of entry could be traced.

Smoke-test VII.

Smoke was applied to the water-closet drain at the end of the women's reading room. Similar results to test No. VI were

[pg.4]

Found. The main drain had to be cleared from the chokage before the tests could be applied. It would appear that the drain had been choked some time but had allowed the liquid matter to flow away. The condition of this drain could be not ascertained by the librarian or any other person using the sanitary conveniences as the water flowed away freely when any of the conveniences were flushed. So far as can be ascertained there does not appear to be any disconnection trap cutting off the sewer gas from the drainage system which passes underneath the library. The foul gases therefore which escape from the defective drains and which gain free access to the various rooms in the building are no doubt aggravated by the fact that the

sewer as well as the drain air passes into the drain, and as ventilation shafts at the back are blocked up, there would appear to be no outlet when there is any back pressure from the sewer for the foul gases except into the rooms of the library.

REQUIREMENTS

The whole of the drains will require to be reconstructed.

Those which pass underneath the building ought to be constructed of strong iron pipes with caulked lead joints.

If an iron ventilation shaft is provided a rust trap should be fixed at the foot to prevent the blocking up of this and so preventing it operating as a ventilation shaft. If iron is used for the soilpipe the bend above the inlet from the water closet should either be done away with or a bend should be provided which will cause the rust to fall to the bottom of the soilpipe where it will be washed away when the closet is flushed.

A disconnection trap should be placed at the outgoing side of the front inspection chamber so as to exclude the sewer gas from gaining access to the drains of the premises.

The brick sumps should be done away with in the forecourt and 6" taper gullies provided, the drains from which should be connected up to the inspection chamber in the forecourt.

[pg.5]

The cottage basin in the women's sanitary convenience should be done away with and a pedestal basin provided in place thereof with a hinged seat. The whole of the present wood boxing should be removed.

With regard to the discharge from the rainfall pipe at the back of the women's reading room and the waste water from the lavatory and drinking fountain on the first floor, this should be made to discharge into traps at the eavesgutter level in the open and the outlet from these traps should be connected to strong iron pipes and dealt with in the same manner as any other ordinary iron drain would be dealt with from this point.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Albert Green

Appendix E: Quantitative Library and Archive Data

Field Study 1: Bradford

Table E1: Days Open

<u>Name of Departments</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>
<u>Central</u>									
News and Reading Rooms			357						
Reading Room									
Reference Library	355	357	305	336		361	357		
Patents Department	304	304	363	305		309	304		
Directories Department	362	363	295	363		364	363		
Lending Library-Men's	291	294	295	291		309	304		
Lending Library-Women's	291	294	251	291		309	304		
<u>Branches</u>									
Allerton Lending Library	304	304	305	305		291	304		
Bolton Woods LL/RR	300	300	301	301		309	303		
Bowling LL/RR	304	304	305	299		309	300		
Bradford Moor LL/RR	304	304	305	296		303	304		
East Ward						286	304		
East Ward Children's Room						98	304		
Eccleshill Lending Library	304	301	305	305		309	304		
Girlington LL/RR	304	304	305	293		309	304		
Great Horton Lending Library and Reading Rooms	304	304	249	305		309	304		

Great Horton Children's Room	-	-	80	305		309	304		
Idle LL/RR	293	304	305	294		309	304		
Listerhills LL/RR	298	299	304	295		305	303		
Manchester Road LL/RR	293	304	299	293		309	304		
Manningham LL/RR	304	304	294	305		309	304		
Manningham Childrens's Room	-	-	294	305		309	304		
Otley LL/RR	304	304	305	305					
South Ward						309	304		
Thornton Lending Library	304	304	305	305		309	304		
Wibsey Lending Library	304	304	305	305		309	304		
Wyke Lending Library	150	265	305	299		309	302		
<u>Travelling Libraries</u>									
Broomfields				31		102	99		
Buttershaw	96	96	99	97		99	99		
Greengates	99	98	102	100		102	98		
Heaton	96	96	99	94		99	97		
Hill Top	96	98	100	97		100	100		
Low Moor	96	97	95	94		99	86		
Princeville	97	97	99	96		95	98		
Sandy Lane	98	98	100	97		100	99		
Tong	50	51	51	48		50	51		
White Abbey				30		102	91		
Library for the Blind				251		250	238		

Table E2: Hours Open Daily

<u>Name of Departments</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>
<u>Central</u>									
News and Reading Rooms	9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm		9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm		
Reference Library	10 am - 930 pm	10 am - 930 pm	10 am - 930 pm	10 am - 930 pm		10 am - 930 pm	10 am - 930 pm		
Patents Department	3 pm - 8 pm	3 pm - 8 pm	3 pm - 8 pm	3 pm - 8 pm		3 pm - 8 pm	3 pm - 8 pm		
Directories Department	9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm		9 am - 930 pm	9 am - 930 pm		
Lending Library-Men's	10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm		10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm		
Reading Room-Men's									
Lending Library-Women's	10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm		10 am - 8pm	10 am - 8pm		
Reading Room-Women's				10 am - 930 pm		10 am - 930 pm	10 am - 930 pm		
<u>Branches</u>									
Allerton Lending Library	5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm		530 pm - 930 pm	530 pm - 930 pm		
Bolton Woods LL/RR	6 pm - 915 pm	6 pm - 915 pm	6 pm - 915 pm	6 pm - 915 pm		6 pm - 915 pm	6 pm - 915 pm		
Bowling LL				10 am - 9 pm		10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		
Bowling LL/RR	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm						

Bowling RR				930 am - 930 pm		930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
Bradford Moor LL				10 am - 9 pm		10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		
Bradford Moor LL/RR	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm						
Bradford Moor RR				930 am - 930 pm		930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
East Ward LL						10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		
East Ward RR						930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
East Ward Children's Library						5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm (RR)		
Eccleshill Lending Library	7 pm - 930 pm	7 pm - 930 pm	7 pm - 930 pm	7 pm - 930 pm		7 pm - 930 pm	7 pm - 930 pm		
Girlington LL				10 am - 9 pm		10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		
Girlington LL/RR	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm						
Girlington RR				930 am - 930 pm		930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
Great Horton Children's Room			5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm		5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm		
Great Horton Lending Library and Reading Rooms	630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm						
Great Horton LL				10 am - 9 pm		10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		

Greaton Horton RR				930 am - 930 pm		930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
Idle LL				10 am - 9 pm		10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		
Idle LL/RR	930 am - 12 noon 6pm - 9pm	930 am - 12 noon 6pm - 9pm	930 am - 12 noon 6pm - 9pm						
Idle RR				930 am - 930 pm		930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
Listerhills LL/RR	630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm		630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm		
Manchester Road LL				10 am - 9 pm		10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		
Manchester Road LL/RR	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm						
Manchester Road RR				930 am - 930 pm		930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
Manningham Children's Room			5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm		5 pm - 8 pm	5 pm - 8 pm		
Manningham LL				10 am - 9 pm		10 am - 9 pm	10 am - 9 pm		
Manningham LL/RR	10 am - 930 pm	10 am - 930 pm	10 am - 930 pm						
Manningham RR				930 am - 930 pm		930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm		
Otley LL				10 am - 9 pm					

Otley LL/RR	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm	930 am - 930 pm						
Otley RR				930 am - 930 pm					
South Ward LL				630 pm - 9 pm		630 pm - 9 pm	630 pm - 9 pm		
South Ward RR				630 - 930 pm		630 - 930 pm	630 - 930 pm		
Thornton Lending Library	6 pm - 9 pm	6 pm - 9 pm	6 pm - 9 pm	6 pm - 9 pm		6 pm - 9 pm	6 pm - 9 pm		
Wibsey LL/RR	630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm		630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm		
Wyke LL	7pm - 9 pm Mon, Wed, Fri	630 pm - 930 pm (and reading Room)	630 pm - 930 pm (and reading Room)	630 pm - 9 pm		630 pm - 9 pm	630 pm - 9 pm		
Wyke RR				630 pm - 930 pm		630 pm - 930 pm	630 pm - 930 pm		
<u>Travelling Libraries</u>									
Broomfields				7 pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri		7 pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7 pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri		
Buttershaw	715 pm - 915 pm Tue & Fri	715 pm - 915 pm Tue & Fri	715 pm - 915 pm Tue & Fri	715 pm - 915 pm Tue & Fri		715 pm - 915 pm Tue & Fri	715 pm - 915 pm Tue & Fri		
Greengates	730 pm - 930 Mon & Thurs	730 pm - 930 Mon & Thurs	730 pm - 930 Mon & Thurs	730 pm - 930 Mon & Thurs		730 pm - 930 Mon & Thurs	7 pm - 9 pm Mon & Thurs		

Heaton	730 pm - 930 Mon & Fri	730 pm - 930 Mon & Fri	730 pm - 930 Mon & Fri	730 pm - 930 Mon & Fri		730 pm - 930 Mon & Fri	730 pm - 930 Mon & Fri		
Hill Top	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri		7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri		
Low Moor	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri		7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri		
Princeville	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri		7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Mon & Fri		
Sandy Lane	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri		7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri	7pm - 9 pm Tue & Fri		
Tong	7 pm - 9 pm Mon	7 pm - 9 pm Mon	7 pm - 9 pm Mon	7 pm - 9 pm Mon		7 pm - 9 pm Mon	7 pm - 9 pm Mon		
White Abbey				5 pm - 630 pm Mon & Fri		5 pm - 630 pm Mon & Fri	7 pm - 9pm Mon & Fri		
Library for the Blind				5 pm - 630 pm Mon to Fri		5 pm - 630 pm Mon to Fri	5 pm - 630 pm Mon to Fri		

Table E3: Volumes Issued

	<u>1910- 1911</u>	<u>1911- 1912</u>	<u>1912- 1913</u>	<u>1913- 1914</u>	<u>1914- 1915</u>	<u>1915- 1916</u>	<u>1916- 1917</u>	<u>1917- 1918</u>	<u>1918- 1919</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Branches										
Allerton Lending Library	12,402	11,795	12,025	13,182	13,404	12,405	17,206			92,419
Bolton Woods LL/RR	8,850	9,022	7,947	8,215	8,387	8,100	8,683			59,204
Bowling LL/RR	26,177	27,788	29,946	29,431	31,484	31,440	30,241			206,507
Bradford Moor LL/RR	45,763	48,840	49,264	47,617	50,223	43,080	45,449			330,236
East Ward	67,676	65,456	65,728	59,258	55,798	46,742	77,376			438,034
East Ward Children's Room						4,613	11,646			16,259
Eccleshill Lending Library	11,948	11,361	13,532	13,913	14,107	13,511	14,898			93,270
GH Children's Room			3,326	15,382		17,235	12,027			47,970
Girlington LL/RR	37,659	39,545	39,245	36,309	37,182	42,317	46,307			278,564
Great Horton Lending Library and Reading Rooms	24,435	23,258	19,900	80,890	110,206	89,003	89,837			437,529
Idle LL/RR	28,447	28,465	29,096	32,363	34,936	33,402	34,178			220,887
Listerhills LL/RR	34,747	33,941	33,305	32,406	31,913	30,935	28,958			226,205
M Children's Room			12,552	12,394		13,469	12,141			50,556
Manchester Road LL/RR	67,748	75,249	85,529	88,982	91,145	83,208	89,457			581,318
Manningham LL/RR	150,825	137,637	108,910	108,982	133,123	103,812	102,859			846,148
Otley LL/RR	67,676	65,456	65,728	59,258						258,118
Thornton Lending Library	16,205	14,087	14,550	14,620	15,574	15,267	13,767			104,070
Wibsey Lending Library	13,741	13,564	14,169	13,695	14,034	13,608	13,679			96,490
Wyke Lending Library	7,889	13,448	14,099	10,937	10,049	9,430	10,696			76,548

South Ward				7,289		7,629	7,167			22,085
Totals	622,188	618,912	618,851	685,123	651,565	619,206	666,572			4,482,417
<u>Travelling Libraries</u>										
Broomfields				24,03	3,046	2,069	2,336			7,451
Buttershaw	3,245	4,372	4,004	3,226	2,858	2,396	2,484			22,585
Greengates	5,002	5,017	5,180	5,130	4,693	4,104	4,405			33,531
Heaton	2,832	2,892	3,474	2,948	2,347	1,628	1,289			17,410
Hill Top	2,725	2,574	2,885	2,602	2,448	2,621	3,374			19,229
Low Moor	3,496	3,185	2,755	2,389	2,246	1,543	809			16,423
Princeville	3,905	3,534	4,405	2,720	2,393	1,836	1,489			20,282
Sandy Lane	2,347	2,225	2,330	1,708	1,964	1,656	1,819			14,049
Tong	1,632	1,668	1,683	1,444	1,330	1,319	1,241			10,317
White Abbey				262	1,801	1,666	1,328			5,057
Library for the Blind				3,000*						3,000
Totals	25,184	25,467	26,716	22,429	25,126	20,838	20,574			166,334

Field Study 2: Hull

Table E4: Number of Issues

Name of Departments	End of March 1910	End of March 1911	End of March 1912	End of March 1913	End of March 1914	End of March 1915	End of March 1916	End of March 1917	End of March 1918	End of March 1919	End of March 1920	Totals
Lending												
Central	233,548		201,966	205,175	211,055	206,034	181,803	207,947	254,627	274,302	245,986	2,222,443
James Rickett	154,029		139,229	140,253	131,488	122,008	102,947	110,011	130,256	145,226	135,968	1,311,415
Western	106,633		110,913	117,107	124,412	100,435	84,592	103,852	119,920	118,368	102,022	1,088,254
Northern	132,048		129,160	126,484	126,050	119,549	109,833	123,495	133,552	132,105	112,606	1,244,882
Carnegie (West Park)	141,844		135,377	135,612	132,155	120,068	109,348	108,956	122,967	127,693	117,271	1,251,291
Hedon Road					31,622	32,112	26,227	21,417	24,045	26,145	29,788	191356
Totals	768,102	753,474	716,645	724,631	756,782	700,206	614,750	675,678	753,475	823,839	743,641	7,309,641
Reference												
Central	32254	32,906	30,165	28,549	32,213	27,675	20,758	19,659	20,065	19,701	29,864	293809
James Rickett	1113	905	662	603	1,031	462	641	285	153	189	337	6381
Totals	33367	33,811	30,827	29,152	33,244	28,137	21,399	19,944	20,218	19,890	30,201	300190
Hull Totals	801469	787,285	747,472	753,783	790,026	738,388	650,434	695,622	773,693	843,729	773,842	7609831

Table E5: Visitors to Reading Room (Central and Branch)

Year	Number of Visitors
1911-1912	634,946
1912-1913	634,946
1913-1914	611,877
1914-1915	582,650
1915-1916	348,209
1916-1917	289,195
1917-1918	297,803
1918-1919	306,817
1919-1920	

Field Study 3: Leeds

Table C6: Days Open

	<u>1910-11</u>	<u>1911-12</u>	<u>1912-13</u>	<u>1913-14</u>	<u>1914-15</u>	<u>1915-16</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>
Central Lending	306	304	303		306				
Central Reference	306	304	303	307	306				
Armley	306	303	302	307	291				
Beeston									
Bramley	305	304	300	303	296				
Brownhill	306	303	301	307	305				
Burley	153	152	151	148	153				
Chapel-Allerton	306	304	303	307	306				
Dewsbury Road	306	304	303	307	305				
East Street	104	101	75						
Farnely	52	52	51	50	52				
Headingley	206	304	303	307	306				
Holbeck	306	304	303	307	306				
Hunslet	306	304	303	300	306				
Kirkstall	91	304	303	307	299				
Lower Wortley	102	101	100	98	101				
Meanwood	101	100	98	101	98				
New Farnley	49	48	48	51	49				
New Wortley	306	304	303	294	306				
Primrose Hill	153	152	151	148	153				

Pudsey Town End	101	101	99	103	101				
Rodley	49	45	301	296	304				
Sheepscar	306	304	303	307	286				
South Ward									
Stanningley	306	293	297	302	300				
St. Peter's Square									
Upper Wortley	301	304	303	307	306				
Woodhouse Moor	306	304	302	305	306				
York Road	306	304	303	307	306				

Table E7: Hours Open

<u>Name of Departments</u>	<u>1909-1910</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>19150-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>
Central	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Central Newsroom	8 am - 9.30 pm	8 am - 9.30 pm				8 am - 9.30 pm				
Armley	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Armley Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
Beeston										
Bramley	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Bramley Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	8 am to 9 30 pm				8 am to 9 30 pm				
Brownhill	Every evening from 6pm to 9pm	Every evening from 6pm to 9pm				Every evening from 6pm to 9pm				
Burley	Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday 6pm to 9pm				Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday 6pm to 9pm				
Chapel-Allerton	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Chapel-Allerton Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
Dewsbury Road	10 am - 8.30 pm									
Dewsbury Road Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm									
East Street	Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm								

Farnely	Tuesday, 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday, 6pm to 9pm				Tuesday, 6pm to 9pm				
Headingley	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Headingley Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
Holbeck	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Holbeck Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
Hunslet	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Hunslet Newsroom	8 am - 9.30 pm	8 am - 9.30 pm				8 am - 9.30 pm				
Kirkstall	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Kirkstall Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
Lower Wortley	Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm				Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm				
Meanwood Wesleyan School	Monday and Friday from 6pm to 9pm	Monday and Friday from 6pm to 9pm				Monday and Friday from 6pm to 9pm				
Meanwood Council School	Every evening from 6pm to 9pm	Monday and Friday 6pm to 9pm								
New Farnley	Tuesday, 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday, 6pm to 9pm				Tuesday, 6pm to 9pm				
New Wortley	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
New Wortley Newsroom	8 am - 9.30 pm	8 am - 9.30 pm				8 am - 9.30 pm				

Primrose Hill	Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday 6pm to 9pm				Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday 6pm to 9pm				
Pudsey Town End	Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm				Tuesday and Saturday, 6pm to 9pm				
Rodley	Every evening from 6pm to 9pm	Tuesday from 6pm to 9pm				Every evening from 6pm to 9pm				
Sheepscar	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Sheepscar Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	8 am - 9.30 pm				8 am - 9.30 pm				
South Ward										
Stanningley	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Stanningley Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
St. Peter's Square										
Upper Wortley	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Upper Wortley Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
Woodhouse Moor	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
Woodhouse Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				
York Road	10 am - 8.30 pm	10 am - 8.30 pm				10 am - 8.30 pm				
York Road Newsroom	9 am - 9.30 pm	9 am - 9.30 pm				9 am - 9.30 pm				

Table E8: Number of Issues

	<u>1910-11</u>	<u>1911-12</u>	<u>1912-13</u>	<u>1913-14</u>	<u>1914-15</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>	<u>1920-1921</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Armley	142,485	143,515	140,454	137,601	134,726								698,781
Beeston													0
Bramley	39,002		45,562	41,131	39,421								165,116
Brownhill	43,379	46,108	41,054	35,918	35,507								201,966
Burley	10,170	9,819	9,083	8,622	7,169								44,863
Chapel-Allerton	65,499	61,307	62,268	58,889	55,799								303,762
Dewsbury Road	176,299	162,371	155,912	164,312	152,689								811,583
East Street	2,465	2,381	1,286										6,132
Farnley	1,537	1,664	1,490	1,939	1,429								8,059
Headingley	63,053	57,846	58,623	55,390	54,646								289,558
Holbeck	76,460	75,481	68,021	62,768	61,364								344,094
Hunslet	46,701	45,716	43,127	39,784	38,552								213,880
Kirkstall	27,583	20,867	24,386	24,508	22,528								119,872
Lower Wortley	3,863	3,507	3,245	3,543	3,656								17,814
Meanwood	3,412	3,761	3,486	2,914	2,752								16,325
New Farnley	2,468	2,222	2,001	2,330	1,909								10,930
New Wortley	27,262	25,034	23,327	20,428	19,940								115,991

Primrose Hill	9,579	9,795	9,393	9,414	9,002								47,183
Pudsey Town End	2,138	2,078	2,096	2,031	1,958								10,301
Rodley	3,601	3,089	3,482	5,098	5,088								20,358
Sheepscar	59,663	77,821	76,723	64,772	59,038								338,017
South Ward	-	-	-	-	-								0
Stanningley	9,639	9,502	10,320	10,396	9,299								49,156
St. Peter's Square	-	-	-	-	-								0
Upper Wortley	11,943	10,318	10,461	10,855	9,944								53,521
Woodhouse Moor	134,616	126,045	119,671	151,165	158,904								690,401
York Road	98,716	89,392	87,532	94,264	91,370								461,274
Branch Totals	1,061,533	989,639	1,003,003	1,008,072	976,690								5,038,937

Table E9: Daily Average Patron Use

	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Central</u>										
Lending										
Central Lending	910	850			722					2,482
Reference										
Central Reference	468	412	415		669					1,964
<u>Branch</u>										
Armley	352	355	378		350					1,435
Beeston	127	141	151		133					552
Bramley	141	152	136		116					545
Brownhill	66	64	60		46					236
Burley	214	201	205		182					802
Chapel-Allerton	392	363	362		372					1,489
Dewsbury Road	23	23								46
East Street	29	32			27					88
Farnely	206	190			178					574
Headingley	163	161			128					452
Holbeck	152	150			126					428
Hunslet	300	68			75					443
Kirkstall	37	34			36					107
Lower Wortley	33	37			28					98
Meanwood	50	46			39					135

New Farnley	89	82			65					236
New Wortley	62	64			58					184
Primrose Hill	21	20			19					60
Pudsey Town End	73	68			16					157
Rodley	194	256			206					656
Sheepscar										0
South Ward	31	32			31					94
Stanningley										0
St. Peter's Square	39	33			32					104
Upper Wortley	368	345			468					1,181
Woodhouse Moor	71	68			50					189
York Road	71	205			187					463
Totals	3,304	3,190	1,292	0	2,968	0	0	0	0	10,754

Table E10: Issue of Tickets

	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Central										
Lending										
Central Lending	9,278	9,042		8,489	8,579					35,388
Reference										
Central Reference										0
Branch										
Armley	2,830	2,848		3,029	3,144					11,851
Beeston										0
Bramley	1,085	1,206		1,070	1,090					4,451
Brownhill	1,147	1,136		1,056	1,204					4,543
Burley	210	222		205	171					808
Chapel-Allerton	1,756	1,802		1,627	1,611					6,796
Dewsbury Road	3,524	3,331		2,843	3,327					13,025
East Street	71	84								155
Farnely	44	48		92	20					204
Headingley	1,738	1,697		1,527	1,586					6,548
Holbeck	1,353	1,241		994	1,049					4,637
Hunslet	1,311	1,254		1,032	1,046					4,643
Kirkstall	535	563		704	692					2,494
Lower Wortley	114	67		88	118					387
Meanwood	88	97		75	73					333

New Farnley	88	65		70	57					280
New Wortley	761	746		638	577					2,722
Primrose Hill	234	228		225	196					883
Pudsey Town End	61	71		55	54					241
Rodley	97	153		144	115					509
Sheepscar	1,759	2,241		1,796	1,935					7,731
South Ward										0
Stanningley	259	259		257	253					1,028
St. Peter's Square										0
Upper Wortley	351	329		302	289					1,271
Woodhouse Moor	3,286	3,068		4,412	4,627					15,393
York Road	1,777	1,865		2,000	1,699					7,341
Totals	24,479	24,621	0	24,241	24,933	0	0	0	0	98,274

Tables E11: Library Patron Occupations 1914-1915: Male

Male	Central Library	Armsley	Bramley	Brothwell	Burley	Chapel-Allerton	Dewsbury Road	Farley	Headingley	Holbeck	Hunslet	Kirkstall	Lower Wortley	Meanwood	New Farley	New Wortley	Primrose Hill	Pudsey Town End	Rodley	Sheepscar	Stanningley	Upper Wortley	Woodhouse Moor	York Road	Totals
<u>Accountants and Auditors</u>	67	3	2	6	0	4	4	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	15	2	114
<u>Agents and Collectors</u>	132	20	11	12	3	26	33	0	18	5	4	7	0	1	0	4	2	0	0	13	1	4	32	30	358
<u>Architects and Surveyors</u>	50	2	0	2	1	9	5	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	9	0	0	13	0	104
<u>Artists and Draughtsmen</u>	116	23	5	5	1	14	32	0	6	2	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	34	6	256
<u>Artizans</u>	76	85	27	11	3	20	51	0	0	0	48	8	0	0	5	6	0	0	1	10	6	0	19	71	447
<u>Bakers and Confectioners</u>	20	0	1	5	0	4	8	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	10	1	58

<u>Barristers and Solicitors</u>	20	0	0	1	0	9	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	0	43
<u>Building Trades</u>	27	19	15	16	8	7	12	1	4	6	9	6	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	31	0	2	24	8	199	
<u>Cabinet makers, &c.</u>	80	25	3	26	0	10	41	0	26	26	10	2	0	1	1	4	2	1	2	10	3	1	59	15	348	
<u>Clergymen and Ministers</u>	63	13	2	1	0	5	8	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	16	2	120	
<u>Clerks</u>	833	265	41	67	3	75	214	0	74	31	40	25	0	3	3	33	1	3	2	86	6	14	175	36	2030	
<u>Commercial Travellers</u>	109	11	5	11	0	28	23	0	20	0	0	6	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	26	0	0	53	4	301	
<u>Dyers</u>	11	2	7	6	1	1	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	43	
<u>Electricians</u>	42	34	1	6	1	5	20	0	2	2	3	2	0	3	1	2	1	0	1	4	1	0	9	17	157	
<u>Engineers, Fitters, &c.</u>	158	147	29	35	14	39	204	0	25	78	113	19	0	2	2	45	13	2	10	26	7	2	65	51	1086	
<u>Gentlemen</u>	48	23	0	6	1	35	17	0	13	8	5	2	0	2	0	7	0	1	1	2	0	3	44	3	221	

<u>Labourers</u>	26	27	13	12	7	0	27	2	10	16	35	2	3	0	0	19	6	0	1	3	2	2	4	56	27 3
<u>Leather Trades</u>	39	15	29	16	7	2	4	1	6	8	2	3	1	3	0	7	1	2	0	25	3	3	23	35	23 5
<u>Managers and Senior Clerks</u>	126	10	11	16	1	33	50	0	21	5	8	21	2	0	3	5	0	1	0	19	0	2	108	14	45 6
<u>Medical Dentists, &c.</u>	60	2	1	4	0	6	18	0	9	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	5	2	1	38	10	16 2
<u>Merchants and Manufacturers</u>	68	15	1	10	0	18	6	0	9	2	0	6	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	9	0	3	24	5	18 1
<u>Metal Workers</u>	107	41	7	14	0	3	57	0	2	29	11	17	3	0	1	8	1	0	5	15	7	2	22	33	38 5
<u>Painters and Paperhangers</u>	24	12	3	15	5	10	13	2	2	5	3	2	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	9	0	1	19	6	13 6
<u>Photographers</u>	7	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	19
<u>Police Officers</u>	20	12	1	10	0	1	10	0	5	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	6	0	0	9	2	83
<u>Printers, Bookbin</u>	175	30	17	27	1	14	51	0	2	23	7	13	1	2	0	18	3	0	0	29	0	1	62	26	50 2

<u>ders. &c.</u>																									
<u>Railway Servants</u>	55	72	7	42	3	0	29	0	1	17	11	9	1	0	0	24	0	0	0	6	2	3	18	26	32 6
<u>Scholars</u>	430	429	138	120	16	132	432	4	169	190	257	70	23	4	10	72	99	4	16	362	52	59	609	27 7	39 74
<u>School masters and Teacher s</u>	146	39	10	20	0	22	38	0	28	5	4	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	15	1	4	48	16	40 6
<u>Shop Assistan ts</u>	93	45	15	7	1	23	44	0	8	7	29	6	0	2	0	10	3	1	0	36	4	2	53	29	41 8
<u>Shopkee pers</u>	199	46	8	30	4	31	48	0	22	19	21	6	1	0	0	10	1	1	0	47	10	5	50	32	59 1
<u>Students</u>	138	20	9	10	0	18	32	0	9	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	24	0	0	27	9	30 4
<u>Tailorin g Trades</u>	323	37	7	41	4	19	38	0	8	38	8	3	1	1	1	16	4	1	0	77	1	2	86	41	75 7
<u>Wareho usemen, Salesme n, &c.</u>	113	28	7	23	3	12	31	0	12	14	15	8	1	1	0	5	0	2	1	27	1	2	52	12	37 0
<u>Wollen Operati ves</u>	21	15	19	12	0	0	9	0	2	2	8	8	6	0	0	5	0	4	8	0	11	4	15	8	15 7
<u>Miscella neous</u>	118	49	28	46	14	6	91	0	34	39	2	21	6	9	1	16	2	0	2	23	16	18	76	70	68 7

<u>Not Describ ed</u>	333	19	40	35	1	10	58	2	34	1	7	13	7	4	2	6	0	5	0	61	8	10	69	14	73 9
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Table E12: Library Patron Occupations 1914-1915: Female

Female	Central Library	Armsley	Bramley	Brownhill	Burley	Chapel-Allerton	Dewsbury Road	Farley	Headingley	Holbeck	Hunslet	Kirkstall	Lower Wortley	Meanwood	New Farley	New Wortley	Primrose Hill	Pudsey Town End	Rodley	Sheepshead	Stanningley	Upper Wortley	Woodhouse Moor	York Road	Totals
<u>Artisans</u>	50	81	42	2	0	0	6	0	7	0	32	26	0	0	4	7	0	0	0	4	13	8	18	24	324
<u>Bakers and Confectioners</u>	9	7	9	5	0	3	7	0	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	4	2	4	8	2	71
<u>Clerks</u>	190	75	26	19	0	43	89	0	45	14	10	10	2	0	1	6	0	0	4	36	3	2	153	22	750
<u>Domestics, &c.</u>	97	27	35	5	6	41	42	0	45	25	28	9	0	0	3	7	1	0	3	39	0	0	90	20	523
<u>Dressmakers, &c.</u>	100	38	13	5	2	29	67	1	23	7	12	10	1	0	1	5	3	0	5	29	5	5	83	23	467
<u>Housewives</u>	755	450	108	97	18	349	449	0	195	135	116	148	4	11	5	74	11	4	12	231	7	43	823	139	4184
<u>Professional & Gentlewomen</u>	120	37	1	10	1	103	15	0	4	6	0	9	0	0	0	2	0	2	3	1	0	1	142	0	457
<u>Scholars</u>	399	402	119	128	17	142	426	3	157	101	110	73	32	5	8	42	18	1	18	239	32	36	542	236	3286

<u>School masters and Teache rs</u>	188	51	24	16	1	58	53	0	40	8	7	12	0	1	0	9	1	1	2	14	2	4	120	28	64 0
<u>Shop Assista nts</u>	121	40	4	25	0	19	19	1	18	8	16	6	2	0	0	8	4	1	0	43	0	0	48	15	39 8
<u>Student s</u>	138	18	8	13	0	41	20	0	5	0	0	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	71	9	33 5
<u>Tailori ng Trades</u>	300	81	9	58	10	3	104	1	12	83	41	8	4	0	0	40	11	2	0	89	1	9	76	83	10 25
<u>Miscell aneous</u>	35	33	29	18	10	1	35	0	0	39	1	9	14	4	0	10	2	0	12	4	5	3	17	32	31 3
<u>Not Describ ed</u>	516	51	111	69	3	86	89	2	328	11	2	29	2	12	4	10	0	10	0	136	38	17	189	61	17 76

Table E13: Library Patron Ages 1914-1915

<u>Ages</u>	<u>Central</u> <u>Librar</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Ar</u> <u>ml</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Bra</u> <u>ml</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Bro</u> <u>wnhi</u> <u>ll</u>	<u>Bu</u> <u>rl</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Cha</u> <u>pel-</u> <u>Alle</u> <u>rton</u>	<u>Dew</u> <u>sbur</u> <u>y</u> <u>Roa</u> <u>d</u>	<u>Far</u> <u>nl</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Head</u> <u>ingl</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Hol</u> <u>bec</u> <u>k</u>	<u>Hu</u> <u>nsle</u> <u>t</u>	<u>Kir</u> <u>ksta</u> <u>ll</u>	<u>Lo</u> <u>wer</u> <u>Wo</u> <u>rtle</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>wood</u>	<u>Ne</u> <u>w</u> <u>Far</u> <u>nl</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Ne</u> <u>w</u> <u>Wo</u> <u>rtle</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Pri</u> <u>mro</u> <u>se</u> <u>Hill</u>	<u>Pu</u> <u>dse</u> <u>y</u> <u>To</u> <u>wn</u> <u>En</u> <u>d</u>	<u>Ro</u> <u>dl</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Shee</u> <u>psca</u> <u>r</u>	<u>Stann</u> <u>ingley</u>	<u>Up</u> <u>per</u> <u>Wo</u> <u>rtle</u> <u>y</u>	<u>Wood</u> <u>house</u> <u>Moor</u>	<u>Y</u> <u>or</u> <u>k</u> <u>R</u> <u>oa</u> <u>d</u>	<u>To</u> <u>tal</u> <u>s</u>
<u>Burg</u> <u>esses</u>	233 1	746	268	343	85	464	849	0	413	274	234	176	19	27	14	181	40	27	35	464	63	76	1119	37 8	86 26
<u>Und</u> <u>er 15</u> <u>Year</u> <u>s of</u> <u>Age</u>	101 4	892	312	347	50	289	939	10	326	356	439	161	63	11	19	144	124	5	37	654	93	113	1109	57 5	80 82
<u>Fro</u> <u>m 15</u> <u>- 20</u>	140 4	457	139	90	12	205	457	1	130	147	139	87	22	5	9	80	14	11	8	242	21	15	609	19 9	45 03
<u>Fro</u> <u>m 21</u> <u>-25</u>	777	251	61	71	7	102	226	0	74	70	73	33	2	3	6	40	3	0	11	118	15	13	348	14 2	24 46
<u>Fro</u> <u>m 26</u> <u>- 30</u>	397	160	43	61	0	126	146	0	59	44	44	33	3	0	1	29	6	2	12	76	10	5	230	75	15 62
<u>Fro</u> <u>m 31</u> <u>- 40</u>	319	209	46	50	3	158	179	2	75	52	55	34	1	2	0	30	6	5	7	90	11	10	289	79	17 12

<u>Fro</u> <u>m 41</u> <u>- 50</u>	120	128	28	45	0	139	52	0	31	18	17	17	0	0	0	11	1	4	1	33	4	5	156	30	84 0
<u>Abo</u> <u>ve</u> <u>50</u>	111	76	9	30	1	51	39	0	22	11	14	9	1	0	1	13	1	0	1	14	2	4	125	30	56 5
<u>Ages</u> <u>Not</u> <u>State</u> <u>d</u>	101 8	108	153	160	13	36	295	7	380	56	27	109	7	25	7	37	1	0	3	210	33	43	395	15 5	32 78

Field Study 4: Sheffield

Table E14: Sheffield Days Open

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>
Central	284	271			293	289	307		
Central Reference						305	307		
Upperthorpe	288	290			291	287	307		
Brightside	234	289			290	287	303		
Highfield	288	292			293	288	307		
Attercliffe	287	289			289	287	307		
Park	290	290			290	287	307		
Walkley	290	292			292	289	307		
Hillsborough	290	292			292	289	307		
Tinsley					293	289	307		
Darnall Branch/Delivery Station	290	292			293	289	307		
Brightside Delivery Station		233			241	236	255		
Hunter's Bar Delivery Station		234			242	236	255		
Broomhill Delivery Station		236			243	236	255		
Meersbrook Delivery Station		240			244	227	255		
Crookes Delivery Station		236			241	238	255		
Nether Green Delivery Station		235			242	236	239		
Wincobank Delivery Station		233			241	236	255		

Table E15: Number of Issues

<u>Name of Departments</u>	March 1909-1910	March 1910-1911	March 1912-1913	March 1913-1914	March 1914-1915	March 1915-1916	March 1916-1917	1917	1918	Totals
<u>Branches</u>										
Upperthorpe	77,211	76,080		72,243	70,925	62,584				359,043
Brightside	61,220	57,372		55,787	53,078	47,513				213,750
Highfield	88,653	92,203		77,965	82,425	75,441				416,687
Attercliffe	75,636	75,731		70,265	66,891	65,990				354,513
Park	36,090	44,734		41,368	41,493	42,049				205,734
Walkley	52,689	50,402		56,558	59,135	54,547				273,331
Hillsborough	74,442	71,030		63,564	64,046	61,869				334,951
Tinsley	-	-		19,293	25,799	34,320				79,412
Totals	404,721	467,552	0	457,043	463,792	444,313				2,237,421
<u>Delivery Stations</u>										
Darnall Branch/Delivery Station	15,202	12,611		10,669	9,338	9,096				56,916
Brightside	8,682	8,537		8,186	10,660	12,005				48,070
Hunter's Bar	19,912	19,146		20,561	20,739	20,170				100,528
Broomhill	12,874	12,585		12,081	12,005	11,217				60,762
Meersbrook	15,571	15,951		11,806	9,670	9,852				62,850
Crookes	14,005	14,113		14,371	13,692	13,084				69,265
Nether Green	8,520	8,392		8,159	8,723	7,533				41,327
Wincobank	6,932	7,676		6,332	5,629	4,108				30,677
Totals	101,698	99,011	0	92,165	90,456	87,065				470,395

Table E16: Number of Scholar Tickets Issued

<u>Name of Departments</u>	March 1909-1910	March 1910-1911	March 1912-1913	March 1913-1914	March 1914-1915	March 1915-1916	March 1916-1917	1917	1918	Totals
<u>Central</u>										
<u>Lending</u>										
Lending Library	750	929		840		583				3,102
<u>Reference</u>										
Reference Library										
<u>Branches</u>										
Upperthorpe	487	568		800	652	576				3,083
Brightside	526	645		537	702	486				2,896
Highfield	1,075	1,263		735	1,025	787				4,885
Attercliffe	455	440		553	469	523				2,440
Park	317	622		510	436	441				2,326
Walkley	670	479		855	1,090	1,007				4,101
Hillsborough	719	636		456	452	546	348			3,157
Tinsley										
Totals	4,249	4653		4446	4826	4366	348			22,888
<u>Delivery Stations</u>										
Darnall Branch/Delivery Station	385									385
Brightside		251								251
Hunter's Bar	60	104		75	50					289
Broomhill										
Meersbrook										
Crookes	100									100

Nether Green	150	100			63					313
Wincobank										
Totals	695	455		75	113					1338
Sheffield Totals	5694	6037		5361	4939	4949	348			27328

Table E17: Daily Issue Numbers

<u>Name of Departments</u>	March 1909-1910	March 1910-1911	March 1912-1913	March 1913-1914	March 1914-1915	March 1915- 1916	March 1916-1917	1917	1918
<u>Central</u>									
<u>Lending</u>									
Central Lending	344	330		323		285			
<u>Reference</u>									
Reference Library									
<u>Branches</u>									
Upperthorpe	286	262		248	247	203			
Brightside	213	198		192	185	156			
Highfield	308	315		266	286	245			
Attercliffe	264	262		243	233	215			
Park	124	154		142	144	136			
Walkley	181	172		193	204	177			
Hillsborough	250	243		217	221	201			
Tinsley	-	-		66	89	111			
Totals	1,626	1,606		1567	1,609	1,444			
<u>Delivery Stations</u>									
Darnall Branch/Delivery Station	52	43		36	32	29			
Brightside	37	36		34	45	47			
Hunter's Bar	84	81		85	87	79			
Broomhill	54	53		49	50	44			

Meersbrook	65	66		48	42	38			
Crookes	59	59		59	57	51			
Nether Green	36	35		33	37	31			
Wincobank	29	33		26	23	16			
Totals	416	406		370	373	335			
Sheffield Totals	2,386	2,342		2260	1,982	2,064			

Field Study 5: York

Table E18: Average Daily Issue in Lending Library

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1911	638	638	610	634	452	502	453	475	548	567	587	624	6,728.00
1912	617	626	653	592	480	514	433	534	545	520	585	580	6,679.00
1913	585	628	676	571	504	493	426	493	503	540	593	548	6,560.00
1914	631	634	617	602	503	475	451	493	493	542	539	507	6,487.00
1915	597	601	571	579	499	431	447	438	451	529	504	503	6,150.00
1916	558	540	555	575	452	461	433	398	508	508	519	522	6,029.00
1917	539	556	586	612	460	499	443	463	514	529	564	643	6,408.00
1918	588	635	599	595	588	543	513	494	565	596	626	624	6,966.00
1919	622	656	663	589	492	454	455	483	475	574	603	542	6,608.00
1920	597	602	565	627	534	466	517	460	486	589	570		6,013.00

Table E19: Volumes issued in Reference Library (not including Books of the on Open Shelves)

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1911						924	801	856	1116	1207	1326	1103	7333
1912	1032	1131	1318	1172	1069								5722
1913													
1914													
1915				1226	1384	1333	1386	1190	1190	1400	1268	1034	11411
1916	1421	1335	1500	1194	1101	1140	1221	1221	825	1036	923	1875	14792
1917	1092	984	1171	839	1054	1157	739	655	730	659	666	451	10197
1918	794	810	615	638	537	467	567	694	791	799	789	638	8139
1919	798	1052	882	901	725	829	705	835	1004	965	686	683	10065
1920	821	853	1252	946	986	1081	1023	895	1011	1241	991		11100

Table E20: Total Volumes issued during the month

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	
1911	15305	14043	14947	13312	8351	8530	11644	11992	14254	14788	15105	14811	157082
1912	16460	15215	16995	14200	7922	9517	10839	12528	12541	12734	14060	12461	155472
1913	14321	13815	14877	13706	10089	6894	10443	11350	12076	13245	13632	12338	146786
1914	15435	13934	14817	12934	10323	7125	11035	11327	11822	13279	12404	11156	145591
1915	14332	13204	14253	12457	11475	11656	10962	10067	10591	12692	12101	10818	144608
1916	13383	12402	13596	12068	11291	10839	10402	9765	11190	12199	12186	11490	140811
1917	13471	12226	14421	12231	10820	11979	10640	10881	11836	12729	13256	13824	148314
1918	14394	13976	14521	13684	12646	12505	12843	12115	13006	14615	15022	13420	162747
1919	15245	14430	15904	12968	12047	9995	10244	11110	11413	14068	13880	12191	153495
1920	15449	14166	15387	12795	13265	12261	13699	11470	12436	15386	14658		150972

Table E21: Average Daily Attendance in News and Magazine Rooms

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total Averages
1911	911	911.5	894	881	881	890	886	865	917	901	911.5	887.5	10,736.00
1912	875.5	901	870	863	843	845	799	591	583	525	560	585	8,839.00
1913	636.5	749	695	599	543.5	547.5	565	561.5	593.5	629	592	631.5	7,343.00
1914	692	803.5	837.5	609.5	540	533.5	434	714.5	778	685	744	660	8,031.50
1915	650.5	617.5	674.5	601.5	527.5	470.5	473	428.5	430.5	437.5	422	404	6,137.50
1916	449	471.5	452.5	473	488.5	458.5	418.5	418.5	445	432.5	476	440	5,423.50
1917	536	546	610.5	680	597	622	441		466	504.5	383	354	5,740.00
1918	432	372	393.5	423.5	407	372.5	336	346	361.5	388	431.5	363	4,626.50
1919	418	401.5	405	380	361.5	359	444.5	499	472	450.5	493.5	526.5	5,211.00

Central Libraries: Lending

Table E22: Bradford Volumes Issued

<u>Name of Departments</u>	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Men's Lending Library	107,074	107,523	94,983	93,048		78,199	71,085			551,912
Women's Lending Library	80,425	80,320	84,153	82,741		93,192	90,293			511,124
Central Lending Library					171459					171,459
Totals	187,499	187,843	179,136	175,789	171459	171,391	161,378			1,234,495

Table E23: Hull Volumes Issued

	End of March 1910	End of March 1911	End of March 1912	End of March 1913	End of March 1914	End of March 1915	End of March 1916	End of March 1917	End of March 1918	End of March 1919	End of March 1920	Totals
Central Lending Library	233,548		201,966	205,175	211,055	206,034	181,803	207,947	254,627	274,302	245,986	2,222,443

Table E24: Leeds Volumes Issued

	<u>1910-11</u>	<u>1911-12</u>	<u>1912-13</u>	<u>1913-14</u>	<u>1914-15</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>	<u>1920-1921</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Central Lending Library	278,643	258,462	248,486	231,170	221,182							1,237,943

Table E25: Sheffield Volumes Issued

	March 1909-1910	March 1910-1911	March 1912-1913	March 1913-1914	March 1914-1915	March 1915-1916	March 1916-1917	1917	1918	1919	1920	Totals
Central Lending Library	97,887	89,635		94,723	86,184	87,555						455,984

Table E26: York Volumes Issued

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	Totals
Central Lending Library		150,841	71,854			112,902	154,455	158,970	171,490	163,666	150,972	1,135,150

Central Libraries: Reference

Table E27: Bradford Volumes Issued

	<u>1910-1911</u>	<u>1911-1912</u>	<u>1912-1913</u>	<u>1913-1914</u>	<u>1914-1915</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Central Reference Library	59,021	63,864	62,114	63,532	60,526	61,197	57,761			428,015

Table E28: Hull Volumes Issued

	<u>End of March 1910</u>	<u>End of March 1911</u>	<u>End of March 1912</u>	<u>End of March 1913</u>	<u>End of March 1914</u>	<u>End of March 1915</u>	<u>End of March 1916</u>	<u>End of March 1917</u>	<u>End of March 1918</u>	<u>End of March 1919</u>	<u>End of March 1920</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Central Reference Library	32,254	32,906	30,165	28,549	32,213	27,675	20,758	19,659	20,065	19,701	29,864	293,809

Table E29: Leeds Volumes Issued

	<u>1910-11</u>	<u>1911-12</u>	<u>1912-13</u>	<u>1913-14</u>	<u>1914-15</u>	<u>1915-16</u>	<u>1915-1916</u>	<u>1916-1917</u>	<u>1917-1918</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Central Reference Library	143,267	124,774	125,748	127,464	120,481							641,734

Table E30: York Volumes Issued

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1913</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>1919</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Central Reference Library		13,055				11,411	14,792	10,197	8,139	10,065	11,100	78,759

