

Books and their Borrowers at the Library of Innerpeffray c. 1680–1855

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ABSTRACT

Founded c. 1680, the Library of Innerpeffray loaned books to local people in rural Perthshire without charge. By 1747, a record was established detailing who borrowed which books from the library, alongside additional information to identify the borrower (addresses, occupations, relationships). This thesis establishes a data set created from the borrowers' register to 1855 and addresses the lack of a detailed institutional history against which to assess it, including the intentions of its founder, the impact of its rejuvenation in the eighteenth century, and the contents of the library collection over time. It identifies in detail not only who was using the library, but how they were using it, in contrast with who was permitted to use the library and how it was intended to be used. In this context, characteristics of the books popularly selected by users are identified, and patterns assessed overall are traced within the borrowing lives of four individual users. The thesis demonstrates how borrowing records are better understood not as evidence of reading, as they have been used by scholars previously, but of library use in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The attention paid by this thesis to the influence of both institutional and personal contexts on book borrowing has strong implications on how similar records elsewhere might be approached. Its original contribution to knowledge is to demonstrate a new and effective methodology for studying borrowers' records within the discipline of Library History. Further, the deeper understanding of the Library of Innerpeffray as expounded in this thesis, alongside the detailed data set of borrowing created as part of it, will facilitate better use of the records of Innerpeffray by other scholars across multiple disciplines. This thesis is the result of an Applied Research Collaboration between the University of Stirling, the University of Dundee and the Library of Innerpeffray.

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INTRODUCTION

David Drummond, third Lord Madertie, founded the Library of Innerpeffray close to his home in rural Perthshire c. 1680, when he placed his own books into the nearby private chapel to be accessible to local people free of charge. By 1747, a record of the items users borrowed from that library was established, detailing not only names and book titles but also further information to identify the borrower (addresses, occupations, relationships), with each user signing a promise to return the item. Though changing in form and depth across the intervening centuries, this record was maintained until the library finally stopped lending books in 1968. As well as a social document, in which current generations can find their ancestors' signatures and go on to hold the books they borrowed, the borrowers' register has begun to be used as a resource in tracing the spread of text (and, by extension, ideas), largely by scholars of the history of reading. Such an approach is problematic because of the indirect relationship between borrowing and reading, which will be explored further below. This thesis addresses the lack of a detailed institutional history against which to assess the borrowers' records, and demonstrates how this record is better understood not as evidence of reading, nor of book use, but of *library* use in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thinking carefully about the influence of both institutional and personal contexts on book borrowing has strong methodological implications on how similar records elsewhere might be approached. Further, the deeper understanding of the Library of Innerpeffray as expounded in this thesis, alongside the detailed data set of borrowing created as part of it, will facilitate better use of the records of Innerpeffray by other scholars across multiple disciplines.

The only full-length institutional history of Innerpeffray is to be found in George Chamier's *The First Light*, which was commissioned and published by the governors of the Library in 2009.¹ A 'glorified guidebook', as described by Mark Towsey, the work is very readable and focuses on a wide Scottish historical context, but does not reference any sources in its short account of the library's history.² In taking a broad focus and not engaging with primary sources, the work overlooks the scholarly value of Innerpeffray, which lies in the comprehensiveness of its records and the intactness of its collections. Beyond the borrowers' register, such evidence includes two manuscript catalogues (1813 and 1855) and the minute book

¹ George Chamier, *The First Light: The Story of Innerpeffray Library* (Innerpeffray: Library of Innerpeffray, 2009).

² Mark R. M. Towsey, 'The First Light: The Story of Innerpeffray Library' (Review), *Library & Information History* 26:2 (2010), 170–179 (p. 170).

of the Governors of the Innerpeffray Mortification (1723-1811), the body responsible for making decisions regarding the library. Together, these sources provide a near unparalleled opportunity to understand how a library was used over time.

Paul Kaufman's 1964 essay on the Library of Innerpeffray, written at a time when the library was still lending, remains the best work on the library to date. It is situated firmly in the realm of book use and library history, as exemplified by the title of his collection *Libraries and their Users* (1969).³ Its broad concepts and specific insights have been the basis upon which this thesis has been built and will be referenced throughout. However, the very existence of Kaufman's brief overview of Innerpeffray has led some scholars to interpret the record in service of their own arguments without much further examination. Innerpeffray's records were employed by R. A. Houston to establish that 'signing ability is a reliable indicator of the cultural possibilities of literacy', with the borrowing record one of the few resources from which the ability to read could be inferred and the ability to write could be evidenced.⁴ Houston acknowledged the difficult relationship between borrowing and reading in interpreting the record at Innerpeffray, and highlighted the additional concern that a borrower need not be the intended recipient of an item, but did not need to resolve the issue for his purposes.⁵ In 1976, Anand Chitnis used Kaufman's data to set Innerpeffray up as an example of how the impact of the Scottish Enlightenment was not restricted to the intellectual elite.⁶ D. Cairns Mason, through a study of the borrowing records to 1800 and an assessment of Enlightenment titles available in the library, concluded that interest in such works did not take off until much later, into the nineteenth century, despite their presence in the catalogue.⁷ Thus, from an examination of how Innerpeffray has been approached in the past, it is clear that assessment of its records is immured in problems with the relationship between borrowing and reading, and in the pursuit of evidence for Enlightenment.

³ Paul Kaufman, 'A Unique Record of a People's Reading', *Libri*, 14.3 (1964-5), 227-242. Reprinted as 'Innerpeffray: Reading for All the People' in *Libraries and their Users: Collected Papers in Library History* (London: The Library Association, 1969), pp. 153-162.

⁴ R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 179.

⁵ Houston, pp. 175-6.

⁶ Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 19.

⁷ D. Cairns Mason, *Lending Libraries in the Spread of Enlightenment Thinking: Two Scottish Case Studies: Innerpeffray Library, Crieff; The Monkland Friendly Society, Dunscore* (Braco: Doica, 2009).

Mark Towsey's *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment* (2010) marked a culmination of this tradition and remains the most detailed study of Innerpeffray to date.⁸ Ambitious in its scope, this work traces contemporary readers of Scottish Enlightenment works and the impact that the texts had on the lives of their readership. Working through a huge range of sources, from catalogues and borrowers' records to commonplace books, marginalia and references to reading in letters, reading forms the central tenet of Towsey's study.⁹ This tremendous coverage is what makes Towsey's work so valuable, but also what makes it problematic. It does not have the space to deal with the methodological problems that motivate this present thesis. From the outset, Towsey acknowledges that 'catalogues actually say nothing about the use of books', which this thesis argues is also applicable to borrowing records.¹⁰ His approach to the problematic relationship between borrowing and reading uses borrowing records to determine 'reading vogues', a term borrowed from Kaufman, which privileges the content of the texts as the primary motivator for borrowing and considers borrowing patterns on a macro, rather than micro level.¹¹ Repeated use of the word 'reading' and 'readers' does nothing to disrupt the borrowing-equals-reading assumption, and is prevalent in his assessment of Innerpeffray.¹² Since at Innerpeffray no supporting evidence to show that the books were read, nor hint at how they were read, has been uncovered, Towsey's work serves to show that in some parts of rural Scotland ordinary people had access to the texts on which he focuses. The broad scope of the study provides useful context for access to texts in other libraries in the Scottish landscape but does not look to sources beyond the borrowers' register and what had been previously published to understand how it might have been impacted by the access conditions and acquisitions of individual libraries. Towsey acknowledges this problem by reflecting on the impact of 'unpredictable' bookstocks and 'idiosyncratic interests' at the end of his study of borrowing records, as well as the problem that borrowing records 'leave a great deal left unsaid' which is why he moves on to other forms of evidence for reading in the second part of his work.¹³ Yet again, this work highlights the need for an

⁸ Mark R. M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) based upon *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: libraries, readers and intellectual culture in provincial Scotland c.1750–c.1820* (Doctoral Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2007).

⁹ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 163–199.

¹⁰ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 31. No such consideration is given to this as a motivation for borrowing, for which see the assessment of Innerpeffray borrower Ebenezer Clement in chapter five of this thesis.

¹¹ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 69; Mark R. M. Towsey & Kyle B. Roberts, 'Introduction' in *Before the Public Library: Reading, Community, and Identity in the Atlantic World, 1650–1850*, ed. by Towsey & Roberts (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 1–30 (p. 9).

¹² For example, in title for Towsey's section on Innerpeffray, 'A taste for reading in the country'. *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 121.

¹³ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 158–9.

understanding of the individual institutional histories behind the library records, and for further consideration of precisely what a borrowing record can be used to show, which are both central concerns of this thesis.

The benefits of a deeper understanding of Innerpeffray's institutional history are clearly evident in the most recent publication concerning the library, Katie Halsey's 'A "Quaint Corner" of the Reading Nation: Romantic Readerships in Rural Perthshire, 1780–1830', written following Halsey's integral participation in the initial project to transcribe the Innerpeffray records, as detailed below.¹⁴ In this book chapter, Halsey demonstrates a significantly improved understanding of the context of Innerpeffray, gained from a lengthy and fruitful relationship with the library and its records, when examining the popularity of Romantic era texts, framed within an argument towards a broader understanding of the term 'Romantic'. Further, since the scope of the work is divorced from the terms 'reading' and 'Enlightenment', which have haunted previous analyses of Innerpeffray, it exemplifies the potential use of borrowing records, particularly by those with specific subject expertise. However, in pursuing this argument within the confines of a book chapter, Halsey cannot do full service to that institutional history, which is instead hinted at and presented incidentally. This thesis, therefore, has the potential to act as the ground work scholars need, opening up the borrowing records as a resource to those in disciplines beyond Library History, without such immersion in the library and its records. This is true not only for literary scholars, such as Halsey, but also for anyone interested in the dissemination of a particular text or author in any discipline.

This examination of previous studies of Innerpeffray has brought to the fore key issues common to the way in which all borrowing records are approached, which are easily summarised thus: what can you do with a borrowing record? Harvey and Olsen, in one of the earliest database-driven borrowers' record studies, describe borrowers' records as 'the crucial tie between book and reader', thus concluding that the circulation registers forming the basis of their study 'are a particularly rich source, providing data on the impact of books and ideas' of the library's user group.¹⁵ Yet most other studies, exemplified above, always acknowledge the indirect relationship between book borrowing and reading, even if this admission does

¹⁴ Katie Halsey, 'A "Quaint Corner" of the Reading Nation: Romantic Readerships in Rural Perthshire, 1780–1830' in *Before the Public Library*, pp. 218–235.

¹⁵ Mark Olsen and Louis-Georges Harvey, 'Reading in Revolutionary Times: Book Borrowing from the Harvard College Library, 1773–1782' *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 4 (1993), 57–72 (p. 57; p. 72).

not always affect their subsequent analysis. Since evidence of reading dominates the use of borrowers' records so far, it will be considered here first, followed by consideration of other non-reading uses of borrowers' records.

The difficulties associated with retrieving reading history are well-documented, and the methodological issues associated with it still prove fodder for state-of-the-discipline articles.¹⁶ The History of Reading discipline arose in the 1990s as a reaction to the way Book History privileged the production and dissemination of books and print as a means of understanding how they shaped the wider cultural, political and intellectual landscape, while not accounting for who read them or how they were read.¹⁷ So far as a methodology has been established, a combination of different types of evidence has been shown to be the most successful, such as where book purchase or borrowing intersects with marginalia or commentary in other written or printed source, with the different problems associated with each diminished when taken together.¹⁸

A borrowing record alone, therefore, is not enough evidence to build up a picture of reading, so why does a history of reading approach persist in dominating the way in which borrowing records are assessed? The answer must lie in the frustrating lack of other evidence from which to reconstruct the reading experience, particularly for specific types of user, namely rural and lower-class populations. Framed in this way, the determination to use Innerpeffray's records as evidence for reading is understandable, as they offer the chance to observe groups for which evidence is harder to find. Halsey uses Innerpeffray's rural location to argue that readers went out of their way to borrow books, and therefore were more likely to read them, but Innerpeffray's propitious situation on what was historically a busy thoroughfare and at a crossing point of the River Earn meant that users may have accessed it *en route* to somewhere, rather than as their destination.¹⁹ The link between borrowing and reading at Innerpeffray, therefore, is likely to be as problematic as it is elsewhere.

¹⁶ Katie Halsey, 'Preface', *Forum: University of Edinburgh Postgraduate Journal of Culture & the Arts*, 23 (2016), 1–15; J. A. Radway, 'Reading is Not Eating: Mass-produced literature and the theoretical, methodological, and political consequences of a metaphor', *Book Research Quarterly*, 2:7 (1986), 7–29; Jonathan Rose, 'Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53:1 (1992), 47–70. Ian Jackson, 'Approaches to the History of Readers and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *The Historical Journal*, 47:4 (2004), 1041–1054; Katie Halsey, 'Reading the Evidence of Reading: An Introduction to the Reading Experience Database', *Popular Narrative Media*, 1.2 (2008), 123–137.

¹⁷ Jackson, *Approaches*, p. 1042.

¹⁸ Halsey, 'Preface', *passim*.

¹⁹ 'Various factors would suggest that the effort expended in borrowing the books would have been entirely disproportionate if the borrowers did not intend to read them', Halsey in *Before the Public Library*, p. 224.

This thesis does not, therefore, situate itself within the History of Reading, though its findings have significant implications for that discipline. Instead, it sits firmly within the field of Library History, using the borrowers' records not as evidence of reading but as evidence of library use. To date, works that situate themselves mainly or solely within the field of Library History have made surprisingly little use of borrowers' registers, perhaps because of the interpretative difficulties outlined in this thesis. Further, no work in Library History has satisfactorily addressed the question of the uses to which borrowers' registers have been put in the history of reading.²⁰ This thesis aims to address that gap. It will show that borrowing records demonstrate who accessed the library, enabling comparisons to be drawn with who was intended to use the library and, through the books they chose, how those people used it. Such an analysis has the potential to improve our understanding of the relationship between prospective and actual use for other collections where records of use do not survive. The term 'reading' will be avoided, with 'borrower' and 'user' employed as terms in contrast to 'reader'. Assessment of borrowing habits will be framed as 'intention to read', which allows for acknowledgement of the appeal of an individual item's content as well as its wider attributes (size, age, appearance).

Within Library History, Innerpeffray is often cursorily acknowledged among overall assessments of community libraries, subscription libraries and the general library landscape in Scotland and rarely dwelt upon.²¹ This is because it does not easily fit within that narrative or those categories, and because its most valued source, the borrowers' record, is not easily comparable because such evidence rarely survives elsewhere. It is hoped that this thesis will demonstrate what Innerpeffray is, and what it is not, and therefore contribute towards its more meaningful inclusion in such studies. In doing so, this thesis also contributes towards the advancement of that field in more closely aligning individual library histories with the broader discipline of the history of the book, following the path outlined by Jonathan Rose in his 2003 'Alternative Futures for Library History', demonstrating the value of Library History as part of understanding how texts were disseminated and accessed.²²

²⁰ Works that come closest to articulating a satisfactory methodology include Matthew Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities in Eighteenth-century St Andrews', *The Review of English Studies*, 68:287 (2017), 947–967 and David Allan's *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008).

²¹ For example K. A. Manley, *Books, Borrowers, and Shareholders: Scottish Circulating and Subscription Libraries Before 1825* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 2012), John Crawford, 'The Community Library in Scottish History', *IFLA Journal* 28:5–6 (2002), 245–255 and the application of the word 'quaint' to Innerpeffray as in Halsey's 'A "Quaint Corner" of the Reading Nation' in *Before the Public Library*, following William Stewart's 1898 description of the library in the *Glasgow Herald*.

²² Jonathan Rose, 'Alternative Futures for Library History', *Libraries & Culture*, 38:1 (2003), 50–60.

Matthew Sangster's 2017 article begins to bridge the gap between these History of Reading and Library History approaches and, methodologically, has much in common with this thesis.²³ In his analysis of the borrowing records from the University of St Andrews (termed 'receipt books'), Sangster highlights the benefits of working from a 'single coherent body of interconnected evidence' for one institution so that 'reading practices' might be understood in their institutional context.²⁴ Though Sangster's conclusions and terminology still focus on the recreation of the 'reading vogues' of Kaufman and Towsey, his institutional focus allows his conclusions to be much better couched in terms of the library's history and the contents of its shelves.²⁵ This article begins to demonstrate the value of considering library history both as and within institutional history, which also forms a key part of this thesis.²⁶

Methodological considerations surrounding borrowers' records are not limited to how they might be used within academic discourse, but how they might be approached as data at all. The need for such consideration has become more urgent as a growing number of digital projects emerge that make such records accessible, exemplified by databases based on borrowers' records such as the Muncie Public Library, New York Society Library and *Dissenting Academies Online*, and emerging transcription projects such as at the University of St Andrews.²⁷ These efforts are laudable, particularly when the future of the History of Reading

²³ Matthew Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities in Eighteenth-century St Andrews', *The Review of English Studies*, 68:287 (2017), 947–967.

²⁴ Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities', p. 946.

²⁵ Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities', pp. 947–9. Sangster achieves this through detailing the impact of copyright legislation on the collections at St Andrews, concluding that it led to less curated wide range of material available to students and professors, including vernacular literature. This contextual work has meant that the records at St Andrews can be more easily employed as a comparison to Innerpefferay (with caveats) as explored in chapter seven.

²⁶ Work on this topic has emerged most recently from within the *Institutions of Literature 1700–1900* network, for which see Anne H. Stevens, 'Circulating and Subscription Libraries: Institutions as Creators as Genres' *Institutions of Literature 1700–1900* <<http://institutionsofliterature.net/2017/12/04/anne-h-stevens-on-circulating-and-subscription-libraries/>> [accessed 3 July 2018] and Matthew Sangster, 'Defining Institutions', *Institutions of Literature 1700–1900* <<http://institutionsofliterature.net/2017/11/23/defining-institutions/>> [accessed 3 July 2018]. Outside of that network see Bernadette A. Lear, 'Libraries and Reading Culture at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918', *Book History*, 18 (2015), 166–96; Devin Griffiths, 'Antonio Panizzi, Virginia Woolf and the British Museum Library's *Catalogue of Printed Books*', *Book History* 18 (2015), 134–65; Alice Crawford (ed) *The Meaning of the Library: A Cultural History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015); Thomas Augst and Kenneth Carpenter (eds), *Institutions of Reading: The Social Life of Libraries in the United States* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007) and Rob Koehler's 'Challenging Institutional Ambitions: The Practice of Book Exchanges at the New York Society Library, 1789–1795', in Towsey & Roberts, pp. 201–17. See also James J Connolly, Patrick Collier et al. (eds) *Print Culture Histories Beyond the Metropolis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), particularly the Introduction (pp. 3–28) and essays by Kyle Roberts (pp. 54–87), Frank Felsenstein (pp. 331–54) and Christine Pawley (pp. 375–92). For an account of the broader role of literature and university libraries in institutional history, see G. Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

²⁷ *What Middletown Read* <<http://lib.bsu.edu/wmr/>> [accessed 26 June 2018]; The New York Society Library, *City Readers* <<http://cityreaders.nysoclib.org/>> [accessed 26 June 2018]; *Dissenting Academies Online*

must be based upon tracing connections beyond institutional boundaries, as above. However, the way in which such data is represented can be misleading, as it simplifies and standardises what is, by its nature, a complex record, tempting the user to detailed quantitative analysis without the qualitative framework provided by a true understanding of the context. Such a framework ought to include not only the content of the collections and how they were accessed, but additional local or personal factors. The project at St Andrews avoids this controversy, choosing not to create a database but to upload images of their ‘receipt books’ alongside a proposed transcription. Any individuals mentioned are then matched to their entry in Smart’s *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews*, which gives basic information about who they were.²⁸ However, this approach makes it very difficult to navigate and, ultimately, is so time-consuming that only a handful of examples have so far been completed. The Muncie Public Library records which constitute the *What Middletown Read* project and publication, also enhance their borrower records with additional personal data, in this case drawn from the census records (not an option for the other projects due to their earlier time period) as well as library registration records.²⁹ The *Dissenting Academies Online* project is rich in catalogue and borrowing data, supplemented by provenance records, while also being the only database so far not to focus on a single institution.³⁰ By including both catalogue and borrowing data, with the latter undeniably much closer to reading than the former, the project aims to identify what students read, and consequently the relationship between taught courses and independent study, as well as how far the academy allowed heterodoxy or maintained orthodoxy.³¹ Again, this simplifies the relationship between borrowing and reading and typifies the problem of all these databases, which give their purpose as providing evidence for reading without sufficient consideration of whether that is truly the case. It was for this reason that the *Reading Experience Database* opted to omit borrowing records entirely.³² This thesis aims to strike the balance between these approaches, contributing towards our

<<https://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk/>> [accessed 26 June 2018]; University of St Andrews, *Receipt Books* <https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/transcribe/index.php/Main_Page> [accessed 26 June 2018].

²⁸ Robert N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews 1747–1897* (St Andrews: University of St Andrews Library, 2004) <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/>> [accessed 26 June 2018].

²⁹ Frank Felsenstein and James J. Connolly, *What Middletown Read: Print Culture in an American Small City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015).

³⁰ For a paean to this database when compared to *What Middletown Read* and the *Reading Experience Database* see Ed Potten, ‘The Dissenting Academies Online Virtual Library System: What Middletown Read: The Reading Experience Database’, *The Library*, 13:1 (2012), 351–355.

³¹ ‘About’, *Dissenting Academics Online* <<https://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-guide.pl?chapter=0>> [accessed 25 June 2018].

³² *Reading Experience Database 1450–1945* <<http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/index.php>> [accessed 30 September 2017]; Halsey, ‘Reading the Evidence of Reading’, p. 125.

understanding of the value of borrowing records, without relying on the link to reading that has driven research interest in them in the past.

This thesis is based upon a data set drawn from the Innerpeffray borrowers' records from 1747, the earliest point at which they survive, to May 1855, the moment at which the collection changed dramatically with significant additions of new items.³³ The original transcription of the complete registers (1747–1968) took place in 2012–2014 as part of a project by the University of Stirling, and I am indebted to Kate Buchanan who was largely responsible for its completion. However, since the project was conducted under time pressure using digital photographs, for this thesis it was necessary to check each entry against the original. This process resulted in significant changes (including 405 additional entries missed in the original transcription) and much greater accuracy, especially for local place names, following time spent in the local area and the consultation of local people.³⁴ Further, given the separation of different elements of the record into distinct columns, and the speed with which the data was created, it became clear that no transcription conventions were followed. The lack of convention was particularly noticeable in expanded borrower first names (where an abbreviation was given in the register) and the 'title in ledger' column, where information on the book borrowed was recorded. Given the vastness of the data set and time constraints, the decision was taken to correct interpolations or normalisations which lead to misidentification of people or books, but not to undertake full, detailed transcription of the entries. These identifications were established for individuals and books using materials beyond the register, as detailed below. Thus, a reliable and functional data set for the earliest period of the library has now been established. The data set was originally created in Microsoft Excel, and the corrected data set remains in this format because its functionality was sufficient for the purposes of this thesis.³⁵

In order to better identify individuals regardless of variations in spelling etc., Person IDs were added to the data set for the first time, having been called for by Kaufman in his early article on Innerpeffray.³⁶ Borrowers were deemed to be the same person if their names were

³³ For further information on changes to the collections at 1855 see chapter two of this thesis.

³⁴ I am extremely grateful to Lara Haggerty, Keeper of Innerpeffray, and the library volunteers, whose input was invaluable during this exercise.

³⁵ A more user-friendly interface based on SQL conceived as part of the original transcription project is still under construction, therefore it was not necessary to create another for the subset of records used for this thesis. The corrected data set established during this thesis has been submitted for inclusion in this project, which is planned to be made available at www.innerpeffrayborrowers.com.

³⁶ Kaufman, 'Innerpeffray: Reading for all the People', p. 160.

sufficiently similar, if additional information was able to support their being the same person and if they were borrowing in a similar time period. In some cases, it was possible to ascertain that a borrower with the same name, but a different address, returning after a lengthy period away, might still be the same person, particularly within occupations which have strong secondary sources to support simple biographical data, such as ministers.³⁷ For example, James Gilfillan was the son of Samuel Gilfillan (another borrower) in Comrie and became minister of the United Secession Church in Stirling in 1822. This link to the local area explains the presence of ‘Stirling’ as a borrower address, which would ordinarily be beyond the distance travelled by a borrower.³⁸ On the same page under the same signature his address also appears as New Row, which elsewhere in the register is identified as an address in Balgowan. Given the likeness of the signatures and the common nature of the address, all instances of James Gilfillan were assigned the same Person ID. Such sources are also useful when identifying those with different occupations or addresses as the same person. For example, Rev. Patrick McIsaac of Comrie and Rev. Mr McIssac of Gask could be identified the same man, having moved to a different parish.³⁹ In the very rare cases that could not be solved, such as David Mitchell (father and son, referred to as junior and senior in some entries, but not in others), an estimation was made based on their former borrowing habits. It was this painstaking process that meant that the data set is much more useful when trying to assess borrowing at an individual level, as demonstrated in chapter five.

Each entry in the data set does not represent one visit to the library, but each book borrowed, following a precedent set by the original transcription project. It was continued here as it allowed for more space to include further information about the items borrowed. However, this meant it was not possible to record accurately the 99 instances where books were borrowed by a group instead of an individual. In these cases, the entry is listed under the first borrowers’ name with a note naming the co-borrowers in the ‘lending record other info’ column. The same column is used to indicate the rare instances where it is noted that borrowers are borrowing on behalf of someone else.

³⁷ Usually Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae; The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, Vol. IV, Synods of Argyll, and of Perth and Stirling (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1923).

³⁸ Thomas Hamilton, ‘Gilfillan, James (1797–1874)’, rev. Rosemary Mitchell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10726>> [accessed 21 September 2017]. On the distance of borrowers see chapter three of this thesis.

³⁹ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 264 and p. 274.

Additional person information not explicitly stated in the register but identified through external sources was not included in the data set unless it was integral to the application of a Person ID. Any personal information not given in the register itself was included in square brackets. This was due in part to the constraints of time, but also because of the variable strength of secondary sources depending on a person's occupation would influence the impression of who was using the library. For example, it is easy to identify Church of Scotland ministers using Scott's *Fasti*, but almost impossible to identify weavers, masons etc. unless that information was included in the register.⁴⁰ Thus, had the additional information been included, it might have appeared that ministers were using the library more than any other group. Analysis of the occupation of people using the library, as explored in chapter three, is therefore limited to the relatively short time period in which occupations were routinely recorded in the register.

Book titles matched as part of the initial transcription project were discarded; instead, entries were matched against a transcription of the 1813 library catalogue, supplemented by an 1838 list of items sent for rebinding and the 1855 catalogue, as a much better representation of what was available.⁴¹ These titles had been checked in turn against the library's modern catalogue to identify specific publication information and additional details, such as format. This process did not allow for the inclusion of multiple titles bound into the same volume and catalogued under the title of the first item but was not problematic because the borrowers' register recorded titles in precisely the same way. The omission of bound-with items in the quantitative analysis was corrected in the qualitative analysis.

A full list of titles can be found under the Book ID tab of the data set, and it is from this list that details were copied and added alongside matched entries from the register. Seven items did not appear in any of the book lists and are marked as 'register only' in the Source column, with additional details gathered where possible from the *ESTC*.⁴² 18 of the entries could be matched only to an author, not to a specific title, so were given the Book ID 'A' (author-only). 99 items which could not be identified were assigned Book ID 'X'. Those items with Book ID 'X' are predominantly entries that do not give enough information to be identified, such as 'a bible in folio' or 'an old sermon book'.⁴³ As many details as possible were added

⁴⁰ Scott, Hew, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae; The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915-1928)

⁴¹ Two items were identified via the 1838 list and a further 12 in the 1855, as detailed in chapter two.

⁴² *English Short Title Catalogue* <<http://estc.bl.uk>> [accessed 25 June 2018].

⁴³ Entries for Thomas Keir, 29 November 1773, and John Fiskien, 1 February 1806, respectively.

to the unidentified items; for example, ‘a bible in folio’ could be assigned a folio format and the genre term ‘Religion (Bible)’ even without a specific edition having been identified. Author IDs were added to make it possible to trace the popularity of individual authors, rather than specific books. Genre terms were assigned following the practice of the original transcription, though with a fuller range of subdivisions within ‘religion’ and the broader term ‘poetic arts’ replacing individual poetry/drama/fiction, informed by the strengths and weaknesses of the collection. A full list of the terms used is given on the Genre ID tab of the data set and provided below as appendix one. Again, qualitative analysis within this thesis is used to compensate for the rigidity of genre terms applied to produce quantitative results.

A Provenance ID was assigned to any book that displayed markings associated with having been in the library since its foundation. These were identified via a finger-tip search of items published before 1700, as detailed in chapter one. Specific IDs are defined under the Provenance ID tab of the data set. Items that were published after 1700 (almost 10 years after the estimated death of its founder) or that did not display any evidence of having been in the library collection at its foundation were left blank. Filtering blank values from the Provenance ID column on the Book ID tab therefore provides a list of items identified as present in the library at its foundation, upon which chapter one is based. For ease, these items are also listed in appendix three.

Chapter one unpacks how the Library at Innerpeffray began and how it was intended to be used. The chapter examines the intentions of the library’s founder through not only the terms of his will, but also by the nature of the books with which the library was populated. Analysis of books in the foundation collection, identified for the first time in this thesis, show the library not to have been aimed at the ‘young students’ named in the founder’s will, but for a much wider audience, particularly through the lack of church fathers, concordances and interpretative works, as well as the remarkable dominance of items in English (90%). This conclusion is then placed in contrast to the intentions for the library by Robert Hay Drummond, who transformed the building and its collections in the mid-eighteenth century, envisioning a ‘proper central place for the Gentlemen of the neighbourhood to meet at such times as they shall appoint’.⁴⁴ This chapter highlights how these two conflicting visions had an impact on the contents of the library’s shelves and the manner in which books were accessed.

⁴⁴ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 15.

What was available from the library, informed by an understanding of these conflicting visions, is explored in chapter two. Here, the limited surviving evidence for the library's acquisitions and its 1813 manuscript catalogue are assessed alongside remaining physical collections to give an overview of what was available to library users, and how that changed across the library's history. After verification using the May 1855 catalogue, a static picture of the library collection emerges, with only one new title entering the collection between 1790 and 1855. While this provides a strong basis from which to approach the borrowers' register, knowing precisely what borrowers had to choose from to 1855, it also highlights a dramatic change in the library's collections, from relatively up-to-date in 1790, to an antiquated relic by 1855.

Chapter three moves on from the library founders and its books to its people, namely who was permitted to use the library, how that access was mediated, who did use the library and how they used it. The influence of the individual Keeper emerges as paramount since, although rules governing the collection were decided by library trustees, significant discretion was applied. The chapter also identifies the absence of a 'typical' Innerpeffray borrower; over a third of borrowers are recorded as borrowing one item once, with 86% of users borrowing fewer than 10 items overall, and five individual 'super-users' borrowing upwards of 100 items, whose borrowing makes up almost 15% of the register to 1855. These factors underline how difficult it is to interpret a borrowers' register on a macro level, informing the methodology of chapter five, which focuses on exemplary rather than representative individual borrowers.

An examination of the characteristics of popularly borrowed works from Innerpeffray forms the basis of chapter four, and reveals again the difficulty of identifying typically popular works (the top 12 popular works still make up less than 15% of all borrowing to 1855). What it does reveal, however, is that the primary driver of borrower preference is novelty (i.e. how new an edition is), a stronger interest in works with a Scottish connection, and, of those works which are novel and have a Scottish connection, a preference for illustrated works.

The borrowing lives of four library users are explored in chapter five to demonstrate the benefit of maintaining an individual focus, and interpreting borrowing choices against not only the library's institutional history, but any other information we can identify about the

users' lives. Each borrowing life demonstrates how one person might use the library, from its earliest incarnation (John Bayne, borrowing 1752–1754), through its new building (Ebenezer Clement, borrowing 1753–1757) and current collections (John Whytock, borrowing 1785–1797), into a period when almost every item is at least 50 years old (Alexander Maxton, borrowing 1794–1846). It further demonstrates the problems with using borrowers' records to assess individual reading practices, but highlights their potential contribution towards the institutional histories of libraries and building up a pattern of library use.

Chapter six focuses on Innerpeffray's closest comparator, the Leighton Library in Dunblane, closest not only geographically (just 20 miles away), but also in the survival of borrowers' records (c. 1780–1830) and shared personnel, most notably in the form of Robert Hay Drummond, who served as a trustee to both libraries in the mid-eighteenth century. Though unique in its own right, as shown throughout the chapter, it provides a vital benchmark against which Innerpeffray can be compared, stressing the anomalousness of Innerpeffray with regard to the nature of its collections, how its collections were (or rather, were not) augmented and the broad range of backgrounds represented among its users.

Chapter seven makes comparisons with other libraries across Scotland and identifies criteria by which other institutions might be considered comparable. It explores the difficulty of categorising Innerpeffray when considering seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scottish library foundations. The chapter goes on to take a closer look at three comparable libraries (Kirkwall, Inverness and Haddington), focusing on what we can learn about the use of Innerpeffray by contrasting it with other collections. It also tests out the methodology with which this thesis is concerned, framing the use of other collections in their own library historical contexts and treating their borrowing records as evidence of library use, rather than reading. To demonstrate more fully the impact that the contents and context of a collection have on what is borrowed even while the individual user remains a constant, the chapter also traces individual users who borrowed from Innerpeffray and another collection (predominantly student borrowers at St Andrews, but also the Leighton library).

This thesis will begin with an examination of the terms of the library's foundation in order to understand the institutional context that underpins the subsequent discussion of Innerpeffray's borrowers' record.

CHAPTER ONE: FOUNDATION

The circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Library of Innerpeffray are a suitable starting point for this thesis not only chronologically, but because they show how and by whom the library was intended to be used. This chapter will assess the library's foundation through the terms of Madertie's will, which formed a legal entity called a 'Mortification', a sum of money 'being mortified or assigned in perpetuity to an ecclesiastical or other body for religious, educational or charitable purposes', the legal framework within which the library was forced to operate, and within which it still operates today.⁴⁵ For the first time, these terms will be considered alongside the only other surviving evidence of the library in its earliest phase—the books present in the collection at its foundation—to demonstrate that the library was intended to be of use to the broadest range of people, notably through the genres present within it and through the overwhelming number of English language works. This account of the founders' intentions will then be contrasted with that of the library's eighteenth-century patron, Robert Hay Drummond (1711–1776), since it is against this backdrop of contrasting aims and resulting collections that the borrowers' register, the focus of this thesis, begins.

Evidence for the library in the seventeenth century, beyond the books it held, is limited to details given in the will of its founder, David Drummond, 3rd Lord Madertie (1611–1694). This will is the source for almost all that is known about Madertie, save for a single episode in 1644 which he was imprisoned, following the battle of Tippermuir when fighting with his brother-in-law, James Graham Marquis of Montrose.⁴⁶ While Madertie's original will has been lost since at least 1890,⁴⁷ copies were made in 1822 and used as evidence in legal opinions, suggesting that there is no reason to question their soundness.⁴⁸ Madertie made two wills, the latter necessary after his wife pre-deceased him.⁴⁹ The foundation of the library is outlined as follows:

⁴⁵ 'Mortificatio(u)n(e n.', *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, 2004) <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/mortificatioune>> [accessed 4 August 2018].

⁴⁶ James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage; founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's peerage of Scotland; containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom*, Vol. VIII (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904), p. 218; Andrew Reid, *The Campaigns of Montrose: A Military History of the Civil War in Scotland 1639 to 1649* (Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1990), p. 52.

⁴⁷ Innerpeffray Opinion: J Ivory 1890 uses the copied will in a legal argument, citing loss of the original.

⁴⁸ Innerpeffray Opinion: J Ivory 1890.

⁴⁹ *Scots Peerage*, Vol. VIII, p. 219 has Beatrix's death date as November 1691 and Madertie's soon after in January 1692, with his final will dated December 1691. The whereabouts of this final will is currently unknown, but it was used to generate the Heritable Bond with which the Innerpeffray Mortification was formed in 1696. The

I have erected a library partly in the west end of the chapel of Innerpeffray and partly in that little new house lately built by me at the east end of the kirkyard thereof which library I appoint and ordane to be preserved entire and to be augmented by my successors yearly in time comeing in manner underwritten for the benefit and encouragement of young students and to be provided from time to time with a Keeper who may likewise be useful as a chaplain in divine worship and family exercise within the peace of Innerpeffray and who upon his admission to the said office shall be holden and obliged to keep and observe such rules and instruction for the preservation of the said library as shall be presented and informed to him by my said successors.⁵⁰

This elaborate sentence holds much to explore. It raises questions about the library's link to the chapel in whose environs it was situated and the identity of the 'young students' it intended to encourage. Nothing survives or is known of the 'new little house lately built by me', and it is never referred to in any other documents, but there is a room at the west end of the chapel, directly beside the current library at Innerpeffray, which is the only candidate for the home of the early books. A plan of the current library site is given as appendix two. The location, and the thought that the Keeper 'may likewise be useful as a chaplain in divine worship' might suggest a strong link to the chapel. Constructed as a private, Catholic chapel for the Drummond family, and the final resting place for many high-ranking family members, evidence for it functioning as anything beyond a mausoleum does not exist beyond the sixteenth century.⁵¹ Rather than to support a minister or a congregation, the library seems to have been placed there merely for convenience, with the intention for it to move into its own building is already hinted at through the mysterious 'new little house lately built by me'. Further, that the library's administration, for which minutes survive from 1709 to 1811, never mentions chapel affairs serves as further evidence that it cannot be clearly understood as a religious foundation, despite its location and the potential additional duties of the Keeper referred to in the will.⁵²

quotation here is taken directly from his earlier will. While the date of this will is uncertain, it was written before Beatrix's death, and is therefore necessarily closer to the original foundation of the library.

⁵⁰ Innerpeffray Will of David Drummond, Third Lord Madertie, c. 1680.

⁵¹ It was not an official centre of religious worship after the Reformation, and though references to Provosts of Innerpeffray in 1580s and 1590s have led to the suggestion that the chapel continued to serve as a Catholic chapel to the Drummonds, there is no evidence for such activity in the decades preceding the foundation of the library. Historic Environment Scotland, 'Innerpeffray Chapel: History' <<https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/innerpeffray-chapel/history/>> [accessed 31 July 2018]. On Catholic Drummonds in the seventeenth century: Aonghus MacKechnie, 'The Earl of Perth's Chapel of 1688 at Drummond Castle and the Roman Catholic Architecture of James VII', *Architectural Heritage* 25:1 (2014), 107–131.

⁵² NRA S1489 Vol. 11. Kaufman, in the context of English libraries, coins the term 'public quasi-parochial foundations', a looser term which could encompass Innerpeffray were it also 'maintained under predominantly

The Keepers' additional duties also have the potential to cloud interpretation of the phrase 'for the benefit and encouragement of young students', since in his will Madertie also founds a school at Innerpeffray and makes provision for the Keeper and schoolmaster to be one and the same person, 'if one person can be found sufficiently qualified who will undertake the discharge of both the said offices'. While a school and a library are obviously of related benefit, the former providing the level of literacy necessary to benefit from the latter at a time shortly before the introduction of compulsory schooling in Scotland, there is no evidence that the 'young students' named in the will were attendees at the school.⁵³ The nature of the books available, detailed below, in fact suggests the opposite, with few works associated with the acquisition of reading or writing, few Biblical texts and a near complete absence of Classics.⁵⁴ In this way, the shortcomings of evidence from within the will are clear, justifying efforts made to establish the nature of the collection at its foundation in order to better ascertain Madertie's intentions.

Foundation Collection

Methodology

Archival evidence for anything to do with the earliest period in the library's history is limited to the copies of Madertie's will, as detailed above. While some letters in Madertie's hand do exist, they have yet to provide any further evidence about the nature of the man or of his book collection.⁵⁵ Evidence for what was in the collection at its foundation, therefore, is limited to what can be gleaned from markings in the books themselves. Retention rate for books at Innerpeffray, despite its being a lending library, is remarkably good, at around

ecclesiastical control'. Paul Kaufman, 'The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 57:7 (1967), 1–67 (p. 41).

⁵³ The earliest list of names attending the school can be created from two documents dating to 1834 (NRS AD14/36/402 and NRS JC26/1836/490). The borrowers' register in the same period does not show pupils making any use of the library at all. This type of pupil use does not occur in the register until the 1870s (Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register Vol. 2).

⁵⁴ Richard Ovenden defines school books in the era as 'mainly classical texts for the classroom, as well as dictionaries and grammars', Richard Ovenden, 'Selling books in Early Eighteenth-century Edinburgh: a case study' in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800*, ed. by Stephen Brown and Warren McDougal (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 132–142 (p. 138). On the curriculum in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see John Durkan, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters 1560–1633*, ed. by Jamie Reid-Baxter (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2013); James Scotland, *The History Of Scottish Education Volume One: From The Beginning To 1872* (London: University Of London Press, 1969), p. 65; R. D. Anderson, *Education And The Scottish People 1750-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 4; Andrew Bain, *The Life And Times Of The Schoolmaster In Central Scotland In The Seventeenth And Eighteenth Centuries: A Study Based Upon Selected Extracts From Local Church And Secular Records*. (Callendar Park College of Education, Dept. of Educational Studies, 1989), p. 65.

⁵⁵ Private Collection NRA S1489 and Folger Shakespeare Library X.c.61 Papers of the Rattray family of Craighall 1593–1699.

82%.⁵⁶ This means that a strong proportion of books that were in the founding collection are still to be found there, and are certainly large enough in number to give an impression of the nature of its contents.

In order to establish which items are likely to have been in the collection since its foundation, all pre-1700 books in the current library (1182 titles) were subjected to finger-tip searching.⁵⁷ Several items from this search identified themselves as having entered the collection later, through eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century donors, thus have been excluded from the present analysis. Those few without provenance markings to positively identify them were also excluded, given the frequency with which the earliest books were marked by Madertie himself or by his family members. Of the 1182 pre-1700 items, 436 contained enough provenance evidence to identify them as having been in the library collection in its earliest days.⁵⁸ These items are listed as appendix three.

Provenance

In the absence of acquisition records and contemporary catalogues, provenance is the only means by which we can identify items from the earliest collections. The term ‘provenance’

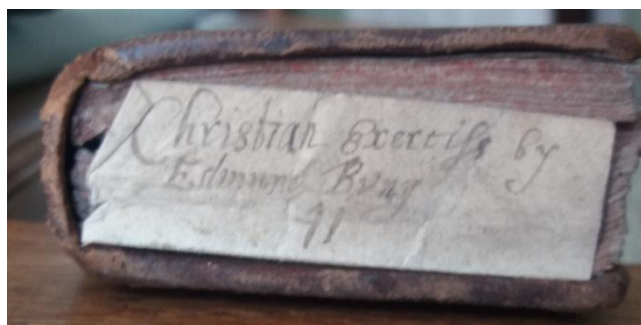


Figure 1.1: Innerpeffray Chapel-Phase Book Label

has been defined succinctly as ‘any piece of information that may bear witness to the itinerary of the book’.⁵⁹ Shelfmarks, stamps, dedications, initials, margin notes and bindings have all been the focus of previous academic study.⁶⁰ At Innerpeffray, such

⁵⁶ Of titles entered in the borrowers’ register up to 1860, only 17% could not be matched to existing shelf titles, and not all of these can be attributed to loss (1330 of 7811 entries).

⁵⁷ Madertie’s death date is given as 1692 in *Scots Peerage* (p. 219), yet his signature appears on a work with a publication date of 1694 (Simon Patrick, *The Devout Christian Instructed How to Pray, and Give Thanks to God* (London, 1694)). It is for this reason that all pre-1700 titles were included, rather than limiting searches to those only printed before his death date. The search also revealed a Madertie signature in a book printed in 1701, which has been included here for completeness, but which may be questionable (William Guild, *Moses Unveiled* (Glasgow, 1701)).

⁵⁸ This figure counts multi-volume works which are individually signed as single entities and excludes the few bound-with items, since it was not possible to determine at what point volumes were assembled.

⁵⁹ T. Curwen and G. Jonsson, ‘Provenance and the itinerary of the book: recording provenance data in on-line catalogues’, *Imprints and their Owners: Recording the Cultural Geography of Europe*, ed. by D. Shaw (London: Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2007), p. 32.

⁶⁰ See for example H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Mirjam J. Foot, *The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society* (London: British

evidence is limited, but what evidence is present is remarkably consistent. Each book contains an Innerpeffray book plate (figure 1.2) but this was commissioned in the mid-eighteenth century under Robert Hay Drummond, still pasted into books today, and is therefore



Figure 1.2: Innerpeffray Book Plate

unhelpful in marking out the date at which books enter the collection.⁶¹ Most items contain various shelfmarks of the format '[X] book of the [X] div of the [X] press', but this is at the very earliest contemporary with the new building, finished in 1762. In some items the title of the book and a simple number written onto a slip of paper is pasted in so the title can be read as the book is lying down (as illustrated in figure 1.1). The fragility of such additions, however, means that they survive very infrequently. Marginalia is also infrequent at Innerpeffray; those pre-1700 books surveyed which do display it seem to have been annotated prior to entering the collection. The richest type of provenance at Innerpeffray are signatures, and it is therefore primarily from signature evidence that the foundation collection has been ascertained.

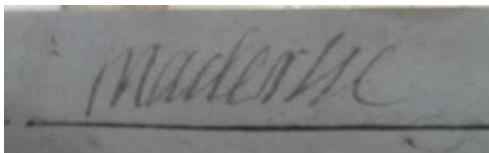


Figure 1.3: Madertie's Signature

The vast majority of titles in the foundation collection have been identified as such because they contain the signature of the founder himself: 'Madertie' in a distinctive hand, mixing round and italic letters with a pronounced right hand slant, even body size and condensed ascenders and descenders (see figure 1.3), most usually on the top left hand corner of the page following the title page. We can confidently identify the signature as the founder's own by comparison to a signed letter held in another archival

Library, 1998). A vital handbook covering a wide range of provenance information found in books is David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: a Handbook* (London: British Library, 1994).

⁶¹ Records from the meeting of trustees on 10 June 1726 note 'also to cause cut an Copper plate with the arms of Maddertie that impressions thereof may be placed upon each of the books' NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 5. The style of the plate is early armorial, a style which David Pearson dates to around 1695–1720, so this marks a late example. Pearson, *Provenance*, pp. 56–58.

collection.⁶² Previously, this marking had been thought to denote all items in the founding collection, but its absence from many books belonging to Madertie's ancestors prompted the finger-tip search to gain a clearer survey.⁶³ Eight titles displayed other provenance markings by the same man, only three of which showed the usual 'Madertie' identifier.⁶⁴ These other markings include a different form of his name, Lord David Madertie, on the final leaf.⁶⁵

The 'LDM' binding, featuring the initials stamped in gilt onto the front and back covers (figure 1.4) is less secure an identifier. Though it seems to have been used by Madertie during his lifetime, it has also been added to books later in the collection, and similar stamping tools can still be found at Innerpeffray today. Books bearing it only appear in the compiled foundation list if the binding is accompanied by other identified provenance markings.



Figure 1.4: 'LDM' Binding

Books with provenance (again, most commonly signatures) from Madertie's ancestors have also been included as part of the foundation collection as there are no other means through

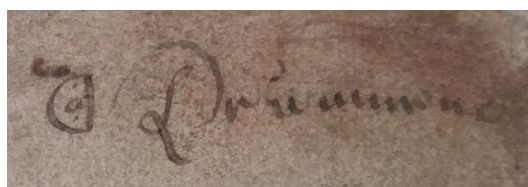


Figure 1.5: Da[vid] Drummond Signature

which they could have entered it, and on occasion Madertie or his family members also add their own signatures alongside previous book owners. Six examples give 'Incheffray', referring to an earlier title of that branch of the Drum-

mond family.⁶⁶ 'Da Drummond' with a distinctive reverse capital D with interior lowercase

⁶² Folger Shakespeare Library X.c.61(162) Papers of the Rattray family of Craighall 1593–1699 via <<http://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~686417~147582:Letter-from-David-Drummond,-3rd-Lor#>> [accessed 5 August 2016].

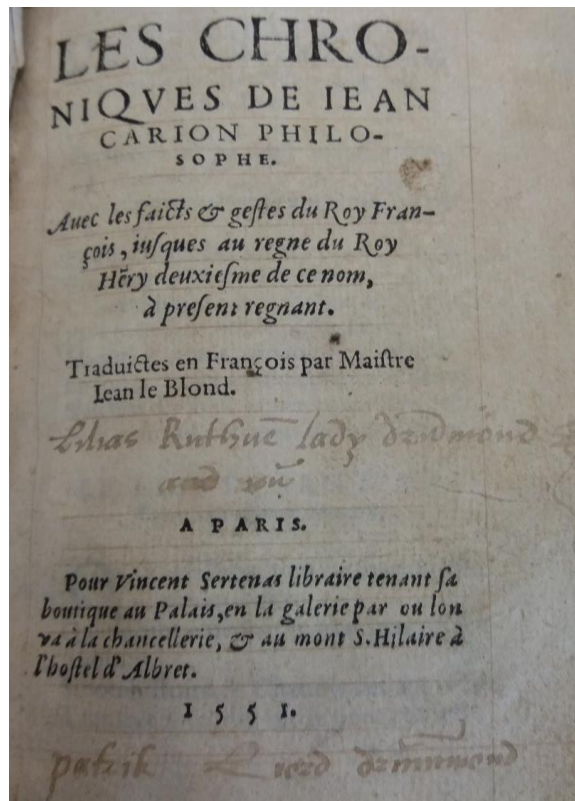
⁶³ A catalogue search for items with recorded Madertie signatures listed only 315 results.

⁶⁴ Thomas Bayly, *The Royal Charter Granted unto Kings, by God himself* (London, 1649); Robert Dallington, *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie* (London, 1613); *Lettres missives et famillieres d'Estienne du Tronchet* (Paris, 1608); *In Isaiam Prophetam* (Zurich, 1583); Wolfgang Musculus, *In Esaiam Prophetam commentarii locupletissimi* (Basel, 1557). Also signed 'Madertie': Andrew Gray, *The Mystery of Faith Opened Up* (Edinburgh, 1665); George Mackenzie, *The Laws and Customes of Scotland, in Matters Criminal* (Edinburgh, 1678); Jean de Serres, *A General Inuentorie of the History of France* (London, 1607).

⁶⁵ Jean de Serres, *A General Inuentorie of the History of France* (London, 1607).

⁶⁶ James Drummond, 1st Lord Madderty from 1609, was made Commendator of Inchaffray in 1565 (*Scots Peerage*, Vol. VIII, p. 265), while John Drummond 2nd Lord Madderty styled himself 'Master of Inchaffray' (*Scots Peerage*, Vol. VIII, p. 217). Five of the six examples are in sixteenth-century books: Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1538); *L'Agriculture, et maison rustique de mm. Charles Estienne, et Iean Liebault* (Lyon, 1593); Machiavelli, *Les Discours de l'estat de paix et de guerre* (Paris, 1571); Elcie Édouard Léon Mellema, *Dictionnaire ou promptuaire flameng-francoys* (Rotterdam, 1591); *L'Arithmetique de Simon Steuin de Bruges* (Leiden, 1585). The single later example is Eusebius, *Thesaurus temporum* (Amsterdam, 1658).

A (figure 1.5) was also found.⁶⁷ While this could refer to Madertie, whose full name was David Drummond, the markedly different handwriting, and the fact Madertie never seems to have styled himself such, means this is more likely the signature of David Drummond, 2nd Lord Drummond (d.1571), the father of Madertie's great uncle Patrick.



Seven titles come from Patrick Lord Drummond, Madertie's great uncle, whose signature is a distinctive 'patrik Lord drummond', often with the date appended.⁶⁸ In figure 1.6 his name is given alongside that of Lilias Ruthven, second wife to his father David.⁶⁹ Signatures of other female family members also appear in the collection, such as 'M Drummond' (the only M initials in the family are two daughters called Margaret and another called Mary).⁷⁰ 'Marie Drummond' has also been found and included in the foundation list, since she was married and with her own family by the time of her father's foundation.⁷¹

Figure 1.6: Patrick & Lilias Drummond Provenance

⁶⁷ The CL. *Psalmes of David in Meter. For the Use of the Kirk of Scotland* (Middelburg, 1594).

⁶⁸ Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (Geneva, 1557); *Les Chroniques de Iean Carion philosophe* (Paris, 1551); *L'histoire de Chelidonius Tigurinus sur l'institution des princes Chrestiens, & origine des royaumes* (Paris, 1559); Frisius Gemma, *L'Arithmetique* (Paris, 1561); Sebastian Munster, *La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (Paris, 1576); Pierre Viret, *Instruction Chrestienne & somme generale de la doctrine comprise es Saintes Escritures* (Geneva, 1556) and *Les CL. Pseaumes de David* (Paris, 1567).

⁶⁹ *Scots Peerage*, Vol. VII, pp. 46–7.

⁷⁰ 'Marie Drummond': Jonathan Clapham, *A Guide to the True Religion* (Edinburgh, 1669). 'M Drummond': Luis de Granada, *The Sinners Guyde* (London, 1598). 'Miss Margaret Drummond': Richard Rogers, *The Practice of Christianitie* (London, 1629).

⁷¹ Gordon Andrew Macgregor, *The Red Book of Perthshire* (Perthshire Heritage, 2006), p. 273.

An Andrew Wood appears in 27 titles.⁷² He tends not only to sign his name, but also to include a distinctive monogram across several pages of each item (figure 1.7). A newspaper article from 1890 concerning the library identifies him as ‘Andrew Wood of Largo, who was married to the Hon Jean Drummond, aunt of the founder of the library’, verified by Jean’s entry in *The Scots Peerage*, explaining the inclusion of his volumes in the library collection.⁷³

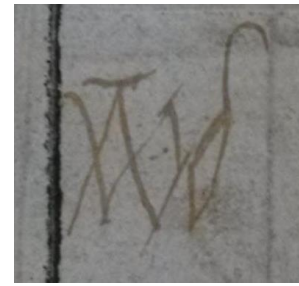


Figure 1.7:
A[ndrew] W[ood] Monogram

Camden’s *Britannia* (London, 1637) and a small Bible in French (Sedan, 1633) bear the signature of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, Madertie’s famous brother-in-law.⁷⁴ In 1644, Madertie was sent forth as a messenger by Montrose at the battle of Tippermuir, and was promptly captured and detained for beheading.⁷⁵ Though we know nothing more of Madertie’s military career, or his interactions with Montrose, his freedom was negotiated and, with his marriage to Beatrix still strong, the presence of Montrose’s books in the library can be attributed to this familial connection.

Other Drummonds (H, Thomas, John, James) also appear, and seem to be family members too, though there is not enough accompanying information for them to be securely identified. Those books marked John or Jacobus Drummond have been included only when a

⁷² Jose de Acosta, *The Naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies* (London, 1604); Giovanni Boccaccio, *The fall of prynces* (London, 1554); Giovanni Botero, *Relations, of the Most Famous Kingdoms and Common-weales Thorough the World* (London, 1611); William Brown, *Britannia’s Pastorals* (London, 1616); John Burges, *An Answer Reioyned to that Much Applauded Pamphlet of a Namelesse Author, Bearing this Title: viz. A reply to Dr. Mortons Generall Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies, &c* (London, 1631); *The Booke of Common Prayer* (London, 1604); Gerolamo Conestaggio, *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill* (London, 1600); Celio Curione, *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (London, 1575); Robert Dallington, *Aphorismes Ciuill and Militarie* (London, 1613); John Donne, *Ignatius his Conclave* (London, 1635); Charles Estienne, *Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum* (Geneva, 1579); Henri Estienne, *A World of Wonders: or An Introduction to a Treatise Touching the Conformitie of Ancient and Moderne Wonders* (London, 1607); *Fabyans Cronycle Newly Printed* (London, 1533); George Gascoigne, *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* (London, 1611); Simon Goulart, *Admirable and Memorable Histories Containing the Wonders of our Time* (London, 1607); Peter Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos* (Oxford, 1627); Lancelot-Voisin La Popeliniere, *The Historie of France* (London, 1595); Pedro Mexia, *The Historie of all the Romane Emperors* (London, 1604); Jan Orlers, *The Triumphs of Nassau* (London, 1618); Pliny the elder, *The Historie of the World* (London, 1601); Plutarch *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romaines* (London, 1612); John de Serres, *An Historical Collection, of the Most Memorable Accidents, and Tragickall Massacres of France* (London, 1598); *A Famouse Cronicle of oure Time, called Sleidanus Commentarie* (London, 1560); William Alexander, *The Monarchie Tragedies* (London, 1607); George Wither, *Iuuenilia* (London, 1622); *The Shepheards Kalender* (London, 1611).

⁷³ *The People’s Journey*, Saturday October 19 1890, cutting from PKC MS2/4/31. *Scots Peerage*, Vol. VIII, p. 217.

⁷⁴ Through Madertie’s second marriage, to Lady Beatrix Grahame, sister to James, First Marquis of Montrose. William Drummond, *The Genealogy of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond by the Honourable William Drummond, Afterwards First Viscount of Strathallan*, MDCLXXXI (Edinburgh: A. Balfour and Co., 1831), p. 181. Books found signed ‘Montrose’: *La Bible qui est toute la sainte escripture du vieil et nouveau Testament* (Sedan, 1633); William Camden, *Britain, or A Chorographical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdoms* (London, 1637).

⁷⁵ Reid, p. 52.

Lord title is given; while John is 2nd Lord Madertie, the father of the Madertie who founded Innerpeffray, the library also receives a bequest of books from a John Drummond, deprived minister of Fowlis Wester (six miles north-east of Innerpeffray), in 1717, and those titles found signed ‘Mr John Drummond’ have thus been excluded from the present analysis.⁷⁶

Titles signed by William Drummond, Madertie’s younger brother, were also identified during the finger-tip search, namely Johannes Colerus, *Calendarium perpetuum et sex libri oeconomici* (Wittenburg, 1613) and Cicero, *De officiis libri tres* (Leiden, 1642). William, after a successful career as a mercenary and having gained favour with the royal family on his return, acquired the lands at Innerpeffray and was nominated to the estate in 1684, ‘under the reservation of a liferent to himself [Madertie] and his wife’.⁷⁷ William’s death in 1688, before that of his elder brother, meant that lands and title passed on to another William (William Drummond’s son) during Madertie’s lifetime. We can identify the William in these two titles as the former, since the first flyleaf of the *Calendarium* contains biographical details of the owner’s life which match that of the elder.⁷⁸ They are included in this analysis since it seems plausible that they entered the collection during Madertie’s lifetime, given William’s death date.

The finger-tip search also uncovered markings of other major Perthshire families in the books.⁷⁹ These are mostly undated, and are often just the surname, sometimes with an initial. Even when the first name is given, the regularity with which first names are repeated within the family means it is difficult to tie a name to a particular era. These have been largely

⁷⁶ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 2 setting up the press for the books, p. 6 creating an inventory. On his deprivation, see Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

⁷⁷ Alexander B. Barty, *The History of Dunblane* (Stirling: Stirling District Libraries, 1994), p. 119–20.

⁷⁸ These details are transcribed in full in *Scots Peerage*, Vol. VIII, p. 222.

⁷⁹ ‘Murray’ (various spellings): Paolo Sarpi, *Historie of the Councel of Trent* (London, 1629); Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (London, 1617); *The Works of the Very Learned and Reuerend Father in God Iohn Iewell* (London, 1609); *Dictionariolum latino-graeco-gallicum* (Paris, 1607); John Davenant, *Determinationes quaestionum quarundam theologiarum* (Cambridge, 1634); John Davenant, *Dissertationes duae* (Cambridge, 1650); John Cameron, *Opera* (Geneva, 1642); David Derodon, *The Funeral of the Mass* (Edinburgh, 1680); M. Tullii Ciceronis *De officiis libri tres* (Leiden, 1642); Hugh Binning, *The Common Principles of Christian Religion Clearly Proved* (Edinburgh, 1660); John Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (London, 1647); Hermann Rennecher, *In I. psalmum familiares quaedam observationes* (Frankfurt, 1588); Robert Sanderson, *De iuramenti promissorii obligatione praelectiones septem*. (London, 1647); John Dod, *Ten Sermons* (London, 1632).

‘Rollo[cus]’: Robert Baron, *Philosophia theologiae ancillans* (Oxford, 1621); Johannes Piscator, *Analysis logica evangelii secundum Matthaeum* [n.p.], 1606; Richard Barckley, *The Felicitie of Man, or, his Summum Bonum* (London, 1631); James Howell, *Lustra Ludovici* (London, 1646).

‘Campbell’: Samuel Rutherford, *A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Pauls Presbyterie in Scotland* (London, 1642); Robert Dallington, *Aphorismes Ciuill and Militarie* (London, 1613).

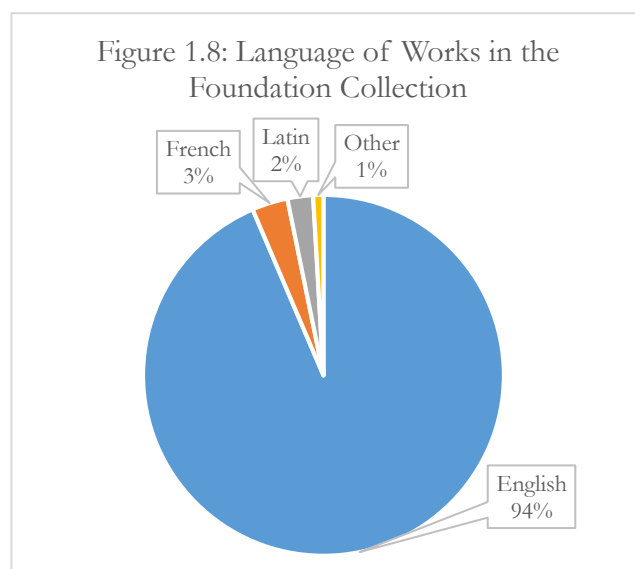
‘Graham[e]’: Richard Sibbes, *Light from Heaven* (London, 1638); Andrew Willet, *Synopsis papismi* (London, 1634); Also, William Fleetwood, *An Account of the Life and Death of the Blessed Virgin* (London, 1687) and Samuel Page, *A Godly Learned Exposition* (London, 1631), though these do not appear in the catalogue at 1813. Also ‘Oliphant 1677’ in Homer, *Heroika Homerou Ilias. Homeri Ilias*, 1641.

excluded from the analysis, since many of the families, particularly the Murray family (both of Ochertyre and of Dollerie) had a long relationship with the library, and most certainly donated books to it in later years.⁸⁰ The Murray family also seem to have donated books to other collections: one of the items identified as part of the later bequest of the minister from Fowlis Wester, for example, is signed ‘Murray 1663’ as well as ‘Mr John Drummond’.⁸¹ Since the entry of these items into the collection cannot be pinned down to a particular date, or through Madertie himself, they have been excluded from the analysis, unless accompanied by Madertie or other familiar provenance markings already discussed.

By compiling all the provenance evidence found in the pre-1700 books, 436 titles have been identified as part of the library in its earliest incarnation.⁸² While unsigned titles may have been overlooked using this method, it has sufficiently excluded later additions to the collection. Further, 436 might be about the size of a rural private library one might expect during the Restoration; Nairn’s collection, estimated to be the largest at that time, only numbered 840 volumes.⁸³ This means that any conclusions about the nature of the library collection in its earliest incarnation are likely to be based upon a very high proportion of what would have been present originally.⁸⁴

Language

The most striking feature of books in the foundation collection is their uniformity of language. Only 28 of the 436 works are in anything other than English. Furthermore, the majority of non-English texts enter the collection by means other than Madertie’s own purchasing: for example, all of Patrick Lord Drummond’s additions to the collection are in



⁸⁰ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 6 records a meeting of the mortification attended by both Patrick Murray of Ochertyre and Anthony Murray of Dollerie.

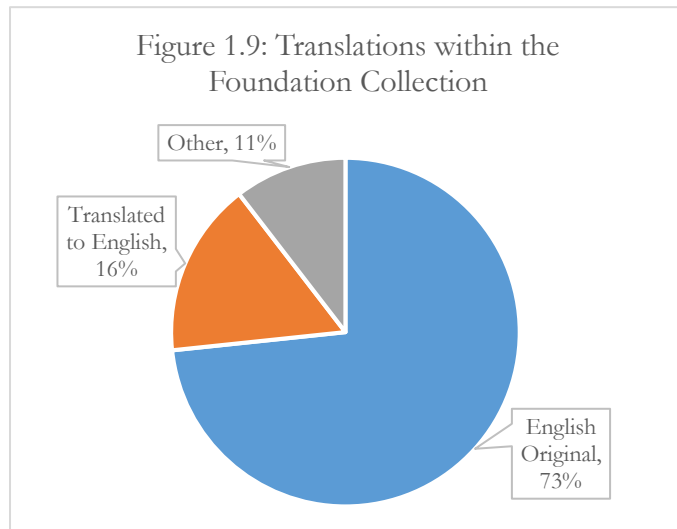
⁸¹ John Cameron, *Opera*, (Geneva, 1642).

⁸² These titles are listed in full in appendix three.

⁸³ Murray C. T. Simpson, *The Library of the Reverend James Nairn (1629–1678): Scholarly Book Collecting in Restoration Scotland* (Doctoral Thesis: University of Edinburgh, 1987).

⁸⁴ Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue, 1813.

French.⁸⁵ German and Italian are represented by one title each, but again these books were not purchased by Madertie, and only bear the marks of his family members.⁸⁶ This differentiates those texts which are in the collection incidentally, and those which may have been specifically chosen. Just 10 texts are in Latin (only three of which are signed Madertie), and Greek appears only ever in combination with other languages (dictionaries, rather than facing texts).⁸⁷ This tallies with the lack of specific genres such as classics present in the collection identified below, and of biblical texts.



The foundation collection is not, however, entirely English in content, since 27% of its collections were not composed in English. 16% of titles are translations into English, usually from French or Latin, but also Italian and Spanish. This can be explained in part by the availability of texts for purchasing, though the lack of Latin in particular would seem to

suggest that Madertie was choosing to purchase texts in English, rather than simply preferring the type of item which happened to be in English. It has not been possible to establish Madertie's own educational background, therefore any suggestion that he might himself have been largely monoglot cannot be confirmed. However, it is possible that he wished to acquire texts which the widest number of readers would be able to access.⁸⁸ Considering that Madertie had a wife and daughters, whose names in some of the books suggest they used the collection as well, a text in the original language also may not have been as accessible to them. Though analysis of other elements of the foundation collection does not suggest that he started sourcing texts specifically with the idea of opening it up to the public in mind,

⁸⁵ Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (Geneva, 1557); *Les Chroniques de Jean Carion philosophe* (Paris, 1551); *L'Histoire de Chelidonius Tigurinus sur l'institution des princes Chrestiens, & origine des royaumes* (Paris, 1559); Frisius Gemma, *L'Arithmetique* (Paris, 1561); Sebastian Munster, *La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (Paris, 1576); Pierre Viret, *Instruction Chrestienne & somme generale de la doctrine comprinse es Saintes Escritures* (Geneva, 1556); *Les CL. Pseaumes de David* (Paris, 1567).

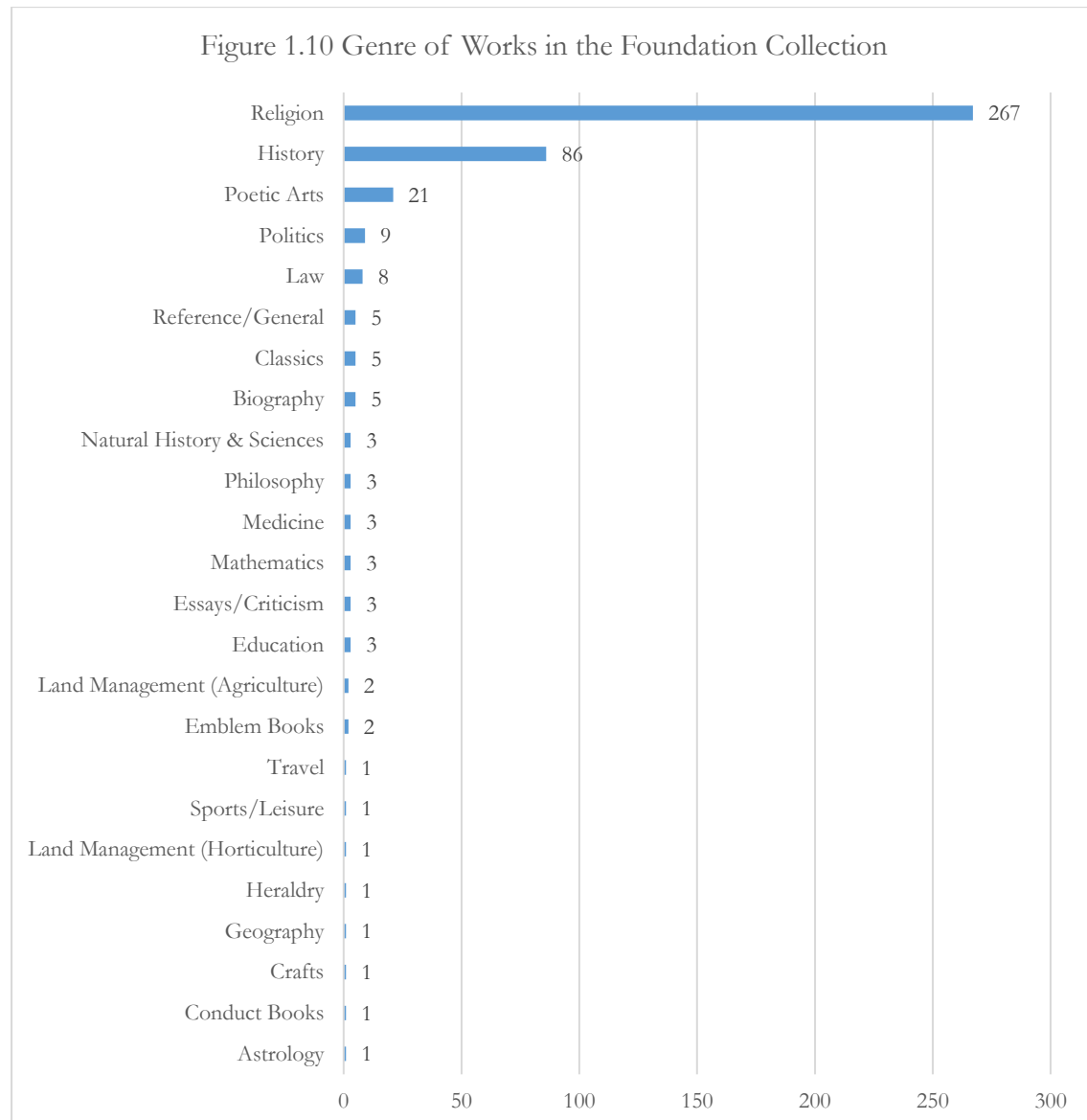
⁸⁶ Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1583) 'a monsieur Inchaffray'; *M. Jobannis Coleri [...] Calendarium perpetuum et sex libri oeconomici* (Wittenburg, 1613), 'W Drummond' (William Drummond, Madertie's brother).

⁸⁷ *Minsheu emendatio, vel a mendis expurgatio, seu augmentatio sui Ductoris in linguas, The Guide into Tongues* (London, 1627).

⁸⁸ Though Madertie's ancestors and brothers appear in the lists at the University of St Andrews his name is absent (Smart) [accessed 26 June 2018].

English-language items would undoubtedly have been accessible to the highest number of readers.

Genre



Once titles from the early collection were identified, they were assigned a genre so that the make-up of the collection overall could better be understood. Genre headings were adapted from existing terms used during the original transcription of the register.⁸⁹ The results, displayed in the graph above, show exactly how important it is to begin any interpretation of borrowing records with an assessment of the texts available for borrowing. The range of subjects on offer at Innerpeffray was highly limited, and, overwhelmingly, religion marked the core of the collection. As the graph above shows, other subjects are represented, but not

⁸⁹ On which see the introduction to this thesis and appendix one.

in any great number, and only History is a significant part of the collection otherwise. Even here, texts marked as History could often be viewed as predominantly religious. There are not only standard texts on religious history in England and Scotland, such as Gilbert Burnet, *Abridgment of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (London, 1658) and David Calderwood, *True History of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1678), but also in other countries too (for example Gilbert Burnet, *Reflections on Mr. Varillas's History of the Revolutions that Have Happened in Europe in Matters of Religion* (Amsterdam, 1686)).

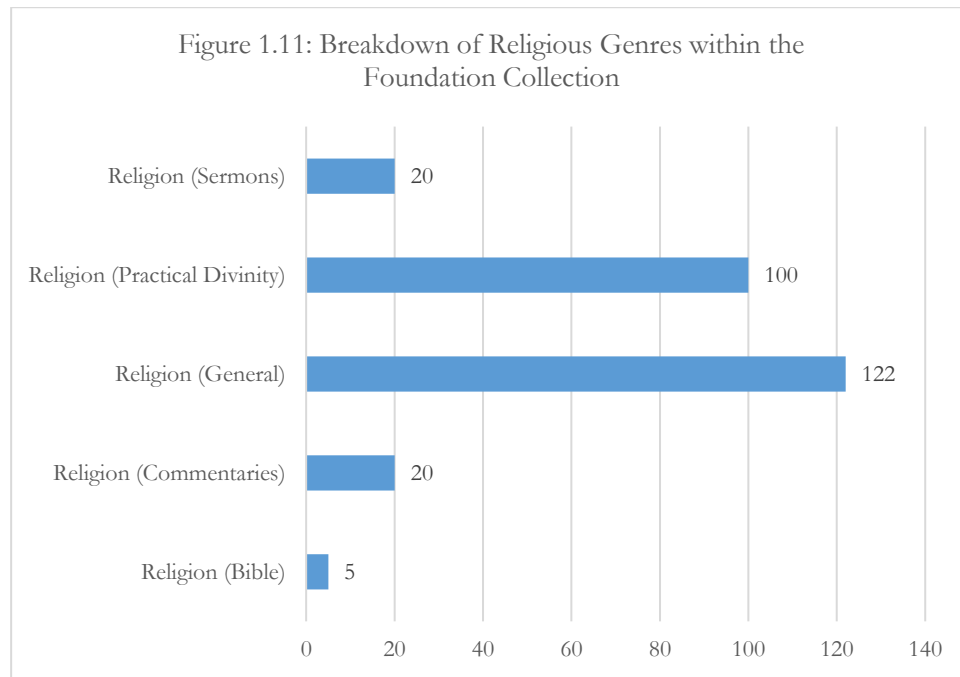


Figure 1.11 breaks down the biggest category, Religion, into more specific sub-genres. Religion (General) accounts for the greatest proportion of religious items, encompassing as it does a wide array of works, various in form, topic and viewpoint.⁹⁰ These range from tracts on specific points of church administration, such as David Calderwood, *Re-examination of the Five Articles Enacted at Perth Anno 1618* ([n.p.], 1636), to apologetics and polemics including Robert Abbot, *Defence of the Reformed Catholicke of M. W. Perkins* (London, 1606), and Samuel Colvil, *Grand Impostor Discovered* (Edinburgh, 1673). The very miscellaneousness of the collection supports the idea that Madertie's foundation was not an intent to persuade towards any particular religious standpoint, but to give others access to a range of materials available in order to make their own informed opinion. This reflects the religious turmoil in which he

⁹⁰ Thanks are due to Prof. Neil Keeble for his assistance in identifying the different religious perspectives within the collection.

was living, and can also be seen in other contemporary foundations, such as the Leighton Library in chapter six.

Similarly, inclusion of material from across the doctrinal spectrum would give the opportunity for users to consider a range of viewpoints, educating and informing a personal decision, rather than to encouraging a particular doctrine. Across all works there is strong Puritan representation (William Perkins, Richard Rogers, John Preston, Arthur Hildersam, Richard Sibbes), with numerous other Protestant voices alongside (Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Hooker, Jeremy Taylor).⁹¹ Some Roman Catholic works are also included (Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis de Sales and Luis de Granada), but not so many as to support any suggestion that Madertie himself was Catholic, despite the history of Catholicism within the Drummond family, including the notable conversion of his Drummond cousin under James VII and II.⁹² The collection also includes a similar level of independent/radical texts (Henry Ainsworth, Jeremiah Burroghes, Joseph Caryl). Such a variety of texts is not uncommon in libraries not made available to the public, and is particularly so in the collections of those who confiscated such texts, but their inclusion completely changes in meaning when brought into a public context such as Innerpeffray.⁹³ Further, it highlights the nature of Innerpeffray as a private library incidentally made public, rather than a curated collection intended to encourage a particular denominational identity.

The relatively small collection of commentaries (even including annotations etc.) reflects the fact that, despite the large number of religious works, this is not a pedagogical collection, but one first collected for private interest. This is also reflected in a complete lack of Luther, and that the only copy of any of Calvin's work comes through Madertie's ancestor Patrick (*Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* (Geneva, 1557)). The focus seems to be on individual opinion, rather than direct (or aided) interpretation of original texts, which can also be explained in part by the lack of ancient languages present within the collection, as identified above.

⁹¹ Puritan authors identified from William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938).

⁹² The earlier religious history of the family is recounted in Audrey-Beth Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay faith in Scotland 1480–1560* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1994), p. 614 using documents published in William Moir Bryce (ed.) *The Scottish Grey Friars*, Vol. II (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1909), pp. 264–5. On James Drummond's conversion and subsequent building of a Catholic chapel at Drummond Castle see Aonghus MacKechnie 'The Earl of Perth's Chapel of 1688 at Drummond Castle and the Roman Catholic Architecture of James VII' *Architectural Heritage*, 25 (2014), 107–131.

⁹³ See for example texts from the Holbeck Jesuit Library brought into the collections at Sion College. H. Dijkgraaf, *The Library of a Jesuit Community at Holbeck, Nottinghamshire (1679)* (Cambridge: LP Publications, 2003).

Works of practical divinity—several titles, mostly in English, on how to live a godly life—are far more prolific. Examples include Richard Allestree, *The Art of Contentment* (Glasgow, 1676), Arthur Dent, *The Plaine-mans Path-way to Heauen* (London, 1631) and Thomas Taylor, *Davids Learning, or the Way to True Happinesse* (London, 1618). Such titles would be of benefit to all comers, no matter what their status, or even their particular affiliation. These titles, as we shall see in the following chapters, form the core of the collection which becomes popular with borrowers.

Bibles themselves (and associated parts and works, for example, Books of Psalms, Books of Common Prayer), while strongly represented in the modern collections, only appear on five occasions. These are mostly private copies previously owned by Madertie's family members: Montrose, Andrew Wood, Patrick Lord Drummond, Da[vid] Drummond.⁹⁴ That Bibles were not necessarily available for borrowing is not unexpected; it was the one text to which most individuals would already have access, whether through ownership or through chapel readings.⁹⁵

While the religious standpoint of the library seems to be fairly uncontroversial and relatively neutral, the same cannot be said for its politics. Within the history and philosophy categories there is a discernibly Royalist bent (William Howell, *Medulla Historia Anglicanae* (London, 1681); *An Historical Discourse of the Popes Usurped Supremacy over Princes* (London, 1679)). Foreign politics, civil wars in particular, are well represented (Francesco Guicciardini on Italy, Gerolamo Conestaggio on Portugal, Louis Mayerne on Spain). This is unsurprising, given Madertie's role as Lord, landowner, and his close ties to his brother-in-law, the Marquis of Montrose. An understanding of affairs in other countries, and the bearing they might therefore have on affairs in Britain, could serve either as means of trying to predict what would happen next, or a means by which to understand what had already happened. Support for monarchical rule at home, too, is present (such as John Nalson, *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State* (London, 1682); and George Mackenzie, *A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1685)). Coming out of the War of the Three Kingdoms, and immediately following the restoration of the monarchy, such texts could have provided

⁹⁴ Montrose: *La Bible qui est toute la sainte escripture du vieil et nouveau Testament* (Sedan, 1633); Andrew Wood: *The Booke of Common Prayer* (London, 1604); Patrik Lord Drummond: *Les CL. Pseaumes de David* (Paris, 1567); Da Drummond: *The CL. Psalmes of David in meter* (Middelburg, 1594).

⁹⁵ In the context of provincial readers in Kent in 1640, Peter Clark reports that if only one book were owned, it was the Bible. 'Ownership of books in England 1560-1640' in *Schooling and Society: Studies in the history of education*, ed. by Laurence Stone (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 95–111. (p. 98, p. 103).

comfort to Madertie, who had fought on the side of the King. Innerpeffray is, after all, within 20 miles of Tibbermore, where the Battle of Tippermuir was fought in 1644, and at which Madertie himself had been sent as messenger and imprisoned, as mentioned above.⁹⁶ Making such works available to the public could serve as comfort to those locals who had been so close to the fighting, as well as a peaceful reminder that order was restored, with these titles reminding users that this order ought to be upheld.

The foundation collection also contains a very limited number of almost handbook-style texts. These range from hunting (George Gascoigne, *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* (London, 1611)) through farming (Charles Estienne, *L'Agriculture, et maison rustique* (Lyon, 1593)) to goldsmithing (W.B., *A Touch-stone for Gold and Silver Wares* (London, 1677)). Their low numbers put paid to any suggestion that the foundation of the library was intended to support users in their current occupations. In fact, both Estienne and Gascoigne had entered the collection before any idea of making the texts public could have been conceived, marked as 'Incheffray' and 'Andrew Wood' respectively. These texts are of rather more use to those managing an estate than to those working on one. Gascoigne, for example, discusses the best breeding of dogs, but also includes such things as poetry written from the perspective of a hunted hare - of interest perhaps to a local gamekeeper, but not particularly of use. Any borrowing of texts associated with such occupations, therefore, ought to be marked, as there were fewer of them from which to choose. Once again, this analysis highlights that the foundation collection was not specifically curated, but made public incidentally.

Specifically educational texts are not well represented in the foundation collection, but two titles relating to writing and rhetoric do appear: Thomas Blount, *Academie of Eloquence* (London, 1656) and David Browne, *Calligraphia* (St Andrews, 1622). Both are signed 'Madertie', with no other marks of provenance.⁹⁷ Blount has been called part of the 'fashionable genre of conversation manuals', but his work is not accompanied by any others of that ilk (notable absences include Edward Phillips' *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* and William Winstanley's *New Help to Discourse*).⁹⁸ Again, as with practical divinity, such titles could be considered of use both to Madertie and to any user, regardless of occupation or status, but in such small

⁹⁶ Reid, p. 52.

⁹⁷ The spaces in *Calligraphia* have been filled by the printer, which is unusual for existing copies of this work. Ambrose Heal, *English Writing Masters and their Copy-Books* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1931), p. 23.

⁹⁸ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 122.

numbers education of this kind cannot be considered part of the aims of the foundation collection.

Poetic arts, a broad term in the early modern period encompassing fiction, drama and poetry, comprise only 21 titles in the collection.⁹⁹ 20 of these are signed 'Madertie', the single exception (John Donne, *Ignatius His Conclave* (London, 1635)) bearing the mark of Andrew Wood, whose name also joins Madertie's in four other works (Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Modell of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence, and Conuersation* (London, 1625); William Browne, *Britannia Pastorals* (London, 1616); William Stirling, *Monarchicke Tragedies* (London, 1607); and George Wither, *Iuvenalia* (London, 1622)). Though all but one title within this category (T.S., *The Second Part of The pilgrims progress* (London, 1682)) were published in 1658 or earlier, there is no evidence to suggest that Madertie lost interest in their acquisition later on. The nature of their contents - that they are not translations, nor works which go out of date - imply that there is less need to pursue a most recent edition. Most notable, though, is how few there are, a characteristic of the library collection which would continue until later in the nineteenth century.

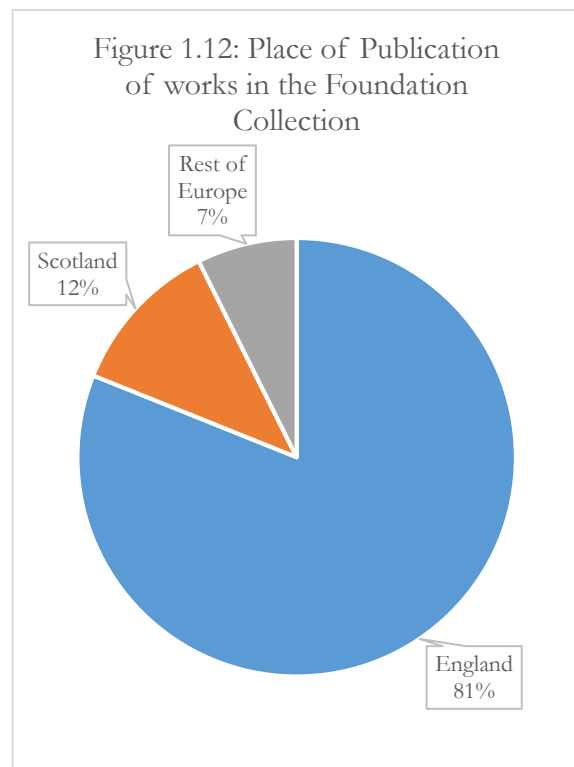
Genres contained within the collection do, therefore, provide evidence contrary to the assumption that the library was only ever intended to be a chapel or a school collection. Combined with the varied provenance evidence, across many family members and through major local families, it further emphasises how accidental the collection seems to be, gathered, rather than curated with a clear focus in mind. That said, the preference for religious and for historically useful texts can reveal something towards an intention of making the collection available to the public: to enable others, as well as Madertie, to make sense of recent events, and to work towards a godly life.

Place of Publication

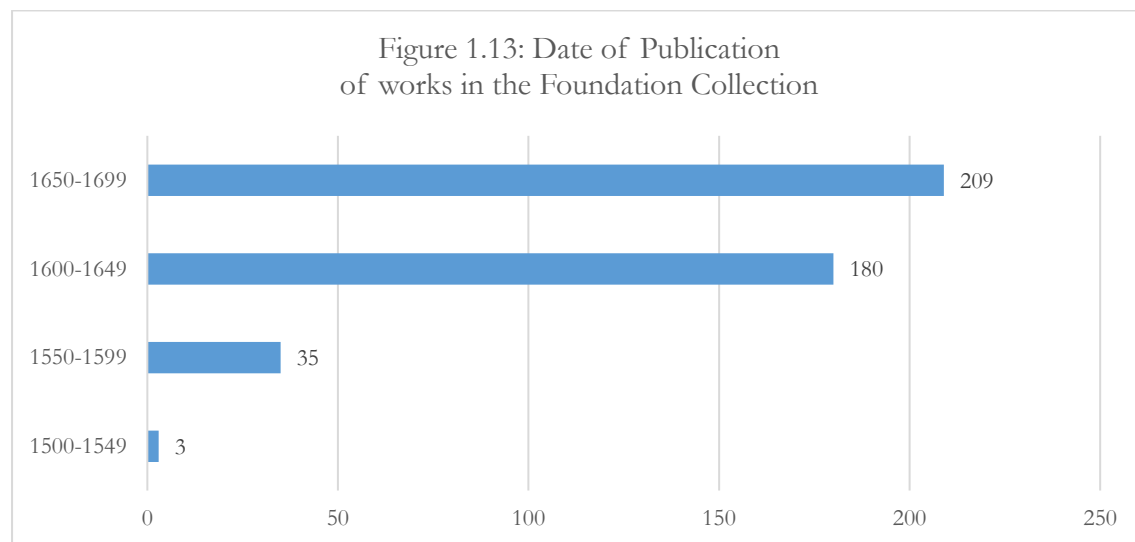
81% of books identified as part of the foundation collection were published in England. While this was predominantly books published in London, there is also strong showing for

⁹⁹ For further discussion of the term see Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

Oxford and Cambridge. Only 12% of titles were printed in Scotland (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and St Andrews) despite a decent printing trade in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁰ This is equal to the number of books printed outside Britain. Again, more than half of these entered the collection from Madertie's relatives, rather than the man himself. Since contacts would have been required to source books from abroad, it is possible he had not made the appropriate links in order to access texts printed outside of Britain.¹⁰¹ This could further explain the limited selection of languages in the collection, since it is possible that titles published in England would have included many English translations.



Age



¹⁰⁰ An advanced search of the *ESTC* for titles printed in the years 1600–1699 gives the following numbers: Edinburgh 4809; Glasgow 278; Aberdeen 300 (an additional 112 under Aberdene); Leith 73. St Andrews only returned 4 results, but this is due to multiple spellings (an additional 9 ‘Saint Andrews’, 4 ‘Saint Andrews’, 3 ‘Saint Andrewes’ and 2 ‘Saint Andrewes’ were also found). While these pale in comparison to data on London for the same date range (99575) the Edinburgh number far exceeds that of Cambridge (2134) and Oxford (3640). <<http://estc.bl.uk/>> [accessed 5 August 2016].

¹⁰¹ For which see Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press 2000).

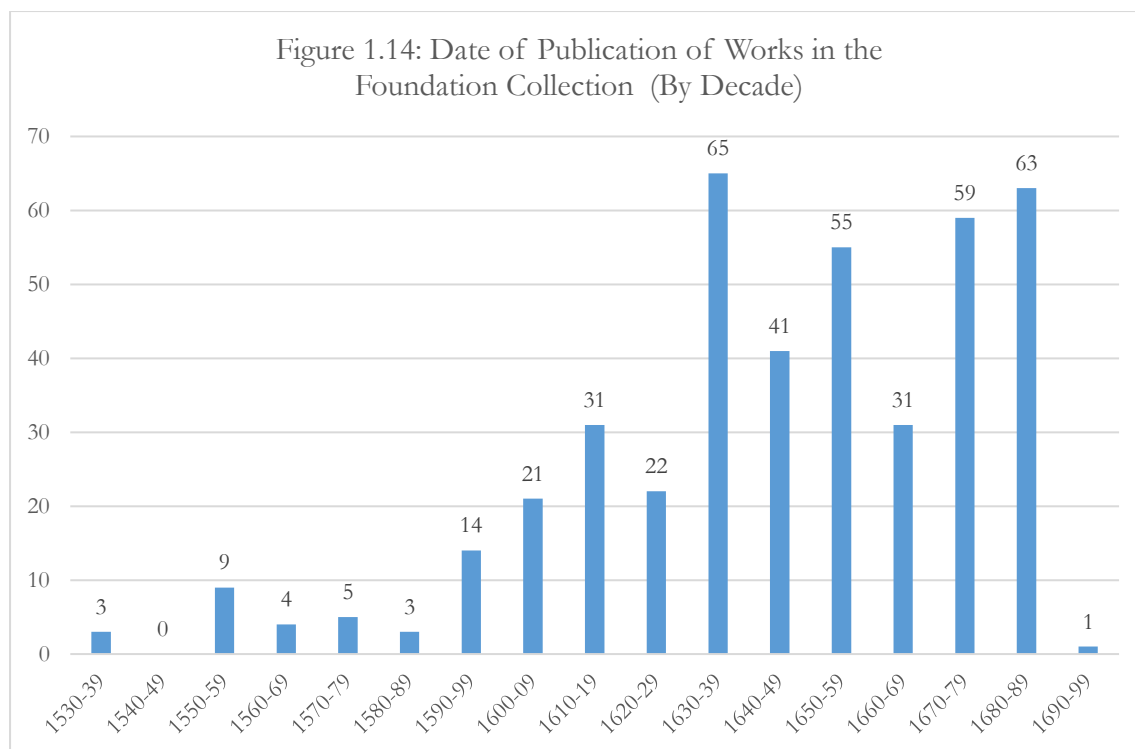
The earliest item in which Madertie's signature appears is *Fabyans cronycle newly prynted* (London, 1533) with no other provenance markings, which suggests Madertie had acquired items published prior to his birth in 1611. 76 items in the foundation collection were published before Madertie even turned ten. Of those, only 34 were identified as having come into the collection before Madertie, via his ancestors. Excepting the possibility that Madertie received a large portion of his books from another person who did not mark their texts, it is likely he purchased some of the remaining 42 for himself on the second-hand market. Most of the relatively limited scholarly accounts of the second-hand book market have focused on auctions as a method of procurement, but this is due to the survival of auction records as evidence, rather than it necessarily being the predominant method.¹⁰² Yeo puts forward a compelling critique of scholarly debate in this area, giving a full account of Richard Littlejohn, the single bookseller charged with the task of procuring books new and old for Chetham's Library in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁰³ Littlejohn did so through a combination of auctions and personal contacts, both British and continental. Yet while Chetham's trustees provided their bookseller with a list of titles to procure specifying their format, edition and age, we have no evidence that Madertie was doing the same, or indeed that he was so specific in his purchases.¹⁰⁴ Madertie may have bought up books at auction, since these were becoming more prevalent by the 1670s, but the large number of books displaying provenance from local families suggest he also acquired them from his own personal contacts closer to home.¹⁰⁵ This suggests that he was not looking for specific works, but for any works which he could get that might have been seen to be generally useful.

¹⁰² See for example Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote eds. *Under the Hammer: Book auctions since the seventeenth century* (London: British Library, 2001).

¹⁰³ Matthew Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library 1655-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 81–122.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Yeo, p. 100.

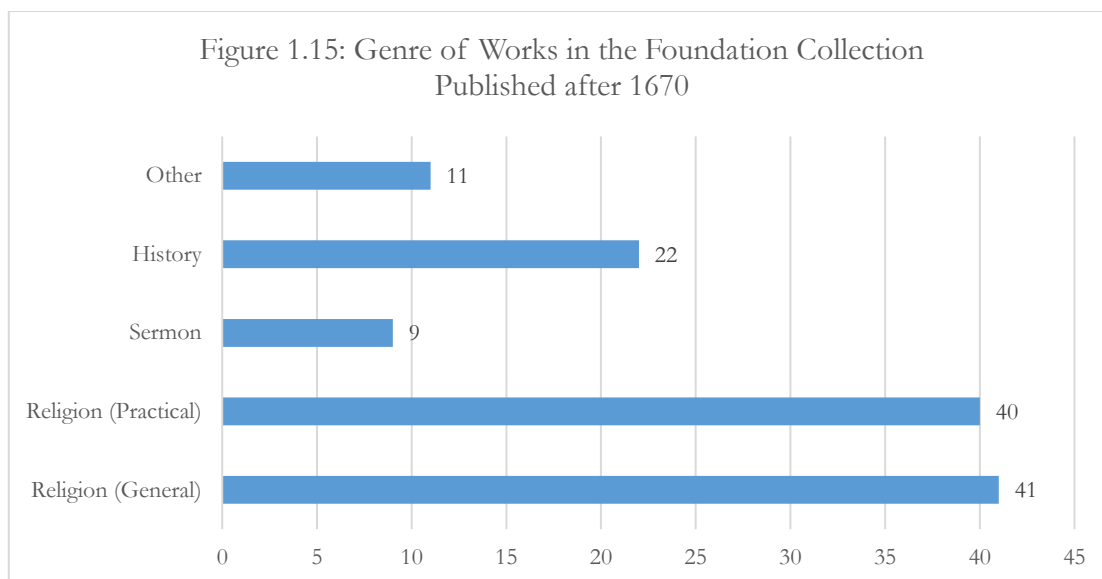
¹⁰⁵ On the increase in book auctions see John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Elliot Stock, 1906). For provenance of local families in books at the foundation collection see this thesis p. 31 n. 79 (Murray, Rollo, Campbell, Graeme and Oliphant).



The largest proportion of books in the foundation collection are published post-1650, which may be partially attributed to the ‘forward propulsion’ of the book trade in Scotland from the 1660s, following improvements in the distribution networks for imported and locally produced items.¹⁰⁶ However, the chart by decade shows that, though not presenting the largest number of books published per decade, a significantly large number of titles were purchased from 1670–1689. This is notable because works acquired in that period would have been relatively recent additions to the library at the time of Madertie’s death, whereas texts from, for example, 1630, could have been bought at any time. By this point it is possible that Madertie was building towards the establishment of his library, further evidenced by the fact that 123 of the 124 titles published after 1670 in his collection was written in English.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Mann, p. 201.

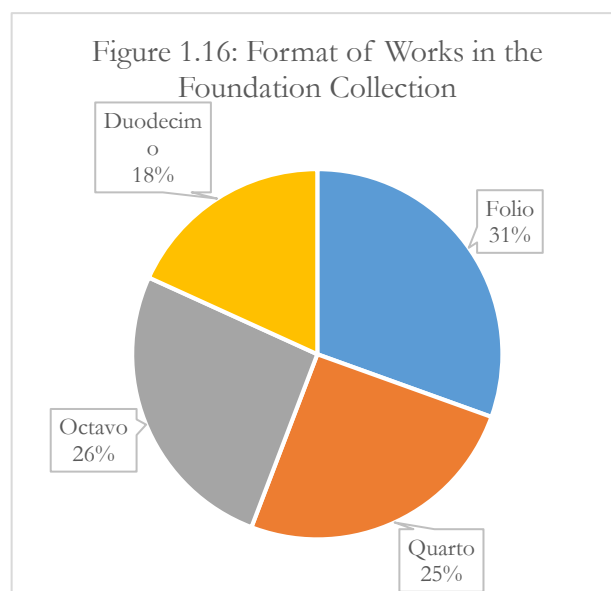
¹⁰⁷ The single exception being Christopher Irvine, *Historiae Scoticae nomenclatura Latino-vernacula* (Edinburgh, 1682).



The chart above shows the genre spread of titles in these last decades, with a very narrow range of subjects, focusing almost solely on general and practical religious works and historical texts. The analysis of publication dates, therefore, backs up the initial findings on the genres available of the library: while many of the texts were incidentally assembled for the family, the primary purpose of the library was to enable an individual to make sense of recent events and to work towards a godly life.

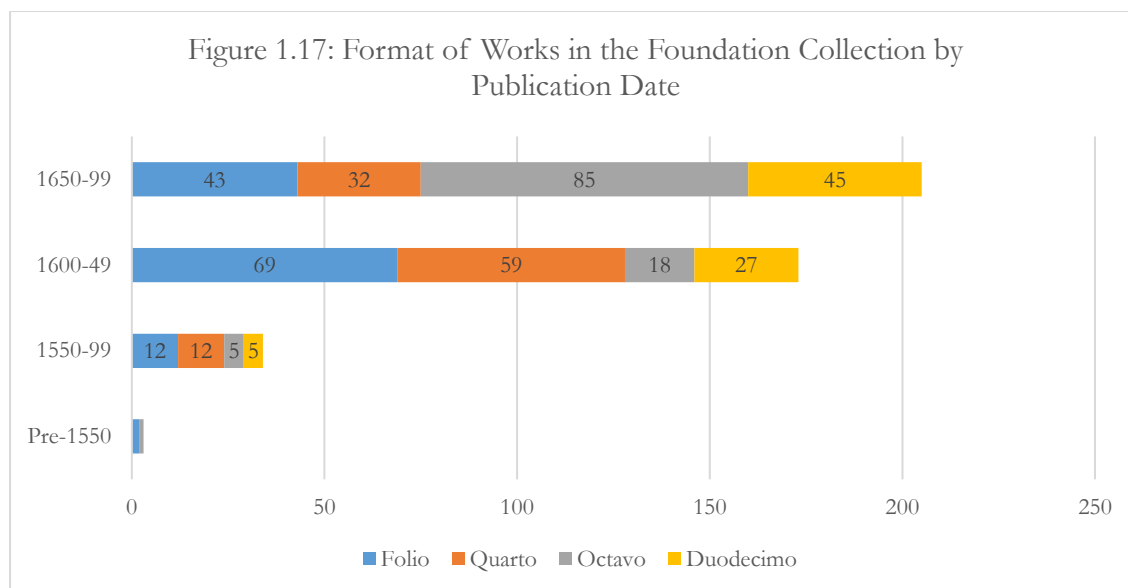
Format

The format of a text is vital to such investigation because it dictates the portability of each item.¹⁰⁸ In the context of a discussion about Madertie's intentions in founding the library, overall statistics do not give any indication that the collection was gathered specifically to be made borrowable. This is based upon the assumption that folio-sized volumes would not be acquired for the ease of



borrowing. Figure 1.16 shows that there is a fairly even distribution of formats across the collection, with no strong preference for any over the other. Broken down by year of publication, however, the figures tell a different story.

¹⁰⁸ In this section, format will be used as a broad indication of size (centimetre measurements were not included with any regularity in the Innerpeffray catalogue, and it was deemed unnecessarily arduous to measure all the books when format had already been recorded).



Works in the foundation collection published 1600–1649 tend to be in folio or quarto. For the period 1650–1699, far more texts are acquired in octavo and duodecimo formats. This could be linked in part to the nature of the works, since practical devotional texts tend to be smaller for personal use, or to changing habits of the publishing industry, but such a dramatic shift cannot be explained entirely by this. Again, there is some evidence that Madertie was beginning to acquire texts with the idea that they ought to be of a transportable format, perhaps suggesting he was purchasing items with the idea of forming a lending library collection specifically in mind. Both interpretations give weight to the idea that these texts were to be taken away, which is significant since in his will Madertie never mentioned that the space ought to be a lending library – it has always been inferred from the lack of reading space in the chapel and from the existence of borrowing registers later in the library’s history. Here, finally, we see some potential evidence that the books were indeed meant for borrowing.

In summary, Madertie’s collection can be characterised as predominantly concerned with religion and religious history, but from a variety of viewpoints. It is not a pedagogical collection, but one of broad interest, made more widely accessible thanks to the prevalence of works in the English language. Despite this language preference, the quantity of translations present give a pan-European focus, again not adhering to a single denomination or confessional identity. Its aim, therefore, might be to give its users the tools with which to make their own decisions about such matters, but without intense textual scholarship. Its construction, however, was not heavily curated, and relied upon works which were accessible to the founder.

‘To be preserved entire and to be augmented by my successors yearly in time coming’¹⁰⁹

Whilst the picture given by the books left by Madertie at the library’s foundation is now clearer, it is vital to note that the borrowing records do not begin until 1747, and to account for the intervening period in which neither the collection nor the purpose for which it was intended would necessarily have remained static. Sources documenting the library from its foundation to its movement into the mid-eighteenth-century building in which it now stands are scarce. Bound into the front of the minute book of the Innerpeffray Mortification, which begins in earnest in 1734, are just six pages of additional notes concerning the earlier period.¹¹⁰ These recount discharges of the mortification, which are predominantly salaries and coal allowances for John Miller, School Master, and Andrew Pattoun, Library Keeper. From these scant records, however, it is possible to build up a picture of the library during the period, in particular to assess its preservation and its augmentation, as stipulated in Madertie’s will.

Preserved Entire

Users of the library are notable by their very absence in the record, but the mortification takes pains to record due care and attention for the library collection, as was legally required by the terms of the will. One of the earliest recorded expenditures by the mortification is ‘for buying firewood to preserve the books as was verbally condescended upon for two years, 1701 and 1700’.¹¹¹

Handovers between Keepers are well audited, such as on 15 March 1717 at a meeting in Edinburgh when James Carmichael, 2nd Earl of Hyndford and Mungo Haldane of Gleneagles make note to appoint a meeting with the Earl of Kinnoull to examine the accounts of former Keeper Andrew Pattoun (1700–1714) and present Keeper Thomas Caw in Milnab (1717–1724) and to give ‘directions in all other matters relating to the said Library according to the Trust reposed in them by the Will of the Late Lord Maddertie’.¹¹² The trustees oversee the transferal not only of books but of ‘other pertinents’ such as ‘two communion cups, old carpets, cushions etc.’, as listed during the handover between Caw and McCleish.¹¹³ Whilst not strictly part of the terms of preservation of the will, it could have served as proof that

¹⁰⁹ Innerpeffray, Will of David Drummond, Third Lord Madertie, c. 1680.

¹¹⁰ NRA S1489 Vol. 11.

¹¹¹ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 1.

¹¹² NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 4.

¹¹³ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 5.

due attention was being given to all elements of the library's contents, for which the trustees were legally obliged to care because of the terms of the mortification.¹¹⁴

The mortification book also records the creation and implementation of a book plate, the same design which can be found in the books today: 'cause cut an Copper plate with the arms of Maddertie that impressions thereof may be placed upon each of the books'.¹¹⁵ This serves to mark the book as part of the library collection. Further, since it is firmly pasted onto the front board of the book, it is much harder to remove or obscure than a stamp, but much more cost effective and self-sufficient than, for example, an armorial binding. It gives a means by which to identify books which have been borrowed before borrowings from the collection were adequately recorded.

Augmented

A memo dated 20 February 1723/4 shows that Andrew Pattoun, the library's first Keeper, was diligent in his chasing sufficient money from the trust in death, if not in life. It records that the Earl of Kinnoull found a charge at the end of Pattoun's catalogue of books chasing interest from the 5000 merks scots promised by Madertie.¹¹⁶ At the same meeting the trustees conclude the following:

There remains one thousand seven hundred eighty three pounds six shilling and eight pennies scots to be laid out in purchasing new books for the library or for building a new room to contain the books that are already in the library, & that shall afterward be added to the present library being a small inconvenient room & not fit to contain one half of the books that already belong to it.¹¹⁷

Such comment serves as an excuse for the limited augmenting of the collection up to this point – there simply is not enough room. Since the minute book records evidence that the mortification is fulfilling their legal obligations, it is unsurprising that it specifically addresses the problem of augmenting the collection in its present location.

The library did, however, purchase a small number of items in the intervening period, which are also recorded in the minute book: 'Item delivered to the Laird of Gleneagles for buying of books to augment the library which books came in the 16th day of Debr 1709 for several

¹¹⁴ Furthermore, it gives a rather different image of the library in the chapel, as a place of comfort (cushions and carpets) as well as inextricably linked to its location (communion cups).

¹¹⁵ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 5. An image of this plate is given as figure 1.2 of this thesis.

¹¹⁶ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 4.

volumes as is marked in the Inventare 333-06-08',¹¹⁸ and in the 1723/4 meeting an expense for 'books bought by John Haldane of Gleneagles to the value of five hundred marks scots'.¹¹⁹ Out of all the trustees, then, Haldane of Gleneagles took the lead in book acquisition. No specific titles for this period are given, and it is never quite clear whether the books were purchased specifically for the library from a seller, or if payment was given for items from the trustees' own collections.

The Library also accepted a major donation during the period. Costs are recorded for 'a workman taking down and setting up Mr John Drummond's Press for holding of his books which he mortified'.¹²⁰ Later, McCleish was ordered to make an 'Inventory of books gifted to the library by Mr John Drummond, Minister at Fowlis'.¹²¹ There is no indication of the number of books given, but the need for a new press to house them, and that six titles during the finger-tip search of pre-1700 books were found to have his name on, means both that the collection arrived and that it was numerous.¹²² Given the diligence with which the trustees ensured that the donation was inventoried, this was likely seen as a cost effective (free) way of adhering to their legal obligation to augment the collection.

The register of borrowings from the library does not begin until 1747, and there is little evidence of the type of borrowing which was occurring before that date. One tantalising glimpse remains in Alexander Porteous' *History of Crieff* (1912), which records the envy of Auchterarder and Crieff over the Library at Innerpeffray as early as 1704.¹²³ In response to the Synod having recommended the institution of libraries in Highland parishes, Porteous reports that the Presbytery of Auchterarder 'attempted to get [The Library of Innerpeffray] opened to the public', which would imply that the library was not available to the public already.¹²⁴ Porteous may, however, have misinterpreted the evidence, since his interpretation is founded on the quoted response that the Laird of Gleneagles (Haldane) 'did not seem to relish the proposal that the Presbytery should have access to inspect and augment the same

¹¹⁸ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 3.

¹²⁰ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 2.

¹²¹ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 6.

¹²² John Drummond was minister at Fowlis Wester from 1674 until 1689, when as a non-juror he was deprived of his ministry and imprisoned (Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 272). Items found bearing his name at Innerpeffray: Zacharias Ursinus, *Corpus doctrinae Christianae Ecclesiarum* (Hanover, 1634); Richard Capel, *Tentations: their Nature, Danger, Cure. The Third Part* (London, 1636); John Cleveland, *Majestas intemerata. Or, The Immortality of the King* (London, 1649); Francis Roberts, *Believers Evidences for Eternall Life* (Edinburgh, 1649).

¹²³ Alexander Porteous, *The History of Crieff: from the Earliest Times to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1912), p. 383.

¹²⁴ Porteous, p. 383.

[library of Innerpeffray]'.¹²⁵ This suggests, therefore, not that the library is inaccessible, but that the trustees do not wish to lose control over its administration, perhaps especially to the Presbytery. Further, Haldane 'believed that any minister that called for books out of the library did get them, and if it were otherwise, desired that they might acquaint him therewith'.¹²⁶ The passages quoted (as opposed to what Porteous infers) seem to suggest that books in the library were available for borrowing, for clergy in Crieff and Auchterarder too. The administration of the collection, however, was kept firmly away from the Presbytery's hands.

Thus it is clear that the library was envied by local populations, and that its administration was closely guarded, though not necessarily at the expense of access to its collections. The limited sources give rather a thin picture of the library between its foundation and the arrival of Robert Hay Drummond, who was to inherit the estates in 1739 and to oversee the building of a new library building and an increase of its collections. Nonetheless they do at least show that motivation for changing the library did not come in sweepingly with Robert Hay Drummond but evolved over time, evidenced by the introduction of library book plates, auditing each Keeper, and by the acknowledgement that new rooms were needed to properly house the collections. There is also no evidence of movement away from Madertie's original vision for the collections.

Towards a New Library: Robert Hay Drummond

Minimal and gradual changes to the library and its collections occurred within the first few decades of its existence, but when Robert Hay Drummond (1711–1776) joined the governors of the mortification in 1734, a period of significant change began. Robert Hay Drummond, who inherited the estates of Innerpeffray and Cromlix in 1739, appointed his factor to act as his proxy at later meetings of the Innerpeffray mortification, but at the final meeting he attended (1740), the last point of business was a commitment to constructing a new building. The phrasing used to define the purpose of such a building is in stark contrast to the picture of the library demonstrated by Madertie's will and his collections above. The building was to be:

¹²⁵ Porteous, p. 383.

¹²⁶ Porteous, p. 384.

for the conveniency of such as shall come to read. Also that it may be a proper central place for the Gentlemen of the neighbourhood to meet at such times as they shall appoint.¹²⁷

Focus moves from personal, individual development, exemplified by the small library space and the private devotional works left to it by Madertie, to the library as a central meeting point for gentlemen. This chapter will now explore how Hay Drummond's intentions for the library are inextricably linked to his background and character, very different from Madertie's, and how the vision of each patron sits within a different understanding of the local area. While much of this evidence comes from the minutes of the Innerpeffray mortification, the collections with which Hay Drummond intended the library to be furnished with can also be analysed thanks to the survival of a document entitled 'books proposed to be brought into the Library at Innerpeffray, as occasion offers' dated 1744.¹²⁸ Though the list is not in Hay Drummond's own hand, its date and the fact that it is referred to as 'the Archbishop's list' in a letter held by Innerpeffray (dated 1772) means it likely represents his recommendations for the collection.¹²⁹ Not all of his recommendations were to make their way into the library collection, as chapter two will show, but they do offer a strong point of contrast to the foundation collection explored above.

Robert Hay inherited the estates of Innerpeffray and Cromlix in 1739, taking up the name Drummond as part of his inheritance.¹³⁰ Educated at Westminster, then at Oxford, he went on to have a prestigious clerical career in the Anglican Church, eventually rising to the role of Archbishop of York. He was said to have been particularly happy in classical allusions,¹³¹ and 'with respect to his literary attainments, there were but a few subjects of science with which he was not intimately acquainted; but his knowledge of history, ancient and modern, was most accurate, extensive and profound'.¹³² A scholar with broad interests, a future high-ranking Anglican Bishop, with experience of education and affairs across Britain, the course of his life emphasises ingrained differences from Madertie beyond those which could be explained by the century separating their births.

¹²⁷ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 15.

¹²⁸ Innerpeffray Robert Hay Drummond List of Recommended Books, 5 May 1744.

¹²⁹ Innerpeffray Letter from James Robertson Barclay to William Dow, 7 January 1772.

¹³⁰ Richard Sharp, 'Drummond, Robert Hay (1711–1776), archbishop of York', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8081>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

¹³¹ *Sermons on Public Occasions and a Letter on Theological Study by Robert Late Archbishop of York to which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life by George Hay Drummond A.M. Prebendary of York*. (Edinburgh: 1803), p. xxii.

¹³² *Sermons on Public Occasions and a Letter on Theological Study by Robert Late Archbishop of York*, p. xxvi.

Hay Drummond was also involved in the management of library collections beyond Innerpeffray and displayed a meticulous approach to their administration. He was closely involved in assessing the collection of his uncle, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, and in a letter dated December 1748, revealed how he relished the process:

In looking over your collection of MSS at your house in Dover Street with Mr Harley and Mr Hecker I have had also a great pleasure in the work itself.¹³³

Hay Drummond identified items which were no longer present but notes diligently that ‘as these were not catalogued before it is not known whether they were ever there or not’.¹³⁴ Abigail Hay, Robert Hay Drummond’s mother, was daughter of Robert Harley, First Earl of Oxford, whose manuscripts were sold to the nation in 1753 (five years after Hay Drummond’s assessment) as part of the founding of the British Museum collection.¹³⁵ Hay Drummond was also a governor of the nearby Leighton Library in Dunblane, which forms the focus of chapter six of this thesis, which as a subscription library (from 1734) had a very different user group and financial standing from Innerpeffray in the same era. His first meeting with the Innerpeffray governors in 1734 demonstrates further progress towards a more formal library likely stemming from his experiences elsewhere; the Keeper was instructed to purchase paper for a borrowers’ register, the borrowing of concordances was banned and official loan period set to three months.¹³⁶

Hay Drummond’s vision of the library as almost a gentleman’s club or literary society may be explained by his educational background and his being part of the eighteenth-century establishment. While the library climate of the eighteenth century, and his participation in it, offers some explanation of what Hay Drummond might have envisaged, ultimately none of these models work within the framework in which Innerpeffray was first established. Book clubs, where men came together both to socialise and to discuss texts, might have offered some inspiration, but these clubs and their debates centred on which texts ought to be jointly acquired next, a type of user-driven governance for which there is no evidence at Innerpeffray.¹³⁷ While salons, originating in seventeenth-century France, flourished across Britain in

¹³³ BL Add MS 4449: 1749–1760 f. 176: Letter of Robert Hay Drummond, Bishop of St. Asaph, to Henrietta, widow of Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford; Westminster, 20 Dec. 1748.

¹³⁴ BL Add MS 4449: 1749–1760 f. 176: Letter of Robert Hay Drummond, Bishop of St. Asaph, to Henrietta, widow of Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford; Westminster, 20 Dec. 1748.

¹³⁵ British Library, ‘Harley Manuscripts’, *bl.uk* <<https://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/manuscripts/harleymss/harleymss.html>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

¹³⁶ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 14.

¹³⁷ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance, Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 182.

both urban and provincial settings, they were restricted to the elites and encouraged a strong mixing of the genders, which Hay Drummond's statement of intention ('gentlemen') also precludes.¹³⁸ Further, it demonstrates an intention to attract a type of use, and a type of user, which had not previously characterised the library as envisioned by Madertie. This change in intended user can also be demonstrated through the books recommended for the library, and by the very building the governors provided.

The new library building

As early as 1743, plans were drawn up for a new library building with fundraising for its construction based upon this cost estimate.¹³⁹ The foundations were not laid until 1758, and while it is tempting to look to the political turmoil in that period for the delay in the library's construction, evidence from the minute book show it was largely down to difficulty obtaining materials.¹⁴⁰ In 1751, the trustees recorded their frustration that, even though sufficient funds were available, no work had yet begun.¹⁴¹ These funds were raised largely by subscription; the upper classes were pursued for assistance in bringing together the requisite materials and asked to pledge financial support.¹⁴² At a meeting as late as 1773, the librarian brought 'a subscription paper signed by most of the Gentlemen in the neighbourhood in the year 1744 obliging themselves to pay on or before the last day of Aug[us]t 1746 certain sums annexed to their names for the benefit of the Library'.¹⁴³ The dates of these pledges, and that fact that many remained unpaid, demonstrate the quantity of Perthshire gentry involved in funding the library, and also those involved in Jacobite activity. The five guineas pledged by the Duke of Perth were still being chased by the trustees in 1774 nearly three decades

¹³⁸ Amy Prendergast, *Literary Salons across Britain and Ireland in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 3. Later in his life, Robert Hay Drummond was in correspondence with Elizabeth Montagu, a key figure in the establishment of salon culture, yet there is no evidence of their acquaintance before 1771, or that they discussed libraries. Letters received by Montagu from Robert Hay Drummond are held by the Huntington Library (MO 879–892). Montagu is listed as a key figure in re-establishing salon culture by Prendergast, p. 45.

¹³⁹ William Noames was tasked with the creation of the library plan, 18 October 1743 (NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 22). Another archival volume, the 'wast-book', details the expenses of the library building, but does not detail its intent (Perth Museum and Gallery Acquisition No. 2900 Account Book 1757 [on loan to the Library of Innerpefferay since 1997]).

¹⁴⁰ There is lots of discussion regarding the quarrying of materials, and outrage when Lord Monzie was found to have allowed materials intended for the library to have been 'carried off' and used for the building of houses (NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 37).

¹⁴¹ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 38.

¹⁴² 'And as it may be difficult to find out funds sufficient to join together the materials when brought to the place where the house is to be built Therefore the Trustees residing in the Country are desired to apply to the Noblemen and Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood for a assistance to bring together all the materials for the building and in a particular manner to those who have burial places in the Chappell of Innerpefferay' NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 15. Funds were also sought for the building from the vacant stipend at Monzie (same volume, p. 23).

¹⁴³ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 95.

after his death, finally fulfilled by a donation of books from the Commission of Annexed Estates, while Laurence Oliphant of Gask was another notorious local Jacobite named as one of the subscribers who failed to pay.¹⁴⁴ Though there is not scope to assess Jacobitism in a thesis concerned with borrowing records, there is scope for future study here not only among the those who pledged money to the library, but also through Hay Drummond himself, who had a strong Jacobite pedigree.¹⁴⁵ What is pertinent here is that efforts to fund the library building brought together the upper classes, whether envisaging them as future user groups for the collection or demonstrating an 'improving' aim for the broader local population. When taken together with Hay Drummond's original statement about the library's purpose, the former appears more likely.



Figure 1.18: Library of Innerpeffray Exterior

The eighteenth-century library building, in which the collections are still housed today, demonstrates further how Hay Drummond's vision contrasted that of Madertie. While the trustees veto plans for an expensive bow window and parapet roof in favour of 'a plain roof

¹⁴⁴ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 97. It is unclear which Duke of Perth, but both were Jacobites. The debt was eventually settled in books by the Commission for Annexed Estates, for which see this thesis chapter two.

¹⁴⁵ His father, George Hay Viscount Dupplin (1689–1758) is described as having a 'lingering whiff of Jacobitism' (Philip Carter, 'Hay, George, eighth earl of Kinnoull (1689–1758), politician and diplomatist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12718>> [accessed 31 July 2018]) while his uncle, John Hay of Cromlix (1691–1740), was a career Jacobite (Margaret D Sankey, 'Hay, John, of Cromlix, Jacobite duke of Inverness (1691–1740), Jacobite courtier and army officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12729>> [accessed 31 July 2018]).

and three venetian windows in front', likely out of financial pragmatism, the building is still a grand work on a surprising scale.¹⁴⁶ Figure 1.18 shows the exterior of the building, with the lower floor being the Keeper's residence and the upper floor the library.

The size of the windows and their impact on the interior of the room, as shown in figure 1.19, befits a central meeting place, or a room in which reading is to be done, far more than a repository from which books are to be borrowed. This is exemplified by the harnessing of natural light, as well as by the high ceilings and open space, with the shelves taking up only a tiny portion of the room. As chapter three will demonstrate, the short opening hours of the library and evidence for who was using it suggests that it remained more of a borrowing location than a meeting place and reading room. However, it is inescapable that the architecture of the building, alongside who paid for its construction and Hay Drummond's stated intentions for it, further demonstrate how his vision moves away from Madertie's.



Figure 1.19: Library of Innerpeffray Interior (courtesy of the Library of Innerpeffray)

Recommended Books

Even before the new library building was commissioned and funds had been raised, new books were already being bought for the collection. The minute book records multiple transactions to a 'Wm Drummond of Callendar', bookseller in Edinburgh, and some to individual

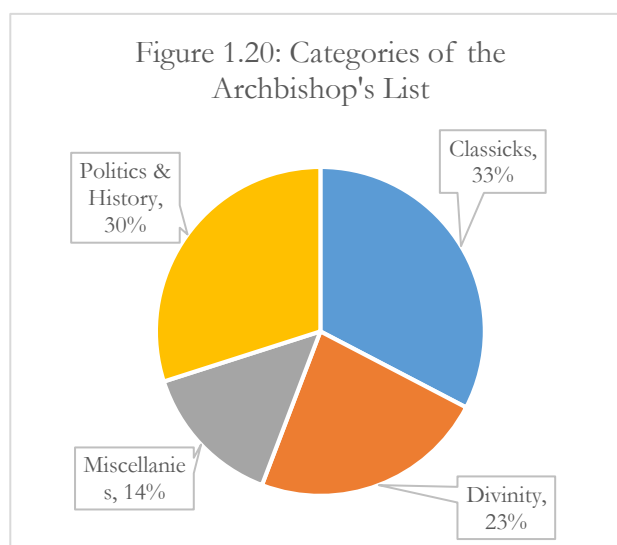
¹⁴⁶ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 39.

trustees (Haldane, Murray of Dollerie), though it tends not to list individual titles.¹⁴⁷ With buying seemingly erratic, and with nowhere suitable to store the books in the meantime, Robert Hay Drummond took control, compiling a list of ‘books proposed to be brought into the Library at Innerpeffray, as occasion offers’ dated May 1744.¹⁴⁸ A meeting of the mortification in April 1747 records the receipt of a letter from Robert Hay Drummond and mentions the list, which was previously approved as ‘fit and well-chosen’.¹⁴⁹ The letter recommends the following:

The building of the Library Room speedily before any more books be purchased to have the same furnished. And when the same is finished and the funds of the Library will answer for buying any more books, recommending to the said Trustees to buy such books as can be found in a list sent by him in May 1744 and now lying in the said library.¹⁵⁰

This marks a termination of the erratic book-buying which began in the 1730s, the prioritisation of the new library building over the contents of its collection and the adoption of the recommendation list as the main source of what is fit for the library.

The Archbishop’s list survives, and comprises four categories: ‘divinity’, ‘classicks’, ‘history & politic’ and ‘miscellanea’.¹⁵¹ In some parts it gives extensive details on particular volumes (date, format, number of volumes and place of publication), while in others it lists only author names. Whilst divinity takes pride of place on page one (though the list is unpagged, Divinity is given immediately below the title), it is classics



which makes up the largest proportion (33%), closely followed by politics and history (30%). Miscellanea contains a list of authors of literary works in English (Swift, Chaucer, Congreve, Shakespeare) and French too (Racine, Molière). Already, even through the categories Hay

¹⁴⁷ For example NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 19.

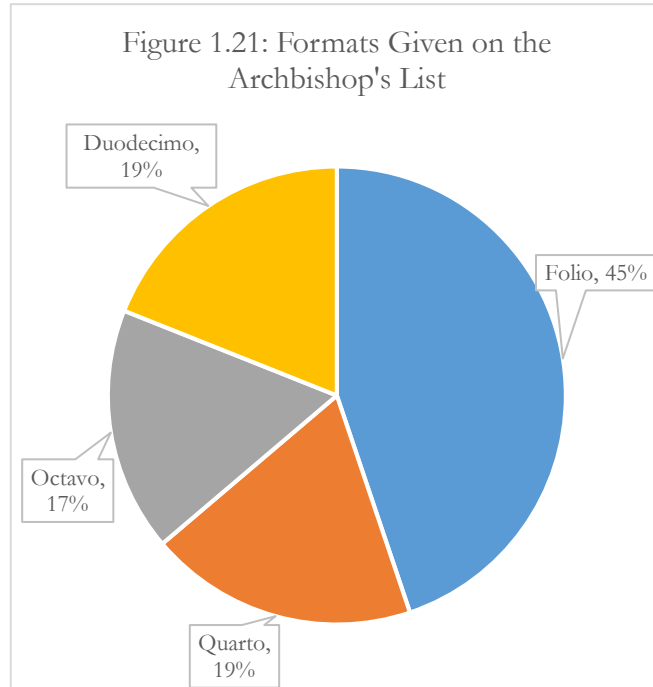
¹⁴⁸ Innerpeffray Robert Hay Drummond List of Recommended Books, 5 May 1744.

¹⁴⁹ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 33.

¹⁵⁰ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 33.

¹⁵¹ The list survives as two double-sided sheets, with one subject per side. The subject division would suggest that no further sheets are wanting. It is likely always to have been at Innerpeffray but was not available to Mason in his study (Mason, p. 14), reflecting the haphazard nature of archival storage in the Library’s earlier history.

Drummond selects, a very different collection emerges from that left by Madertie which cannot be solely attributed to their different eras, and instead suggests a rather different user group.

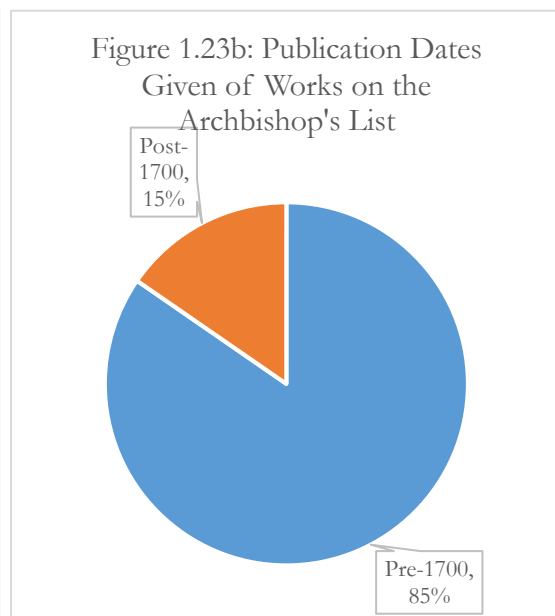
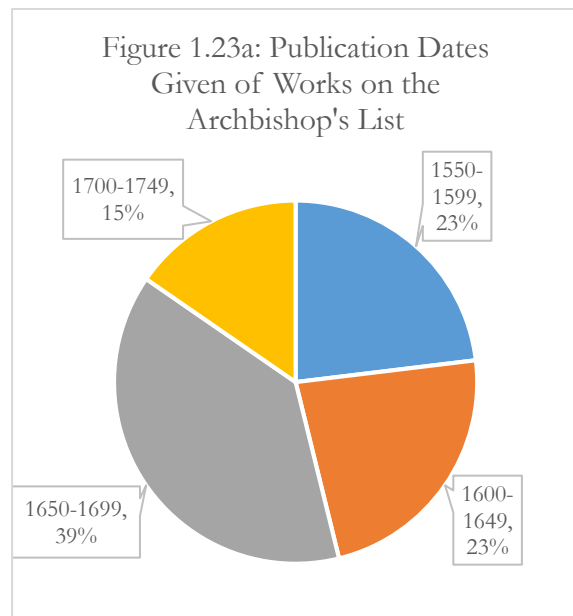
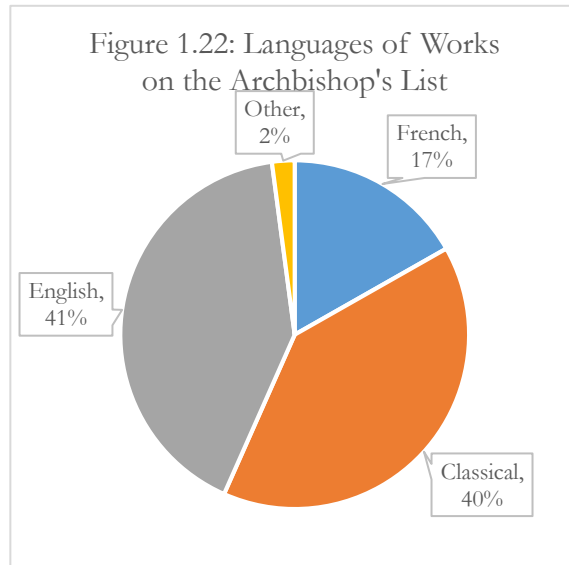


Where format is mentioned, there is a strong showing for folios, suggesting that the emphasis of the list has been placed on criteria other than suitability for lending. Here Hay Drummond differs again from Madertie, who, as detailed above, seemed to show a preference for smaller titles once he had it in mind to found a library. Reflecting back on the nature of the building provided for Innerpeffray, it is also possible, given the types of library available to

Hay Drummond as a user at Westminster and at Oxford, that he was far more familiar with a reference library than a lending library, though the continuation of the borrowers' register both before and after the building's construction demonstrates that it remained a lending collection.¹⁵²

¹⁵² No borrowing is recorded between February 1759 and November 1763.

Robert Hay Drummond exclusively recommended items in their original language, which is at odds with the underrepresentation of foreign language works in the foundation collection. Hay Drummond displays no consideration for accessibility, which seems to have characterised Madertie's collections, instead tending to focus on the needs of educated, gentlemen users, in keeping with his intentions for the new building.



The figures above show the distribution of dates across the 14 titles for which editions are specified. It shows how Hay Drummond overwhelmingly recommended old books for the new building. Modern editions are only preferred for two works, both on French politics ('Essai Politique sur le commerce 1736' and 'Political Reflections on ye Finances of France 1736'). The twelve other dated editions (all classics, or works on the classics) are all early, and sometimes very early editions ('Ciceronis Opera 1583', 'Constantini Lexicon 1592', 'Sophocles 1586', 'Herodotus 1592'). Again, it feels almost as though Hay Drummond is being inspired by library collections with which he is familiar, or perhaps even in the presence

of when he formulates the list.¹⁵³ This demonstrates a distinct lack of regard for the situation of Innerpeffray, and high expectations of its potential users. To specify the edition is a scholarly act, and one with the use of scholars in mind, as though it is essential to read a properly scholarly edition. Again, rather than accessibility and applicability to all users, Hay Drummond seems to focus on the gentleman user, either already with a classical education, or with a view to receiving a brilliant one. His selections would change the character of the library from predominately up-to-date books (under Madertie, almost 50% of the contents were published in the last 30 years) to historic books, for which the library has been known ever since.¹⁵⁴

Hay Drummond appears not to be familiar either with the character of the library or, indeed, even with the books already in the collection. That at least two of the titles he listed had been in the collection a long time, displaying the 'Madertie' signature, and that it was only in 1765 that expenditure on paper was recorded for the express purpose of making a catalogue suggests that Hay Drummond was drawing up the 1744 list with no real idea of what the library already contained.¹⁵⁵ This demonstrates the distance from which trustees of the library managed the collection, which will be shown as a defining characteristic of the library in chapters six and seven of this thesis.

Hay Drummond's wishes for the library were ultimately not carried out to the letter, and only a third of the books on the Archbishop's list are present in the collection today, but it is unclear whether this was due to a lack of funds, or the inappropriateness of much of the list due to duplication, scholarly specificity, or that they were simply outdated by the time acquisitions began in earnest after the completion of the new building in 1762. The casual 'as occasion offers' from the header of the 1744 list reminds us that, as even the future Archbishop knew, books cost a significant amount of money, money which could not be guaranteed always to be available to the library. Yet, as chapter two will show, new works do enter the library throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, and many of these are texts not on the Archbishop's list.

¹⁵³ Of the 14 titles where a date or edition is stated, five exact matches are still extant at Oxford, four of which are held at the Bodleian: 'Aeschylus Stanleii 1663', 'Polybius Casaubon Paris 1609', 'Plautus Gronovius Amstel 1684', 'Virgilus Lugd Bat 1680'; at Worcester, Queen's and University College, 'Quintilian Paris 1625'.

¹⁵⁴ NRA S1489 Bundle 340: Letter from Alexander Murray & John Willison, 16 December 1811. An extract of this letter and an analysis of it can be in chapter two of this thesis.

¹⁵⁵ Dudley Digges, *The Compleat Ambassador* (London, 1655); Paolo Sarpi, *The History of the Council of Trent* (London, 1620); NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 85.

Madertie's vision for library at its foundation and the intentions of Hay Drummond both dramatically impact the library collection and its environs, though often at tensions with one another. When the borrowing records began in 1747, the library was still in its chapel phase, but the new building was already being planned and Hay Drummond's early changes to the use of the collections had already been implemented. A thorough understanding of these conflicting visions is necessary when approaching any interpretation of Innerpeffray and its borrowing records. Though, as will become clear, it is Madertie's vision which pervades the use of Innerpeffray overall, it is through the lens of changes made by Robert Hay Drummond with a very different goal in mind that this use is made.

CHAPTER TWO: SHELF LIFE

While chapter one focused on the intentions of the library's two key patrons, in order to place Innerpeffray's record of borrowing in the context of what was available on the shelves it is now vital to account for changes to the library collections over time. The lack of systematic acquisition records at Innerpeffray makes it difficult to identify precisely when items entered the collection. Previous studies of Innerpeffray have used the borrowers' register to infer the entry date, or given a brief overview of the collections via its earliest surviving MS catalogue, from 1813.¹⁵⁶ This chapter will demonstrate that by assessing this evidence alongside the overlooked May 1855 MS catalogue, it can be proven that the library went through only one intense period of active acquisition in the eighteenth century, and that almost nothing entered it from 1790 until after May 1855. May 1855 will therefore be demonstrated as the endpoint of this thesis, the moment just before collections were modernised for a nineteenth-century audience. This chapter will assess the nature of the collections at Innerpeffray based on the 1813 catalogue as the best example of what was available in the library collections until 1855, before reflecting on how such a lengthy period without acquisitions changed Innerpeffray from a growing scholarly collection to an aged collection of antiquarian interest. This approach ought not only to influence any future evaluation of Innerpeffray and its borrowing registers, but also encourage in-depth assessment of collections available for borrowing beyond surviving contemporary catalogues.

Books may enter a library through the active purchase of individual titles or collections, as well as the passive receipt of donations, which can again be individual titles or collections. Records of book acquisition at Innerpeffray are very poor throughout its history, but it is possible to build up a limited picture of how acquisition, by purchase and by donation, might have taken place. One surviving receipt, dated 1741, records payment for carriage of books from the Library at Innerpeffray to William Drummond, bookseller in Edinburgh, weighing eight and a half stone.¹⁵⁷ However, this is not a record of books going to the library, but going from it, to a bookseller, and does not necessarily indicate that books were being sold by the library. In 1768 the minute book records that books were to be returned to the bookseller, and details payments for the creation of a box for the travel of books (and a new

¹⁵⁶ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, uses the register, Halsey the catalogue (*Before the Public Library*, pp. 225–6)

¹⁵⁷ Private Collection NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Receipt for Carriage of Books, Edinburgh 6 May 1741.

lid for it in 1771).¹⁵⁸ It seems that the bookseller would send multiple books and Innerpeffray would pay for those they wished to keep, returning those which they did not require/want/could not afford. In the 1768 entry, the trustees paid William Drummond the sum requested for all books (titles unspecified) except one, the ‘Corps Diplomatique’.¹⁵⁹ It appears that this was a regular occurrence at Innerpeffray, continuing into the latter half of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰ It also highlights the importance of a library cultivating strong relationships with booksellers; acquiring books from larger booksellers in cities like Edinburgh, even London, was preferred by collections like Innerpeffray, likely because of their greater stocks and competitive prices.¹⁶¹ Innerpeffray was also perhaps attracted by the facility to receive the physical items before deciding to make a purchase.

On a few occasions, the Keeper or one of the trustees is recorded as purchasing or donating specific books. In 1741, cash was given to an unspecified person (for ‘Keith’s History’, *The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland* (London, 1734)).¹⁶² Cash was also ‘paid to Mr Murray of Dolary for Doctor Forbes Collection of the Publick Transactions of Queen Elizabeth’s Reign vol 1st’, another rare example of an exact acquisition.¹⁶³ Mr Wright (Keeper) was ordered to ‘buy Pools Criticks’ to add to existing volumes in the library, presumably resulting in the full set of Matthew Poole’s *Synopsis Criticorum* (London, 1669–76) still held at the library.¹⁶⁴ A donation was also made: ‘Gleneagles [Haldane] gave to the library a new edition of Craig’s De Feudis’, likely Thomas Craig’s *Ius Feudale* (London, 1703) explored below which remains pristine and was never borrowed.¹⁶⁵ Already these works show a scholarly drive, and an understanding of Hay Drummond’s vision even before the construction of his list. The works of John Locke in three volumes (London, 1740) also entered the collection during this period, though it is only recorded in the borrowers’ register, rather than in the minutes.¹⁶⁶ As one of the very few modern books in the collection at its chapel phase, Locke’s *Works* was highly popular at that time.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁸ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 87. Payment to Wm Tainsh for new box lid in same volume p. 89.

¹⁵⁹ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 87.

¹⁶⁰ Innerpeffray Letter from James Robertson Barclay to William Dow, 7 January 1772.

¹⁶¹ Wanlockhead and the Monkton Friendly Society, like Innerpeffray, acquired their books from Edinburgh (Peter Hill) rather than any local bookseller, which John Crawford attributes to ‘size of stock, efficiency of service and above all, discounts’ (personal communication, July 2018).

¹⁶² NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 13. Likely *ESTC* No. T121562, as the entry specifies volume 1.

¹⁶³ 27 pounds (likely scots), NRA S1489 Vol. 11 p. 19. Book ID 843 (London, 1740)

¹⁶⁴ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 30.

¹⁶⁵ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 23.

¹⁶⁶ First borrowed 7 January 1749 (Innerpeffray Borrowers Registers, Vol. 1 f. 2r).

¹⁶⁷ For which see this thesis, chapter four.

The arrival of specific collections is also noted in the minute book; as early as 1717 a collection from Mr John Drummond was subsumed by the library, as discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁶⁸ Minister at Fowls Wester from 1674, Drummond was deprived of his ministry in 1689 and imprisoned, before retiring to nearby Broich until his death in 1695.¹⁶⁹ The prevalence of the signature of Thomas Strachan among Innerpeffer items also shows that at least one other collection entered the library in bulk at some time after its foundation. Thomas Strachan can be identified as an Episcopal minister who ‘fell into distressed circumstances’ after the deprivation of his charge in 1689.¹⁷⁰ It has not so far been possible to ascertain whether he had any direct link to the library, but these circumstances make it likely the books left his possession during his lifetime, and, given his financial need, would have been an acquisition by the library rather than a donation to the library, whether directly or through a bookseller.

Chapter one detailed a short burst of haphazard buying led by individual local trustees, before the adoption of a more measured approach following the Archbishop’s list.¹⁷¹ While again individual titles purchased are difficult to ascertain, evidence from the committee minutes and accounts do reveal some further information about the period of active library acquisition following the completion of the new library building. Payments to two booksellers for unspecific titles are recorded: William Drummond, Bookseller, appears in the accounts in March 1771, February, March and October of 1772, and November of 1773, alongside ‘cash paid to the Crieff Carrier for carriage of s^d books’.¹⁷² On 8 August 1775 cash was paid to a ‘Mr Eliot, bookseller’, likely Charles Elliot, an Edinburgh publisher and stationer, active 1782–1790.¹⁷³ Eliot was known for his vigorous trade of books to and from London, and the fact that his services were sought by the library may reflect the strong preference for London- rather than Scottish-published books across the collection, as shown below.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 2 setting up the press for the books, p. 6 creating an inventory.

¹⁶⁹ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

¹⁷⁰ ‘St Martin’s’ appears beside one occurrence of Thomas Strachan’s signature, which means he is likely to be the Thomas Strachan (1654–1722) listed in David Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), p. 138, in the parish of St Martin’s in Strathmore, north of Scone. He is noted as falling ‘into distressed circumstances’ before being relieved by the Kirk in 1709, meaning it is likely that his extensive collection of books left his possession during his lifetime.

¹⁷¹ See this thesis, chapter one.

¹⁷² Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, pp. 89, 91.

¹⁷³ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 100; ‘Charles Elliot’, *Scottish Book Trade Index* <<https://data.cerl.org/sbti/002204>> [accessed 17 July 2018].

¹⁷⁴ Bill Bell, ‘The Scottish Book Trade 1707–1918’ in *The Edinburgh History Of Scottish Literature*, ed. by S. Manning, I. Brown, T. Clancy and M. Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; 2007), pp. 221–227 (p. 223).

When individual book titles occasionally appear, their source is unspecified. In 1779, 3-3-0 is paid for 'Bos' Septuagint' and 'Tillotson's sermons', both works which are older (likely second-hand) editions.¹⁷⁵ Conversely, in 1788, 18 shillings is paid for 'Arnot's Criminal Trials' and 1-16-0 for 'Cunningham's History of Britain', both works acquired within the first few years since their publication.¹⁷⁶ The *Septuagint* is perhaps a reaction to a rare and expensive text becoming available, responding to the fact that Bibles in multiple languages were largely not represented in the collections at that time.¹⁷⁷ Tillotson's sermons were already among Madertie's foundation collection, long before 1779, and are one of the most popular items in the borrowers' register even before the collection is transferred to the new building. An increase in number of copies or volumes available would thus be justified by the works' popularity. It follows that works based on legal cases, such as Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, ought to be purchased in modern editions, but this argument can also be used for historical texts as implied by the subheading of Cunningham's history, 'from the revolution in 1688, to the accession of George the First', bringing an exploration of the past to almost within living memory. All these works were acquired in quarto format. This evidence makes it very difficult to ascertain whether the library was seeking out the best they can afford, or whether they were acquiring what is available.

After 1788 there are no recorded transactions for the purchasing of books recorded in the minute book.¹⁷⁸ The only mention of books at all between 1788 and 1812, when the surviving record of accounts ends, is in February 1808, of cash 'paid for a sweep for Cleaning the Books' implying that the collection was literally gathering dust.¹⁷⁹ While it is evident from the borrowers' registers that borrowing continues in this period, the absence of any other book-related expenses implies that the library collection was no longer growing, a proposition which can be emphatically confirmed by an assessment of the 1813 and 1855 catalogues, as detailed below.

¹⁷⁵ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 100. 'Bos Septuagint' is likely the two-volume 1709 Lambertus Bos ed. *He palaia Diatbeke kata tous hebdomekonta: Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum*. Various different editions of Tillotson's sermons are a plausible match.

¹⁷⁶ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 102. Hugo Arnot, *A Collection and Abridgement of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1785) and Alexander Cunningham, *The History of Great Britain* (London, 1787).

¹⁷⁷ Though Bibles in foreign languages are strongly represented in the collection in the 1813 catalogue, these are Latin or Modern European languages, rather than scholarly polyglot editions.

¹⁷⁸ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 100. Halsey, *Before the Public Library*, p. 230 identifies four instances of funds spent on books 1788–1811, but I interpret these scrawling entries not as 'books' but as 'coals', following in the tradition of a coal allowance paid to the keeper elsewhere in the record.

¹⁷⁹ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 113.

Items in accounts recorded by the trustees show one form of adjustment to the collection beyond the purchase of new books - the binding of periodicals. In 1788 cash was paid for the binding of the *Scots Magazine* and the *Critical Review*.¹⁸⁰ The binding date loosely coincides with the end dates of the runs held by the library; for example, volumes 1–17 of the *Scots Magazine* were published 1739–1786, with no bibliographic reason for such an end date. The end of the acquisition and the decision to bind could therefore mark the end of the periodicals being viewed as ways to access current information, allowing such items to be borrowed as though they were any other book. This proposition is supported by the borrowing figures for both the *Scots Magazine* and the *Critical Review*, which were first borrowed in 1784 and 1785 respectively. This finding influences how the borrowing of periodicals ought to be approached at Innerpeffray post-1790, not as current news publications but as historical volumes in their own right.

By the end of active acquisition in 1790, the library had not acquired all the books recommended to it by the Archbishop's list, as explored in the previous chapter, likely attributable to a lack of finances. James Robertson Barclay, trustee on behalf of the Archbishop, wrote a letter to William Dow, Keeper, in 1772, to reassure him that 'Mr Drummond [bookseller] would send no books but such as were in the Archbishop's list and which were to be purchased gradually as the funds could thusly answer', after books were sent by William Drummond without the library having means to pay for them.¹⁸¹ The books to which this episode pertained are likely those listed as 'bought of W Drummond' 19 July 1771, with 27 titles totalling 29-18-00.¹⁸² As well as acting as further evidence of the method by which books were procured as purported earlier, this episode strongly suggests that the prime reason for not stocking all of the Archbishop's titles is money.

Of the 148 books which appeared on the Archbishop's recommended list, 55 appear in some form in the 1813 catalogue, though it must be noted that seven of these are signed Madertie, indicating that they were present from the Library's foundation. Often the works are not the exact editions which the Archbishop recommended but roughly equivalent. Most often the change is in language, with many books acquired in English translation, for example Virgilio

¹⁸⁰ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 102. Payments for binding are also recorded a decade later, in October 1798, for two volumes of the *Monthly Review* Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 104). The multiple issues of the *Critical Review* are recorded as being bound by Gellies in Perth. (Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 104).

¹⁸¹ Innerpeffray: Letter from James Robertson Barclay to William Dow, 7 January 1772.

¹⁸² Innerpeffray: List of titles bought of W Drummond, 19 July 1771.

Malvezzi's *Discourses on Tacitus* (London, 1642) in English rather than Italian or Samuel Pufendorf's *Law of Nature* (London, 1729) in English not Latin. It is possible that this was because the library had to acquire what was more easily available, rather than a conscious decision, as in fewer cases the reverse is also true; George Bull's works were acquired in Latin but recommended in English.¹⁸³

While it has been possible to argue for a general lack of acquisition at Innerpeffray post-1790, a comparison between the 1813 and 1855 MS catalogues at Innerpeffray means that, for the intervening period, the lack of new items available in the collection can be proven emphatically. Rather than a shelflist format, which was the style of the 1813 catalogue, the 1855 incarnation is presented in two forms – alphabetical by main entry (author, or if no author, title) and alphabetical by main entry within loose subject headings.¹⁸⁴ This suggests that its creation is not administrative, but to increase findability, not just for specific books (by author/title) but within broad subjects. Such a change in format could be emblematic of a general move towards a stronger user-focus for the library, which eventually resulted in the addition of popular works post-1855, from Walter Scott's novels to manuals on emigration.¹⁸⁵

Likely because of its attempts at listing works in a different order, the 1855 catalogue is far less reliable than the 1813 one. 263 works from the 1813 catalogue are not listed, of which only 20 were not found or not identified in the modern catalogue, the inference being that if they were at Innerpeffray in 1813 and remain there today, they were likely also there in 1855. This is supported by the fact that the remaining 243 works include 66 books from the foundation collection which are highly unlikely to have disappeared between 1813 and 1855 then mysteriously reappeared to become part of the collection today.

The 1855 catalogue lists 1317 of the 1580 works which appear in the 1813 catalogue, with only 16 additional works. This reflects the impression that the collection during this time was largely static in its content, continuing the trend identified in the period towards the 1813 catalogue. Of these 16 works, three were not found in the modern collections (Additional copy of 'Bible in Saxon Characters', 'Moses' sermons', and 'Spanheim Ecclesiastical History'), and six were not identified as there was not enough information to match them to

¹⁸³ *Georgii Bulli, nuper Episcopi Menevensis, opera omnia latine conscripta* (London, 1721).

¹⁸⁴ Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue by Author, 1855; Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue by Genre, 1855.

¹⁸⁵ Innerpeffray Borrowers' Registers, Vol. 1 ff. 173v–174r.

an 1813 or modern title. The seven remaining works (figure 2.1) were found in the modern collections; six of the seven presented no provenance evidence to explain their entry into the collection.

Figure 2.1: Items Present in the 1855 MS Catalogue Not in the 1813 MS Catalogue						
1855 Entry	Author	Title	Pub. Place	Pub. Date	Format	Lang.
Edwards Perfection of Scripture	Edwards, John, 1637–1716	<i>A Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament</i>	London	1695	8vo	Eng
Marteni locorum theologicorum pars prima	Chemnitz, Martin, 1522–1586	<i>Locorum theologicorum ... pars prima</i>	Frankfurt	1608	8vo	Lat
Speculum morale totius sacrae scripturae	Vital du Four, Cardinal, ca. 1260–1327	<i>Speculum morale totius sacrae Scripturae</i>	Lugduni	1513	25cm in 8s	Lat
Hanway's Persian Revolutions	Hanway, Jonas, 1712–1786	<i>An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea</i>	London	1753	4to	Eng
Tollii Itinerariae	Tollius, Jacobus, 1630–1696	<i>Jacobi Tollii Epistolae itinerariae</i>	Amsterdam	1700	4to	Lat
Manilli Astronomicon	Manilius, Marcus	<i>M. Manilii Astronomicon: ex recensione et cum notis Richardi Bentleii Astronomicon</i>	London	1739	4to	Lat

In their subject, age and format these works are not dissimilar from the existing works in the collection, and, in many cases, represent further works by existing authors in the collection. It is likely, then, that they were already in the collection but simply missed in the 1813 catalogue. Even if this were not the case, they certainly do not represent any active acquisition during the period intended to modernise what was available to borrowers.¹⁸⁶

The only work which definitively entered the collection in the intervening period is 'Nicolson's Christian Refuge', identified as William Nicolson's *The Christian's Refuge under the Shadow*

¹⁸⁶ A London, 1801 edition of Flavel's *Divine Conduct* appears to have entered the collection at some unknown later date as a replacement for the lost Edinburgh, 1681 edition contained within the 1813 catalogue. In it is noted the same shelfmark as referenced in the 1813 catalogue, suggesting it was a direct replacement for loss, rather than a deliberate acquisition of a new edition.

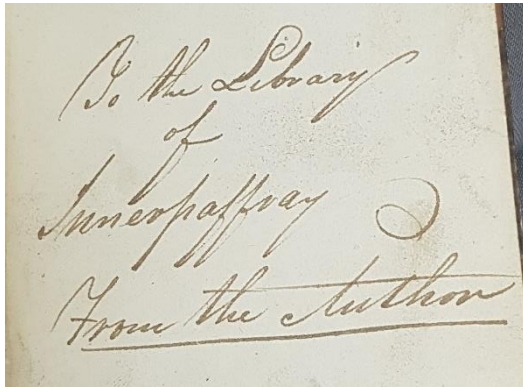


Figure 2.2: William Nicolson's Donation

(John Macpherson, *Critical Dissertations* (London, 1768); Paul Rycaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1668); William Ellis, *Husbandry* (London, 1772)) but the commentaries and sermons do show some effort to use the collection in preparation for the type of work he produced: a lengthy persuasive towards godliness, with sermon appended. In its nature, therefore, it is not dissimilar from what was already available in the collections, despite its relative modernity.

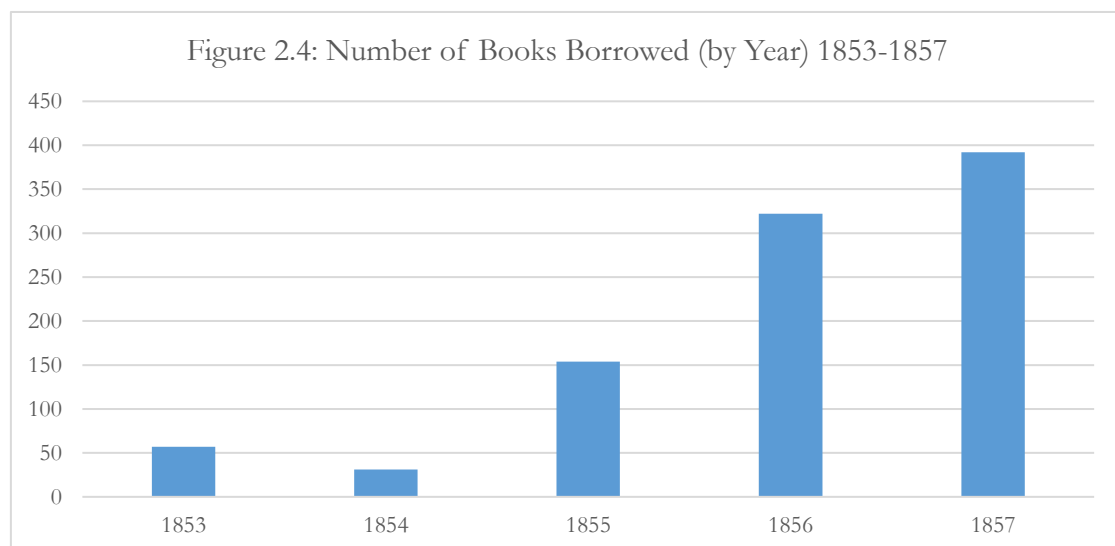
While the catalogue for May 1855 shows how static the collection has been up to that point, it is the borrowers' records which reveal the moment at which the collection begins to evolve. On 29 May 1855 a modern novel is borrowed from the library for the first time: 'The Lamp-lighter' (presumably the 1854 work by Maria Susanna Cummins), borrowed by C. Davidson, Innerpeffray. Soon after, the first instance of a Victorian travel book and the popular *Emigrant's Manual* also appear in the borrowers' register.¹⁸⁷ On 11 June 1855, different emigration manuals were borrowed by two individuals, and the 16th of the same month marks the first borrowing of 'A Roving Englishman in Turkey', by a Miss Humphrey from Crieff.¹⁸⁸ Such works characterise the later borrowing from the library with May 1855 the turning point, after which the availability of such works impact not just on what people choose to borrow, but also widen the audience to women and children, attracted presumably by the presence of more appealing texts. As a result, use of the library dramatically increases, as shown in the figures below.

Though usage continued to fluctuate on a monthly basis, total numbers of books borrowed per year dramatically increased. This increase coincided with the arrival of new books in the summer of 1855 and continued to grow until the next volume of the borrowers' register

¹⁸⁷ Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, Vol. 1, f. 173v.

¹⁸⁸ Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, Vol. 1, f. 173v.

began in 1857. The clear picture of the largely static collections to May 1855 and the dramatic change in the collection and its use at that same date therefore justifies the endpoint for this thesis.



Now it is evident that little to no acquisition took place between 1790 and 1855, it is fitting to consider why. The end date of 1790 coincides with only one event in the library's history: the death of its booksellers. A final payment made to William Drummond, Bookseller in Edinburgh, is in the accounts 1778/9. The will of William Drummond of Callender, bookseller in Edinburgh is registered 4 July 1776, indicating that his death may have been the reason for the end of the transactions.¹⁸⁹ Charles Eliot, a further bookseller used by the

¹⁸⁹ 'William Drummond', *Scottish Book Trade Index* <<https://data.cerl.org/sbti/001998>> [accessed 17 July 2018]

library in the eighteenth century, dies in 1790.¹⁹⁰ It is therefore possible that the lack of acquisitions in the following period may in some part be attributed to the loss of a relationship between the library and its bookseller, and that no relationship with a new bookseller had been cultivated. Why this state of affairs was to continue, however, has no neat explanation, though it is evident that finances were a significant issue: the library was free to its users and it did not always receive income from the estates that might have been owing to it.¹⁹¹ Though outwith the scope of this thesis, an investigation into what changed at 1855, and how Innerpeffray came to compete with publicly-funded libraries in the later nineteenth century would be a fruitful endeavour.

The Library Collection at 1813

A functioning library collection remaining almost entirely unchanged for over six decades is unparalleled and further emphasises how anomalous Innerpeffray's record of borrowing might appear when compared to others, as well as the importance of understanding individual library histories before interpreting any record of borrowing. It does, however, mean that the single MS catalogue from 1813 not only represents what Innerpeffray held at that time, but also what it held from around 1790, when acquisition ended, until May 1855, when they began again. It is therefore possible to compare with greater certainty what was borrowed with Innerpeffray with what was available more than with any other collection. This analysis will form the basis for chapter four. Here, however, it is fitting to give an overview of what the collection contained, including its strengths and its weaknesses.

Extent

The catalogue of 1813 runs to 1580 titles in total, which are listed in shelf order with publication place and date information attached. Where possible, these titles have been matched to existing works in the collection, from which additional information has been drawn to

¹⁹⁰ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 100; 'Charles Elliot', *Scottish Book Trade Index* <<https://data.cerl.org/sbti/002204>> [accessed 17 July 2018].

¹⁹¹ Numerous (uncatalogued) archival items held at Innerpeffray dated 1890-1891 deal with 'intrormissions' and 'unapplied income' of Captain Drummond.

create the following impression of the catalogue.¹⁹² Only 78 of the entries were not found or not identified, which evidences the almost incredible survival rate at Innerpeffray.¹⁹³

Context

As early as 1713, the library Keeper was charged with cataloguing books, specifically those bequeathed by John Drummond, minister at Fowlis Wester.¹⁹⁴ In 1768, money was paid for ‘a paper book on which to write a catalogue’, yet neither of these documents survive.¹⁹⁵ The 1813 catalogue at Innerpeffray survives as a shelflist, an administrative form of catalogue, rather than a finding aid, which primarily serves to list the location of books providing a means by which to identify missing items.¹⁹⁶ While catalogues may also serve to prevent duplicate purchases and to enable the user to know the contents of any individual library, the shelflist format is not ideal for this task.¹⁹⁷ Further, since Innerpeffray has only ever had manuscript catalogues, which are far more difficult to produce in multiples than their printed counterparts, it is likely that the contents of the library were not known to most users before onsite arrival.¹⁹⁸ The catalogue’s purpose, therefore, is administrative rather than navigational, and of little to no importance to the library user. This purpose is confirmed not only by its shelf-order arrangement, by contrast to alphabetical by author or by subject, but the presence of later marks which indicate that it had been used as a shelf list to check for missing

¹⁹² ‘Not found’ has been used to signify a work which has been identified as a bibliographic item but is not in Innerpeffray’s modern catalogue. ‘Not identified’ means that it has not been possible to securely match the title with one in the modern catalogue, but it cannot be ruled out that it may still be in the collection. This is particularly true where additional information is missing or descriptions are sparse, for example ‘Old Bible’, without place of publication or date (Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue, 1813, p. 26).

¹⁹³ Survival rates are almost impossible to calculate for other library collections, since it is so rare that individual items are static and traceable, but Innerpeffray appears to have escaped many culprits for lost items (fire, water, war and, thanks to the terms of Madertie’s will, weeding and sale) which may account for this figure being so high, especially when it is considered that these books were available for borrowing.

¹⁹⁴ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 6.

¹⁹⁵ Private Collection NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 87.

¹⁹⁶ William Poole, ‘Analysing a Private Library, with a Shelflist Attributable to John Hales of Eton, c. 1624’ in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books, and the Production of Early Modern Texts: A Festschrift for Gordon Campbell*, ed. by Edward Jones (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell 2015), pp. 41–65 (pp. 48–55). See also Archer Taylor, *Book Catalogues: The Varieties and Uses* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1957).

¹⁹⁷ A second copy of the 1813 catalogue is held alongside the minute book of the trustees, showing that it could have been used to inform decision-makers offsite, such as identifying gaps in the collection or avoiding duplicate purchase (Private Collection NRA S1489).

¹⁹⁸ The nearby Leighton Library’s first printed catalogue was produced in 1794, and though it is likely that the print run was not extensive, the subscription lists record money paid for the catalogue by many users, and enough copies survive for most major research libraries to still hold them. For further information, see this thesis chapter six.

items.¹⁹⁹ This further emphasises the commitment to preserving the collection ‘entire’, as Madertie had required in its foundation.

A letter sent to the Earl of Kinnoull by Mr Willison and Mr Murray of Aytoun on behalf of the Library & Antiquarian society (based at Perth) in December 1811 offers a further motivation behind the creation specifically of the 1813 catalogue. The letter suggests that the library, even as early as 1811, was becoming known as a significant historical resource:

At the last meeting of the Library and Antiquarian Society we were appointed by them respectfully to request from your Lordship a Catalogue of the books in the Library at Innerpeffray, and also that you would favour them with information with respect to the rules and regulations of the library - who are entitled to the use of the books - and to what extent of country the benefit reaches. [line break] The reason of this request is, that it appears to the society that the Library must be a very valuable treasure for the Country and a very honourable thing for your Lordship to be entrusted with, who they hope will always be a distinguished Patron of learning and a zealous Promoter of usefulness, and every thing that may contribute to the improvement of the country. [line break] The use of this Library may be of incalculable benefit to young students who have no other means of access to such books.²⁰⁰

The society was evidently interested in what was there and how to access it because of the library’s status as a ‘valuable treasure’. It is possible, therefore, that the catalogue they envisage was to be produced in sufficient numbers for distribution so that users could be certain the volume they wished for was available before making the journey. This is also evident from their enquiries about the geographical range for acceptance to the library, though it is unclear if ‘use’ in this instance means reference use or borrowing.

The survival of the 1813 catalogue provides vital evidence of the precise books in the collection at a specific point in time. From this a picture of the books which entered the collection since its foundation can be drawn, made possible by the high quality of the 1813 catalogue, which gives not only authors and titles but also places and dates of publication, as well

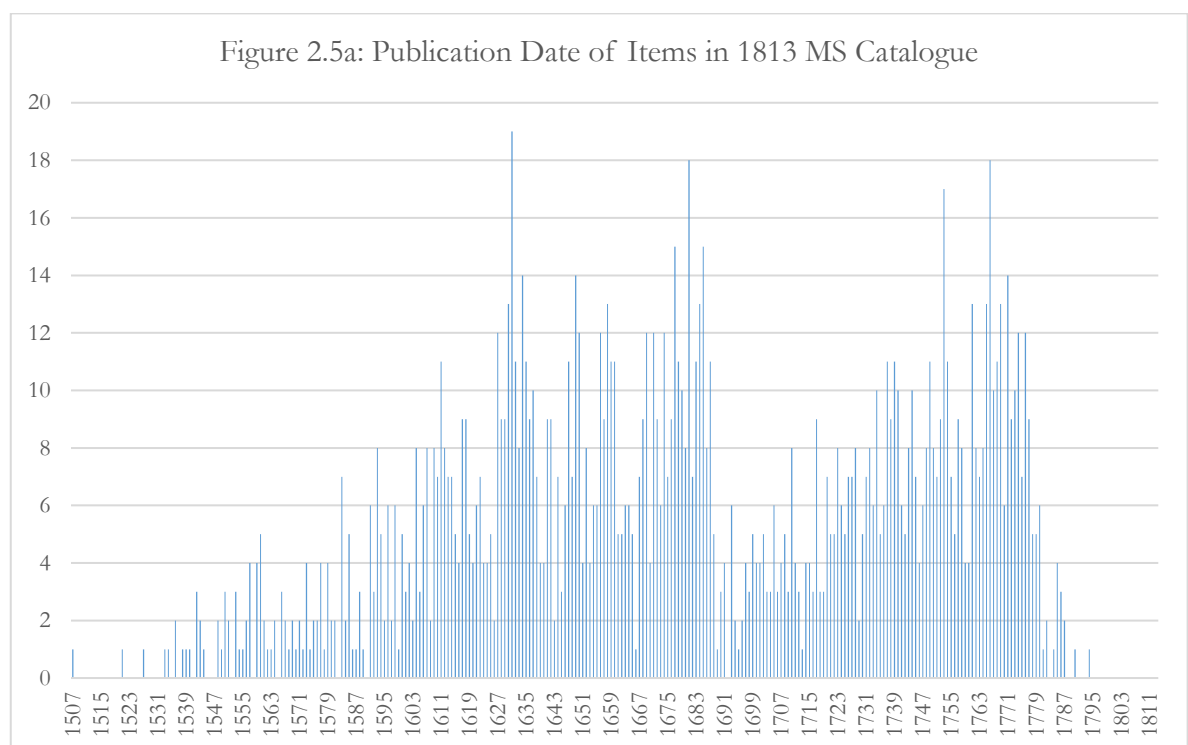
¹⁹⁹ In contrast to the 1855 catalogues, which exist as alphabetical lists within broad subjects, and which have an additional alphabetical index: Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue by Author, 1855; Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue by Genre, 1855.

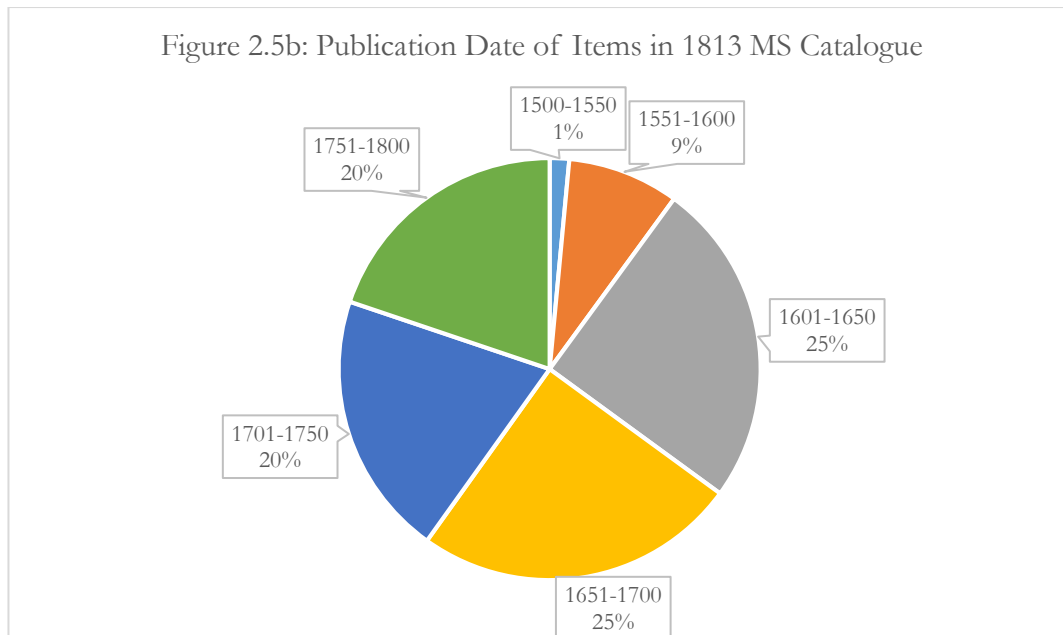
²⁰⁰ Private Collection NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Letter from Alexander Murray & John Willison, 16 December 1811.

as shelfmark information. Where it was not possible to limit possible titles to a singular instance, shelfmark information could often be matched with a location recorded inside one of the possible books. Further, by comparing the 1813 catalogue data to that of the subsequent 1855 versions and the modern catalogue, a broad picture of change within the library throughout its history can be traced. It is to an analysis of the collection as represented by the catalogue at 1813 which this chapter now turns, to provide a key point of navigation against which to assess the borrowing recorded in Innerpeffray's registers.

Age

A detailed graph of publication dates present within the collection (figure 2.5a) shows that while it may have been easier to procure books as they were published (spikes occur at times when the library is consciously purchasing) the library was making a conscious effort to collect older texts, as recommended by Robert Hay Drummond. The simplified pie chart (2.5b) proves that half of the texts present were published in the seventeenth century.





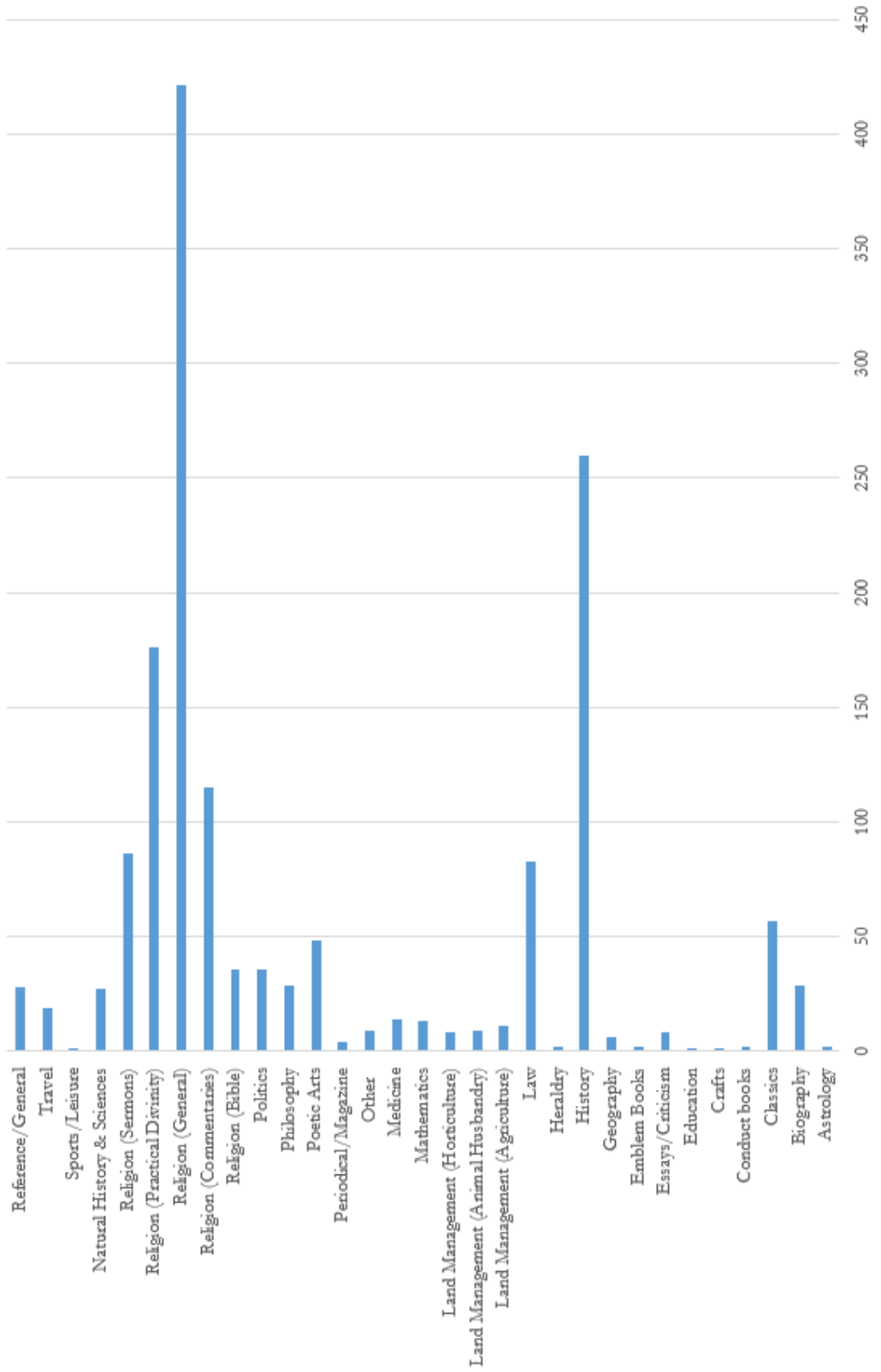
The most recent date of publication listed in the catalogue is 1790, which supports the suspicion of decreased purchasing indicated in the minute book, as detailed above.²⁰¹ Marshall's *Agriculture* Vols 8 (London, 1790) is the only work present which cannot have come from the booksellers, but its contents give no indication of how it came to be included in the collection. The catalogue data, therefore, supports the idea that changes to the library in the mid-eighteenth century were not a simple update of the collection, but a conscious rounding out of its contents. Thus, it is important to assess the contents in the same way as the foundation collection was treated, in genre, language, format and place of publication.

Genre

As in chapter one, titles were assigned a genre from the list of headings provided in appendix one. Figure 2.6 shows the number of titles from the 1813 catalogue per their genre. Religion remains the most prevalent, with a combination of general works, commentaries, Bibles (and parts thereof), practical divinity and sermons representing 54% of the total collection. Compared to the 63% of Madertie's original foundation, however, it shows that religion was under-represented in the additional works added during the library's eighteenth-century regeneration. The prevailing nature of the collection was, however, still religious.

²⁰¹ Mary Collyer's *Death of Abel* is described in the modern catalogue as a 1794 edition but no justification for that decision has been identified, and the copy is so damaged, lacking all preliminaries, that it could be any of the earlier editions.

Figure 2.6: Genre of items in 1813 MS Catalogue



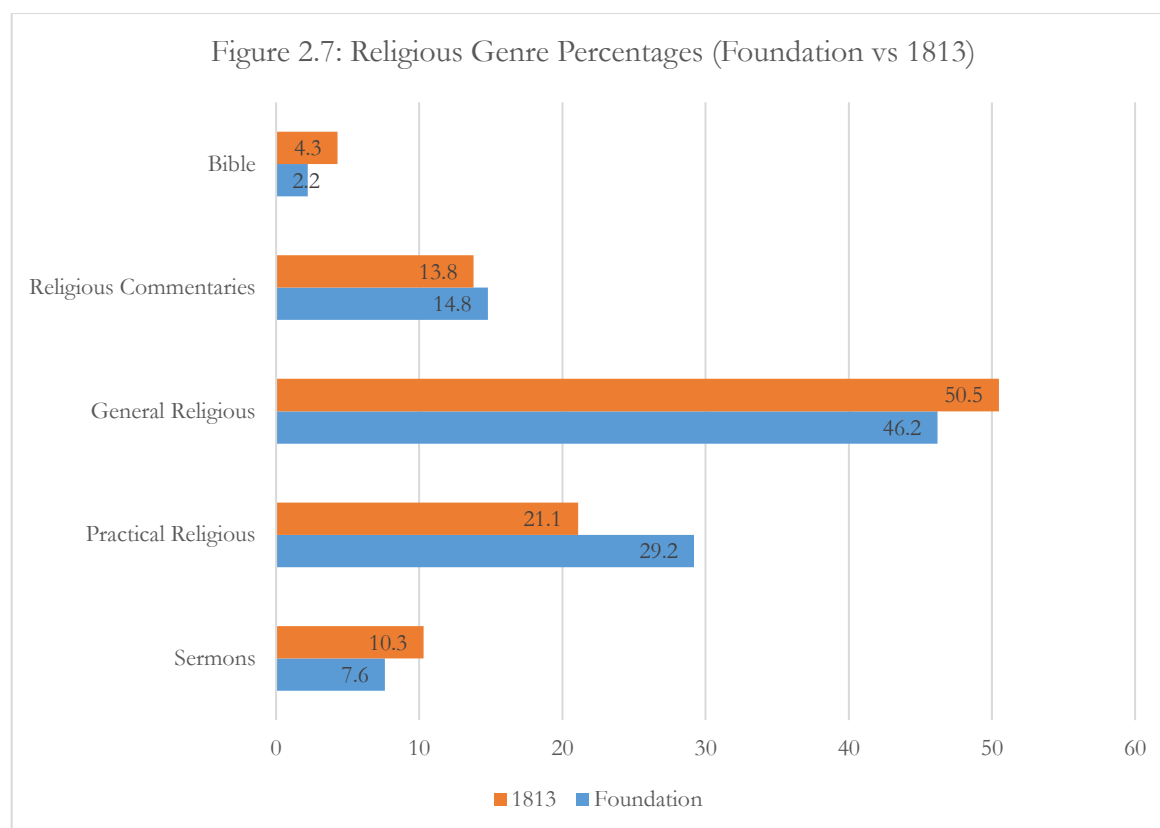


Figure 2.7 places the percentage of each type of religious work against the total number of religious works, with foundation in blue and at 1813 in orange.²⁰² The distribution of types of work remains the same. Robert Hay Drummond's influence can be seen in the slight preference for commentaries (associated with more scholarly study) than practical divinity and sermons, despite only 19 of the 520 works appearing on his recommendation list.²⁰³

The increase in the Bible category, which includes parts thereof and other associated books such as books of common prayer, is largely through sixteenth- and seventeenth-century foreign language versions, again likely of scholarly, as opposed to practical interest. These languages include German (Frankfurt, 1577), Spanish (Basel, 1569), French (Port-Royal, Paris, 1697) and a mysterious 'Bible in Saxon characters' as well as the expected Latin and Greek.²⁰⁴ The Bible in Hebrew

²⁰² Following genre divisions outlined in appendix one.

²⁰³ Two commentaries: Patrick, Lowth and Whitby, *A commentary upon the historical books of the Old Testament* (London, 1765) and the 'Bible de Calmet'. Sermons by Tillotson, Sprat, Sharpe, Clagett and Atterbury.

²⁰⁴ While this could be a mistaken reference to a Bible in black letter, is it not impossible that the library held something like *The Gospels of the Four Evangelists Translated in the Olde Saxons Tyme out of Latin into the Vulgare Toung of the Saxons*, (London: John Daye, 1571), though likely an early entry through Madertie's ancestors rather than as a deliberate purchase.

is also now present (Amsterdam, 1705) as well as a copy of the Talmud in German (Gerson, Erfurt, 1659).

Sermons are more present in the collection and, with 73% of added works published in the eighteenth century, are one of the more up-to-date sections. These additions were largely by Anglican authors (Francis Atterbury, Samuel Clarke, Jeremiah Seed, Thomas Sherlock, John Conybeare, Andrew Snape), but again, given the prevalence of texts printed in London, this could be attributed to what was available. The inclusion of Zachariah Mudge and Joseph Butler, originally non-conformist and Presbyterian respectively, but who both converted to Anglicanism in their lifetimes, is also noteworthy. It is therefore fair to say that there is a strong tendency towards the Episcopal within the collection which, though present also in the original collection, becomes more pronounced under Robert Hay Drummond, which is unsurprising given his role as Archbishop of York. It will be pertinent, therefore, to see what use a predominantly Presbyterian public made of such elements in the collection.

Only five sermon collections in a language other than English are included, all of which are in French. Three of these are eighteenth-century editions in their original language: Jacques Saurin, *Sermons sur divers textes* (The Hague, 1721), Samuel de la Douespe, *Sermons sur divers textes* (The Hague, 1752) and Charles Bertheau, *Sermons sur divers textes* (Amsterdam, 1730). One is a French translation of Tillotson (*Sermons sur diverses matieres* (Amsterdam, 1742)), and the other an earlier work, Simon Vigor's *Sermons catholiques* (Paris, 1585). Since Saurin, de la Douespe and Bertheau operate within the Protestant tradition, and all preached in London at one point during their lives, Vigor and Tillotson are the anomalies. The works of Vigor, a renowned anti-Protestant preacher, do, however, fit with the multiple copies of the Council of Trent and the works of Beza to give a fuller picture of that point in the church's history. Controversial works, then, still have a place in the newly rejuvenated Innerpeffray, though it must be noted that the early publication date and lack of provenance markings mean that such works could have entered the collection earlier in the library's history rather than as part of its increase under Robert Hay Drummond.

Tillotson's *Sermons* in French is an anomaly which can only be explained in the context of other Tillotson sermons in the collection and by its sheer popularity with borrowers. The library holds

a two-volume set of Tillotson's sermons (London, 1686), along with a 14-volume run listed in the 1813 catalogue as 'London, 1700' but, in reality, a mismatched set. As noted above, 'Tillotson Sermons' were recorded in the minute book as purchased in 1779, but the library held copies long before, because they appear as one of the most popular items in the Innerpeffray borrowers' register before 1760. Since an increase in number of copies or volumes available would be justified by the works' popularity, it seems in this instance that the library was simply acquiring whatever it could get its hands on.

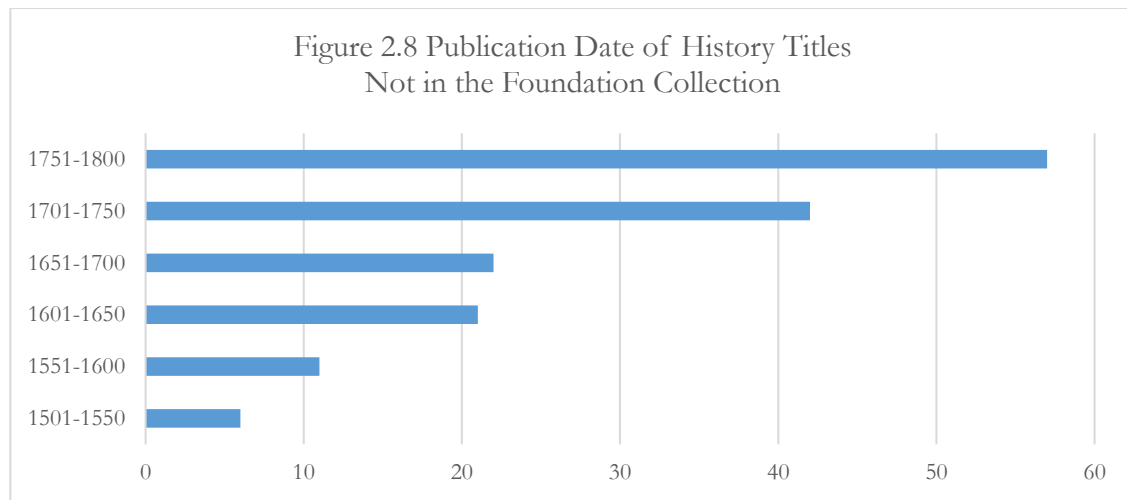
Politics has grown within the collection and changed focus. Where works from the library's foundation tended to centre on systems of government, later additions are more concerned with trade. This genre is heavily influenced by Robert Hay Drummond's list of recommended books, with Samuel Pufendorf's *Law of Nature* (London, 1729), Lewes Roberts' *Merchant Map of Commerce* (London, 1700), Josiah Child's *A New Discourse of Trade* (London, 1745), Joshua Gee's *The Trade and Navigation of Great-Britain Considered* (London, 1767) and Jean François Melon's *Essai politique sur la commerce* (Amsterdam, 1754) all entering the collection as the Archbishop's list suggested.²⁰⁵ A focus on business and commerce might indicate further the 'gentleman's library' that Hay Drummond envisaged, since on first appearances such topics might appeal to landowners and investors, rather than merchants themselves.²⁰⁶ It is also a reflection of changing times, rather than a deliberate refocusing of the collection, since the impact of trade and commerce might be more pertinent following events such as the collapse of the Darien scheme.

Historical works remain prevalent, though not quite so strongly as in Madertie's foundation collection, representing 17% of the 1813 catalogue compared to the original 20%. This reflects a changing focus from broad sweeps to the history of individuals, which are categorised here as Biography rather than History. The additional History works span the years 1521–1787 (figure 2.8), but tend to be acquired as newer editions, perhaps because these were more readily available. Broad religious histories again make up a significant proportion of the historical texts present, as well as more accounts of areas during historic religious strife. An interest in histories of specific areas grows, such as John Whitaker's *History of Manchester* (London, 1773) and Kenneth

²⁰⁵ Innerpeffray Robert Hay Drummond List of Recommended Books, 5 May 1744.

²⁰⁶ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 15, for which see this thesis, chapter one.

Macaulay's *The History of St Kilda* (London, 1764) which compliments the increase in Politics (trade), Travel and Geography genres.



Around 5% of the collection at 1813 is made up of Law books, which is surprising as they made no part of the foundation and there is no mention of any such works on Robert Hay Drummond's recommended lists, or in the minute books of the trustees. The physical impression of long runs of statute collections suggest that those works dominate the genre, but on a title-by-title basis the law elements of the collection are surprisingly wide-ranging. Several general works on Scottish law are present (Kames, Stair, George Wallace) as well as other works divided by legal type. Criminal law in Scotland is presented by George Mackenzie (*The Laws and Customes of Scotland, in Matters Criminal* (Edinburgh, 1678)) and Hugo Arnot (*A Collection and Abridgement of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1785)), with practical works as well: two on a Country Justice (Michael Dalton, *The Country Justice* (London, 1705); William Sheppard, *The Whole Office of the Countrey Justice of Peace* (London, 1655)) and *Ars notariatus or, The Art and Office of a Notary-public* (Edinburgh, 1777). For works on ecclesiastical law, England dominates over Scotland; Richard Burn (*Ecclesiastical Law* (London, 1767)) and John Godolphin (*Repertorium canonicum* (London, 1687)) are joined by Edmund Gibson's *A System of English Ecclesiastical Law*, which is present in both English (London, 1743) and Latin (Oxford, 1761). The only Scottish equivalents in the collection concern themselves with church governance, such as George Gillespie's *Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1641), though this is to be expected since works on Scottish ecclesiastical law works to 1800 are very rare.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ A subject search in *ESTC* for 'Ecclesiastical law -- Scotland -- Early works to 1800' returns only 11 results, 10 of which have corporate authors <<http://estc.bl.uk>> [accessed 25 June 2018].

One Law item shows the signature of Robert Hay, dated 1734 which suggests that some items may have come from Robert Hay Drummond's own collection.²⁰⁸ Why he might have desired law books is more straightforward, given the seats of bishops in the House of Lords, but their presence at Innerpeffray is not easily explicable. It may have been to support those studying law, or to assist those with the responsibility of applying the law, which would again point to a different class of user than those who typically frequented Innerpeffray. Unsurprisingly, these items were among the least popular with borrowers, as will be demonstrated in chapter four.

Classics was barely represented at all in the foundation collection, but was the most frequent genre of books recommended by Robert Hay Drummond. By 1813, 58 classical works are present. These consist largely of standard historical works (Plutarch and Pliny the Elder in multiple editions, joined by Herodotus, Sallust and Xenophon) with philosophy (Aristotle, Plato, Seneca) and oratory (Demosthenes, Cicero) from both Greek and Roman traditions. Literary works do appear: poetry and epic (Catullus, Virgil, Homer) and Roman comedies from Terence and Plautus. Notable by their absence are the Greek tragedians; only Euripides features, as the exemplar in the only overtly didactic work in this section, Samuel Musgrave's *Exercitationum in Euripidem* (Leiden, 1762). That Law and Classics are the only real new genres to make an impact on the collection at 1813 in comparison to the foundation collection echoes the ethos behind the new library building. Along with the focus on trade over regime change, these additions reflect a library intended for gentleman and scholars. Still, however, the foundation collection accounts for a significant proportion of the books present (around a third), thus much of its original nature remains.

²⁰⁸ This work is problematic in another way, in that while Hay Drummond's signature is dated 1734, the work itself has the publication date of 1757, but there is no evidence that the signed endpaper has been recycled from another volume. It has not yet been possible to resolve this conundrum.

Figure 2.9: Language of All Items as at 1813

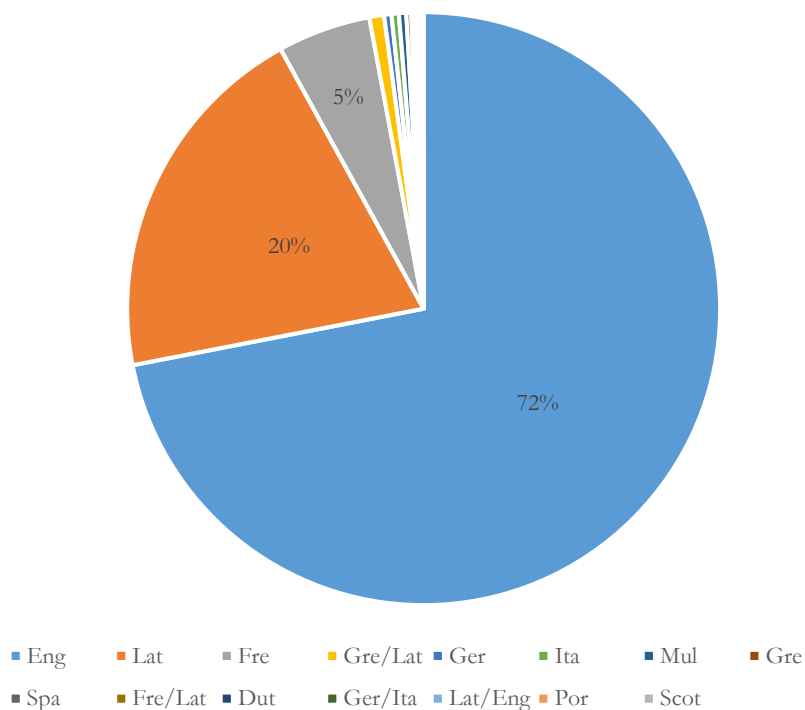
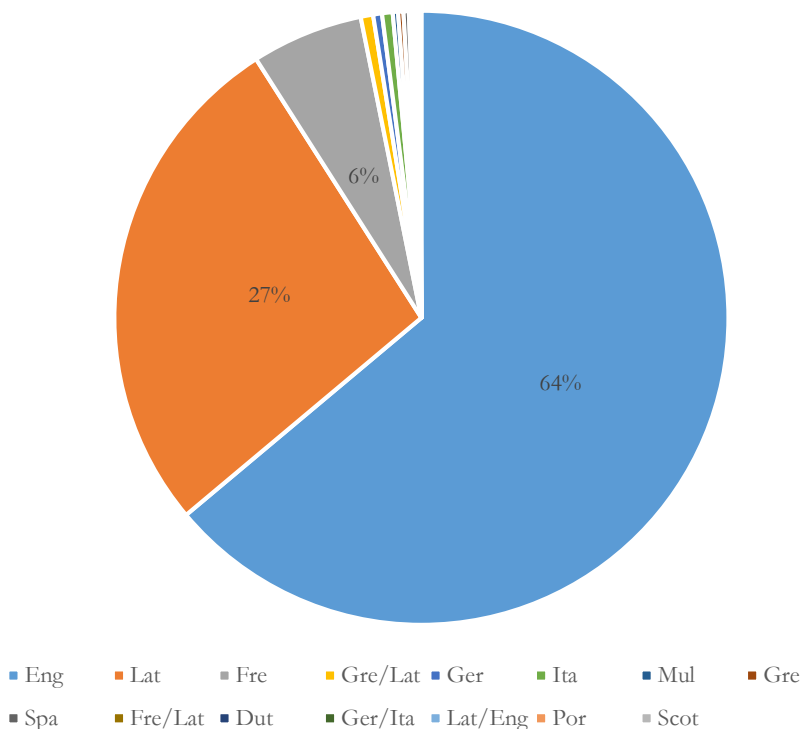
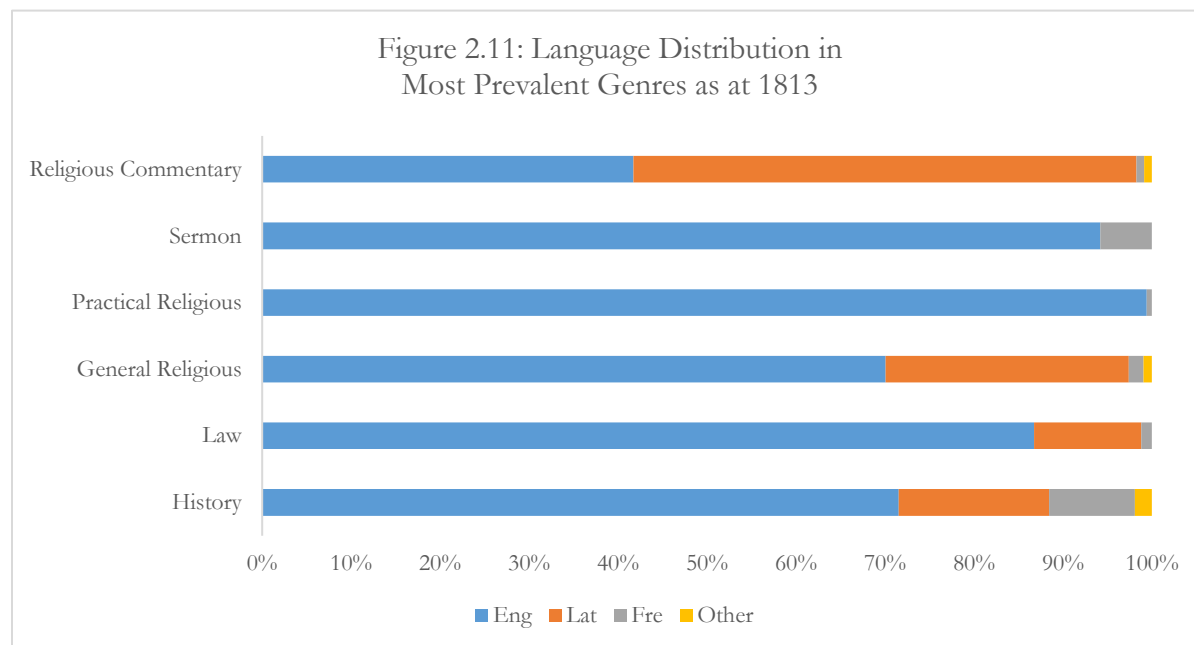


Figure 2.10: Language of Items as at 1813
(excluding the Foundation Collection)



English language materials still dominate the collection. A comparison of the two charts above, however, shows that, even as late as 1813, the high proportion of English titles from the foundation collection (90%) still has an impact on the balance of languages within the collection. Once foundation materials are excluded from the survey, however, French and Latin titles both increase proportionally, but English still dominates (64%). At its foundation, borrowers selecting English language books excluded just 10% of the collection. By 1813, this figure is almost a third.



The figure above shows how languages are distributed across the subjects which make up the largest proportion of the collection (over 5%). Sermons and practical religious works again are the likeliest to be in English, as might be expected, but works on the Law too seem to be conducted largely in English. It is the increase in Religious Commentaries which seems to impact upon the language of the collection most of all, being responsible for the most Latin works. This increase fits to some extent with Hay Drummond's scholarly vision, though would also aid the 'young students' which Madertie had initially aimed to benefit, but for whom he had not specifically obtained useful materials.

Format

Figure 2.12: Format of All Items as at 1813

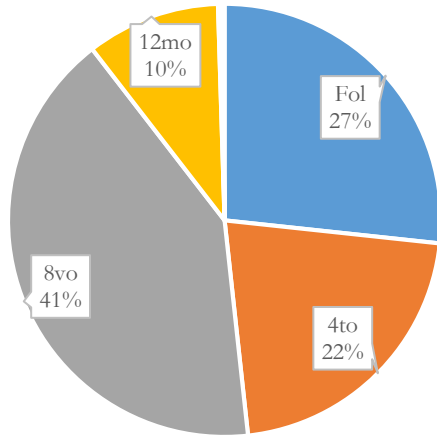
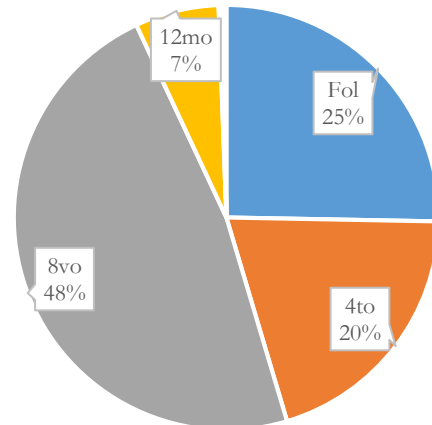


Figure 2.13: Format of Items as at 1813 excluding the Foundation Collection



Given the nature of the Archbishop's list, with a preference for larger formats when specified, the proportion of such formats in the collection at 1813 is surprising, and much more in keeping with a lending library. Octavos are by far the preferred format of acquiring books, but this is not to be mistaken for a tendency towards the small; the proportion of duodecimos also decreases.

Figure 2.14: Format Distribution in Most Prevalent Genres as at 1813

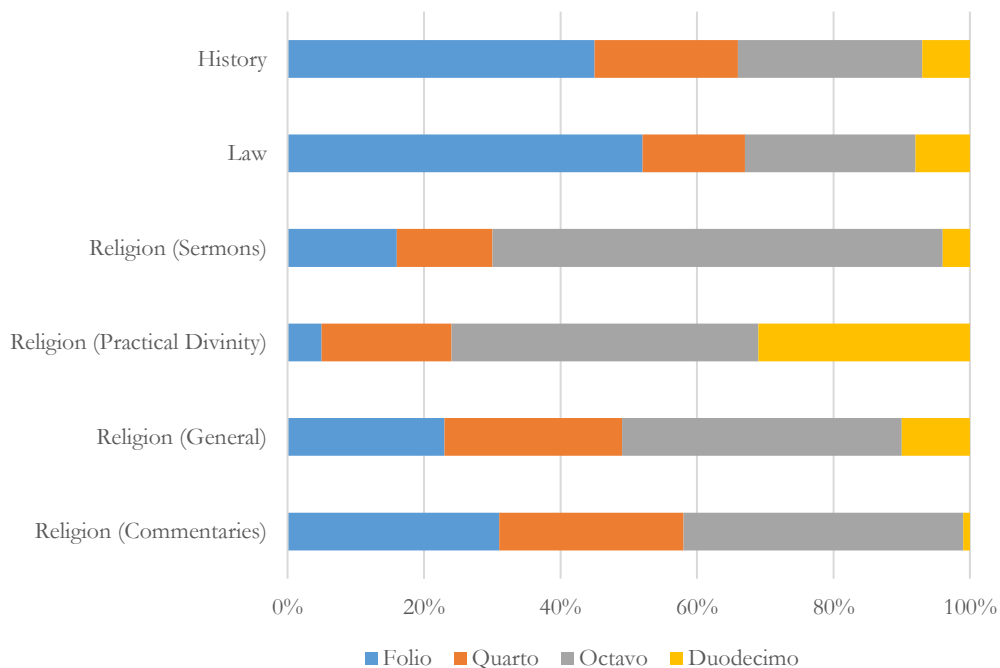
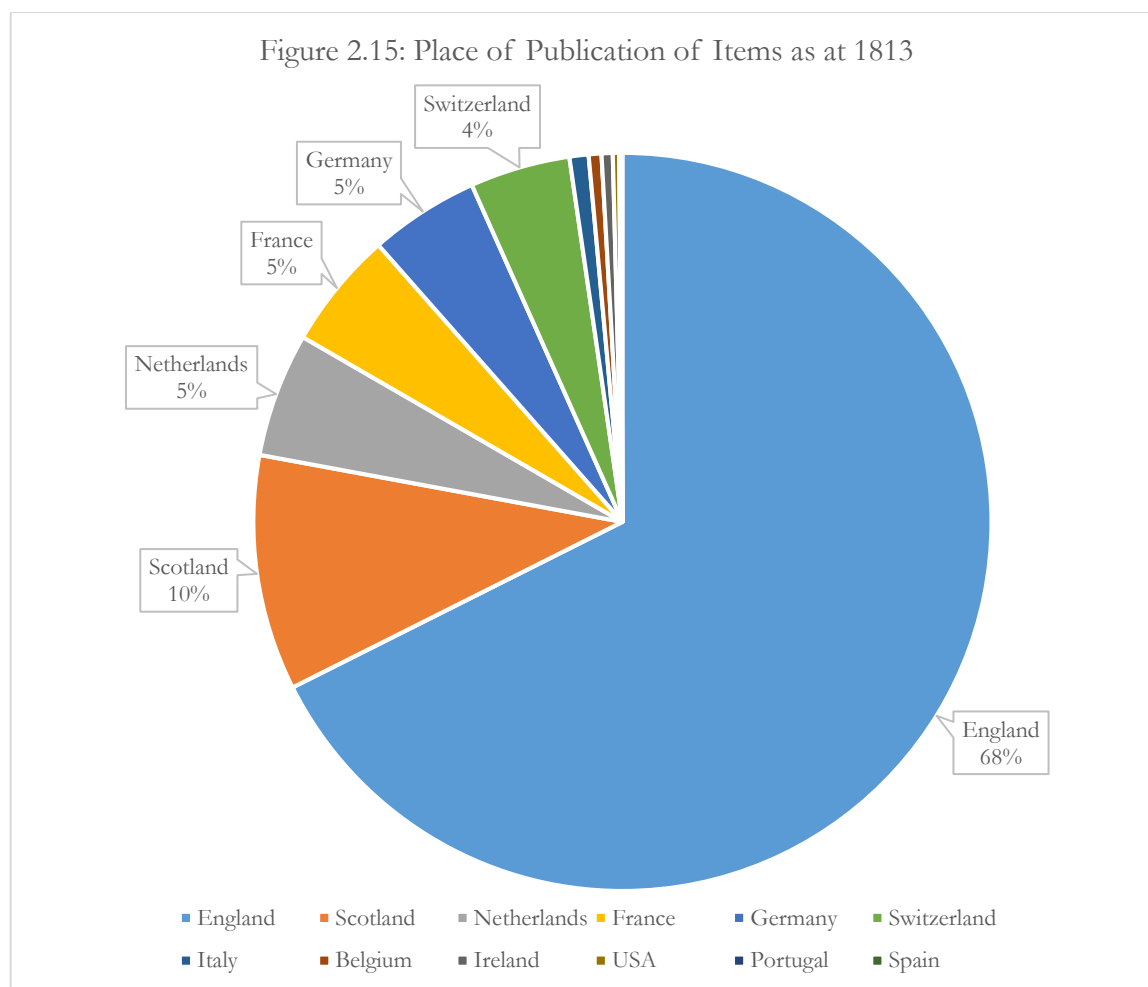


Figure 2.14 shows the distribution of formats by each genre which makes up more than 5% of the collection. Around half of the legal and historical titles are present in folio and, as might be expected, sermons and practical religious works are favoured in smaller formats. A difference in size might also reflect their intended purpose; compare for example the quantity of large law books which were likely to have been intended for reference use, yet it is unclear whether the range of formats reflects a choice on the part of the library or broader publishing trends.

Place of Publication



While the proportion of Scottish books in the collection has increased by 1813, England-based publishers still dominate. This finding is unsurprising, as in the eighteenth century more books were published in London than in the rest of Britain and the British Empire combined.²⁰⁹ It is

²⁰⁹ Richard B Sher, 'Scottish Publishers in London' in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800*, ed. by Stephen Brown and Warren McDougal (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 188–197 (p. 188).

also likely reflecting the broad interests of the collection, at every stage in its foundation aiming to serve the needs of the local populace, but without a specifically local focus. The increase in works published in Scotland can largely be attributed to the increase in legal works within the collection, which were specifically applicable to Scotland's retained legal system. Beyond legal works, works which were formerly useful only for an English/Welsh audience were now also applicable to Scotland following the Act of Union. It is perhaps for this reason that works like *The Act of Tonnage & Poundage, and Rates of Merchandize* (London, 1702) make their way into the collection.

While the primary purpose of this examination of the collection was to better situate the choices made by borrowers assessed in the chapters which follow, it has also served as a useful means by which to test whether the intentions of Robert Hay Drummond, as expounded in chapter one, were served by the eighteenth-century additions to the collection. Hay Drummond's list did not have the dramatic impact on the collection that the governors' commitment to limiting their acquisitions to its contents might suggest. However, what is clear is that Hay Drummond's expressed intent for the library, beyond the list of books he suggested, did impact the collections significantly, such as through the increase in foreign language books and the representation of genres like Classics and Law. Further, Hay Drummond's position among the Anglican clergy, as well as the library's tendency to purchase books printed in London, meant that the prevalence of works which would have been considered Episcopal among local populations (already traceable in the library's foundation collection) continued.

Before moving on to looking in detail at the borrowers' registers and how they show the use of Innerpeffray, it is vital to reflect for a moment on how the fact that a collection does not change over decades might change how it is used during that time. In 1770–1790, the collection, while still rich in older texts, contained enough recent works to make it appear both up-to-date, thus more appealing to its users, than it had been before or after that time. This is supported by the finding that, as in chapter four, novelty (i.e. how new an item is) is the most significant indicator in predicting a work's popularity among borrowers. The 1811 letter from Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society, as detailed above, serves as evidence that the library's collections were still

of use to local students, not despite but because of their antiquated contents.²¹⁰ By 1855, the library would primarily have facilitated to access antiquated works, since it held nothing else. It must therefore be born in mind in the examination which follows that, while the contents of the library did not change over time, its character and potential use did.

²¹⁰ NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Letter from Alexander Murray & John Willison, 16 December 1811.

CHAPTER THREE: PEOPLE

Central to this thesis' original contribution to scholarship is significant time spent at Innerpeffray and its archives to thoroughly understand its records, in a manner never before possible for previous authors, as outlined in the introduction. While an understanding of the library and its collections is vital to any assessment of a library's use, as expounded in chapters one and two, it is also necessary to give an account of the nature of its people. This is because the use of any library is shaped by the nature of the people who were permitted to borrow from it and the few who chose to do so. Despite the library effectively being open to all, this chapter begins by demonstrating how Keeper discretion ultimately determined who could borrow books and how they could be borrowed. This chapter then gives an overview of the types of people who used the library to understand how borrowing choices might be affected by the nature of the borrowers, and concludes that there is no such thing as a typical Innerpeffray borrower.

The Library of Innerpeffray is situated in rural Strathearn, in a countryside which was punctuated by estates large and small, with a few more populated centres (Crieff, Comrie, Muthill). Thus employment in the area centred on jobs which supported these estates (such as farming, masonry, factoring) as well as local textile industries. While an in-depth social history of the area surrounding Innerpeffray is too extensive for the purposes of situating its borrowing record, previous accounts were limited by basing their impressions of the local area from evidence only given within the borrowers register. Kaufman's 'Innerpeffray: Reading for all the People' omits local context almost entirely, save for his description of its modern situation as 'rural', 'peaceful' and 'remote'. In Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, it is omitted again, likely due to his broad focus: While he does use population sizes to establish the level of provision of circulating libraries (p. 95), this does not establish a sense of library users *versus* non-users, leaving the implication that non-use is equivalent to unavailability. Only Houston attempts to account for the library's non-users, using data from the *Old Statistical Account* to demonstrate how small a proportion of weavers used the library when compared with how many were present in the population at large.²¹¹ In the 40 years between the 1747–1757 portion of the register assessed by Houston and the creation of the *Statistical Account*, the composition of the Scottish nation

²¹¹ Seven weavers are recorded in the register 1747–1757, but 92 heads of families in the parish of Crieff were weavers 40 years later. Houston, p. 175 using *Old Statistical Account*, Vol. 9, p. 589.

changed dramatically and its population increased, demonstrating how difficult and unreliable quantitative-based comparisons can be, even before the reliability of figures within the *Statistical Account* is considered.²¹² Further, Innerpeffray and its users do not sit comfortably within one parish, which Houston later acknowledges when estimating population size to conclude that the proportion of the population borrowing from the library is even less than might first appear.²¹³ This can be clearly seen in the parish boundaries in appendix four. The lack of weavers may simply be a manifestation of the lack of population using the library in general; that only an estimated 1021 individuals used the library 1747–1855, as demonstrated through the allocation of Person IDs to the borrower data, confirms Houston’s account of the proportion of the local population using the library, by any estimate of that overall population. For example, when Macara’s population figures for Crieff and its neighbouring parishes across Strathearn at 1810 total around 15,000 inhabitants, users of Innerpeffray in that year number 14.²¹⁴ An assessment of the few users who did choose to borrow from the library is therefore vital, but must first be understood in the context of who was permitted to do so.

Though Innerpeffray, as evidenced through its borrowers’ register, was effectively open to all local people, surviving sets of rules governing the use of the collection record the framework within which access was permitted, explicitly limiting its borrowers to those living locally and, in one example, the ‘young students’ named in Madertie’s will.²¹⁵ The earliest surviving set of rules for the library likely dates from around 1813.²¹⁶ Of this list of rules, only the first pertains to the user group:

The Institution being intended for the benefit [sic] and encouragement of “young students” in the vicinity of Innerpeffray it is directed by the trustees that the

²¹² See T. C. Smout *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1998), pp. 240–260.

²¹³ Houston, p. 178.

²¹⁴ D. Macara, *Crieff: Its Traditions and Characters with Anecdotes of Strathearn* (Edinburgh: D. Macara, 1881), p. 165. He does not give his source. His figures are as follows: Crieff: 2,876, Auchterarder: 2,042, Comrie: 2,453, Fowls Wester: 1,614, Madderty: 650, Monzie: 1,157, Monzievairst: 641, Muthill: 2,880, Strowan: 392, Trinity Gask: 769.

²¹⁵ Innerpeffray Will of David Drummond, Third Lord Madertie, c. 1680. The Innerpeffray borrowers’ registers serve as firm evidence for the flexible application of these rules, for which see below.

²¹⁶ A single sheet pasted onto the verso of the first front end leaf of Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue, 1813, which would be facing the title page, were it not for a later set of rules tipped in between. The rules appear in a very rough hand (possibly that of the keeper, but unidentified) in comparison to the calligraphy of the catalogue proper. They appear roughly contemporary with the catalogue, but given the way they are pasted to the end leaf could feasibly slightly pre- or post-date it. Some earlier library rules can be gleaned from the mortification’s minute book before 1813, but there concern book-related restrictions, such as loan periods and designating reference-only material, rather than who is able to use the library, for which see chapter four.

Librarian shall attend every Thursday from ten o'clock till two o'clock thro'out the year, to deliver Books to such "young students" as may apply for the same, but to no other description of persons.²¹⁷

The circumstances of the creation of the 1813 catalogue may go some way to explaining how restrictive this set of rules appears, which contradict the broader range of library users evidenced by the borrowing record.²¹⁸ As expounded in the previous chapter, a letter from the Perth Literary & Antiquarian Society, dated 1811, asked not only for a catalogue of the collections to be created, but for the rules and regulations regarding use of the collection to be clarified, and from how far afield the library would accept users.²¹⁹ In using a direct quotation from Madertie's will, 'young students', as outlined in chapter one, and adding 'in the vicinity of Innerpeffray', the library had ample power to deny anyone too far away from borrowing books, without appearing more restrictive than the founder had originally intended.²²⁰ 'No other descriptions of persons' reiterates the power of the Keeper, although it is quite clear from the borrowing record that this was never implemented and that significant discretion was exercised.²²¹ While these formal rules may have been constructed and applied for non-local users, the nature of local use demonstrated in the borrowers' register implies it was left to the Keeper's discretion, as it likely had been in the many years before formal rules were compiled.

Pasted into the same catalogue is a later set of rules, which note that they were prepared by Ja[me]s Condie, Perth in 1853, under the tenureship of Captain Robert Drummond (Patron 1831–1855). Condie, a local solicitor whose firm went on to have a long association with the library, constructed the rules as a legal document. These move away from a focus on 'young students' and codify the principle of Keeper discretion:

²¹⁷ Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue, 1813.

²¹⁸ William Marshall, *Historic Scenes of Perthshire* (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant, 1880), p. 302 states that the widening from 'students who had matriculated at a University' to 'the public in general' took place in 1844, but neither the borrowers' records nor archival record more broadly gives evidence to this definition of student, nor to that date.

²¹⁹ They enquired 'who are entitled to the use of the books - and to what extent of country the benefit reaches', NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Letter from Alexander Murray & John Willison, 16 December 1811.

²²⁰ Visitor books to Innerpeffray, which begin in 1859, may be used to demonstrate that the library was viewed as a tourist attraction by this time, but their late start date places them beyond the scope of this thesis.

²²¹ Though occupations are no longer recorded around the date of these rules, a woman (Elizabeth Clement) is present among them, undoubtedly not a student in the sense it is applied at Innerpeffray.

1. The librarian will be in attendance at the library for the purpose of giving out books every Tuesday and Thursday throughout the year between the hours of 12 and 2 and 6 & 8 o'clock.
2. The parishioners as well as the scholars and young students in the district shall have the privilege of borrowing books or of consulting in the Library such works that are not allowed to be lent out but the Librarian shall be entitled to exercise a discretion as to the persons to be admitted to the above privilege and as to the books to be lent to them.²²²

Remarkably, the survival of a copy of the 1813 rules annotated with 'Ld R Cecil's notes on those existing' gives some insight into the decision-making process behind these changes (figure 3.1).²²³ That Cecil annotated a 'copy' of the 1813 rules suggests that the two surviving sets of rules in the 1813 catalogue are sequential, and that any further iterations in the interim are not simply lost, but never existed.

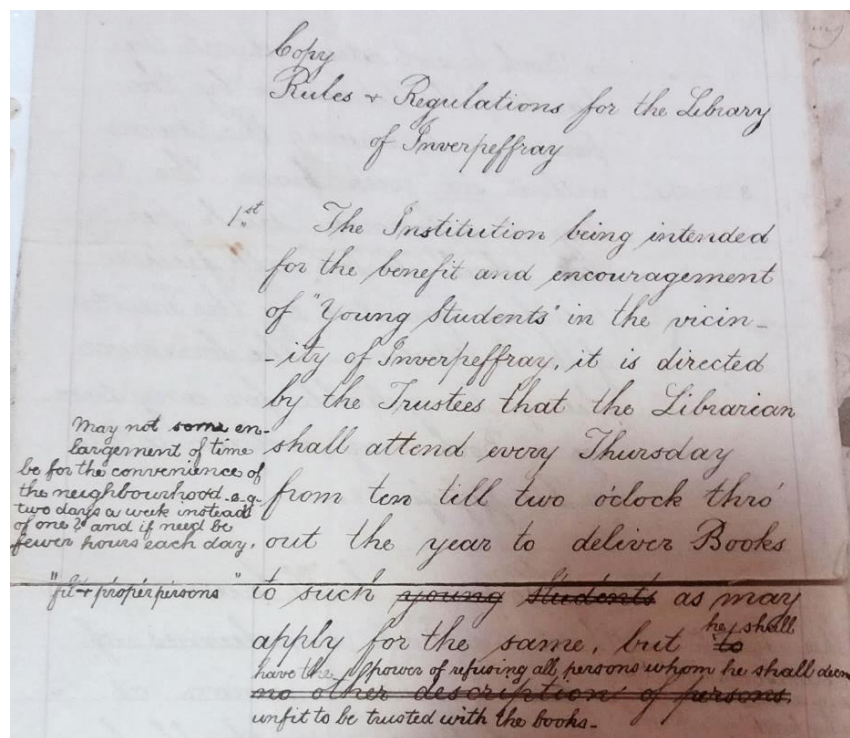


Figure 3.1: Lord Cecil's Annotations to the Innerpeffray rules c. 1853

²²² Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue, 1813.

²²³ Though the front of the annotated record when folded gives its date as 1855, the main text is of the 1813 rules, and Condie's formal rules dated 1853, include many of Cecil's changes, suggesting that they predate the Condie set. It has not been possible to securely identify Lord R Cecil, but his title and date would suggest that a likely match is Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, future Prime Minister. Quite what his link was to the Library has yet to be discovered.

Cecil suggests ‘may not some enlargement of time be for the convenience of the neighbourhood e.g. two days a week instead of one, and if need be fewer hours each day’. In the adopted set of rules this has become ‘Tuesday and Thursday throughout the year between the hours of 12 and 2 and 6 & 8 o’clock’, maintaining the 4 hours worked by the Keeper per day (but spreading them into two discrete periods) and adding Tuesday to the existing Thursday.²²⁴

Not all of Cecil’s suggestions were enacted: the Condie version does not accept the proposed ‘fit and proper persons’, instead preferring ‘parishioners as well as the scholars and young students in the district’, perhaps in the hope that this appears both clearer and more restrictive to anyone wishing to borrow from further afield. ‘Parishioners’ is a strange choice, however, even if interpreted as resident in the parish, rather than frequenter of a particular church, because Innerpeffray does not form a centre of any parish (appendix four).²²⁵ At the time of the 1853 rules, Innerpeffray stood on the edge of the parish of Muthill, therefore most ‘parishioners’ would have to make a much longer journey than those in different but neighbouring parishes. ‘The district’ too, the area from which scholars and students are permitted to borrow, again feels more restrictive than the ‘vicinity’ of the earlier version, whilst still leaving much to the Keeper’s discretion. This discretion was now written into the rules codifying a practice which was likely already occurring.

External interest in the collection seems to have motivated the c. 1813 set of library rules and it is likely that later rule changes had some external motivation too. This motivation may have come in the form of an 1823 legal case raised against the library by William Young from Auchterarder, a young law student who was ‘arbitrarily and by force expelled’ from the library by its then Keeper, Ebenezer Reid.²²⁶ Young argued that the ‘the inhabitants of a wide district in Strathern (sic) have enjoyed the use of the library from time immemorial’, but that they are now ‘arbitrarily and unjustly’ prevented from doing so by the current Keeper.²²⁷ Halsey deftly links

²²⁴ This might also prove useful evidence for anyone looking into the nineteenth-century working day.

²²⁵ Innerpeffray’s problematic location means that it even changes parish; in the 1799 *Statistical Account* it appears as part of Monzie, but by the 1845 *New Statistical Account* it is part of Muthill.

²²⁶ Innerpeffray Copy: ‘The Petition of Wm. Young, 1823’, to the Sheriff of Perthshire. Records of Perth Sheriff Court Processes (National Records of Scotland SC49/7) are not catalogued at item level but are organised by year. The eight boxes held for 1823 (SC49/7/386-393), did not hold records pertaining to the case, and the archivist noted that this series has been heavily weeded, therefore the records may no longer exist.

²²⁷ Innerpeffray Copy of ‘The Petition of Wm. Young, 1823’, p. 7.

Young's references to 'rights' and 'property' in this petition to the post-French Revolution political and cultural atmosphere in Britain, but for the purposes of this thesis it is more revealing in demonstrating the impact of relying upon a Keeper's discretion, amplified by an ambiguous set of rules.²²⁸ Charles Husband, procurator-fiscal in Perth, instructed the Keeper to give access, and both men to interact with each other in a polite and appropriate manner.²²⁹ This case served to test the provision of access to materials as set out at the library's foundation, a useful reminder of what the intention of the library was judged to be and how it may not always have been carried out so uniformly by every Keeper for every patron. Further, this episode indicates that, even if each Keeper remained consistent in their approach, there were inconsistencies between the different holders of that post.

Another key example of the power of Keeper discretion is in the application of a penalty under which some of the borrowing took place. In August 1740, the governors of the mortification restricted the borrowing of certain classes of material, and, in the same sentence, noted that paper was purchased for the creation of receipts (which went on to become the borrowers' registers), ordering that the Keeper take 'a pledge above the value of the books themselves for the safe delivery of them'.²³⁰ This suggests that every entry ought to record the value of the book for which the borrower would be held responsible if the item were not returned, though there is no suggestion that any money ever actually changed hands. Appendix five shows in full all the occasions when books were issued under a penalty, and at what figure that penalty was set. It shows that penalties were only applied 27 times, representing far less than 1% of the borrowing record. Most occurred in the early years of the borrowers' register, but some were also applied as late as 1774. Though small in number, these occurrences are sufficiently numerous to demonstrate that it is neither the individual, nor the book borrowed, which triggered a penalty being set, but the Keeper's whim.

In the first two years of the borrowing record, penalties were applied in more cases than not: 14 items of the 27 borrowed. Every item borrowed in 1748 was issued with a penalty, after which point only seven items had penalties applied, four on the same day in 1751. In the first two years

²²⁸ Halsey, *Before the Public Library*, pp. 229–230.

²²⁹ Innerpeffray Copy: Letter from Chas. Husband dated Perth 31 October 1823. 'In the meantime he [Young] and the Librarian conducting themselves to each other in a becoming manner'.

²³⁰ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 14. For more on the limited classes of material see this thesis chapter four.

of the register, only four individual borrowers escaped the penalty.²³¹ It is not, therefore, the case that items borrowed from the library earlier in its history were subject to a penalty, and that such a practice was later revoked.

Three titles appear more than once in the list, which might suggest that a penalty was imposed only for particular titles, were it not for the fact that these works also went out on other occasions in a similar era without such an imposition.²³² For example, D. Jones' *Compleat History of Europe* (London, 1708) volume 10 was borrowed by Neil Roy on 28 June 1747, without a penalty in the opening year of the register, during which the proportion of borrowings with penalties attached was the highest. Yet in the same year, Pat Brovand had to promise 10 shillings if the same title was not returned. It is not that Neil Roy is a special case; he also borrowed under a penalty just one month later: Abercromby, the very title borrowed by Mr Munro without penalty that same year. The work borrowed, therefore, in no way dictates the penalty imposed, and there appears to be no coherent strategy behind on whom penalties were imposed.

Borrowers' addresses too had no impact on penalties issued. Since the library was always intended to be used by local people, and the climate in which it was formed was a close-knit, rural community, one might assume that the few instances where penalties were applied might have been for visitors from further afield. Fewer ties to the local community (as neighbours, colleagues, congregants) posed a greater risk that the item would not be returned. The addresses listed for those on whom a penalty was placed indicates that this was not the case. Though only one borrower is listed at Innerpeffray, both Coblehaugh and Smithlands are neighbouring farms, and Fowlis is well within the usual proximity of borrowers. Again, there is seems to be no general principle behind when to impose a penalty.

Patrick Gardner's 15-shilling penalty was against three books, yet one pound and 15 shillings was set for James Sharpe Junior, who only borrowed a 'big bible with cuts'. It might, therefore, be tempting to presume that the price was set higher for larger books. However, both Andrewes

²³¹ Neil Roy on 28 June 1747 for 'The complet History of Europe', Beatrice Faichney on 27 August 1747 for 'Christ the way the truth the life', Mr Munro also on 27 August 1747 for four titles ('Aebercomney' [Abercromby's Martial Achievements?] 'Clarendon Civil War', 'The complet History of Europe' and 'The history of Queen Elizabeth') and Janet Cooper on 12 September 1747 for 'a small book on the unchangeableness of God'.

²³² Thomas Taylor, *Davids :earning, or the Way to True Happinesse* (London, 1618); Royal Society, *Philosophical Transactions and Collections* (London, 1731) and David Jones, *Compleat History of Europe* (London, 1708).

and Nalson are volumes in Folio, and Greenhill's *Ezekial* is a substantial quarto. Value may be more pertinent than size, then ('cuts' suggesting an illustrated volume), yet the value of individual books is also variable: one volume of *Philosophical Transactions* was issued under penalty of 15 shillings in 1748, then 10 shillings in 1774. The reverse is true for 'highway to happiness' which went out under a 2-shilling penalty initially, then later 2s6d. If the value was assigned with not just the book in mind, but the person borrowing the book, there is no evidence for any link to more concrete attributes like occupation (penalties were applied to quarriers and schoolmasters equally) but could be linked even to individual character. Ultimately, the Keeper held power over the decision.

The evidence explored above shows that Keeper discretion had been employed from the library's earliest days, and was later enshrined in the library rules. It is fitting, therefore, to give a brief account of the nature of those Keepers. Andrew Paton, the library's earliest recorded Keeper, died in post in 1714, too early to have an impact on who used the library during the period of the register. Thomas Caw of Milnab (1717–1724) and John McLiesh (Keeper and schoolmaster 1726–1741) similarly pre-date the borrower records, but do give some insight into the type of person appointed as Keeper. These two show that, as suggested in Madertie's will, the role of Keeper could be combined with the role of schoolmaster.²³³ Further, both seem to take on the role early in their careers. Thomas Caw is noted as taking charge of the rebuilding of the schoolhouse in Crieff in 1726, and is likely the same Thomas Caw who was appointed to oversee road improvements along the Pow of Inchaffray in 1741, while McLiesh went on to have a career in the church.²³⁴

The role of Keeper seems most often, in its earliest days, to have been filled by someone qualified in divinity but awaiting a full role. John McLiesh became a local minister, licensed in March 1727 (during his time at Innerpeffray) but not ordained until 1741, when he took up the parish of Gask until his death in March 1763.²³⁵ Robert Wright, Keeper from 1741 to 1751, and under

²³³ Innerpeffray Will of David Drummond, Third Lord Madertie, c. 1680. There is no evidence of Madertie's suggestion that they might also be employed as chaplain where necessary, though there is no reason to believe that some did not perform that role on occasion, particularly those who came from, or went into, a career in the church.

²³⁴ Porteous, p. 193; Macara, p. 127.

²³⁵ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 274. On two occasions (11 June and 11 October 1757), McLiesh returned to the library as a borrower (Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, Vol. 1, f.11r & v). Though put forward for the role by the Oliphants of Gask, he was described as a 'thorn in the side of the family to whom, in spite of kindness and support,

whom the borrowers' register first began, also follows this trajectory. Born 1723, Wright was just 18 when he took up the role, leaving to become minister at Newburgh 10 years later (called October 1750 and ordained 21 February 1751).²³⁶ He was succeeded by John Dougall on 23 March 1751, described as 'schoolmaster of Crieff', who combined the post with his existing role in Crieff before leaving to become 'schoolmaster of Faulkland' on Whitsun 1762.²³⁷ While Crieff is only five miles from the Library of Innerpeffray, the fact that Dougall maintained his other job serves as a reminder just how part time the role of Keeper was, particularly before the new library building opened in 1762 (the same year Dougall departed). Throughout his tenure, Dougall lived in renovated school accommodation in Crieff, emphasising the fact that, before the new library building at least, a Keeper was unlikely to be housed onsite.²³⁸

The new library building transformed the Keeper role from very part-time and temporary to residential and longer term. Two of the three Keepers from 1762 to 1821 died in post. 1762 marked the appointment of William Dow as Keeper and schoolmaster. He is described as a student of divinity at Glasgow, and as the son of a Tenant at Inchaffray, thus fitting the profile of his predecessors as well as having local ties.²³⁹ Dow died in post at Candlemas 1801.²⁴⁰ A 'John Haggart' is recorded to have 'acted as librarian' until Whitsun 1802 when James Fulton, who also died in post, was appointed as Keeper and schoolmaster.²⁴¹ Little evidence of the character of James Fulton survives, save for the fact that he seems to have been the first library Keeper who had a wife during his tenure.²⁴² This is evidenced by a payment to Widow Fulton 'for keeping the library one quarter' on 30 October 1821 and 'to D[itt]o for D[itt]o past year'

he bore a deadly enmity', due to his strong anti-Jacobite politics, supposedly hidden until after his appointment (E. Maxtone Graham, *The Oliphants of Gask: Records of a Jacobite Family*, London: James Nisbet & co, 1910, pp. 195–6).

²³⁶ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. V, p. 171. Wright was not succeeded at Innerpeffray until 23 March 1751, which may go some extent towards explaining the gap in records between 12 May 1750 and 31 August 1751.

²³⁷ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 35; NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Commission Signed by Robert Hay Drummond (R Ebor) 1762. Dougall is recorded as 'acting as schoolmaster' in Crieff until 1761 in Porteous, p. 194.

²³⁸ Porteous, pp. 193–4.

²³⁹ NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Commission Signed by Robert Hay Drummond (R Ebor) 1762.

²⁴⁰ NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Commission Signed by Robert Hay Drummond (R Ebor) 1762.

²⁴¹ Little evidence remains of Haggart and it has not been possible to identify precisely who he was. His signature on p. 107 of NRA S1489 Vol. 11 suggests that his forename was John. In the same volume, p. 111 records cash paid to James Fulton as both keeper and schoolmaster.

²⁴² While the marital status of the non-clergy keepers is unknown, there is no evidence that they were married, and for those for whom marital details are available in *Fasti*, none get married until after their tenure.

and ‘present year’ on 18 March 1822, after which point payments were made to the next successive Keeper Ebenezer Reid.²⁴³ This would mean that for the period August 1821 to March 1822, the library Keeper was female. It must be noted, however, that these accounts were created in retrospect in 1840 from receipts found in the library ‘made out from the vouchers referred with me’.²⁴⁴ A state of funds created in 1824, much closer to the date in question, suggests that Ebenezer Reid, subsequent Keeper, was appointed on 1 March 1821.²⁴⁵ While all modern accounts include Widow Fulton as the first female Keeper of the library, it is possible that this later state of funds was created from receipts in payment to the Widow, which could have been as support, rather than for services rendered, and that ‘for keeping the library’ was inferred.²⁴⁶ Regardless of whether an official Keeper or not, her very presence on the library site (and as the only known wife of a Keeper while in post) had a notable impact on the gender of Innerpeffray borrowers as shown in the analysis which concludes this chapter.

While the start-date of Ebenezer Reid is in question (either March 1821 or March 1822) what is certain is that he was already working at Innerpeffray School before being appointed to the additional role of Keeper.²⁴⁷ At 1836 he also ‘had a Wright Shop’, further emphasising the part time nature of the role even in the nineteenth century.²⁴⁸ Beyond that, however, Reid serves as the best example for why a history of an institution and its agents is vital to any assessment of its use. As well as being the Keeper who quarrelled with William Young over use of the library (as above), Reid was apprehended on 28 April 1836 and indicted for sodomy and assault with intention to commit sodomy ‘with or in the presence of his pupils’ between the years of 1824 and 1836.²⁴⁹ Witness statements were gathered from 26 individuals across the local area, and attest to offences taking place for over a decade, with minors as well as adults, and in various locations including the library, chapel, school and his wright shop.²⁵⁰ As early as 1829, Moncrieff

²⁴³ Innerpeffray Copy: State of Payments made by the Right Honourable the Earl of Kinnoull and his predecessors, on account of the Library of Innerpeffray from 20 Oct 1747–15 May 1840, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ Innerpeffray Copy: State of Payments made by the Right Honourable the Earl of Kinnoull and his predecessors, on account of the Library of Innerpeffray from 20 Oct 1747–15 May 1840, p. 1.

²⁴⁵ NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] State of Funds 1824.

²⁴⁶ Chamier, p. 125.

²⁴⁷ In NRS JC26/1836/490 Reid states that he was 17 years schoolmaster and 15 years keeper of the library in the year 1836.

²⁴⁸ NRS JC26/1836/490.

²⁴⁹ Witness statements recorded in NRS AD14/36/402, with Reid’s indictment at NRS JC26/1836/490.

²⁵⁰ NRS AD14/36/402.

prepared for the trustees an opinion prompted by the William Young case, noting ‘it is understood he [the present incumbent] is quite unfit’, later raising a query about by what means an incumbent might be removed.²⁵¹ Reid serves as a useful reminder of the impact that something so difficult to discern as character might have on the use of a collection. Though the precise impact of Reid’s character on the use of the library can only ever be postulation, what is very traceable in the archival record is the impact that a sudden loss of Keeper has on the collection, particularly when that library is otherwise not well-managed.²⁵² It is clear, therefore, that Keepers had a very strong influence on who was permitted to use the library, and how, which must be considered when assessing any marked changes within the borrowing record.

The impact of individual Keepers is also evident when tracing when the library was used. Even the briefest glance of the borrowers’ register suggests that books were not only lent during the proscribed opening times, but at other times without discernible pattern, and for periods when the opening hours of the library are known, there are always exceptions within the borrowing register. For example, almost all borrowing in 1854 (20 dates) takes place on a Thursday, save for two occasions: Wednesday 15 March and Saturday 2 December. Both of these dates were to facilitate singular borrowers, Peter McRostie and Ebenezer S. Forrester respectively, the former of which only borrowed from the library on that one occasion, and the latter who had borrowed twice previously, but formerly on Thursdays. While it is not possible to say why such borrowing was permitted in these instances, or how it was administered, it is vital to note again the Keeper’s discretion, and it is telling that this happens even late into the library’s history even after clearer rules had been adopted. Further, given that borrowing times for items are never given alongside their dates, purely that the book was borrowed on a Thursday does not mean that it was borrowed within the official opening hours, particularly since they seem to have been quite short. Again, Keeper discretion is evident.

²⁵¹ Innerpeffray Copy of Moncrieff Opinion 1829, p. 23, p. 32. The precise phrasing of the queries which he is addressing seems not to have survived, but can be inferred from his response.

²⁵² For which see chapter two. Note that the multiple legal opinions in the library’s existing archive dating from this period indicate an attempt to generate an understanding of the terms of Madertie’s original will, and the heritable bond which followed. This could be taken to indicate that the library is examining its obligations, and options, which could equally be motivated by a desire to improve, or a desire to relinquish the responsibility. Had the library not eventually gone on to take the former path, events during this time might have seemed more likely to lead to the latter.

The record of borrowing seems firmly to have been the responsibility of the Keeper, and it is likely that the Keeper had to be onsite to allow access to the books, at least following the move to the new building in 1762. Even in the chapel phase, Keepers were personally held responsible for books lost during their tenure, therefore they would be unlikely to allow borrowing without their observation.²⁵³ Despite this there are still small gaps in the record, though most can be attributed to closed or limited access periods in the library's history, such as the creation of the new building (no borrowing recorded between 17 February 1759 and 16 November 1763) and the creation of the library catalogue. In the case of the catalogue, no books were lent between 22 February and 10 December 1813, with the catalogue dated June 1813. Such a survey of a collection would be made much easier were the books to remain in situ and accounted for until at least a draft of the catalogue was complete. For the gap between 1759 and 1763, it is plausible that the library could have remained closed while the books were being brought into it, since it was officially completed in 1762, yet this suggests that the chapel was likely no longer being used as the library during the final stages of construction.²⁵⁴ A change in Keeper might also explain these gaps. While John Dougall handed over to William Dow in 1762, thus not wholly accounting for the lack of borrowing during construction of the new building, there are examples where a change of Keepers appears to have had this impact, for example the period between May 1750 and August 1751 during the changeover between Robert Wright and John Dougall in which no borrowing was recorded. This further emphasises the impact that Keepers might have had on the use of the library or on the reliability with which records were kept. It is vital, therefore, to conclude that borrowing does not occur in a steady and predictable manner, but is influenced by changes to the administration and governance of the library, as well as broader rule changes and building works. Such effects must be borne in mind when assessing overall how much the library was used and for what it was used.

As shown in chapter one, it is highly unlikely that the library could have facilitated reference use before 1759, simply because there would have been no suitable space in which to consult items

²⁵³ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 46 records the creation of a list of items lost under the tenure of McLiesh and Wright. In the same volume (p. 67), payment is recorded as received from the heirs of Thomas Caw for items lost under his tenure.

²⁵⁴ A tour of the completed building was conducted in 1760 (NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 70–1) and shelves were put in in 1762 (same volume, p. 74). The lengthier gap until books were lent again may be attributed to a change in keeper: Dougall quit on Whitsunday 1762 and William Dow was appointed by August 1763 (NRA S1489 Vol. 11, pp. 71, 78)

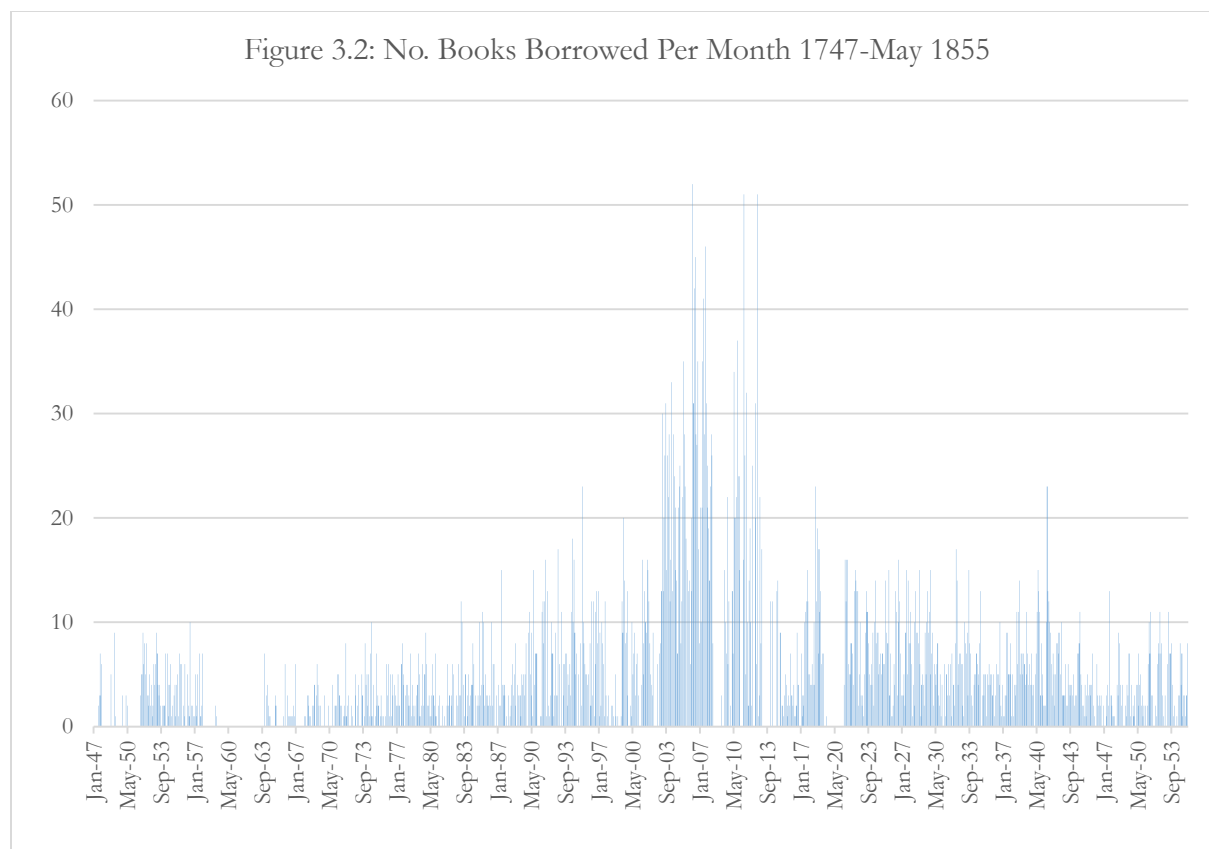
until the construction of the new building. Despite this, only 304 items were borrowed between 1747 and 1759. Once Person IDs are applied to the data set, usage patterns become more nuanced: these 304 items were borrowed by only 131 individuals, across the 12-year period from 1747 to 1759. Not only is that an average of 2.3 books per user, but around 11 individual users per year. The most frequent individual borrower, John Barclay (minister at Muthill, founder of the Berean sect) borrowed 12 items over the course of his borrowing life.²⁵⁵ Almost 50% of library borrowings are by unique visitors.²⁵⁶ This shows not only that a tiny portion of the potential borrowers did borrow from the library, but that many of those who chose to borrow did not do so again. There could be a number of reasons for this, not least the aging nature of the collection, as identified in chapter two.

After the construction and opening of the new library building these figures might be expected to change dramatically, but in terms of the number of individuals, they do not. In the period 1763–1855 a total of 6247 items were borrowed by 907 individuals, an average of 10 users per annum.²⁵⁷ A difference is evident, however, in quantity of books borrowed, averaging a much higher 6.9 items per person. There still remain a significant number of borrowers taking just one title, 35%, but much lower than the 50% observed in the library’s chapel period.

²⁵⁵ Derek B. Murray, ‘Barclay, John (1733–1798), Church of Scotland minister and founder of the Berean church’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1343>> [accessed 31 July 2017], uncle of the younger John Barclay, whose borrowing is explored in chapter seven of this thesis.

²⁵⁶ 64 of the 131 individuals in the period borrowed just one item on one occasion.

²⁵⁷ 21 individuals used the library both before and after the change in building. For further analysis of such users see Ebenezer Clement in chapter five of this thesis.



The graph above shows the importance not only of assigning person IDs to the data, but also bearing in mind the changing library rules over time. From this image it would seem that 1802–1813 was the height of the library’s popularity, whereas in fact it coincided with a few high-frequency individuals borrowing huge numbers of works at a time. Only five people borrowed more than 100 items across their lifetime and all five fall within this period: Alexander Maxton (415), Peter Nelson (167), Andrew Young (126), William Sinclair (110) and Michael Stirling (110), henceforth referred to as ‘super-users’. These 928 borrowings between five people represent 14% of all borrowing across the 1747–1855 period. At the other end of the scale, 870 of the 1017 users (86%) borrow fewer than 10 items across their lifetime, with 382 of that number borrowing only one item. They represent 38% of all borrowers across all time, and that figure does not include those who visit on only one occasion but borrow more than one item. The stark differences between the super-users and other Innerpeffray users has shown that it is impossible to identify an average user of the collection, and that individual borrowers must be taken as exemplars, not representative.²⁵⁸ Before that, however, since so small a proportion of

²⁵⁸ For which see chapter five of this thesis.

the population used the library, with a smaller portion still using it on multiple occasions, it is fitting to take a closer look at the type of people who actively chose to borrow from the library.

The borrowers' records from Innerpefferay are unique in the depth of information they can provide about individuals. Some attributes can be directly observed (occupation, locality) while others, such as gender, can be inferred. Despite the wealth of information available within the records, the way in which they have been kept by the Keepers, particularly the change of format from narrative to tabular, as well as the fluid structure of the early borrower promises, means that not all information is present for all times. Since many of these attributes are fluid (a person's occupation and address can change over time) it would be false to apply inferred data onto other manifestations of the Person ID, because there is no guarantee that the information remains the same. Instead, address and occupation information will be included where it has been explicitly stated, rather than inferred. Relying on only data given in the register means that comparison over time is not always possible, since not all information is recorded in all periods, and is dependent upon the frequency with which each type of information is recorded, which will be noted within each section below. This chapter will conclude with an assessment of the single inferable attribute which historically did not change over time, gender, to demonstrate how the library's history and the influence of individual Keepers can impact the borrowing record.

Locality

Addresses are recorded across 70% of entries in the period, the top 20 of which are listed in figure 3.3 marked on the accompanying map (figure 3.4).²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Sometimes this is as specific locations (individual houses, farms, streets), and at other times as the parish, with no discernible date range within which these are consistently applied. This is evident when repeat borrowers sign their name at one address, then later return as residents in 'parish of' a parish within which the original address is based. This matter is complicated further by the fact that parish names are often based upon the town or village which forms their centre. Any address recorded simply as Auchterarder could, therefore, be referring to either the town or the parish. Whilst such discrepancies have not dramatically changed the overall impression of where people use the library are from, it may mean that population centres that are also parish names (Comrie, Crieff, Auchterarder, Monzie, Blackford) are overrepresented, with borrowers coming from across the surrounding areas, not the specific settlement. See, for example, Blackford and Machany.

Figure 3.3: Most Prevalent Addresses in the Borrowers' Register		
Top 20 Addresses	No. Entries	No. Borrowers
Crieff	890	206
Muthill	527	64
Innerpeffray	312	55
Auchterarder	308	54
Madderty	293	38
Comrie	116	31
Monzie	116	28
Trinity Gask	58	21
Blackford	54	18
Gask	135	16
Millearn	90	16
Foulis	56	16
Strageath	101	15
Colquhalzie	91	12
Dalpatrick	70	7
Dollerie	77	6
Cowgask	61	6
Gellyburn ²⁶⁰	96	5
Gorthy	132	4
Tomaknock	60	2

²⁶⁰ Identified as distinct from the Gellyburn north of Perth and the Gelly burn in Dundee. Perthshire OS Name Books 1859-1862 OS1/25/59/41 gives a more local alternative: 'A small stream which rises near the farmsteading of Shearerston, and after a short course falls into the River Earn at Colquhanzie', *ScotlandsPlaces* <<https://scotland-splaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/perthshire-os-name-books-1859-1862/perthshire-volume-59?display=transcription>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

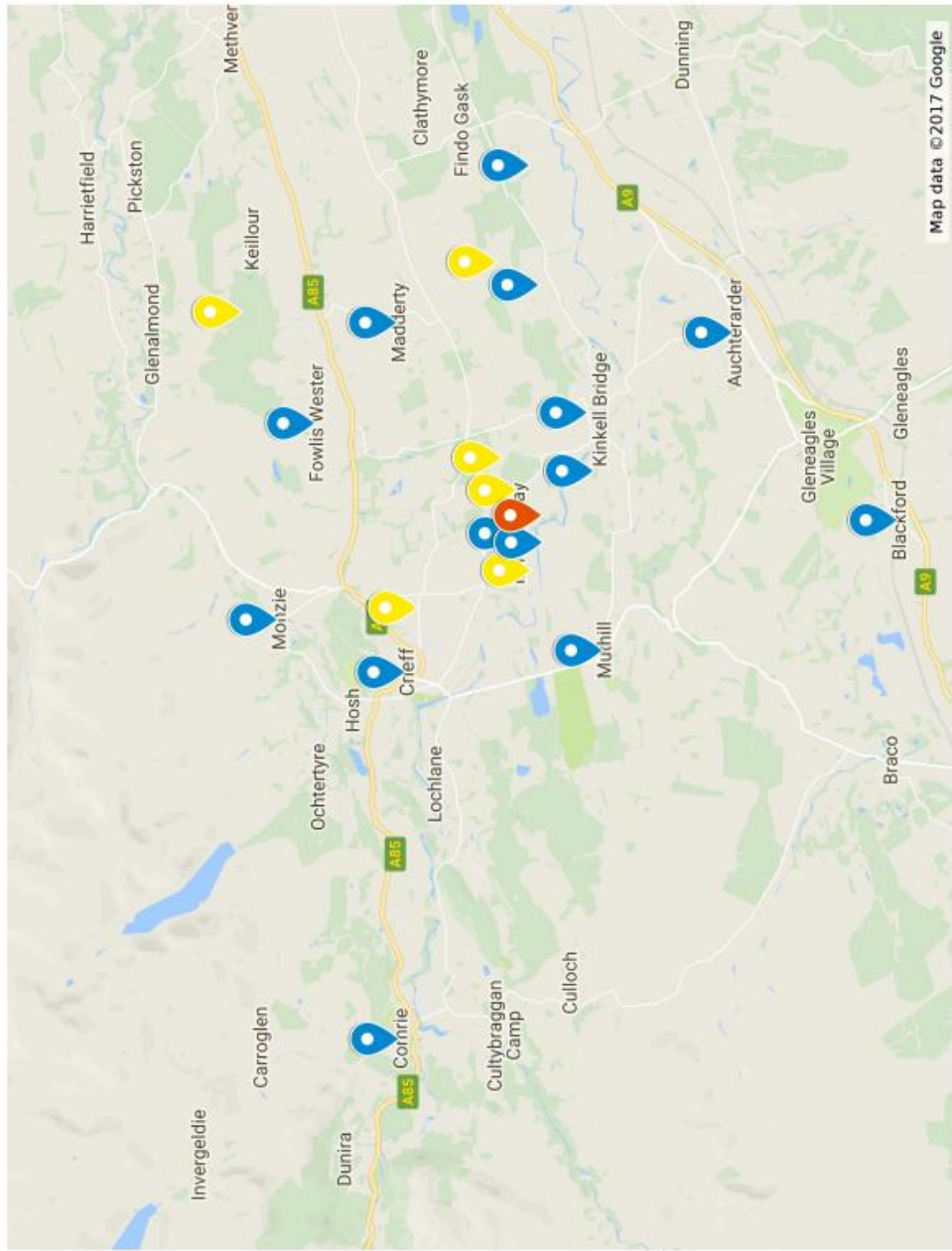


Figure 3.4: Map of Top 20 Addresses

Top Locations	
• Crieff	
• Muthill	
• Innerpefferay	
• Auchterarder	
• Muddery	
• Comrie	
• Monzie	
• Trinity Gask	
• Blackford	
• Gask	
• Millearne	
• Fowlis Wester	
• Strageath	
• Colquhalzie	
High Entries, Few Borrowers	
• Dalpatrick	
• Dollerie	
• Cowgask	
• Gorthy	
• Tomaknock	
• Gellyburn	
Library	
• Innerpefferay Library	

By far, Crieff is the place which most borrowers list as their address, both in terms of the frequency with which it appears in the register and the number of individual borrowers.²⁶¹ This is unsurprising, as by the latter half of the eighteenth century it would have been one of the most populous places in the area.²⁶² In some specific rural areas, prolific repeat borrowers strongly influence the statistics, for example 48 of the 60 borrowings recorded at Tomaknock (a mile east of Crieff) are by Alexander Maxton, and the remaining 12 by one other person, John Burntfield. At Cowgask, however, while one individual makes up 35 of the 60 entries, almost every one of the six individuals listed at that location borrows on more than 10 occasions. These differentiations show how difficult it is to characterise a typical borrower and to approach a data-set on a macro-level.

The outer limits of borrowing are Comrie to the west and Blackford to the south. Many of the Blackford addresses are likely to mean ‘parish of Blackford’ rather than Blackford itself, and many come with more specific parts to the address, which are far closer to Innerpeffray than the main parish settlement e.g. Machany. Those borrowers from Comrie, however, do seem to come specifically from Comrie, where 116 borrowings are recorded from 31 individuals. Comrie is a good exemplar when considering the characteristics of Strathearn. Much more Highland than Lowland in character, at the end of the eighteenth century, Gaelic would have been the most commonly spoken language, though this was taken over by English by the mid-nineteenth century.²⁶³ Again, this shows the difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of location information, since individual settlements may appear comparable from evidence in the record alone, but in a broader context display many differences.

Outliers

There are a handful of users who visited the library from beyond the Strathearn area. In many cases, these can be identified as people who previously had local ties to the area. Peter McCuan

²⁶¹ Based on Macara’s population figures at 1810 (discussed above), Crieff and Muthill each accounted for around 20% of the inhabitants of Strathearn.

²⁶² *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Crieff, Perth, Vol. 9 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793), p. 584 via <<https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk:443/link/osa-vol9-p583-parish-perth-crieff>> [accessed 31 July 2018] has Crieff as the ‘second town’ of Perthshire.

²⁶³ Compare *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Comrie, Perth, Vol. 11 (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1794), p. 186. via <<http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/osa-vol11-p186-parish-perth-comrie>> [accessed 31 July 2018] and *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Comrie, Perth, Vol. 10 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1845), p. 586, via <<http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/nsa-vol10-p586-parish-perth-comrie>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

in Callandar (around 30 miles west of the library) borrowed eight works across three visits 1796–7, and appears to be the same Peter McCuan who borrowed from the library 1794–1796 with the address of Stonefield, Monzie (six miles north of the library). Familial ties are another explanation: James Gilfillan, United Secession minister, travelled from Stirling to use the library, and would likely have been familiar with it through his father Samuel’s borrowings. At James Gilfillan’s own first visit he listed his address as Comrie, like his father, in 30 August 1816, when he was aged 19.²⁶⁴ He continued to use the collection fairly regularly to 1818, then returned in 1844 and in 1850 from Stirling.

Those users who lie outwith the normal distance of borrowers from Innerpeffray are disproportionately likely to be ministers. Some may also have had previous connections to the area, such as Alexander Cumming, who appears on three occasions as ‘Revd’ coming from Dunbarney 1835–6, but who first borrowed whilst residing at Muthill on Christmas Day 1830, then at Crieff in the intervening years. Though his entry in Scott’s *Fasti* does not suggest any particular connection to the Strathearn region, it is possible that he was a student or preacher of the gospel in the area between his licencing at Edinburgh in 1828 and his presentation at Dunbarney in October 1833.²⁶⁵ Others have no discernible link to the region, like Henry Inglis, who visited on two occasions, 17 August 1755 and 8 July 1773, both while minister of Forteviot, 10 miles east of Innerpeffray.²⁶⁶ Time may be one possible reason for this, with book study a suitable use of time as part of that occupation. That most outliers are ministers from within the Church of Scotland also highlights the fact that, in order to access the library, one must first know that it is there. In the case of such ministers, interactions with others in neighbouring presbyteries was unavoidable. Since the right to borrow from the collection seems to have been largely at the Keeper’s discretion, it might also be the case that permission would only be granted to such distant visitors if they were considered trustworthy and traceable, not so easily applicable to those identifying as ‘student’ or ‘preacher’. This need for permission is further evidenced by the

²⁶⁴ Age calculated from Thomas Hamilton, ‘Gilfillan, James (1797–1874), minister of the United Presbyterian church’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10726>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

²⁶⁵ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 205.

²⁶⁶ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 212.

fact that no one in either of these occupations borrowed from further afield, despite that fact that even in 1811, the library was becoming known to those outside the region.²⁶⁷

While it has not been possible to identify links to the local area for every outlier, for one user visiting from Dunblane, motivation does not reflect a change in Innerpeffray policy, but in another library entirely. Surgeon Cornelius Stewart was a subscriber to the Leighton Library in Dunblane between 1801 and 1805, but seems not to have renewed his subscription for that library when the charge was increased.²⁶⁸ Stewart borrowed two works from Innerpeffray on the 19 June 1807, perhaps in an attempt to find a cheaper alternative to the Leighton Library. He borrowed from neither library again until 1846, this time visiting Innerpeffray with his Auchterarder-based son, thus exemplifying the familial links which usually accompany such outliers.

That these outliers are so few, and can so often be explained by ties to the usual borrowing area, shows just how locally borrowing took place, within the confines of the Strathearn region. This may have been due to limits on who was permitted to borrow, a lack of desire to borrow for those travelling further distances, or even simply not knowing about the library.

Occupation

Houston determined that Innerpeffray borrowers were ‘drawn from the middling and upper ranks of society’, an interpretation which continues in Crawford’s summary, ‘mainly ministers, students, schoolmasters and lairds’.²⁶⁹ It is unclear how conclusions were drawn about the presence of ‘lairds’, but was likely inferred from the ‘esq’, which occurs beside the name of three users.²⁷⁰ Three users is, however, a very small proportion, and these names do not represent the biggest landowning families in the area. A deeper analysis of the occupations contained within the register, therefore, is necessary to demonstrate that borrowing at Innerpeffray was a middle-class pursuit.

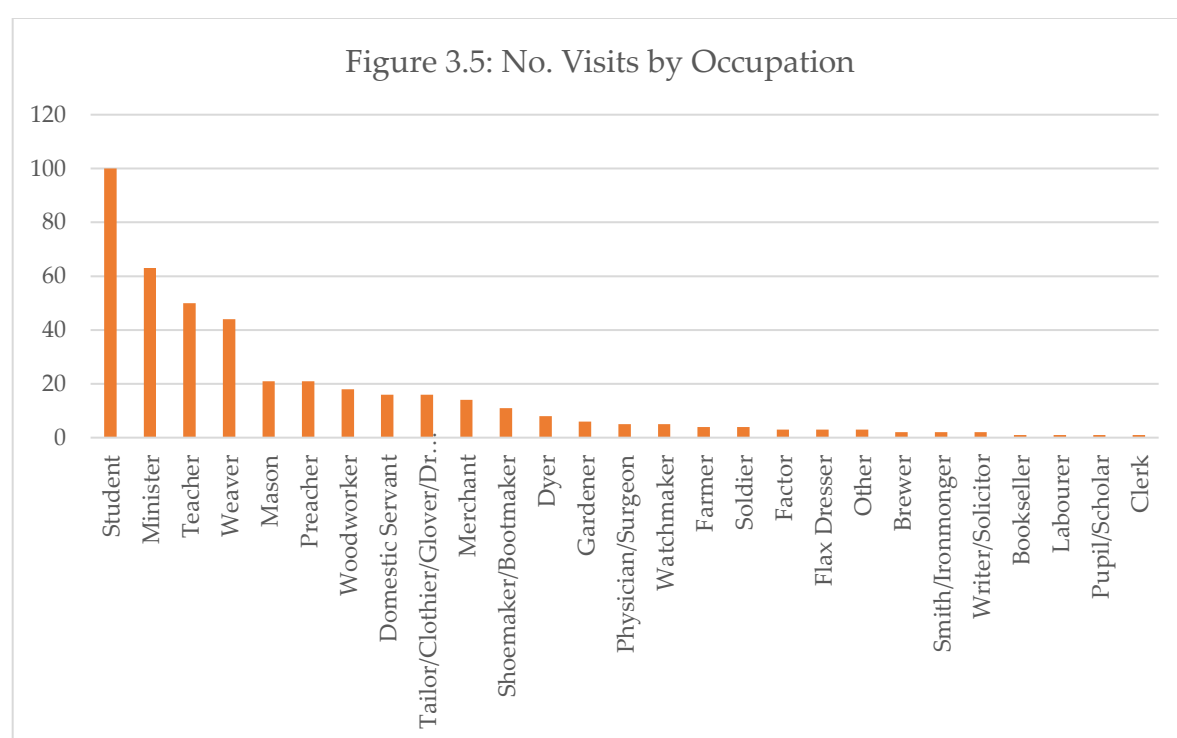
²⁶⁷ As per the letter from the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth (NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Letter from Alexander Murray & John Willison, 16 December 1811) explored above.

²⁶⁸ The Leighton Library is fully explored in chapter six of this thesis, and Cornelius Stewart in particular is the focus of the latter part of chapter seven.

²⁶⁹ Houston, p. 178; John Crawford, ‘Reading and Book Use in 18th-Century Scotland’ *The Bibliotheca*, 19 (1994) 23–43 (p. 28). Crawford tempered it with the suggestion this may have been down to access (administration and opening hours) rather than a lack of interest in library use among the public.

²⁷⁰ Antony Murray when borrowing 1773–4, Thomas Hepburn when borrowing 1772–1798 and Robert Henry in 1788 (at Dollerie, Colquhalzie and Woodend respectively).

Overall, occupation is recorded in 10% of entries. However, these are heavily weighted towards entries from the eighteenth century, with over 60% of entries in the register including occupation information before the break between 1759 and 1763. For the period 1801–1810 occupations were only recorded in fewer than 5% of borrowings and the last occupation recorded before 1855 was in January 1818.²⁷¹ This means that any picture from the data available represents the eighteenth century and is not a full picture to 1855. Nevertheless, it still provides an insight into the type of people who borrowed books from Innerpeffray, though it cannot be securely traced over time.



The graph above shows not only the breadth of occupations recorded, just also just how dominant ministers are within the record. The top occupations of borrowers are, predictably, ministers, preachers, students and teachers, but they are joined by weavers, clothiers (mostly tailors,

²⁷¹ James Thomson, a teacher at Kinkell. The decrease in how frequently occupation data was recorded can largely be attributed to a move to a tabular from a narrative structure in the register, where there simply was not often room to include occupation information. Such a column was not reinstated until after 1855. The data set does include some occupations after 1836 in the case of ministers, because that information has been extrapolated from the title 'rev' or variant. For the purposes of this analysis, such extrapolations have been excluded, since it would lead to the implication that 'minister' was the only recorded occupation borrowing from Innerpeffray at that time.

but also glovers and capers), masons, merchants, ‘wrights’ (woodworkers) and servants.²⁷² Those trades recorded in the register largely reflect the major industry in the region. Students, ministers, teachers and weavers will be singled out here for further analysis as the most frequent occupations recorded within the register.

Ministers

44 individual ministers identified themselves in the Innerpeffer registers to 1855. Of these, 30 are recorded in Scott’s *Fasti*, which means that they can confidently be identified as ministering within the Church of Scotland. One further individual appears in Bertie’s *Scottish Episcopal Clergy*, while the remaining 13 are of unidentified denomination.²⁷³ Given the prevalence of Anglican texts within the library as shown above, it is strange that so few Episcopal ministers made use of its contents. However, here the local context is key. Until 1842, the only Episcopal minister in the region would have been in Muthill, serving populations across Strathearn and including Auchterarder.²⁷⁴ William Erskine, one Episcopal minister who did use the library, was indeed from that Parish. Therefore, while there were multiple churches in the local area which had ministers, only one Episcopal post was in existence locally. Further, the turnover of ministers within the parish of Muthill was relatively low. Bertie records just four ministers between 1747 and 1855, Erskine by far the longest-serving (1732–1783).²⁷⁵ It is therefore unsurprising that they are not a strong presence in the record.

Church of Scotland ministers, representing over 80% of recorded ministers, came from across the region: four from Muthill and Monzievaird, three from Madderty and Gask, with two each from Auchterarder, Crieff, Fowls Wester and Monzie, as well as individuals from elsewhere, both within the usual range of borrowers (Comrie, Dunning and Trinity Gask) and further afield (Dumbarney, Glendevon and Forteviot). As examined above, ministers were more likely to travel further to use the library. Almost all these users were, however, in the Presbytery of Auchterarder, many in churches for which the Earl of Kinnoull was heritor, though it is difficult to

²⁷² The terminology of borrower occupation types was understood using ‘Glossary’, *ScotlandsPeople* <<https://www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk/glossary/>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

²⁷³ David Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689–2000* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000), passim.

²⁷⁴ J. H. Shepherd, *Episcopacy in Strathearn: A History of the Church at Muthill from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Dumfries: R. G. Mann, 1907), p. 49.

²⁷⁵ Erskine’s successor, Alexander Cruickshank, also borrowed from the library but did not list his occupation. After 1834, the two further Episcopal ministers (for the period to 1855) did not borrow.

ascertain whether this is because of a specific link as to who was permitted to use the library, or because of the vast amounts of land under the Earl's ownership at the time.²⁷⁶

Though preachers do not appear as often as other occupations explored in this chapter, they are due brief attention here for their relationship to the ministers under examination, thirteen of whom were not identifiable as operating within the Church of Scotland. Though preacher of the gospel is an interim stage in the progression of a minister in the Church of Scotland, not one of the preachers in the Innerpeffray register is identifiable in *Fasti*, meaning that they may have been attached to a dissenting church.²⁷⁷ Samuel Gilfillan is one such preacher, listing himself as preacher of the gospel for the Associate Congregation at Comrie.²⁷⁸ What is clear from this analysis is that, although the works contained within the Library of Innerpeffray were from a largely Anglican tradition, they were of interest, and perhaps use, to a wider range of Protestant denominations in the Strathearn area.

It is unsurprising that ministers make up such a large section of library users since there was at least one in every parish (thus fairly numerous), and that minister would likely have been expected to achieve and maintain a certain level of education. While the library collection may not have consisted of scholarly theological texts or sermons from within the relevant denomination, it was rich in works on divinity and ministers were likely to have had the education, time and inclination to make broad use of the collection. Kirkwood's 1699 petition to the government of Scotland set out his vision for a library in every parish, and though Innerpeffray's foundation pre-dates it, his vision for why ministers and students would need access to a library is well exemplified by Innerpeffray, namely that they could continue their education by having access to books in the manner they would have done during their original course of study.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Thomas Rankine, who used the library but ministered in the presbytery of Perth, was not presented to the congregation at Aberdalgie by the Earl of Kinnoull, but was formerly his factor. Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 194.

²⁷⁷ While it is difficult to build up a pattern of dissenting churches in the period, some entries in the *Old Statistical Account* indicate there was at least a notable number of Antiburgher Seceders. In Monzie at 1795 (Vol. 15, p. 249–50) it is noted that all are of the established church except 1 Berean, 5 Episcopalians and 30 Antiburgher Seceders (all but the Antiburghers attended the church at Monzie). The description of Crieff (Vol. 19, 1793, p. 599) suggests there may be similar distribution in other parishes – largely established church, with few Bereans, a notable number of Antiburgher Seceders and little else.

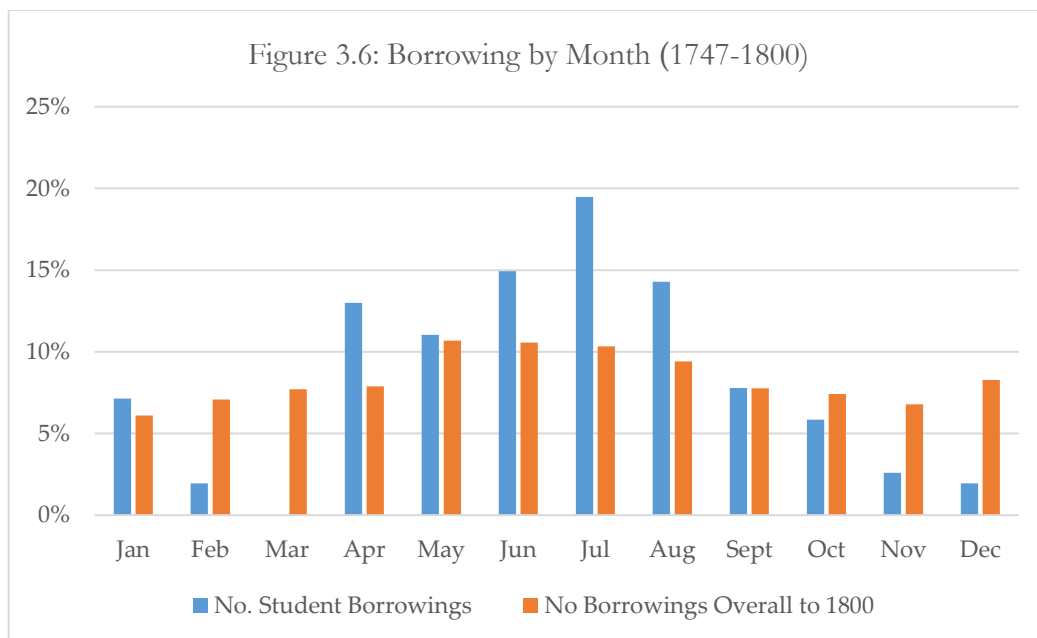
²⁷⁸ For more on Samuel Gilfillan see Jill Dye, 'Meet the Borrower: Samuel Gilfillan' *Footnotes from Innerpeffray* <<http://footnotesfrominnerpeffray.blogspot.co.uk/2017/09/meet-borrower-samuel-gilfillan.html>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

²⁷⁹ For more on James Kirkwood's *An Overture for Founding & Maintaining of Bibliotheks in Every Paroch Throughout this Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1699) and libraries founded under its auspices see chapter seven.

Students

46 individual students are identifiable in the borrowers' register to 1855. Of these, only seven returned to the library in another occupation: three as preachers of the gospel (Robert Malcolm, William Sinclair, John Whytock) and four as ministers (James Ramsay, Alexander Maxton, Charles Stewart, Colin Baxter), largely within the Church of Scotland. As may be evident from the occupations of those who returned to the library, the predominant subject of study when recorded by student borrowers is divinity (19 individuals). Eleven were 'students of philosophy', with four 'students of humanity'. That divinity students made up such a high proportion is no surprise, since not only were the books held by the library most useful to that discipline, they reflect the predominant occupation of others using the library.

Seventeen students noted in the register were registered at the University of St Andrews, but there is no discernible centre from which the remainder of these students were emanating. Their addresses are Muthill, Crieff, Gleneagles and Dalginross (near Comrie), yet, as with the St Andrews students, this might imply simply their non-term-time address.²⁸⁰ This supposition is strengthened when the amount of borrowing done by students is plotted against month to month patterns of borrowers overall, as shown in the graph below.



²⁸⁰ For a full exploration of the St Andrews students borrowing at Innerpeffray see chapter seven.

The four ‘students of Humanity’ all appear in the first decade of the register, from Duncan McEwan in Crieff in 1753 to Thomas Thomson also in Crieff in 1757. In this period, ‘Humanity’ is usually the course of study a student undertakes if they are not yet prepared for the first year of the Arts classes, and includes a grounding in Classics (Latin and Greek), which were largely unrepresented in the library’s earliest collections as identified in chapter two.²⁸¹ John Ewan at the Mains of Abercairny borrowed twice in 1753, with William Dow at Inchaffray Abbey borrowing once in 1754. William Dow, who went on to become Keeper at Innerpeffray, also seems to have borrowed during periods away from University (13 April). Though he only ever appears in the Innerpeffray register as a student of humanity, he was recorded as a student of Divinity at the University of Glasgow by the governors when he was appointed, suggesting that his education continued.²⁸² However, he does not appear in the list of matriculated nor graduated students at the University of Glasgow, leading to questions of the legitimacy of his studentship enrolled in a specific programme.²⁸³ The one book he did borrow, Edward Topsell’s *History of Four-Footed Beasts* (London, 1607), is unlikely to be a title associated with either course of study. It is therefore possible that these ‘students’ were not necessarily formally enrolled in a university programme, but undergoing some looser form of education, and that the books they borrowed need not have been reflective of any curriculum.

For the four students who went on to become ministers, again there is more information on their status in *Fasti*. James Ramsay became minister of Madderty in 1784 upon the death of his father.²⁸⁴ He was licensed in 1782 at the age of 35, being presented as assistant and successor in 1783. He is likely to be the James Ramsay whom Smart lists as a student at St Andrews from 1769 to 1772 and at Marischal College in 1768 at which point he would have been aged 21.²⁸⁵ Charles Stewart first borrowed in 1791, aged 18.²⁸⁶ He still recorded himself as a student in 1795. *Fasti* gives no educational history, but records him receiving his licence in August 1798 before

²⁸¹ Smart, ‘Curriculum’ <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/the-university-curriculum/>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

²⁸² NRA S1489 Bundle 340 [unnumbered] Commission Signed by Robert Hay Drummond (R Ebor) 1762.

²⁸³ He is not listed in W. Innes-Addison, *A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow from 31st December 1727 to 31st December 1897* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1898) nor W. Innes-Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728-1858* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1913).

²⁸⁴ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 278. This explains why Madderty Manse was given as his address when he was both a student and a minister.

²⁸⁵ Smart, ‘James Ramsay’ <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1405448716>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

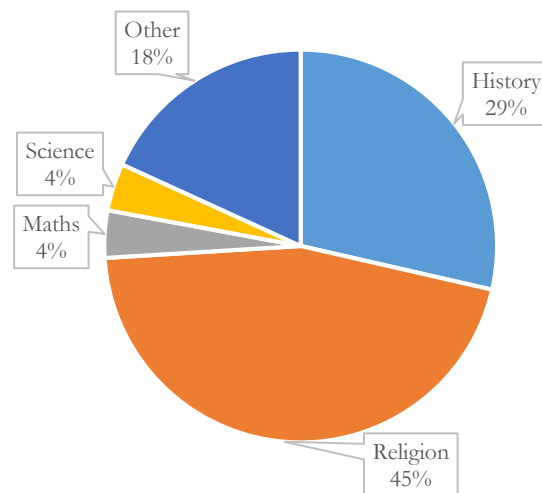
²⁸⁶ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 259–60.

eventually becoming minister in 1803, in Auchterarder throughout.²⁸⁷ Colin Baxter visited only once, in 1779, as a student at Ochtertyre at the age of 23, before returning as Minister of Monzievaird in 1785. He received his licence in 1781.²⁸⁸ Alexander Maxton only recorded himself as a student once, in 1803, eight months before he was granted licence by the Presbytery of Auchterarder.²⁸⁹ Thus the term ‘student’ might also have been used to signify this interim stage, as well as the formal and informal educational situations outlined above.

Schoolmasters

It comes as no surprise that schoolmasters frequented the library from across the region, for reasons not dissimilar to ministers. Three are listed as from Monzie, two at Crieff, Fowls, Glendevon and Kinkell, with others from Blackford, Dunning, Madderty, Trinity Gask, Kinachraggan (unidentified location), Lochearn, Muthill, Tullibardine and Innerpefferay itself. While there are no books of direct curricular use to teachers, as explored in chapter two, again it is a profession in which book learning is likely to have been valued, and for which using the library would have been a valid use of time, as it was for clergymen. There are very few repeated titles within the borrowings of schoolmasters.²⁹⁰ When analysis is broadened to genre, however, there is a strong preference for Religion, followed by History.

Figure 3.7: Genres Borrowed by Schoolmasters



²⁸⁷ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 259–60.

²⁸⁸ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 282.

²⁸⁹ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

²⁹⁰ George Buffon, *Natural History* (Edinburgh, 1780) and Thomas Pennant, *Tour in Scotland* (London, 1776) are the most borrowed titles by those listing their occupation as schoolmaster, but only appear on three occasions each.

Within Religion, 17 works are Sermons, 14 general works of Religious History, and only four Commentaries. Classics is barely represented, with Basil Kennett's *Roman Antiquities* (London, 1763), John Potter's *Greek Antiquities* (London, 1764) and Edward Gibbons' *Roman History* (Dublin, 1777). Broad historical works were favoured (Johann Lorenz Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1765), *Universal History* (London, 1740), William Howell's *History of the World* (London, 1685)). Of those works borrowed within the 'other' section, only James Ferguson's *Select Mechanical exercises* (London, 1773) Buffon's *Natural History* (Edinburgh, 1780) and Thomas Pennant's *Tour of Scotland* (London, 1776) were borrowed more than once.²⁹¹ Book borrowing did not support their working lives directly, then, but enhanced their own knowledge more generally. Again, in this way their borrowing is very similar to ministers discussed above.

Weavers

That weavers are the one occupation beyond student/teacher/minister who are strongly represented in the register is unsurprising considering the area's dominant industry. While they do not display distinctive borrowing choices (selecting genres and specific works popular to users overall) they are distinctive in frequency of visits and in distance travelled. The 44 visits to the library recorded by people giving their occupation as weaver constitute just 18 individuals. Further, these individuals were predominantly local to two areas: Innerpeffray (7) and Crieff (7).²⁹² As the exploration of the addresses of ministers and schoolmasters have shown, those groups were likely to come from further afield. Individual weavers, like other artisanal professions in the register, did not travel far to use the library and did not use it with any frequency, perhaps because there was no motivation, nor time available for them to do so.

Gender

For any subdivision of any period between 1747 and 1855, Innerpeffray borrowers are overwhelmingly male, which means that discussion about the borrowers in general inherently means male borrowers. It is fitting here, therefore to consider the few women who are recorded as borrowing, after first offering some suggestions as to why borrowing might have been so male-

²⁹¹ Ferguson twice, Buffon and Pennant on three occasions.

²⁹² Others: one Strageath, one Gellyburn, one Auchterarder and one from Hillmore (unidentified location).

dominated. Here, literacy rates cannot be solely blamed, since by 1747 the female rural population would have had access to some basic education, even if it was not available to them to the same level as it was to men.²⁹³ Instead, it may be that men were more likely to be travelling to one place or another, thus be the person *en route* to, or going via the library. This can be tested through a closer look at precisely who the female borrowers were and where they were located.

53 women borrowed from Innerpeffray 154 times in the period concerned, which makes a total of 5% of users and just over 2% of borrowing.²⁹⁴ 34 of those 53 individual borrowers also recorded their address. Of these, almost one third (eleven) came from Innerpeffray itself, which follows the supposition that women were less likely to travel. This is also reflected in the two borrowers who came from just across the river in Strageath, and six from Crieff. However, all other addresses cover just as broad a region as the majority of male borrowers, including Braco, Aberuthven and Blackford. There is little evidence that the families of these women also borrowed, save the two instances where Mrs Lawson's husband wrote that he was borrowing on her behalf.²⁹⁵ There is no discernible quantitative difference between married/unmarried users of the library, but this would only be observable when 'Miss' or 'Mrs' was recorded. Female borrowers, therefore, though relatively few, made an active decision to borrow of their own volition, and came from all over the local area. How they used the library, therefore, broadly reflects how the male borrowers used it.

The borrowers' register for this period does not contain any instances of a female name with an associated occupation. Their addresses are therefore the only surviving evidence with which to hypothesise about what kind of women they were. Only one entry bucks this trend: Janet Stalker, listed her husband as Alexander Roben, Shoemaker in Knolhear (unidentified location). He was not a borrower himself. Among the female borrowers, however, is where the upper-class borrowers are to be found. Louisa Drummond at Drummond Castle borrowed in May 1771 and August 1773, and a Miss Drummond borrowed at 'Machnie' in May 1776. These could feasibly be the same person since Machany was also a local castle owned by the same family.²⁹⁶ The four

²⁹³ Houston, pp. 57–70.

²⁹⁴ There are two instances where individual person IDs have been given to what may be the same person: Miss Drummond at Machnie and Louisa Drummond at Drummond Castle may be one and the same, and 'Mrs Stirling' could be Jenet, Ann, Elisabeth or another person entirely.

²⁹⁵ Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, Vol. 1, ff. 127v, 128r.

²⁹⁶ *Scots Peerage*, Vol. VIII, pp. 223–233.

items borrowed across these three occasions are all in French, which again might point towards the class of the person reading them. No equivalent language preference is seen among individual male borrowers, among whom the upper classes are poorly represented.²⁹⁷

Since gender is the only stable attribute of borrowers in the register, it is possible to track its changes over time. Eight women used the library to 1760, in its chapel phase, and 44 in the period in its new building to 1820, broadly reflecting a stable proportion of users in those periods. However, between 1820 and 1855 only two women used the library: Mrs Lawson (1811–1845, 38 times) and Miss Graeme/Gream (1830–1834, eight times). This deterioration is significant since the decline is not reflected in male users of the library until a later date. This dip corresponds almost exactly with the end of James Fulton’s tenure as Keeper and the appointment of Ebenezer Reid. As observed earlier in this chapter, Fulton was the only Keeper known to have been married while in post, and his tenure coincides with the period in which the library was most popular with female users. The inverse is true of Ebenezer Reid, under whom only one woman began to borrow.²⁹⁸ This again demonstrates the importance of institutional context in tracing borrower trends, with individual personalities having strong bearing on whether women in particular borrowed or did not borrow.

Gender can be successfully inferred from forenames and terms of address, and remains true over the course of a lifetime, which means that changes within the borrowing record can be traced over time. The lack of consistently recorded data on occupation and address, and the fact that such things would change over the course of a life, means that such attributes cannot be traced in the borrowers’ record over time in the same way. Instead, they can best be explored through individual exemplars, which make up chapter five of this thesis. What has become clear in this chapter, however, is that users of the library of Innerpeffray were largely of the ‘middling sort’, predominantly male and local, though ministers in particular were willing to travel a fair distance to use its collection. Most frequently borrowers were of an occupation for which the library’s collection might have proved broadly relevant (ministers, schoolmasters, students) even though its collections, as explored in chapter two, might not have been directly applicable. Though difficult to measure precisely, it seems that a fair proportion of ministers, schoolmasters

²⁹⁷ For which see chapter four of this thesis.

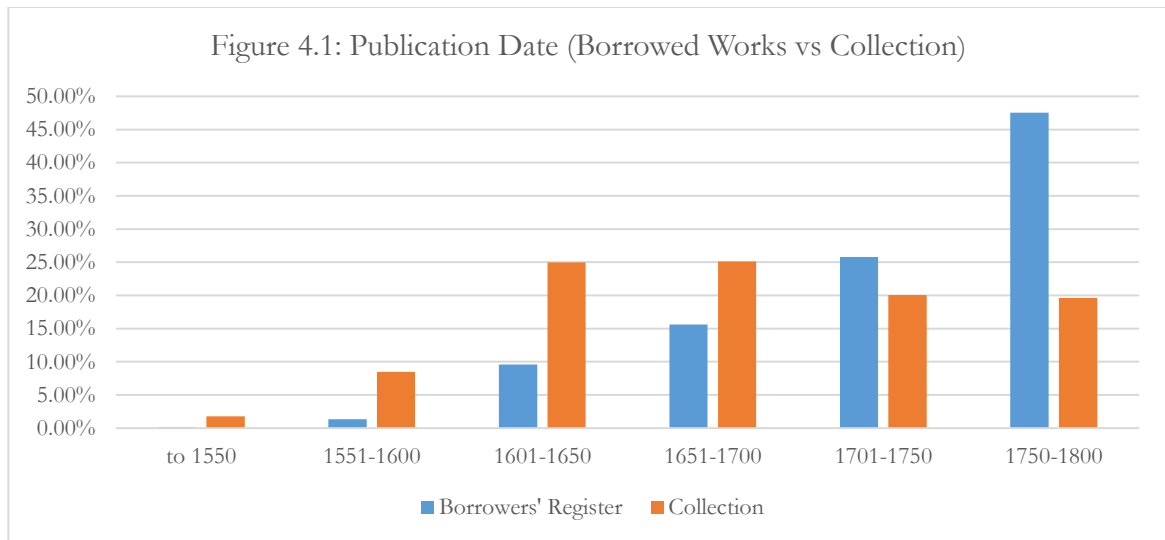
²⁹⁸ Miss Graeme, 5 June 1830. Innerpeffray Borrowers Register Vol. 1 f. 149r.

and students did make the choice to use the library. The chapter which follows, therefore, will assess through their book selections precisely what borrowers might have been using the library for, in the context of the insights gained into what type of people they were and from whence they came.

CHAPTER FOUR: BOOKS

Whilst an analysis of the people who used the library demonstrates in part *how* the library was used, it can only begin to answer the question of what the library was used *for*. Chapter two demonstrated the potential use of the library by exploring the type of books that were on the library shelves to 1855. It is now possible, therefore, to make a comparison between what was available and what users selected for borrowing. Further, assigning Book ID numbers to the borrowing data based upon titles as recorded in the 1813 catalogue, as outlined in chapter two, not only achieves a greater accuracy for matching borrower records to known works, but allows analysis of wider attributes of the book beyond title and author. These attributes can be universal (place of publication, format and language) or institutional (shelf location, provenance). This chapter explores such attributes for the first time, before giving an account of the most popular authors and titles at Innerpeffray in light of these new findings.

The single most significant driver behind borrower preference emerging from this analysis is novelty, i.e. how new an item is. Figure 4.1 charts the age of editions borrowed against the age of editions in the collection. The orange columns show the age of works present in the collection, reflecting the fact that acquisitions for the library during its rejuvenation did not reflect the pursuit of recent texts, but a rounding-out of the collection, as explored in chapter two. The blue columns denote the age of texts borrowed from the library 1747–1855 and show a remarkably strong preference for newer works among borrowers.



The age of a work concerns not only the book as a carrier of content but also as an object.²⁹⁹ While Innerpeffray does not hold many of the genres that began to emerge in the eighteenth century (most notably novels, but also a wider range of poetry and much of the periodical press), its collection does contain a few examples of historical and philosophical works that were popular with borrowers, as exemplified by the places occupied by Robertson, Buffon and Hume in works most popularly borrowed from the library. This is not to say, however, that any new work is considered worthy of borrowing; note that the only item that enters the collection during the library's lengthy acquisition hiatus (c. 1790–1855), William Nicolson's *The Christian's Refuge under the Shadow of Christ* (Edinburgh, 1827) is never borrowed.³⁰⁰ An old-fashioned work in its style and content, it exemplifies that novelty, while a key factor, is always considered in conjunction with other attributes.

It is important to note, however, that the date of an edition, as shown in the graph, does not always reflect the age of the content. For example, the work of Robert South, one of the most popular authors at Innerpeffray, is a product largely of the late seventeenth century (South died in 1716). The edition at Innerpeffray was edited and published from manuscripts after his death, and is not considered particularly seminal.³⁰¹ It is the novelty of the book as an object, therefore, which seems to be part of the attraction. With this in mind, notes in the borrowers' register commenting on the condition of the work develop more meaning. 'In bad case' and 'in good case', while infrequent interpolations in the record, do show a concern for the condition of the work at the point of borrowing. This is likely due to the borrower (or the Keeper on their behalf) not wishing to be held responsible for any damage or deterioration over the course of their borrowing, a situation which, according to the rules, may have resulted in financial penalty or the removal of borrowing rights. Borrowers, therefore, may have been more inclined to borrow a work that was in reasonable condition to avoid any such issues. Further, given that the pursuit of specific texts by users at Innerpeffray is not always evident, and that browsing is the most likely way by which users selected what they wished to borrow, one might consider whether the visual impact of the text on the shelf might have had an impression on the borrower i.e. if you

²⁹⁹ This distinction follows a trend in Book History for the study of books as material objects rather than as texts, which was traditionally the approach of Historical Bibliographers. For example, see David Pearson, *Books as History: the Importance of Books Beyond their Texts* (London: British Library, 2008), passim.

³⁰⁰ For which see chapter two of this thesis.

³⁰¹ Gerard Reedy, *Robert South (1634-1716) An Introduction to his Life and Sermons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 5.

are not in pursuit of specific content, why borrow a dilapidated old book when you could access a more robust volume? Once again, this justifies the focus on the book as a whole, rather than privileging a book's content.

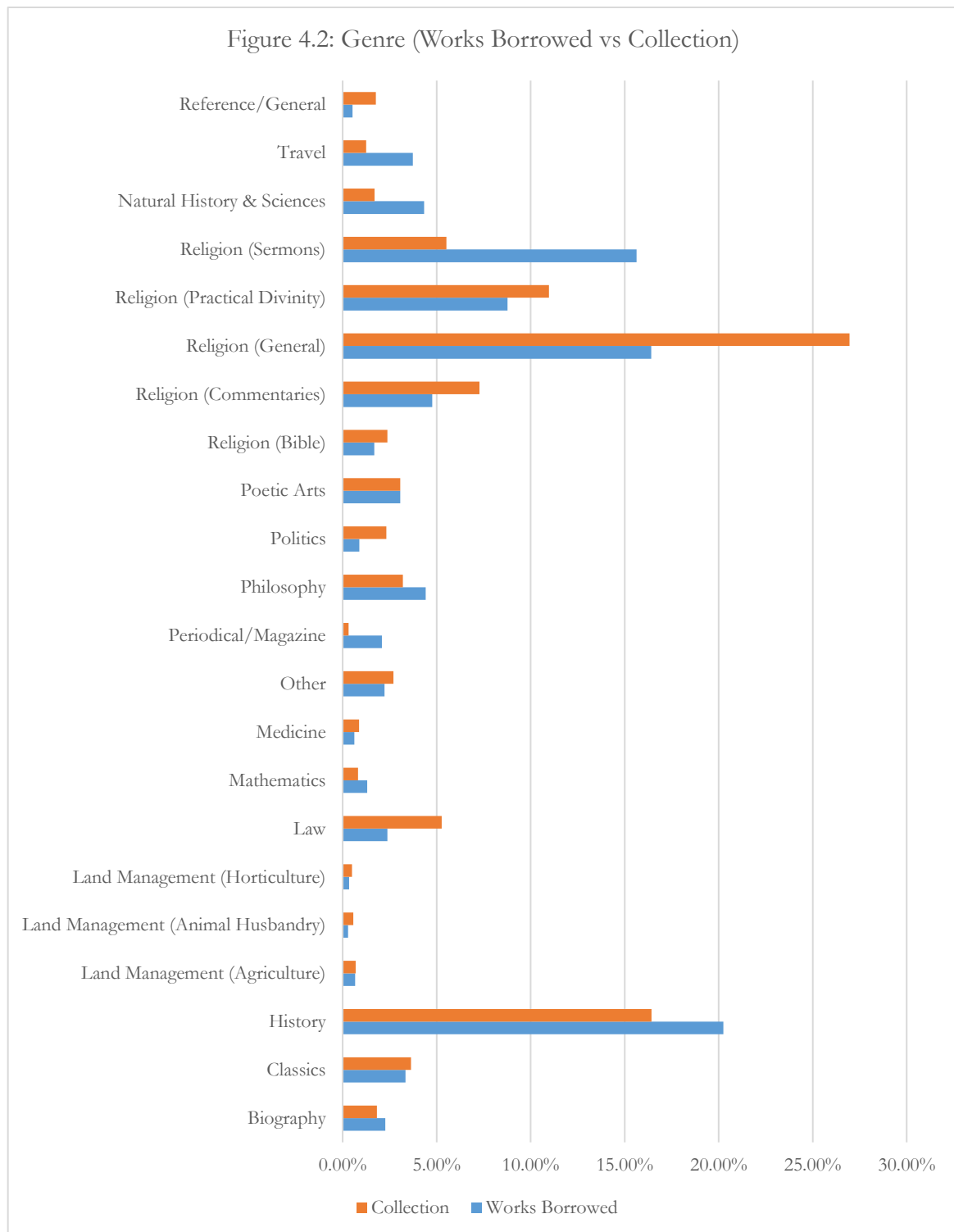


Figure 4.2 shows the percentages of each genre borrowed from the library's collection alongside the percentage of items in each genre present in the whole collection, as ascertained in chapter two. While it is important to note that the correlation between genres available and what users select for borrowing is not straightforward, there are a few stark differences which shed some light on the central theme of this chapter – what users were using the library for, and how it compares to its varied intended uses as explored in earlier chapters. The places where borrowing does not reflect the strengths and weaknesses in the collection are in almost all religious borrowing, law, history, science, travel and periodicals. Of these categories, Law and religious works (excepting sermons) are the subjects which, though relatively strong in the collection, are not popular with borrowers. In some cases the reason for this is very evident – for example, long runs of heavy statute books are designed for consultation, not for carrying home. A similar argument could be made for commentaries. Disinterest, however, also seems to have been a factor in the disinclination to borrow law books, with lighter works such as Thomas Craig's *Ius Feudale* (Edinburgh, 1732) also never borrowed.³⁰² While the few law students in the area may have been one audience for the collection, as exemplified by William Young fighting to gain access as explored in chapter three, it is also possible that these works were intended to support landowners and those making Kirk Session judgements, for whom access to such works would have been useful. As chapter three noted, however, there is little evidence for the upper classes making much use of the library, which highlights a key difference between the library's intended and actual use.³⁰³

Figure 4.2 also appears to show disinterest extending beyond law books and commentaries to both general religious works and works of practical divinity. It is precisely because the collections are so rich in these latter genres that this anomaly arises; these classes of material remained popular with borrowers in its chapel phase and in the new building. Since there is a strong interest in other genres less well-represented by the library, including sermons, the richest parts of it are likely to appear less popular, though overall they are borrowed more.

³⁰² Unusually for Innerpeffray, this copy has a note definitively stating where and when it was purchased for the library ('Edinburgh. For the Library of Innerpeffray 30 July 1743') yet the work remains pristine, and there are no records of it ever having been used.

³⁰³ See chapter three for discussion of the class of Innerpeffray Library borrowers.

The genres most disproportionately popular with borrowers when compared to how richly they were represented in the collection are Sermons, History, Science, Travel and Periodicals. History is a surprising inclusion, since it is one of the genres in which the collection at Innerpefferay is also relatively rich. However, the types of historical texts popular with borrowers share one characteristic with popular works across these other genres: relative novelty. Periodicals are an unsurprising find here too, since they are few in title but numerous in terms of volumes available.³⁰⁴ However, through their later volumes, they also make up a large part of more recent works entering the collection. So too for Science and Travel titles: Science titles in the catalogue average an age of 1710, though this is lowered significantly by Pierre Belon's *La Nature et diversité des poisons* (Paris, 1555) which is borrowed only once. The top titles borrowed are all from the latter half of the eighteenth century. Travel titles average a publication date of 1728, though again this is lowered by the presence of two sixteenth-century titles, *Les Voyages du Seigneur de Villamont* (London, 1596) and Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (London, 1598). Novelty, therefore, once more emerges as the key factors in influencing what is popular with borrowers, and impacts on the popularity of each genre.

³⁰⁴ Three runs in the catalogue: *Scots Magazine*, *Monthly Review*, *Annual Register*, one title present in the library today and in the borrowers' register but omitted from the catalogue: *Critical Review*. The *London Mercury* is also listed in the 1813 catalogue but the library held (and holds) one volume only, for 1780, which was borrowed twice.

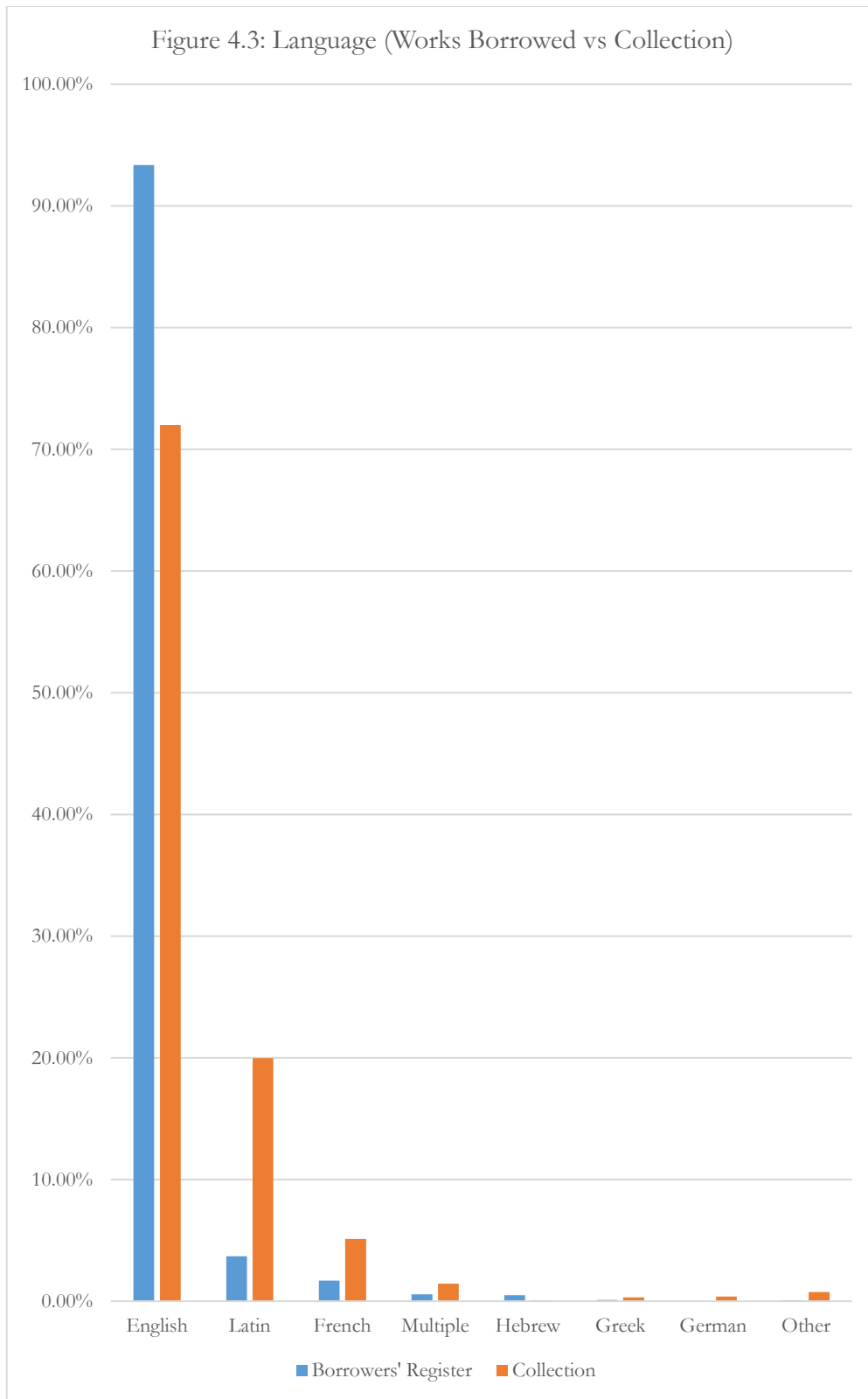


Figure 4.3 shows how borrowers display a strong preference for English-language works, even stronger than the proportion of such works in the collection. Almost all other language items are less popularly borrowed, save for Hebrew, which is represented by a single item, *Biblia Hebraica* (Amsterdam, 1705), borrowed 38 times by 16 people between 1801 and 1841.³⁰⁵ Though published relatively early in the eighteenth century, this work is bound firmly and beautifully in green leather, making it stand out from the largely brown volumes surrounding it. Further, it is the only available version of the Bible in an ancient language beyond Latin and Greek at the library. Though no occupation was recorded when the item was borrowed, it is possible to identify some borrowers as students of divinity from other sources (Alexander Maxton,³⁰⁶ Peter Nelson,³⁰⁷ William Fiskien.³⁰⁸) but this does not appear to account for all borrowers. Novelty in its more traditional meaning, then, or rarity might come into play.

Language is the only attribute of the books borrowed which remains largely identical in the library's earliest and later incarnations, as shown in figure 4.4. English is the most popular language of works borrowed, representing 92% of borrowing. Latin, while next popular, represents less than 4% of works borrowed. No other language has a significant number of borrowings from the collection and, excepting French and items in multiple languages, consist of one or two borrowed titles. This shows that borrowing from the collection is largely unaffected by the range of languages from which users were now able to borrow, showing that the type of borrowing from the library's chapel phase did not change in the new building with respect to language.

Figure 4.4: Language of Works Borrowed (Chapel vs New Building)		
	to 1759	from 1762
English	92.43%	92.45%
Latin	3.95%	3.65%
French	1.97%	1.65%
Multiple	0.00%	0.59%
Hebrew	0.00%	0.51%
Other	1.64%	1.14%

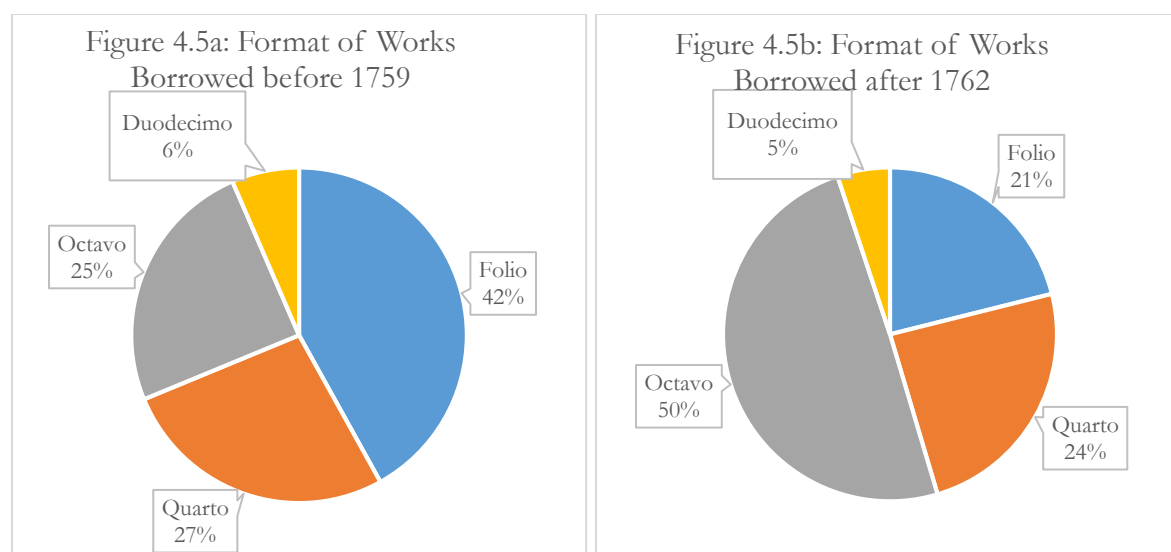
³⁰⁵ These statistics make this item the 47th most popularly borrowed book, and one of only two items in the top 50 not in the English language (the other Poole's *Synopsis*, (London, 1676))

³⁰⁶ Examined as an individual borrower in chapter five.

³⁰⁷ Smart, 'Peter Nelson' <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1401716404>> [accessed 18 July 2018].

³⁰⁸ Smart, 'William Fiskien' <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1380027980>> [accessed 18 July 2018].

As might be expected of registers of borrowed books, and in accordance with the nature of the collections available at Innerpeffray, the majority of books borrowed from the library are octavo in format (48%), with a lessening preference for quarto (24%) and folio (22%) formats respectively. This roughly reflects what was available in the collection as shown in chapter two, though with a stronger preference for octavos (41% in the collection), and slightly less interest in folios (27% in the collection). There is therefore a preference for smaller works in the way the collection is constructed, which is even stronger among the borrowers, excepting duodecimo formats, the lack of which can be attributed to their relative age (an average publication date of 1654 for duodecimo and smaller formats). However, this is markedly different when the records are considered before and after the new library building:



As shown above, in the library's earliest incarnation, folios were the preferred format with quartos next preferred, followed by octavos. The trend observed in the library overall to 1855 is therefore turned upside down. The impact is even more obvious when compared to borrowing specifically from the later period. It is difficult to pin down a precise reason for this. As will be shown by the borrowings of John Bayne in chapter five, for some users in the library's chapel phase it seemed important to borrow larger books, in his case because he only visited every six months. The graph below, however, might suggest that patterns in the format of books borrowed might be incidental to the overwhelming preference for newer editions.

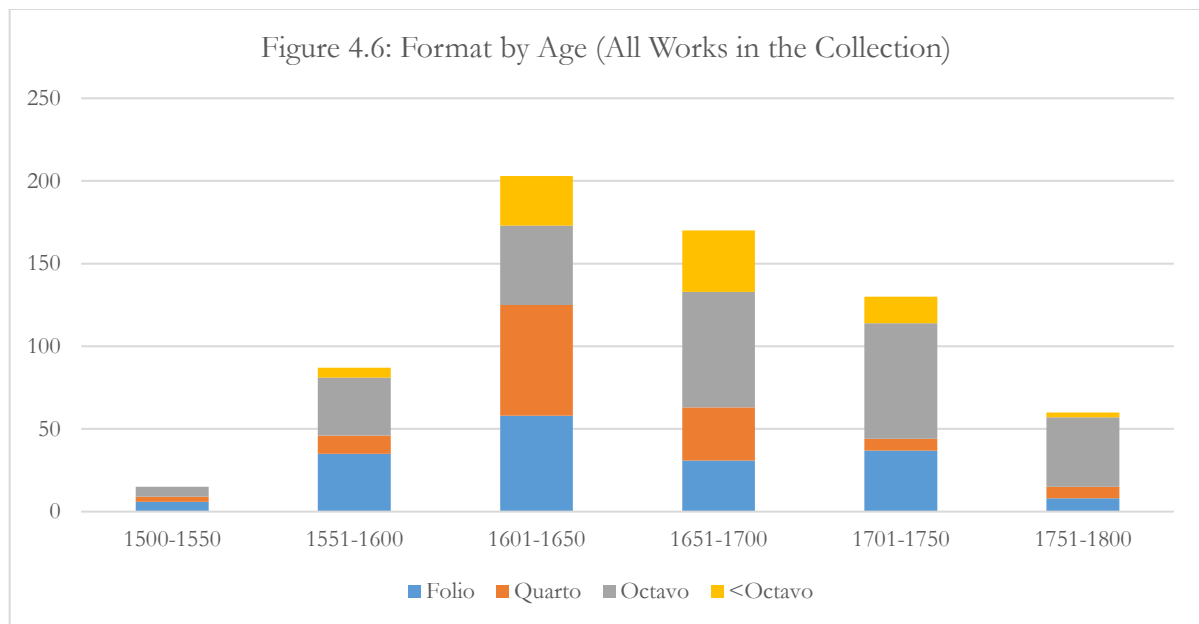


Figure 4.6 shows the age of works available to borrowers from Innerpeffray in the 1813 catalogue, broken down by format. The proportion of larger format works to smaller ones decreases over time. For items published after 1700, far fewer texts in anything beyond octavo were available to borrowers. While folio items still made up a fair proportion of works in the library published between 1701 and 1750, this is where the law and statute books so unpopular with borrowers are to be found. Borrower preference for the octavo format, there, is incidental to the pursuit of novelty.

Books in the library at its foundation were reflective of the type of library Madertie envisioned for others, as well as for himself.³⁰⁹ While this analysis has been integral to the analysis of the *types* of books borrowed from Innerpeffray, it is also now possible to identify how popular the *actual* books belonging to Madertie were with the borrowers. The most borrowed book that originated in the foundation collection is William Perkins' *Works* (London, 1631). It clearly demonstrates that borrowers are not interested in where the book came from, since Perkins' other works were also relatively popular with borrowers, whether from Madertie's collection or not.³¹⁰ Calderwood's *The True History of the Church of Scotland* ([n.p.], 1678), also from the foundation collection, was borrowed 21 times and, although there are no other Calderwood works at

³⁰⁹ For which see chapter one of this thesis.

³¹⁰ *The Works of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Vniversitie of Cambridge, M. VVilliam Perkins* (London, 1631) borrowed 25 times; *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* (London, 1608) borrowed five times. *A Discourse of the Damned art of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1638) also five times; *A Commentarie, or, Exposition upon the Five First*

Innerpeffray to compare it to, other general works of Church history from the same period are also popular. This again shows that the provenance of the work is of little importance to the borrowers, either as attraction, or deterrent.

The nature of the books that entered the collection as the library settled into its new building may contribute towards this irrelevance. As explored in chapter one, Robert Hay Drummond's revitalisation of the library in the mid-eighteenth century did not seek to provide it with new works, but to round out the collection, recommending sixteenth- and seventeenth- as often as eighteenth-century items. Many of the popular authors at Innerpeffray, particularly with regard to religion, were therefore already present at its foundation, and simply increased in number. Tillotson is the primary example of this, with one two-volume set signed by Madertie (*Sermons and Discourses* (London, 1686)) joined in the 1813 catalogue by one 14-volume set (*Sermons* again, mismatching set but recorded in the 1813 catalogue as London, 1700) and one eight-volume set in French (*Sermons sur diverses matieres importantes* (Amsterdam, 1742)).

While provenance of the works borrowed is usually only discoverable on opening the book, one institutional context of an item that would have been immediately obvious to the borrower is shelf location. The shelfmarks recorded at 1813 give a reasonable indication of where in the library the books were kept in the period immediately before and after the cataloguing, on the grounds that a library would be unlikely to run to the trouble and expense of a shelfmark-order catalogue only to change that order soon afterwards. Shelfmarks from this time are also often not dissimilar to the location of the books today, though items thought to be of more interest to the visitor have been brought lower to be more accessible, and vice versa in the twentieth century.

It is not possible to comment on any books' precise location within the library because the arrangement of seven presses in the order 1, 2, 3, west window, 4, 5, 6 has not been easy to map onto the layout of the room.³¹¹ Analysis will be therefore be limited to shelf height, which itself

Chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians (Cambridge, 1604) borrowed 10 times; *An Exposition of the Symbole or Creede of the Apostles* (Cambridge, 1597) borrowed once.

³¹¹ It is likely, as at the nearby Leighton Library explored in chapter six of this thesis, that two edges of the room were initially shelved, a conjecture that is supported by the positioning of the 'west window' shelves between presses 3 and 4.

proves revealing; the borrowing of books shelved at height is one of the only ways in which it is possible to track borrowers hunting for specific works, rather than simply browsing. Were users to select works predominantly at eye-height and below, browsing would seem the most logical way in which they were retrieved.



Figure 4.7: Shelves over the West Window

While it is possible to argue the case for some item locations also being far above head-height, the 46 items shelved above the west window have been selected for analysis because their location undeniably requires additional effort (figure 4.7). Works recorded at this location in the 1813 catalogue are almost all works in octavo from the latter half of the eighteenth century and listed in appendix three, alongside how frequently they were borrowed in the period for which their shelfmark is likely true, 1814–1854.

Though 18 of the 46 items on this shelf were not borrowed in this period, that figure is far below the 50% of items not borrowed from the rest of the library collection.

Age again plays a part here: the average date of publication for items on this shelf is 1769, likely far more recent than any other shelf of books in the library. As with many of the other shelf locations, the decision behind where to place items is difficult to determine. In some cases, size appears to have been a factor, particularly in the earlier presses, which is logical since shelving by size increases the amount of books able to be contained within one space. Other shelves, such as the 12th division of the 4th press, have a common language (in this example, French). For books shelved above the west window, however, it seems most likely that date of acquisition is what unites them. To locate specific items, the user would either have had to consult the onsite MS catalogue (which was in shelf order, so not ideal for browsing) or ask the Keeper, whose presence for every instance of borrowing is not certain. If novelty were the criteria with which

users were most keen to select their books, however, then knowing that recent works were shelved in acquisition order and identifying roughly where they were shelved would have led users to them without the kind of specific knowledge of a catalogue or a person. Novelty, then, again can explain what is borrowed, despite the inconvenience for the person fetching the books.³¹²

Now that both the physical and institutional attributes of the items typically borrowed from Innerpeffray have been ascertained, it is fitting to reflect upon the most popular authors and titles, and how they fit into the assessment above.

Figure 4.8: Most Popular Authors			
Author	Birth–Death	Times borrowed	No. Titles
William Robertson	1721–1793	174	2
George Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon	1707–1788	124	1
Samuel Clarke	1675–1729	108	3
John Leland	1691–1766	107	4
John Tillotson	1630–1694	97	3
Robert South	1634–1716	93	1
Thomas Pennant	1726–1798	88	1
Johann Lorenz Mosheim	1693–1755	82	1
William Shakespeare	1564–1616	82	1
David Hume	1711–1776	79	2

The importance of novelty to users when choosing a text is again clearly evident when looking at the life dates of the top 10 authors borrowed from Innerpeffray: only Shakespeare and Tillotson operate solely outside the eighteenth century, and the specific edition of Shakespeare borrowed is Johnson’s 1765 work in eight volumes. The preference for more modern works is particularly marked because only 40% of the collection was printed after 1700, and a proportion of those works were modern editions of older authors. Further, since book purchasing at the Library of Innerpeffray concluded in around 1790, most borrowers (anyone after 1800) could not select current works, but by still preferring these later authors were getting their hands on

³¹² Fragments of a nineteenth-century label at Innerpeffray suggest that only the keeper was allowed to retrieve the books from the shelves, but this is likely to date from later in the period, once the older items in the collection were no longer made available for borrowing. However, even if the rule were true of the library in the earlier period, there is no guarantee that it would have been adhered to, as demonstrated in chapter three.

the most up to date material they could, despite the fact that the library never privileged purchasing material by that criteria.

While previous accounts of Innerpeffray have unanimously identified William Robertson's *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (London, 1769) as the most borrowed work from the library, the date range identified for analysis here has shown that he can only be awarded 'most popular' when all of his works are considered together.³¹³ The library holds both his three-volume *Charles V* and his two-volume *History of America* (Edinburgh, 1777), borrowed 106 and 68 times respectively, and represent the 2nd and 13th most popular works with borrowers. *Charles V* is a very rare example of the library holding the first edition of a current text, though Richard B. Sher has shown through his assessment of the very high initial print run and swift presence of pirated editions that it was relatively easy to acquire.³¹⁴ It was first borrowed in December 1770, very close to its date of publication, with the *History of America* first borrowed over a decade later in July 1781, just four years after its date of publication. It is therefore likely that these new works entered the collection close to the first time that they were borrowed, and that they were a relatively rare example of works acquired close to their first publication date.

Robertson was widely read throughout Scottish libraries, though his *History of Scotland*, not present at Innerpeffray until after 1855, is usually his most popular title, which Towsey attributes to an appreciative reception in Scotland of 'all things Scottish'.³¹⁵ Kaufman's work on the borrowings from Bristol Library showed that *Charles V* and *America* were most popular with borrowers in that library, despite the collection also holding his *History of Scotland*, raising the question again of whether those acquiring the books at Innerpeffray were mindful of its status as a Scottish library.³¹⁶ Robertson's particular popularity at Innerpeffray cannot be attributed to lack of other moderate historians with whom he is often discussed in conjunction: Hume and Gib-

³¹³ Kaufman, 'Innerpeffray: Reading for all the people', p. 155; Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 139.

³¹⁴ Richard B. Sher, 'Charles V and the book trade: an episode in Enlightenment print culture' in *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 164–195. (p. 179).

³¹⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 40.

³¹⁶ Kaufman, 'Innerpeffray: Reading for all the people', p. 156.

bon, both of whom also proved relatively popular at Innerpeffray, though less than half as popular as Robertson himself.³¹⁷ Robertson's affiliation with the Church of Scotland too could account for some his popularity at Innerpeffray as well, lacking as the collection did sermon writers of the same ilk, most notably Hugh Blair.³¹⁸ Again, this speaks to Innerpeffray as a British, rather than a Scottish library, with Robertson appearing here in the role David Allan describes as 'spokesman for the Scots Presbyterianism', which he occupied for the rest of Britain.³¹⁹ Further, his Church association would justify the reading of his histories: Hannah More, writing in 1799, notes that 'even a lesson on history or geography may be converted into a lesson of religion' but notes that it will require a 'truly Christian commentator'.³²⁰ When compared to Robertson, it is on this count that Hume and Gibbon might fail.

The popularity of *Charles V* over *History of America*, too, follows a general interest by Innerpeffray borrowers in Church History. Further, *Charles V* in particular was singled out as providing not only knowledge, but entertainment, with such histories in the eighteenth century seen as literary in their own right.³²¹ As evidenced in private and subscription libraries as well as at Innerpeffray, the demand for works of polite literature like Robertson 'reflected public support for history as a genre', which was seen as a 'nationally important form of writing', though again this is proved in scholarship only through English examples.³²² 'Polite historiography', the genre to which Towsey assigns Robertson, appealed to 'readers across the social scale', which Towsey demonstrates across a wide range of Scottish libraries.³²³

To prove whether this is true for Innerpeffray, it is important to reflect on the type of people who were borrowing Robertson. Whilst occupational data for the borrowers is only available for 10% of entries, those occupations borrowing Robertson do offer food for thought: Seven

³¹⁷ Hume's titles were borrowed 79 times and Gibbon's 48 times (compared to Robertson's 174) making them 10th and 22nd most popular authors respectively.

³¹⁸ Though two mismatching volumes of Blair's *Sermons* (Vol. 1 of 11th edition (Edinburgh, 1785) and Vol. 2 of 13th edition (Edinburgh, 1786)) are now held at Innerpeffray, the fact that they are not mentioned in the 1813 catalogue nor in the borrowers' register to 1855 suggests that they were added at a later date.

³¹⁹ David Allan, *Making British Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 123; J. B. Black, *The Art of History* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), p. 15.

³²⁰ Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Education*, 3rd edn (London, 1799) Vol. 1, pp. 189–90.

³²¹ Allan, *Making British Culture*, p. 34 on the 1769 review in the *London Magazine*.

³²² Karen O'Brien, 'The history market' in *Books and their readers in eighteenth century England: new essays*, ed. by Isabel Rivers (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 105–133 (p. 106).

³²³ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 145.

students, one watchmaker, one schoolmaster, one preacher, one ‘writer in Edinburgh’ (lawyer) and one Lieutenant, yet no ministers whatsoever. This is in contrast to the majority of clergy readers Towsey ascertains for Robertson’s work at Dumfries.³²⁴ Robertson is not, therefore, being read right across the social scale at Innerpeffray, though because the works are largely borrowed in the period after which occupations are routinely recorded it cannot be used as evidence against that supposition either. Support for it, however, can be found not through occupation, but through gender of the borrowers. Both of Robertson’s works are popular with the few female borrowers at Innerpeffray, with Robertson alone making up 8% of library borrowing by women.³²⁵ This too is unsurprising, since history was often recommended reading for women. Hester Chapone’s *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773) has a whole chapter on the reading of history, which was recommended to make up for a lack of classical education and to give some insight into a male world.³²⁶ The female borrowers of Innerpeffray would not have needed access to Chapone’s recommendation, however, to identify those benefits for themselves, particularly in a collection poor in the other types of texts purported to interest the female reader at the time. O’Brien argues that Robertson, along with Hume, was particularly good at the ‘character-based, sentimental modes of historical writing’ and that literary techniques were consciously ‘borrowed from fictional writing to maintain the interest of their female readership’.³²⁷ Robertson’s popularity, therefore, was not among the core Innerpeffray user group (ministers, preachers, students) but with the wider range of borrowers.³²⁸

One might also reflect on why Robertson was so popular at Innerpeffray by looking not just at who read him, but how he was read. While the absence of the forms of evidence for reading as outlined in the introduction makes this task more difficult, some features of note can be ascertained by looking at which volumes were borrowed and when. *Charles V* is a set comprising three volumes, of which volume one was borrowed most frequently (29 times), followed by volume two (22) and volume three (20). Towsey suggests, with respect to Wigtown Library, that

³²⁴ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 128.

³²⁵ *Charles V* listed eight times between Mrs Lawson, Mrs Porteous and Mrs Chalmers, with *History of America* five times to Mrs Chalmers, Mrs Lawson, Miss Mauer and Elizabeth Stirling.

³²⁶ O’Brien, p. 125–6.

³²⁷ O’Brien, p. 126.

³²⁸ Samuel Gilfillan, minister of the associate congregation in Comrie, is the one exception among these borrowers, though his occupation is not listed. Alexander Maxton, who goes on to become minister in the Church of Scotland, borrowed the item before his first post.

users were more likely to return to *Charles V* because they found it more challenging, and the supposition that users would return to it does seem to be reflected at Innerpeffray.³²⁹ Only seven users borrow all three volumes, of whom all attended on more than one occasion to borrow various volumes.³³⁰ 14 users, on the other hand, get no further than volume one, while eight other individuals borrow either or both of volumes two and three with no record of them having read the first. There does not appear to be any evidence of a queue to get to these volumes which might have caused this, though the absence of firm return dates for the period in question means this cannot be conclusively proven. While Towsey's supposition that *Charles V* is likely to be returned to does play out at Innerpeffray, it also seems to be a text which can be dipped in and out of, and that users were happy to borrow whichever volume was to hand. The *History of America*, by contrast, is borrowed as a complete two-volume set by around half of those for whom volume numbers are recorded, the other half of borrowers comprised almost entirely of those borrowing just volume one.³³¹ It seems likely that a two-volume set is more easily borrowable at once than *Charles V*'s three, though it is not clear whether this is down to library policy or ease of carrying.

While books like Robertson's were passing out of fashion in 1820s Edinburgh, there is no evidence of that at Innerpeffray, which is no doubt due to the fact that the works that superseded it in popularity, like the novels of Walter Scott, were not available to Innerpeffray borrowers until after 1855.³³² *The English Gentleman's Library Manual* still recommends *Charles V* in 1827, showing that it was still considered an appropriate text to recommend, even though its popularity may have been waning in the face of other genres.³³³ The graph below plots the change in borrowing Robertson (green) over time against the two other most popular authors, Buffon and Samuel Clarke, and shows that it fares relatively well against other popular titles in the years up to 1855, while also following the general decline in library use as reflected across all titles.

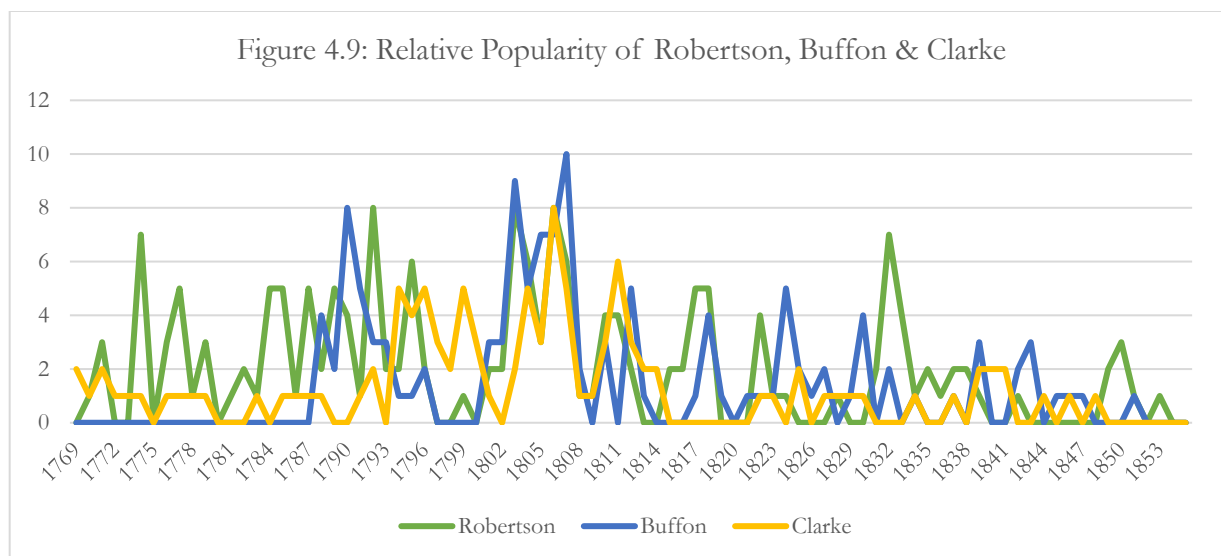
³²⁹ Towsey, Doctoral Thesis, p. 92.

³³⁰ Captain Robertson of Colburn [Strageath] in 1774; James Mitchell at Strageath in 1774; Mrs Porteous at Mains of Strageath in 1802; Mrs Chalmers at Crieff in 1803; Mrs Lawson at Millearn in 1831, 1835 and 1839; George Taylor, student in Crieff in 1792; Michael Stirling in four visits 1802–6.

³³¹ 18 out of 39 borrowers for which volume numbers are recorded borrow both parts, either on one visit or spread across two to three. 15 users just borrow volume one, and five only volume two.

³³² Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 120. Scott does not appear at Innerpeffray until post-1855.

³³³ Allan, *Making British Culture*, p. 44.



There are four other authors for whom the extent of their popularity emerges when all their titles are taken together: Clarke, Leland, Tillotson and Hume. That such a proportion of these should be religious writers is unsurprising considering the make-up of the collection, but why these in particular should prove so popular warrants further analysis.

Samuel Clarke (1675–1729) appears in the register with three different titles. His popularity was largely made up of one of his sermon collections, *Sermons on Several Subjects and Occasions* (London, 1756), which is borrowed 76 times and is the 9th most borrowed title from Innerpeffray. There are strong showings too for a second sermon collection of his, *XVIII Sermons on Several Occasions* (London, 1734) and his *Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God* (London, 1766), borrowed 18 and 14 times respectively. Clarke was held in high regard as a sermon-writer in the eighteenth century, and followed in the same vein as John Tillotson who also features among the most popular authors at Innerpeffray.³³⁴ Unlike Tillotson, however, Clarke was also renowned as a philosopher and is considered an influence on Enlightenment thinkers throughout Europe, particularly through his Newtonianism.³³⁵

Three titles by John Leland, not the sixteenth-century English poet and antiquary but the Presbyterian theological writer of the early eighteenth century, were held by the library, all centred

³³⁴ James Downey, *The Eighteenth Century Pulpit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 10, 34.

³³⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 141–2.

on general and practical religion: *A View of the Principal Deistical Writers* (London, 1766) borrowed 57 times, *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation* (London, 1764 and 1768 editions) borrowed 46 times and *The Divine Authority of the Old and New Testament Asserted* (London, 1739), borrowed just once. Two of his titles, therefore, contribute towards his position in the top 10 most popular authors at Innerpeffray. Though these titles are often considered to follow on from one another, only nine users borrow both, with 34 individuals selecting just *Deistical Writers* and 30 *Advantage and Necessity*. Leland appears particularly popular with students of divinity and with the clergy, which may be attributed to his being a rare example of Presbyterian author among so many Anglicans, as explored in chapter two.

Daniel Waterland, in his recommendations for preparatory reading for English undergraduates published by the University of Cambridge in 1730, recommended many of the authors popular at Innerpeffray for young students, including Clarke, South and Tillotson, particularly with regard to sermon collections.³³⁶ Tillotson, however, was the sermon-writer recommended at length, and if metres of shelving at Innerpeffray could be considered a recommendation, he would be equally extolled there. The 1813 catalogue shows the library holding 14 volumes of ‘Tillotson’s Sermons Lond. 1700’ and another eight volumes of ‘Sermons de Tillotson Amst 1742’, on a shelf of other French-language material, in addition to Madertie’s own copy of Tillotson’s *Sermons and Discourses* (London, 1686).³³⁷ The fourteen volume set comprises several differently-titled collections of Tillotson’s works published by Ralph Barker between 1700 and 1704, presumably always intended to be considered a set since the final title page reads ‘being the fourteenth and last volume’.³³⁸

Tillotson’s popularity at Innerpeffray is relatively unsurprising when considered in the context of other sermon writers borrowed from Innerpeffray, and his popularity in Britain as a whole. As with the other popular sermon writers at Innerpeffray, his style is considered fine, and alongside Samuel Clarke and Atterbury, Tillotson was ‘held up to students as the finest models of lucid reasoning and writing’.³³⁹ However, while we know he was even being preached verbatim

³³⁶ Daniel Waterland, *Advice to a Young Student*, 3rd edn (Cambridge, 1760 i.e. 1740), p. 22; Brian Young, ‘Theological books’ in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth Century England: New Essays*, ed. by Isabel Rivers (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 79–104 (p. 89).

³³⁷ Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue 1813, p. 37 and p. 48.

³³⁸ Tillotson, *Several Discourses* (London, 1704).

³³⁹ Downey, p. 3, p. 10.

in England, ministers who borrowed him from Innerpeffray are from within the Church of Scotland.³⁴⁰ The records at Innerpeffray may, therefore, provide supporting evidence in further study of whether it was possible to preach an Anglican sermon verbatim in such a service, since users (including ministers) were interested in his works in a largely Presbyterian climate without concern for his Anglicanism. Tillotson's style lends itself to ecumenical appreciation, with the form of 'learned lecture' preached both by Anglicans and Dissenting ministers.³⁴¹ Further, the topics with which Tillotson concerns himself might also encourage reading across the denominations, such as 'the efficacy of prayer and on the means and advantages of encouraging early piety', topics which would not have proven particularly controversial.³⁴²

Of works that were present before the new library building, Tillotson's popularity is by far the most consistent throughout the library's history. His works are accessed by a fair range of users (students, a tailor, ministers, a schoolmaster, a mason and a wright among those for whom occupations are recorded). He was generally only favoured by male borrowers, though Mrs Lawson did borrow volume 12 of his sermons in 1834. The 14-volume set in particular was most popular with borrowers, with 79 borrowings, and an additional 18 borrowers of the Madertie-signed single volume. The French-language version, a strange inclusion, is never recorded as borrowed, following the pattern observed earlier of a strong preference for English-language works.

Though more prominent today as a philosopher, Hume was regarded among his contemporaries as a historian.³⁴³ At Innerpeffray, however, his popularity is made up of the two texts the library held, both philosophical in nature: *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London, 1753) and *A treatise of human nature* (London, 1739). The *Essays* comprises four small volumes containing most of his main works, one of which included 'provided thought-provoking advice on the delivery of sermons', yet were reasonably controversial works because of Hume's treatment of religion within.³⁴⁴ Towsey notes that Hume's *Essays*, present in 44% of libraries he surveyed, were 'the

³⁴⁰ N. Sykes, 'The Sermons of a Country Parson', *Theology*, 38 (1939), 98–100.

³⁴¹ R. K. Webb, 'Rational Piety' in *Enlightenment and Religion*, ed. by Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 287–311 (p. 284), building on the work of Horton Davies.

³⁴² Webb, p. 297.

³⁴³ Chitnis, p. 92.

³⁴⁴ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 219.

primary vehicles through which Hume's more controversial views reached contemporary readers'.³⁴⁵ As with those titles assessed above, Hume's work was well-received by reviewers for its elegance of language, and may have been selected for its style, and despite still containing his controversial treatment of religion, Hume's *Essays* were still considered one of his 'less-objectionable' works.³⁴⁶ In contrast, the other work held at Innerpeffray, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (London, 1739), is reasonably rare and far more controversial. Towsey attributes its presence to a donation from Hay Drummond himself, and while a former library shelfmark is present in the front of the volume, it has not yet been possible to link it conclusively with Hay Drummond's own collection.³⁴⁷ Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* only appears in the register twelve times which, though making it only the 132nd most popular book at Innerpeffray, does bring Hume's overall popularity as an author up the Innerpeffray rankings.³⁴⁸

Towsey notes that the popularity of David Hume's *Essays* (London, 1753) at Innerpeffray is 'dramatic', yet this is perhaps attributable to its genre, how it was borrowed and who borrowed it, rather than the appeal of the author himself.³⁴⁹ Hume's *Essays* were first borrowed in 1793, and its four volumes were consistently all of interest to borrowers. Though this is largely outside the period within which occupational data is recorded, several known ministers appear in the borrower lists, and no women at all; a fairly different readership, therefore, than those who selected Robertson, who would have been the obvious comparison were Hume's histories included in the collection. Allan characterises Hume's *Essays* as 'for the more adventurous reader' in the context of parish library in Shropshire, and as the kind of text which would promote rigorous discussion, which appears to be a fair deduction when looking at the Innerpeffray records.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 44. This passage also reflects the unpopularity of his *Treatise on Human Nature* which, though present at Innerpeffray, was far less popular with readers.

³⁴⁶ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 272.

³⁴⁷ Neither Hume volume displays any evidence of having belonged to Robert Hay Drummond, though Hay Drummond is not consistent in marking his books. It is possible Towsey inferred this from other items unexpected at Innerpeffray, such as his *Monboddie* (for which see Halsey, *Before the Public Library*).

³⁴⁸ This relative lack of popularity, despite the work's novelty, backs up Hume's own claim that the work 'fell dead-born from the press'. David Hume, 'My Own Life', *The Life of David Hume, Esq Written by himself* (Dublin, 1777) p. 4.

³⁴⁹ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 139.

³⁵⁰ Allan, *Making British Culture*, pp. 79, 101.

Hume, Robertson and Gibbon are often seen as a triumvirate, so it surprising to see how little interest Innerpeffray borrowers seemed to show in Gibbon.³⁵¹ Usually, when an author who is popular elsewhere appears less popular at Innerpeffray, it is due to a lack of presence in the Innerpeffray collections, but Gibbon provides a notable exception. Innerpeffray held a fourth edition of his *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Dublin, 1777), volumes one and two, borrowed 48 times, making Gibbon only the 23rd most popularly borrowed author, on a par with Calvin and Jeremiah Burroughs rather than his eighteenth-century counterparts. This may be due to a slight preference among the borrowers for Scottish works, or at least works with a Scottish connection, as outlined above with regard to Robertson's popularity.

Figure 4.10: Top 12 Most Borrowed Items 1747–1855 (Descending Order)						
Author	Title	Genre	Pub. Place	Pub. Date	Format	Times Borrowed
Buffon, George Louis Leclerc, comte de, 1707–1788	<i>Natural History, General and Particular</i>	Natural History /Science	Edin.	1780	8vo	124
Robertson, William, 1721–1793	<i>The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V</i>	History	Lon.	1769	4to	106
South, Robert, 1634–1716	<i>[Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions.]</i>	Sermon	Lon.	1737	8vo	93
Pennant, Thomas, 1726–1798	<i>A Tour in Scotland.</i>	Travel	Lon.	1776	4to	85
Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An Ecclesiastical History, Antient and Modern, from the Birth of Christ, to the Beginning of the Present Century</i>	History	Lon.	1765	4to	82
Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616	<i>The Plays: of William Shakespeare, in Eight Volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to which are added Notes by Sam. Johnson.</i>	Poetic Arts	Lon.	1765	8vo	82

³⁵¹ Stewart J. Brown, 'Introduction' in *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1–6 (p. 1). Black, p. 77, also describes the trio as the 'school of Voltaire'.

Tillotson, John, 1630–1694	<i>Sermons</i> [mismatched set]	Sermon	Lon.	1700 ³⁵²	8vo	79
-	<i>The Scots Magazine</i>	Periodical	Edin.	1739–1789	8vo	77
Clarke, Samuel, 1675–1729	<i>Sermons on Several Subjects and Occasions</i>	Sermon	Lon.	1756	8vo	76
Sherlock, Thomas, 1678–1761	<i>Several Discourses Preached at the Temple Church.</i>	Sermon	Lon.	1764	8vo	76
Locke, John, 1632–1704	<i>The Works of John Locke, Esq.: in three volumes.</i>	Philosophy	Lon.	1740	Fol	72
-	<i>Critical Review</i>	Periodical	Lon.	1756–1789	8vo	70

As chapter three demonstrated, defining a typical user for Innerpeffray is difficult because of the vast difference in frequency and quantity of use between single-visit users and super-users. A list of the most popular books borrowed from Innerpeffray reiterates the lack of a typical borrower at Innerpeffray, as even the most popular items were not borrowed very often. Buffon only represents 2% of borrowing to 1855, and as a whole these 12 titles make up just 15.6% of all entries in the register. However, a consideration of their attributes both as a group and individually does give insight into borrower choice at Innerpeffray and the attributes which informed it.

Novelty again emerges as the key driver behind borrower choice. All are eighteenth-century editions, seven of which were published in that century's latter half. All are multi-volume sets of three upwards, and while some of their popularity might be accounted for by users returning to borrow other volumes of the work, it remarkably unusual for an Innerpeffray borrower to access all volumes, even in the three-volume sets such as Robertson, Locke and Pennant.³⁵³ Illustration is also a feature common to some of the titles, notably Buffon and Pennant, though it is too simplistic to suggest that the inclusion of images was the dominant factor in the selection of specific works to the exclusion of their other attributes. If this were the case, then one might expect the library's other illustrated works to be higher up the list, from the richly-illustrated Topsell's *Historie of Four-footed Beasts* (London, 1607) and Pierre Belon's *La Nature et diversite des poissons* (Paris, 1555) to incidentally-illustrated items like Thomas Fuller's *Pisgab-sight of Palestine*

³⁵² This date is given in the 1813 catalogue, but is actually made up of multiple editions, as discussed below.

³⁵³ For which see below, with reference to Buffon's *Natural History*.

(London, 1650). Instead, illustration appears to be a desirable attribute in combination with age of the work, genre and Scottish links.

It is not only the disproportionate popularity of periodicals borrowed compared to how many titles appear in the collection which is of note at Innerpeffray, but the way in which that popularity emerges. The *Scots Magazine* was first borrowed in 1784, suggesting that it entered the collection around that time. The magazine, which the library holds from its first issue in 1739 up to 1786, covers a wide range of topics including reporting on current events at home and abroad, literary reviews, letters, poetry and beyond. Borrowers selected both the more recent and the older issues, but such interest is clustered largely around the more recent volumes in the library (1779–1786) and those which cover 1744–46.³⁵⁴ This suggests that, beyond the novelty of items which so drove borrowing, the current affairs aspect of the periodical most interested borrowers, giving Innerpeffray users access to contemporary accounts of the prelude to and fall-out from 1745. This shows that the popularity of the periodical press cannot be only be explained by the way in which reviews allow the user to participate in literary society or metaphorically peruse well-stocked bookshelves to which they might not have access, as has been characteristic of the previous assessment of such works in libraries like Innerpeffray.³⁵⁵ In the *Scots Magazine*, the account of events seems to be of more importance. The same argument cannot be made for the *Critical Review*, which focuses solely on reviews and shaping literary culture. The *Review* has a much narrower popularity than the *Scots Magazine*, with just 22 individual borrowers making up its 70 entries in the register, compared to the *Scots Magazine*'s 42 individuals.

The most borrowed item from Innerpeffray to 1855 is Buffon's *Natural History*. Previous scholars have always identified Robertson's *Charles V* as the most borrowed work because they limit their analysis of the collection to the arbitrary date of 1800.³⁵⁶ Towsey avoids this problem by looking at data from 1800–1820, in which *Natural History* does emerge as most popular. However, this assessment misses that *Natural History* was first borrowed on 19 July 1788, 18 years

³⁵⁴ Most borrowed individual volumes: 1746 (8 times), 1785 (6 times), 1779, 1780, 1786 (5 times each).

³⁵⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 82; William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 100, 254; Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities 1695–1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 108.

³⁵⁶ Kaufman, 'Innerpeffray: Reading for all the People', p. 154; Mason, p. 1.

after *Charles V* was first borrowed (borrowed 43 times in those intervening years). *Natural History*'s popularity did not, therefore, burgeon in the nineteenth century, but as soon as it arrived. Its publication date (1780) suggests it was one of the final works purchased under Robert Hay Drummond's revitalisation of the collections, published and purchased shortly after his death. This makes it one of the most up-to-date items in the collection, reflecting the preference for newer works observed above. The work is borrowed consistently throughout the library's history, its popular and waning phases mimicking clearly busy and spartan periods in the library's borrowing records. It therefore does not undergo a flurry of popularity at any one point, instead remaining consistently popular.

Buffon's *Natural History* is a nine-volume text, originally published in French from 1749, published in English for the first time at Innerpeffray in this edition at Edinburgh from 1780 to 85 by William Creech. Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88) was the third most widely read author in the Enlightenment, and one of its 'four great lights'.³⁵⁷ While there is little scholarship on the reading of Buffon, Maëlle Levacher's *Buffon et ses lecteurs* (2011) argues that he wrote for as broad a readership as possible, which is certainly borne out by the evidence at Innerpeffray.³⁵⁸ While occupations are not recorded for most borrowers of the work, there are at least two students (Alexander Kerr in Dupplin and Thomas Thomason in Crieff), a mason (Thomas Drummond in Crieff), a preacher (Samuel Gilfillan, Comrie) and three schoolmasters (Dunning, Crieff and Kinkell), though none of the female readers the author is said to have been specifically targeted.³⁵⁹ This popularity, and the lack of a female readership, may be explained by contemporary attitudes towards the text. While Hannah More praised Buffon's style, she described him as 'absolutely inadmissible into the library of a young lady, both on account of his immodesty and his impiety'.³⁶⁰ Such a description may also explain the conspicuous absence of ministers recorded as borrowing this work.

Though Buffon is an undeniably French author, this edition of the text was translated by William Smellie and published in Edinburgh, making it a Scottish product. A preference for Scottish links was already ascertained earlier in this chapter, particularly through the favouring of Hume

³⁵⁷ Pierre Flouren, *Buffon: Histoire de ses travaux et ses idées* (Paris: Paulin, 1844).

³⁵⁸ Maëlle Levacher, *Buffon et ses lecteurs: les complicités de l'histoire naturelle* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011).

³⁵⁹ Levacher, p. 193.

³⁶⁰ Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Education* (London, 1799) 3rd edn, Vol. 1, p. 210–11.

and Robertson over Gibbon. Each volume is also highly illustrated with black and white images.³⁶¹ Illustration, as discussed above, was yet another contributing factor towards the popularity of any work at Innerpeffray; therefore it is no surprise that Buffon tops the list.

A work in nine volumes, it appears Innerpeffray never held the ninth, which was printed in London rather than Edinburgh.³⁶² While the French edition was highly illustrated, the translation includes far fewer images, becoming more frequent through each additional volume. As is evident in figure 4.11, the popularity of each volume wanes (the first most popular, the eighth least).

Figure 4.11: Volumes of Buffon Borrowed

Volume	Borrowed	% of borrowing
1	33	22.00%
2	28	18.67%
3	19	12.67%
4	19	12.67%
5	20	13.33%
6	14	9.33%
7	9	6.00%
8	8	5.33%

This argues against any suggestion that the quantity of illustrations might be the main attraction of the volume to the borrower. It follows the pattern witnessed in other multi-volume works that borrowers tended to prefer volume one, with only a fraction borrowing the final volume. However, closer inspection of each individual borrower shows that users by no means always start at the beginning and work their way forwards. Alexander Kerr, a student in Dupplin, borrowed only volume two on 11 July 1790, and Thomas Thomson, student in Crieff, borrowed volumes four and seven on 24 July 1790. In many cases, because return dates are not clearly given during this part of the library's history it is difficult to assess whether this is because other volumes were out, or because of a particular interest, but in the cases where non-consecutive volumes are issued, it seems to indicate the latter. This finding has implications not only on the borrowing of Buffon, but of other multi-volume sets.

³⁶¹ Not to be mistaken for the hand-coloured French edition which entered the collections at Innerpeffray after 1855, and which the library exhibits to its visitors today, *Histoire naturelle, generale et particuliere par M. le Comte du Buffon* (Aux Deux-Ponts, 1785–1787).

³⁶² ESTC T121678.

Since Robertson's popularity has been discussed above as the most borrowed author, focus here will turn to the third most popular work at the library, that of Robert South, an Anglican clergyman writing in the latter part of the seventeenth century.³⁶³ He has not received much individual attention in recent scholarship, perhaps because he never held high office, often simply name-checked alongside similar latitudinarian thinkers of the late seventeenth century such as Tillotson and Samuel Clarke, both also figuring in the top 10 most popular books borrowed from Innerpeffray as listed above.³⁶⁴ An advocate of 'plain style', South favoured a methodical and learned approach to sermon writing.³⁶⁵ His prose was, however, energetic, and particularly admired by Johnson, who frequently quoted South in his dictionary.³⁶⁶ South is also considered among those preachers 'as remarkable for their literary excellence as for their spiritual unction'.³⁶⁷ As Caroline Richardson put it in 1928, remove the soul saving and 'what remains is a group of essays well worth reading'.³⁶⁸ Literary style, therefore, may have been a factor in his popularity, though this is a trait he would have shared not only with Tillotson and Barrow (also popular at Innerpeffray), but also Andrewes, Donne and Baxter. When Waterland recommended books for Cambridge undergraduates c. 1730, he remarked that 'South is something too full of Wit and Satyre, and does not always observe a decorum in his stile', yet this did not prevent Waterland from recommending him.³⁶⁹ It is possible, therefore, that one might elect to borrow South's sermons as one of the more controversial works of that genre, which still remained within the bounds of propriety.

Robert South's 'Sermons' were borrowed in 1773 and are then borrowed 93 times by 57 different individuals. The borrowers' register records 11 different borrowed volumes, which correlates to the series of 11 works with the spine title 'Sermons preached upon several occasions' comprising six volumes of *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions* (London, 1737) and *Five Additional Volumes of Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions* (London, 1744) numbered on the spine as 7–

³⁶³ Burke Griggs, 'South, Robert (1634–1716)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26048>> [accessed 26 February 2018].

³⁶⁴ Melvyn New, 'Introduction' in *Theology and Literature in the Age of Johnson*, ed. by Melvyn New & Gerard Reedy (Newark Lanham, Md.: University of Delaware Press, 2012), pp. ix–xxi (p. xx).

³⁶⁵ Reedy, pp. 44–52.

³⁶⁶ Howard D. Weinbrot, 'Johnson and the Moderns' in *Johnson After 300 years*, ed. by Greg Clingham & Philip Smallwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 55–72 (p. 64).

³⁶⁷ Downey, p. 3.

³⁶⁸ Caroline Francis Richardson, *English Preachers and Preaching 1640–70* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 86.

³⁶⁹ Daniel Waterland, *Advice to a Young Student*, 3rd edn (Cambridge, 1760 i.e. 1740), p. 22.

11.³⁷⁰ No single volume emerges emphatically as most preferred, and every volume is borrowed on at least five occasions. As with Buffon, borrowing is weighted roughly in favour of earlier volumes. That there is no single strongly-favoured volume suggests that it is his oeuvre as a whole that is of interest, rather than specific parts of it. This is true for the other popular sermon writers on the list: Sherlock, Clarke and Tillotson. Where occupation of the borrower selecting the works of these sermon writers is recorded, it is usually a student, preacher or minister, but, on occasion, lay persons.³⁷¹ While the popularity of sermon collections in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been well recorded, there has been no convincing argument for why that might be, particularly in the Scottish context when the sermons consulted are written by writers outside of the national church.³⁷² The ministers, preachers and students borrowing the work are likely to be operating in the Church of Scotland, or at least in an associate congregation, and are very unlikely to be Anglican, as shown in chapter three. While evidence at Innerpeffray cannot show conclusively how these sermons were being used, it is important here to note that the denomination of their authors did not deter borrowers.

It is not surprising that a travel narrative appears within the most popular titles at Innerpeffray, given the emergence of that genre in eighteenth century through authors such as Defoe, Cook and George Anson.³⁷³ Anson himself does feature among the four other travel narratives in the top 100 most-borrowed books from Innerpeffray which are: *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1704) borrowed 39 times, Anson's *A Voyage Round the World* (London, 1776) borrowed 35 times, Richard Chandler's *Travels in Greece* (London, 1776) borrowed 17 times and Frederik Norden's *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* (London, 1757) borrowed 16 times. It is Thomas Pennant, however, whose *Tour in Scotland* (London, 1776) proves by far the most popular among the travel narratives, its three volumes borrowed 85 times by 65 different individuals. First borrowed in 1788, its popularity never waned.

³⁷⁰ The Library also holds an additional third volume (London, 1722), matching records in the 1813 catalogue: 'South's Sermons Vols 11 and odd 3rd Vol' Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue 1813, p. 36 (9th division, 3rd press)

³⁷¹ For South, these include James Thomson, teacher at Kinkell, in 1818, and women: Mrs Lawson in 1818 and 1834, and Elizabeth Stirling in 1806 and 1810.

³⁷² See for example David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008) pp. 140–141 on the popularity of sermons in specific circulating libraries and p. 181 for non-conformist libraries. Jane Austen is the standard example of the enduring popularity of sermons (her favourite: Sherlock) into the Romantic period, for example in Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 143.

³⁷³ Allan, *Making British Culture*, p. 52.

Pennant's popularity at Innerpeffray is also unsurprising given its relative novelty, Scottish focus, and the inclusion of illustrations. It has a very readable narrative, which, despite being written by a Welshman and primarily intended for a metropolitan English readership, was positively received by Scottish readers.³⁷⁴ An early review of volume one of his *Tour in Scotland* praised Pennant for his 'ingenuity and genius', and the range of his interests, and his diversions into history and natural history as part of his travel narrative appealed greatly to contemporary readers.³⁷⁵ Despite this, it does not appear so popular in subscription library collections: at Selkirk, Mungo Park's *Travels* is the only travel writing to appear in the most borrowed lists, while at Wigtown travel is very popular, but through Cook's *Voyages*, Cox's *Travels*, Raynal's *West Indies*, Savary's *Egypt* and Volney's *Travels*, with no sign of Pennant.³⁷⁶ These titles were never present at Innerpeffray. Once again, the specific works available to borrowers at Innerpeffray make it appear anomalous when compared to other collections, despite being generally typical in terms of the type of work borrowed.

Mosheim does not usually receive the same attention among scholars interested in eighteenth-century history as those writers who originated in the British Isles, but his popularity at Innerpeffray is not unusual nor unexpected. He is most known for being the best, most general writer of those who influenced Gibbon, and as the first to approach the history of the church through critical analysis of original sources.³⁷⁷ The work again follows the pattern of popular works being both new (relative to other items in the collection) and with a Scottish connection through its translator; first published in Latin in 1755, Innerpeffray holds the first English edition (1765), translated by Glasgow-born Archibald Maclaine. Though ground-breaking in its analysis, partic-

³⁷⁴ Ailsa Hutton and Nigel Leask, "'The First Antiquary of his Country'" Robert Riddell's Illustrated and Annotated Volumes of Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Scotland*' Pennant' in *Enlightenment Travel and British Identities: Thomas Pennant's Tours in Scotland and Wales*, ed. by Mary-Ann Constantine and Nigel Leask (London: Anthem Press, 2017), pp. 123–139 (p. 124).

³⁷⁵ Elizabeth Edwards "'A Galaxy of the Blended Lights": the Reception of Thomas Pennant' in *Enlightenment Travel and British Identities: Thomas Pennant's Tours in Scotland and Wales*, ed. by Mary-Ann Constantine and Nigel Leask (London: Anthem Press, 2017), pp. 141–159 (p. 144) commenting on a review from *The British Magazine and General Review*, Vol. 1 (London, 1772), p. 60.

³⁷⁶ Lists given in Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 71, 78.

³⁷⁷ Owen Chadwick, 'Gibbon and the Church Historians' *Daedalus*, 105:3 (1976), 111–123 (p. 114); Ernestine van der Wall 'The Dutch Enlightenment and the Distant Calvin' in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009*, ed. by Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 202–23 (p. 209) and Joris van Eijnatten, *Liberty and Concord in the United Provinces: Religious Toleration and the Public in the Eighteenth-Century Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 351–55.

ularly its rational justification of heresy, the work does not seem to have been particularly controversial, though it did encourage individual thought. James Watson, imprisoned in Coldbath Fields, read Mosheim alongside Gibbon, and remarked upon reading *Ecclesiastical History* in 1823/4 that ‘the reading of that book would have made me a freethinker if I had not been one before’.³⁷⁸ At Innerpeffray, Mosheim was borrowed 82 times by 48 different people. Most users borrowed both volumes, either one at a time or both together, and he was one of the writers to whom borrowers were more likely to return. Alexander Maxton, for instance, first borrowed Mosheim in 1800, then again in the same year, on three occasions in 1810 (only volume two) returning for the first volume once more in 1817.

Johnson’s *Shakespeare* is the most surprising inclusion in the list; it is the only popular literary work, and the only work with origins as early as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Its popularity coincided with the renewed celebration of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century in performance, thanks to David Garrick, as well as in broader cultural discourse.³⁷⁹ The only other relatively popular literary work at Innerpeffray is Macpherson’s translation of Homer’s *Iliad*, the 29th most popular item at Innerpeffray, borrowed 41 times. These works show again the preference of borrowers for a modern edition (and for Macpherson, a Scottish link) as has been observed throughout.

Locke’s three-volume *Works* also sit at odds with a general impression of the preferences of borrowers at Innerpeffray so far. It is the only popular work of philosophy, and the only popular borrowed work in folio. The date at which the title enters the collection might go some way towards explaining this unexpected popularity. It was first borrowed in 1749, while the library was still housed in the Chapel, and would therefore have been one of the most modern works available to borrowers from the collection at the time. It entered the collection very early on in the library’s regeneration, before the decision by the trustees to put off purchasing until such a time as a suitable place to keep the books could be built.³⁸⁰ Once the library entered its new

³⁷⁸ David Vincent ed., *Testaments of Radicalism* (London, 1977), p. 111, via *Reading Experience Database 1450–1945* <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=5834> [accessed 3 February 2017].

³⁷⁹ James Harriman-Smith, ‘Authority of the Actor in the Eighteenth Century’ in *Shakespeare & Authority: Citations, Conceptions and Constructions*, ed. by Katie Halsey & Angus Vine (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 249–264; Andrew Rudd, ‘Shakespeare, Rule-Breaking and Artistic Genius: The Case of Sir John Soane’ in the same volume, pp. 265–280.

³⁸⁰ For which see chapter two.

building, the book was not borrowed again until 1776, from which point it appears as popular as many of the other works discussed, though again predominantly by ministers and students and never by women. That he regained popularity in 1776 and that it continued afterwards might be attributed to his relationship with the early growth of Enlightenment thinking, coinciding with the signing of the Declaration of Independence.³⁸¹

Locke's two-stage popularity, the first attributable to institutional context and the second to world affairs, truly demonstrates the value of this level of analysis, impossible to ascertain on a macro level. What remains to be explored, however, is whether evidence from what is not in the borrowers' records might also contribute towards our understanding of what people used the library for and why. Such analysis is only possible now thanks to the comparison of the borrowers' record with the catalogue. This allows us to identify for the first time what was left on the shelf.³⁸²

Innerpeffray library users had a collection of around 1600 items from which to borrow.³⁸³ The borrowers' register only mentions 839 of these, with only 52% of items ever recorded as borrowed.³⁸⁴ This figure may sound shockingly low, but it is similar to the figures assessed in other assessments of borrowing records, and has been used as the main argument against using catalogues as evidence of book use.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ Unusually for Innerpeffray, the three volumes of Locke's *Works* have been annotated (sparsely, and without any indication of the annotator's identity or era) while in the library collection, instead of prior to entry to the collection.

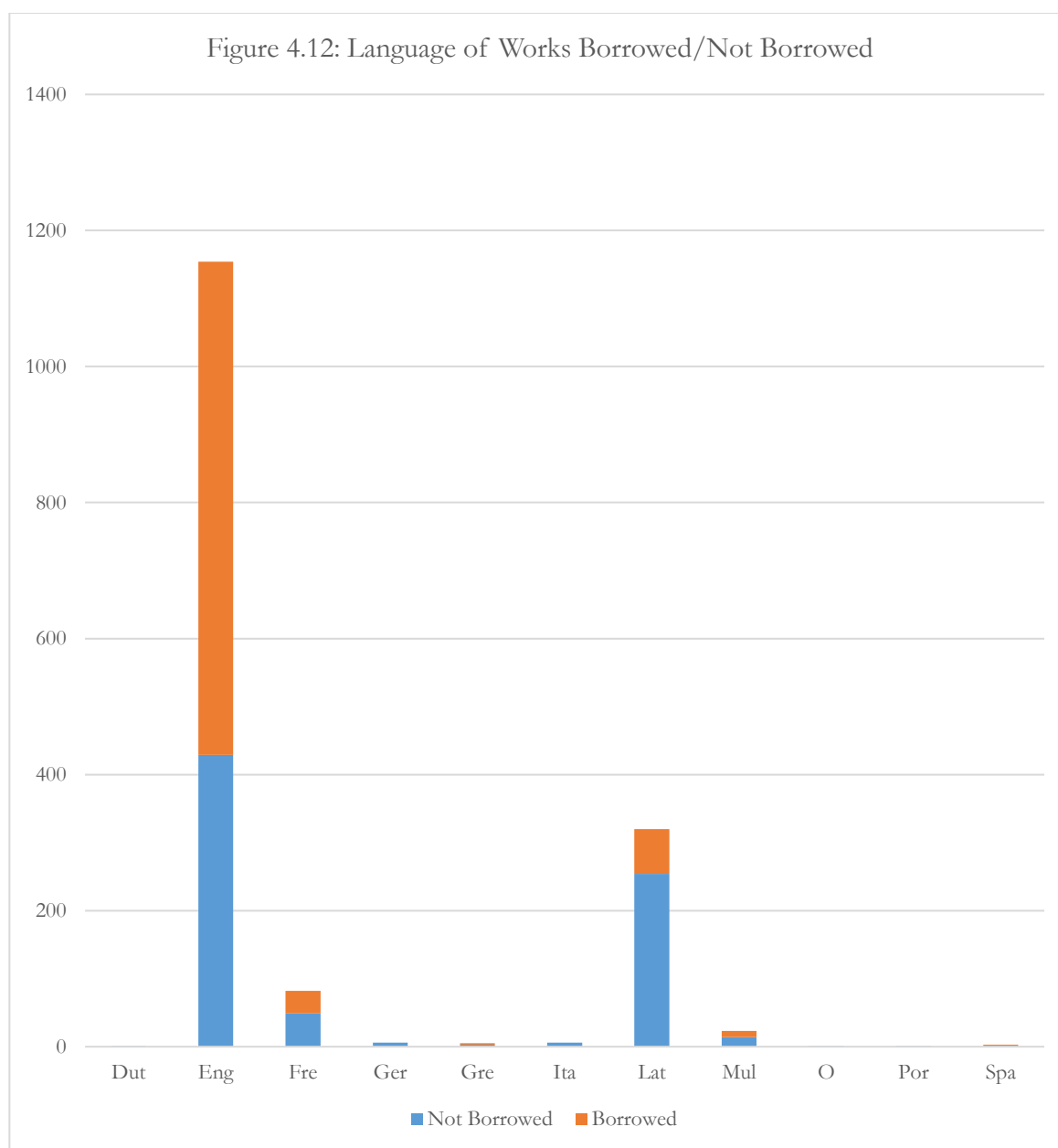
³⁸² The extent of reference use of the library is difficult to ascertain, as explored in chapter three, though the limited hours of access would suggest that it was restricted. This account is therefore based upon items which are unborrowed, rather than considered unused.

³⁸³ Chapter two identified 1580 titles in the library according to the 1813 catalogue, alongside four other items identified in the 1838 list of items to rebind and 15 more items listed in the 1855 catalogue. The borrowers' register also includes seven more titles which could not be identified through the examination of the catalogues. Still housed in the Innerpeffray collection are: *Critical Review* (vols 1–32 only, vol. 1 dated 1756), William Beerman, *Sorrow upon Sorrow* (London, 1674) and Samuel Clarke, *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (London, 1766). Titles no longer at the library are: Philip Traherne, *Soul's Communion with her Saviour* (edition unidentified), William Halfpenny, *Architecture* (edition unidentified), John Upton, *A New Canto of Spencer's Fairy Queen* (London, 1747) and John Campbell, *The travels of Edward Brown* (London, 1753). Like those identified at 1855, these do not represent new works added to the collection after cataloguing, but things that were likely missed during that process. While reference-only collections may have existed in the library, and are referred to as such in the minute book, there is no clear evidence that this rule was enforced, for which see chapter two.

³⁸⁴ As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, 99 titles in the register are marked with Book ID 'X', which means that they have been unable to be identified specifically (including entries such as 'memoirs', 'a bible in folio' and 'one sermon book'). As this only represents 1.5% of the data, these findings hold true, though may not be exact.

³⁸⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 31.

The unifying characteristics of works that are not borrowed reemphasise the importance of language and age of works behind book borrowing. Other attributes, such as format or genre, have no overwhelming impact, but when age and language are isolated, their impression is as stark for works not borrowed as for works borrowed.



The graph above shows the total number of works in the collection of each language with the items borrowed in blue and those that are not borrowed in orange. As has always been apparent, English is by far the most borrowed language, and the best-represented language in the collec-

tion. It is also one of only two languages for which more items are borrowed than not borrowed.³⁸⁶ However, the graph shows that a work being in the English language does not guarantee that it will be selected by borrowers, as still a significant proportion of the works remain unborrowed.

Latin and French are the works for which significantly more items are not borrowed than are borrowed. This may be because these are precisely the sorts of works which might need to be accessed alongside textual aids such as dictionaries, which makes them less likely to be borrowed and more likely to be consulted on site. The caveat remains that we have no evidence for whether they were or were not used on site, but we can posit that this made them less likely to be borrowed.

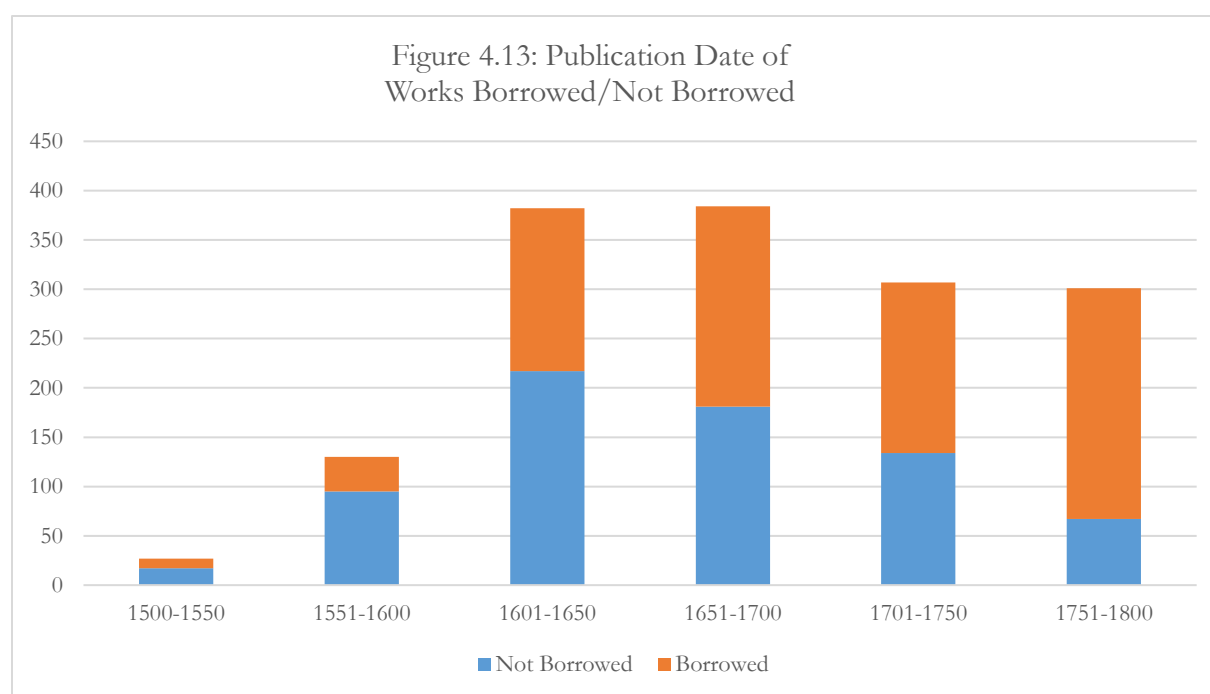


Figure 4.12 shows that the newer the work is, the more likely it is to be borrowed. It also demonstrates that novelty alone is not enough to guarantee that a work will be borrowed even once. Titles published post-1750 that were never borrowed include Samuel Johnson, *Political Tracts* (London, 1776), Charles Caraccioli, *Antiquities of Arundel* (London, 1766) and William Bowyer,

³⁸⁶ The other language is Spanish, represented by only three titles, two of which are borrowed: *La Biblia* (Basel, 1569) twice and Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (Amsterdam, 1719) once. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1726) was never borrowed.

Conjectures on the New Testament (London, 1772), all octavo volumes whose lack of popularity is not easily explained by any of the proposals offered above.

Through taking a more in-depth look at the books borrowed from Innerpeffray, giving their specific attributes overall attention and popular authors and works individual treatment, it is clear that there is a pattern to borrower preferences, and it only becomes discernible when the content of the work is not privileged. While language is a key indicator of whether a work might be borrowed (if it is not in English the chances are it will not be) it is the age of the edition that is the main thread across popular works. This goes some way towards explaining why it has been difficult to ascertain trends before, as it has only been possible to identify through background work on the library's history and the content of its shelves. At 1855, a 1790s work would be the most recent thing available to borrowers at Innerpeffray, and even when the most recent thing the library contained was published decades ago, that more recent material was still privileged. The findings also emphasise in this chapter that, even when Enlightenment works were available, there was still an indomitable appetite for religion and sermon collections, which must always be borne in mind when considering borrower preferences. The findings also demonstrate the value of approaching titles for individual treatment, rather than on a broad genre basis. Following this example, this thesis now turns to an individual treatment of specific borrowers.

CHAPTER FIVE: INDIVIDUAL BORROWERS

Chapters one and two demonstrated how various institutional factors have influenced Innerpeffray's history, and consequently its borrowing record, which informed the analysis of that record in chapters three and four. The results of this analysis have shown that there was no such thing as a typical Innerpeffray borrower, with a large proportion of unique users, a handful of 'super-users' and various subsections between those extremes. It concluded that the best way to understand borrowing from Innerpeffray is not to consider the borrowing group as a coherent whole, but to focus on the borrowing choices of individuals. This approach also allows for a consideration of contextual factors beyond the institution, namely additional biographical information. This chapter will demonstrate the value of individual borrower analysis in developing an understanding of what a borrowers' record might reveal about the institution from which they borrowed. It also further highlights the difficulties in moving from borrower selection to the 'reading vogues' which characterise previous studies, as outlined in the introduction.

Since Carlo Ginzburg's seminal *The Cheese and the Worms*, the potential to expound upon the reading of one individual has been fully realised.³⁸⁷ This work is based upon the testimony of one sixteenth-century miller and identifies both the books owned (through an inventory of his possessions) and books which he must have borrowed (via priest and family connections) alongside his own testimony. Such evidence afforded Ginzburg much firmer ground than the books concerned were read, digested and influential to the reader than any assessment of borrowing records alone. It is for this reason that studies in the History of Reading tend towards a focus on the individual, using diaries, marginalia, letters and court testimony as direct records of reading, or looking at the influence of reading on the individual's own writing.³⁸⁸ In the absence of this type of evidence, academic works related solely to book borrowing by individuals generally comprise short introductions and full transcriptions of the borrowing records of one person,

³⁸⁷ Carlo Ginzburg *The Cheese and the Worms* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992).

³⁸⁸ Katie Halsey, 'Preface', *Forum: University of Edinburgh Postgraduate Journal of Culture & the Arts*, 23 (2016), 1–15 is a comprehensive survey of works which deal with such evidence, including Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present* 129 (1990), 30–78.; William H. Sherman *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); H. J. Jackson, 'Coleridge as Reader: Marginalia', in *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Frederick Burwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 271–287.

normally a literary figure, usually released for the benefit of literary scholars, subordinate to other types of evidence.³⁸⁹ Thus, when borrowers at Innerpeffray have been analysed previously, it has usually been as a group, with only occasional glimpses of individual borrowing to demonstrate particular trends, as outlined in the introduction to this thesis.

To historians of reading, then, any focus on the individual borrower from Innerpeffray is of limited use. To date, very few annotations have been found in the books, and none which could be identified to one reader, or even one period.³⁹⁰ Neither have diaries nor other works produced by the borrowers which might mention reading been found. As stated in the introduction, therefore, no close analysis of the individual text borrowed, nor firm conclusions on how any one reader might have read such a book would be appropriate and will not be undertaken in this thesis.

An in-depth focus on individual borrowers at Innerpeffray is, therefore, an unusual approach, but, I argue, vital, because entries in the borrowers' register are not simply records of names, occupations and books, but of the very interaction between individual and library. What an individual chooses to borrow from the collection is a record of library use – when they visited, and what and how they borrowed. In other collections, where only catalogues or library rules survive, or where borrowers' registers exist without corresponding collections, these interactions are one dimensional. Since Innerpeffray's library history and historic collections can be so richly understood, as identified in previous chapters, it offers the unique chance to trace these interactions, through which we can better understand the Library of Innerpeffray.

Whilst always acknowledging that it will never be possible to know the reasons why library users borrow a particular book without the supporting evidence outlined above, when users borrow on multiple occasions there is room to trace patterns within that borrowing. These patterns can be placed not only in the context of the library's history, but within each individual's life, using evidence gathered from parish records, other archival collections and, in some cases, printed

³⁸⁹ This has continued even into this millennium: Alan Behler, 'George Frederic Jones Borrowing Record, New York Society Library', *Edith Wharton Review*, 28:2 (2012), 24–28.

³⁹⁰ As Colclough notes, such a finding would make the reader atypical. Stephen Colclough, 'Readers: Books and Biography', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 50–62.

sources. For middle- and lower-class borrowers, the overwhelming majority of those at Innerpeffray, such records tend to be limited to births, deaths and marriages, but the usefulness of that data should not be underestimated. In many cases, the register alone gives the best information on tracing a borrower's life, through changes to their address and occupation.³⁹¹ Yet, even where the borrowers' record is the only source, it is necessary to assess this data individually because, as identified in chapter three, these attributes change across the course of an individual life in a manner which is difficult to factor in at a macro level of analysis.

This chapter focuses on four borrowers using the library at different points within its history. Three individuals, John Bayne, Ebenezer Clement and John Whytock, were selected as the most frequent borrowers within different occupations.³⁹² One exception was made to this method: Alexander Maxton does not list his occupation, but was included as the most prolific super-user at Innerpeffray, borrowing from 1794 to 1851.³⁹³ Since chapter three concluded that there was no such thing as a typical Innerpeffray borrower, selecting from the more frequent borrowers from Innerpeffray meant that any patterns to that borrowing might more easily be ascertained. Further, since this examination does not intend to follow the flawed precedent identified above, with individuals a token representation of a whole, it does not matter that those selected users might be atypical. Instead, the value of these individual studies is not in exemplifying borrowing as a whole, but offering an examination of the way in which specific users interacted with the library, which can shed further light on our understanding of how the Library of Innerpeffray was used, and also demonstrate how borrowing records are also affected by both individual and institutional circumstances.

³⁹¹ These details have been the primary use of the registers at Innerpeffray, particularly to family historians; since the records pre-date the census (1841) they often provide the only means by which an ancestor's address and occupation can be identified. It is often these details, rather than the specific titles their ancestors selected, which attract the family historian to Innerpeffray, along with the opportunity to touch the same object their ancestor once held.

³⁹² Chapter three identifies most frequent occupations as minister, schoolmaster and students, but with strong representation from local industries (especially weavers and those associated with the cloth industry), with little representation of upper-class borrowers.

³⁹³ In order to verify the Person IDs assigned to these individuals as outlined in the introduction, signature evidence was also employed, made possible by the smaller scale of this body of evidence. Though signatures do not always stay static over time, or even across different pens, letter formation was enough to make a confident estimation. Signatures evidence has been explored predominantly when it is required for authentication, see for example Giles E. Dawson, 'A Seventh Signature for Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 43:1 (1992), 72–79.

John Bayne: Servant

In Innerpeffray's chapel phase (to 1759), nearly half of its borrowers visited on only one occasion, with the average number of books borrowed per user 2.3. John Bayne, borrowing five items in a two-year period (1752–54), then, is a relatively frequent borrower, particularly among those of his occupation: servant. His borrowings, therefore, give a rare opportunity to trace patterns in books taken from the library by one individual whilst the collection consisted almost exclusively of those books present at its foundation and was contained inside the small room in the West end of the chapel.³⁹⁴ Further, he, alongside Ebenezer Clement below, offers a rare example of a relatively frequent borrower from outside the middle classes, as demonstrated in chapter three.

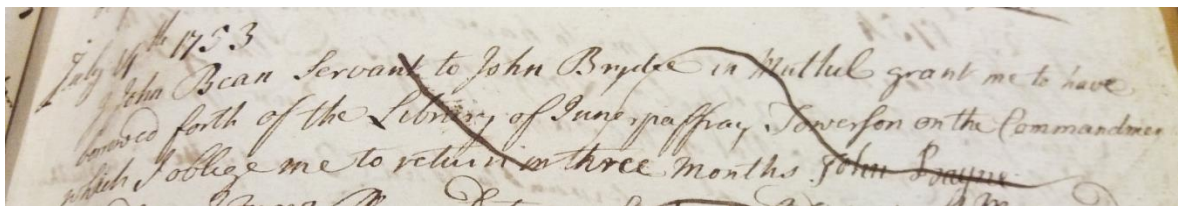


Figure 5.1: Borrowers' Register Entry for John Bayne, Servant, 11 July 1753 (Vol. 1, f. 7r)

In figure 5.1, John Bayne is recorded in the borrowers' register as 'servant to John Brydy Min^r at Muthill'. It is not clear, therefore, whether Bayne is borrowing for himself (with his employer acting as a means by which to identify him) or for his employer, so the personal contexts of both users are relevant in this instance. As is typical for borrowers in lower-class occupations, it has not been possible to identify John Bayne conclusively in other sources, nor in this case by using parish records.³⁹⁵ John Brydy too does not appear in Church of Scotland or Episcopal lists.³⁹⁶ However, all results for births and marriages of anyone with the surname Brydy in the

³⁹⁴ While Madertie's will (as in chapter one) records the library split across two locations, by the eighteenth century it appears to only be contained within the chapel room, as per NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 4, explored in chapter one of this thesis.

³⁹⁵ Servants to the Clergy in an English context have been shown to be recruited locally as teenagers, likely to leave in search of higher wages as they enter adulthood. Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestic in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) Ch. 9. If one assumes, therefore, that he was born in the area and was a servant no older than 30 and no younger than 13, Church of Scotland records have two possible matches for John Bayne, placing him aged 25–27 when he borrows (15/3/1724 Fowlis Wester (*ScotlandsPeople* 357/20 21), 7/4/1727 Muthill (*ScotlandsPeople* 386/A 10 207)). Two further results come from the Episcopal Church records in Muthill, showing a John Bayne born to John Bayne and Janet McLeish on 6 April 1739 or John Bayn born to Edward Bayn and Catharine Stacher on 29 January 1726 (NRS CH12/7/2, p. 115 and 151). This would mean borrowing between the ages of 13–15 or 26–28.

³⁹⁶ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV; *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689–2000* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000).

eighteenth century in the area come only from Episcopal records, so it can be confidently assumed that Brydy was at least raised Episcopalian. This is given further weight by his location in Muthill, the centre of Episcopalian worship in Strathearn; even though only 5% of the local population is recorded as Episcopalian in the earliest Statistical Account, it remained the only location with an Episcopal congregation until Crieff in the 1830s.³⁹⁷ Thus Brydy is very likely to have been raised outside the Church of Scotland.

John Bayne never wrote his own promise in the register, as can be concluded from the different handwriting in the signature than in the promise; whilst the handwriting of the signature and of the promise are similar, a closer inspection of the B and the Y in signature 'Bayne' to that in 'Brydy' in the promise shows that these are in two different hands. Further, for every entry he signed 'John Bayne', the person writing the promise variously used Boyne, Bean and Bayn. That the borrower does not complete their own promise is not uncommon in the Innerpeffray borrowers' register; Houston used this previously to indicate the literacy level of the borrower.³⁹⁸ Though the link between the skill of writing and the ability to read has been thoroughly debunked since Houston, the possibility remains that Bayne was borrowing for his household rather than for himself.³⁹⁹ John Brydy at Muthill is never recorded as borrowing from Innerpeffray himself, thus the idea he could be sending his servant to borrow books on his behalf must be borne in mind when approaching John Bayne's borrowing record.

Figure 5.2: John Bayne's Borrowings			
Date Borrowed	Author	Title	Pub. Details
4 Jan 1752	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Forty Sermons.</i>	London, 1684.
4 Jul 1752	Fowns, Richard, 1560?-1625	<i>Trisagion, or, The Three Holy Offices of Iesus Christ.</i>	London, 1619.
10 Feb 1753	Andrewes, Lancelot, 1555-1626	<i>Apospasmata Sacra: or A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures</i>	London, 1657.
14 Jul 1753	Towerson, Gabriel, 1635?-1697	<i>Explication of the Catechism of the Church of England.</i>	London, 1678.
9 Feb 1754	D. R. ((Daniel Rogers)), 1573-1652	<i>Naaman the Syrian his Disease and Cure.</i>	London, 1642.

³⁹⁷ Shepherd, p. 49

³⁹⁸ Houston, p. 176, argues that a fellow servant in the Innerpeffray register, Duncan Morison, could read, since he could write his own promise.

³⁹⁹ See T. C. Smout, 'Born Again at Cambuslang: New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Past & Present*, 97:1 (1982), 114-127.

The books which John borrowed are not at all diverse, in genre or in magnitude. All are large format (folio, save Fowns, which is a very extensive quarto at 782 pages) seventeenth-century items. While the age of the items is to be expected, given that his borrowing predates the new library building and its collections; that the size is so uniformly large differs from what was to be expected in this phase of the library. This could be attributable to how often Bayne visited the library (one book every six months), or how weighty the subjects are, and how important their authors. Again it is difficult to identify how far borrower choice is driven by content or by physicality (in this case, extent).

In Allestree's *Sermons* and Andrewes' *Apospasmata Sacra*, John borrowed collected works of two blockbusters of the Anglican faith, both published posthumously. Fowns and Towerson are also extensive works, and from the same tradition. Only Rogers, a Puritan who erred on the edge of non-conformity, operated outside the Anglican tradition, but his work is similarly extensive.⁴⁰⁰ These works are all, therefore, substantial weighty tomes (both literally and textually) largely from Anglican authors. Although Episcopal works are certainly the most prevalent works in the chapel collection, as identified in chapter two, this theological uniformity cannot be accounted for by the collections alone. Bayne appears to be borrowing within the Episcopal faith. This is notable because, even at Muthill which was a centre for the Episcopal faith in Strathearn, they were still very much in the minority in the area at that time: the 1793 *Old Statistical Account* entry for Muthill records its Church of Scotland population numbering 2160 (73%, excluding the under 7s).⁴⁰¹ Whether borrowing for himself or for his employer, it is the greats of the Church of England (not Scotland) who fill Bayne's borrowing record.

If John Bayne were being sent to Innerpefferay to borrow a specific book for John Brydy, his employer, Brydy would have had no means by which to identify titles available in the library, since no off-site catalogue would have been accessible.⁴⁰² Whilst it is plausible that John Brydy

⁴⁰⁰ Jason Yiannikou, 'Rogers, Daniel (1573–1652)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/23970>> [accessed 4 December 2016].

⁴⁰¹ This figure is recorded alongside 430 children under 7, 156 'Old and Young of the Church of England', 160 '[Old and young] Presbyterian dissenters' and 42 '[Old and Young] Roman Catholics'. Church of England members represented roughly 6% of the population of Muthill, but use of the terminology 'Church of England' rather than Episcopal complicates the picture. By any account, this shows that to be Episcopal in Muthill is to be significantly in the minority. 'Muthill, County of Perth', *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. 8, p. 489.

⁴⁰² For which, see chapter two.

may have requested Allestree, Andrewes or even Towerson, it is unlikely he would have known that the library had lesser-known writers like Fowns and Rogers, and that he would know to ask for them by name. It is, therefore, possible that Bayne was using his own skills to identify such works from their title pages, particularly because there is no evidence that the Keeper of Books would have assisted him in this.⁴⁰³ There is also no evidence of preparation as at other libraries in the period, such as at the nearby Leighton Library, where letters were sent in advance, for specific books to be posted or to arrange for their collection, as part of the subscription service.⁴⁰⁴ At Innerpeffray, where no money exchanged hands, and where the historic role of Keeper was so small, it is very unlikely that such a service existed. Bayne must, therefore, have been able to identify books from their title pages, and to ascertain which would have been of interest to his employer, if they were not indeed for himself. He would perhaps, by extension, have had the requisite skills to be borrowing such works for himself.

The six-month periods between visits, and the consistent promise to return books within a three-month period with no record of penalty, would suggest that he came to the library to return books without borrowing straight away.⁴⁰⁵ Though today Muthill is not considered to be walking distance from Innerpeffray, in the eighteenth century the river-crossing beside the library meant it was a relatively easy distance of just over two miles from Muthill, adding weight to the earlier argument that books could be picked up or dropped off *en route* to elsewhere. Since Bayne borrowed only on a Saturday, it is possible that this regularity was tied to an event, perhaps a market or sale, yet to be identified. Yet such regularity gives no further indication whether the library is being used by Bayne for himself or for his employer.

Thus, we are no closer to whether John Bayne borrows for himself or for his employer, but must conclude ultimately that it does not matter for whom the books are intended. Trying to ascertain the intended audience for a borrowed work is just as problematic as suggesting how such a work might have been read. What Bayne does serve to show, however, is that a servant

⁴⁰³ The terminology of 'keeper of books' is key here, since the concept of the Librarian as we know it today did not emerge until the nineteenth century (Jonathan Rose, 'One giant leap for Library History', *Library Quarterly*, 78:1, 129–133).

⁴⁰⁴ For which see chapter six of this thesis.

⁴⁰⁵ Though financial penalties within the register are hard to trace (books are taken out 'under a penalty' but it is never recorded if that penalty is applied) the simple penalty of not being allowed to borrow any more books (Rule 3, pasted into Innerpeffray MS Library Catalogue, 1813) is clearly not applied here.

is literate enough to identify the types of works which interest either him or his employer, and preferred large, scholarly, Episcopal works. Borrowing was regular but infrequent, most likely whilst Bayne was *en route* to something else. Most notably, regardless of whether Bayne or Brydy is the intended recipient of the books, there is sufficient evidence that the library in its chapel days was being used to support minority Episcopalians in the area. This contributes significantly to our understanding of the library at its earliest incarnation, and the potential use of its collections to support those in the Episcopal faith. It also shows how the borrowers' record is not just an interaction of one person with the library, but of a community of users beyond the library. It would also give further scope to consider the potential impact of Innerpeffray on the local area, despite the relatively tiny proportion of the local population who borrowed books from it.

Ebenezer Clement: Dyer's Apprentice

Ebenezer Clement, one of the relatively few borrowers singled out for study previously, also began using the library in its chapel phase. He was sufficiently interesting to Houston to devote a full paragraph him, though analysis extended no further than remarking upon the broadness ('catholic nature') of his reading interests.⁴⁰⁶ By focusing on a narrow, ten-year period, Houston missed the crucial fact that Ebenezer borrowed from the library not only in those early years, first as a 'son' then as a dyer's apprentice, but also later in life as his career progressed. Fundamentally, too, he represents an individual who started borrowing while the library was in the chapel and returned once the collection had been revitalised and moved into its new building.

Ebenezer's first encounter with the library was between December 1753 and December 1754, borrowing three different items on three separate occasions. All three entries record his address as Powmill, and the first two give the additional information 'son to William Clement in Powmill', suggesting that he is of a tender age. The only Ebenezer Clement in the area is registered as baptised 8 October 1736 at Monzie, the son of 'Andrew Clement in Cromwall and Margaret Gib his spouse'.⁴⁰⁷ Given the infrequency of the name Ebenezer Clement in the area, and the proximity of Monzie to both Innerpeffray and Crieff, it is likely that this is a match for our Ebenezer and that it is the father whose name is incorrect in the archival record, unless his

⁴⁰⁶ Houston, p. 177.

⁴⁰⁷ *ScotlandsPeople*, 382/10 19.

baptism went unrecorded.⁴⁰⁸ However, that Ebenezer is identified ‘son of’ in the register fits with the 1736 birth date, since it would mean that when he first borrowed books he would have been aged 17. Ebenezer’s first phase of borrowing is shown in figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Ebenezer Clement’s Early Borrowings 1753–4			
Date Borrowed	Author	Title	Pub. Details
29 Dec 1753	Bernard, Richard, 1568-1641	<i>Ruths Recompense.</i>	London, 1628.
9 Feb 1754	Taylor, Thomas	‘High-way to Happiness’, <i>David’s Learning</i> ⁴⁰⁷	London, 1618.
14 Dec 1754	Hooker, Richard, 1553/4-1600	<i>Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie,</i>	London, 1622.

During this period, the library was still housed in the chapel, and the collection predominantly made up of books which had been in the library since its foundation. Ebenezer’s borrowings reflect the typical nature of the works available at that time.⁴⁰⁹ Practical divinity accounts for two of his three borrowings: *Ruth’s Recompense* and *David’s Learning*. *Ruth’s Recompense*, which calls itself ‘commentary [...] delivered in sermons’, falls broadly into the category of practical divinity, since Bernard used the text to explore how to live a good life.⁴¹⁰ Though of a popular genre, this title in particular was borrowed only twice pre-1800, with the other borrower being a rare occurrence at Innerpeffray – female.⁴¹¹ The focus on a female biblical figure, or indeed any female, could account for this female borrowing, since such a focus is rare too at Innerpeffray. Of the many works on living a good life, it is somewhat strange that Ebenezer chose this one. *David’s Learning* is a more popular choice at Innerpeffray, borrowed five times pre-1800, with growing popularity into the nineteenth century. Both works are Puritan in nature, though it is problematic to conclude that this indicates Ebenezer’s religious tendencies over an interest in simply living a godly life, since works with such a focus are more likely to come from Puritan writers.⁴¹² Though Taylor’s work describes itself as a commentary, the focus is again on godly living. Its status as a work of general, rather than scholarly, interest is reflected in the fact that it was most borrowed

⁴⁰⁸ The unreliability of records from the parish of Muthill during this period is noted in ‘Muthill, County of Perth’, *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. 10, p. 318.

⁴⁰⁹ See chapter one of this thesis.

⁴¹⁰ Arlene McAlister, ‘The interpretation of the Book of Ruth in Richard Bernard’s *Ruths Recompense*, first published in 1628’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 30:1 (2015), 33–54. See appendix one for full genre divisions.

⁴¹¹ Janet Bryce, *Innerpeffray Borrowers Register* Vol. 1 f. 5v.

⁴¹² John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 37.

from Innerpeffray by a gardener.⁴¹³ Ebenezer's borrowing of these two texts, therefore, is in keeping with the nature of the library's contents, and typical in nature, if not identical in title, to the type of works most popularly borrowed during that period.

The final item borrowed, Hooker's *Of the Law of Ecclesiastical Polity* is a work both theological and philosophical in its analysis of church governance through scripture, and a strong influence on Anglicanism particularly. This work is taken out only four times between 1747 and 1855, with Ebenezer the only eighteenth-century borrower. It is a notable choice following the previous two not only because of the dramatic change in format (folio, engraved title page) but also because of Hooker's own stance on the prominence of preaching and reputation as 'a useful conformist bulwark against the excesses of Puritanism'.⁴¹⁴ Ebenezer, therefore, in choosing works which conflict with one another, armed himself with the tools to become an analytical reader, though lack of evidence for what use he made of the volume means that we cannot know whether he used it in this way.

By July 1756, Ebenezer was listed as a dyer's apprentice to Alexander Porteous in Crieff. At this point, the nature of his borrowing changed:

Figure 5.4: Ebenezer Clement's Borrowings 1756–1757			
Date Borrowed	Author	Title	Pub. Details
2 Jul 1756	Howell, William, 1631/2–1683	<i>An Institution of General History.</i>	London, 1685.
19 Feb 1757	Mackenzie, George, 1669–1725	<i>The Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation.</i> Vol. 1	Edinburgh, 1708.
15 Oct 1757	Fuller, Thomas, 1608–1661	<i>A Pisgab-sight of Palestine.</i>	London, 1650.

These three are particularly notable as they are physically grander works (folio, engravings) than before, which gives reason to consider whether Ebenezer might have used borrowing, or the books borrowed, as a form of conspicuous display. Towsey critiqued the use of catalogues as

⁴¹³ Innerpeffray Borrowers Register, Vol. 1 f. 7r.

⁴¹⁴ Michael Brydon, *The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker: An Examination of Responses, 1600–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 36. This work also highlights the evolution in opinion of Hooker's own position. The quotation summarises the opinion of Hooker's friend John Spenser in 1604.

evidence for reading precisely because of this element of display, building on previous scholarship with regard to gentlemen's libraries.⁴¹⁵ Mackenzie's *Scots Writers* is a particularly remarkable choice, and given its subject matter could be seen as a lighter tome, were it not for the weight of the names on its subscriber list, marking as it does almost every eminent family in the area and, consequently, governors of the library. It is the only work in this period of Ebenezer's borrowing without explicit reference to religion, though there are many religious writers whose *oeuvres* are summarised and catalogued within the first volume, which is the one Ebenezer borrowed. His final borrowing in the period is of Fuller's *Pisgah-sight of Palestine*. Of a similar ilk to the Howell in its subject matter (history through the Bible), though written in the Interregnum in hope of a restored Church of England, the volume is large and contains many engraved maps.⁴¹⁶ It is therefore possible that Ebenezer was borrowing such ostentatious works precisely for their grandness, which can be further evidenced by the successful change in station which was to befall the dyer's apprentice.

Assessed separately from the context of his wider life, Ebenezer's attraction to grander works in this period might have been attributed to the library's changing status during this phase of his borrowing. The bright, scholarly, eighteenth-century library building would have been under construction, though Ebenezer would still have been retrieving works from the chapel.⁴¹⁷ It is possible, therefore, that he was influenced by the improving nature of his surroundings, and promise of new titles soon to arrive. Fifteen years later, however, Ebenezer returned to the library not as a dyer, but as a merchant, having become part of the 'middling sort', and demonstrating the type of social climbing which may have motivated a move away from practical devotion to ostentatious works of history and literature.⁴¹⁸ In the intervening years, the library, too, had elevated its position, inhabiting its new eighteenth-century building stocked with newer titles of the type Hay Drummond recommended. From this new library, Ebenezer borrowed four works across three occasions:

⁴¹⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 31–2; A. Hunt, 'Private Libraries in the Age of Bibliomania' in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol. II 1640–1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 438–458.

⁴¹⁶ W. B. Patterson, 'Fuller, Thomas (1607/8–1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10236>> [accessed 2 February 2017].

⁴¹⁷ The building was finally completed in 1762, for which see this thesis chapter one.

⁴¹⁸ He can confidently be identified as the same person not only through his distinctive name, but also his signature. His rise may have been achieved through a beneficial marriage to Catharine McGibbon on 1 July 1768 at Monzievaird and Strowan, *ScotlandsPeople* 383/10 100.

Figure 5.5: Ebenezer Clement's Later Borrowing 1772–1775			
Date Borrowed	Author	Title	Pub. Details
4 Feb 1772	Fleming, Robert	<i>Fulfilling of the Scriptures</i>	[n.p.], 1671.
4 Feb 1772	Prideaux, Humphrey, 1648–1724	<i>Old and New Testaments Connected</i> , Vol. 1	London, 1749.
8 Dec 1772	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An Ecclesiastical History</i> , Vol. 2	London, 1765.
25 Jan 1775	'Sherwood'	'History'	[unidentified]

On 4 February 1772, Ebenezer borrowed two books, similar in genre but with differing perspectives. Robert Fleming's *The Fulfilling of the Scripture* was first published in 1669 after Presbyterian Fleming had been deprived of his living on the restoration of the Episcopacy in Scotland.⁴¹⁹ It aimed to provide evidence of a divine plan to restore Presbyterianism in Scotland.⁴²⁰ On the same day he borrowed Humphrey Prideaux's *The Old and New Testament Connected*, a history of the Jews to 33AD.⁴²¹ This work by Prideaux, an Anglican and accomplished Hebrew scholar, proved popular at Innerpeffray and beyond with a wide range of readers. Joseph Hunter, an apprentice in Sheffield, and Presbyterian, is recorded as reading it in May 1798 aged just 15, while in 1808 William Windham, a government minister from Norfolk, recorded reading the same.⁴²² James Lackington, a retired bookseller, and Methodist, reported that his wife enjoyed reading such works more than novels in the early nineteenth century.⁴²³ These works, therefore, were accessible and enjoyable across genders, religious affiliation and social status, despite the different religious affiliations of their authors. Such popularity is also true of Mosheim, borrowed by Ebenezer in December 1772; it is one of the most popularly borrowed works from Innerpeffray.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ David George Mullan, 'Fleming, Robert (1630–1694)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/9710>> [accessed 3 February 2017].

⁴²⁰ Ned Landsman 'Evangelists and Their Hearers: Popular Interpretation of Revivalist Preaching in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of British Studies*, 28:2 (1989), 120–149 (p. 135).

⁴²¹ Hugh de Quehen, 'Prideaux, Humphrey (1648–1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/22784>> [accessed 3 February 2017].

⁴²² Joseph Hunter, 'Journal', British Library, Add 24, 879, 17, via *Reading Experience Database 1450–1945* <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=10810> [accessed 3 February 2017]; William Windham, Mrs Henry Baring (ed.), *The Diary of the right Hon. William Windham* (London, 1866), p. 476, via *Reading Experience Database 1450–1945* <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=10979> [accessed 3 February 2017].

⁴²³ James Lackington, *The Confessions of J. Lackington* (London, 1804), p. 52, via *Reading Experience Database 1450–1945* <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=21019> [accessed 3 February 2017].

⁴²⁴ For which, see this thesis chapter four.

In his later borrowing, then, Ebenezer took advantage of the library's increasing collections by borrowing more recently published works, in 1749 and 1765 respectively, but effectively returned to the type of reading which interested him in his youth. Compared to the ostentatious borrowing of his dyer's-apprentice years, later-borrowed volumes are generally unassuming and smaller (Fleming and Prideaux in octavo, Mosheim in quarto). Ebenezer, therefore, exemplifies the type of borrowing that is prolific from the newly refreshed eighteenth-century library, i.e. precisely the type of borrowing which characterised use of the early collection in format, genre and language, with the only change limited to the age of the book. This follows the general trend at Innerpeffray as observed in chapter four, and also marks out Ebenezer's middle borrowing period as anomalous, further serving as argument towards it being motivated by physical grandness, which has never before been evidenced within an analysis of book borrowing.

John Whytock: Student of Divinity, Preacher

John Whytock first borrowed from Innerpeffray in July 1785, appearing 33 times in the register over 12 years, making him one of the most prolific of the period. His borrowing was set in the context of a recently rejuvenated library – the collections fully settled into the new building and with the associated expansion of collections almost entirely complete.⁴²⁵ All of his borrowing also took place under the reign of a single Keeper, William Dow, and in a relatively stable period in the library's history. The twelve years recorded in the register also allow us to trace changes in his personal circumstance, moving from student to preacher, and borrowing throughout.

Figure 5.6: John Whytock's Borrowings			
Date Borrowed	Author	Title	Pub. Details
5 July 1785	Melville, James, Sir, 1535–1617	<i>The Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill.</i>	Edinburgh, 1735.
13 July 1785	Cudworth, Ralph, 1617-1688	<i>Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable morality.</i>	London, 1731.
16 Aug 1785	Voltaire, 1694–1778	<i>Treatise on Religious Toleration.</i>	London, 1764.
22 Sept 1785	Potter, John, 1673/4–1747	<i>Archaeologia Graeca: or, the Antiquities of Greece.</i>	London, 1764.
1 May 1786	Clarke, Samuel, 1675–1729	<i>Sermons on Several subjects and Occasions, Vol. 5</i>	London, 1756.
27 May 1786	Butler, Joseph, 1692-1752	<i>Analogy of religion,</i>	London, 1765.

⁴²⁵ Purchasing ends c. 1790, as explored in chapter two.

29 June 1786	Stillingfleet, Edward, 1635–1699	<i>A Vindication of the Answer to Some late Papers</i> , Vol. 2	London, 1686.
4 Sept 1787	Abernethy, John, 1680–1740	<i>Sermons on Various Subjects</i> , Vols 2 & 3	London, 1748.
5 Sept 1788	Sherlock, Thomas, 1678–1761	<i>Several Discourses</i> , Vols 1&2	London, 1764.
5 May 1789	Leland, John, 1691–1766	<i>View of the Principal Deistical Writers</i> , 2 Vols	London, 1766.
15 June 1789	Butler, Joseph, 1692–1752	<i>Fifteen Sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel</i>	London, 1765.
15 June 1789	South, Robert, 1634–1716	[<i>Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions.</i>]	London, 1737.
17 Oct 1789	Atterbury, Francis, 1662–1732	<i>Sermons and Discourses on Several Subjects and Occasions</i> Vol. 3	London, 1761.
17 Oct 1789	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700–1747	<i>Discourses on Several Important Subjects</i> , Vol. 1	London, 1766.
10 May 1790	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> , Vol. 1	London, 1765.
10 May 1790	Abernethy, John, 1680–1740	<i>Sermons on Various Subjects</i> , Vol. 1	London, 1748.
29 Oct 1790	Abernethy, John, 1680–1740	<i>Sermons on Various Subjects</i> , Vol. 4	London, 1748.
29 Oct 1790	South, Robert, 1634–1716	[<i>Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions</i>], Vol. 8	London, 1737.
16 Sept 1791	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700–1747	<i>Discourses on Several Important Subjects</i> , Vol. 2	London, 1766.
16 Sept 1791	Allestree, Richard, 1619–1681	<i>Forty Sermons</i>	London, 1684.
21 July 1793		<i>Monthly Review</i> , Vol. 46	
21 July 1793	Smith, John, 1747–1807	<i>Galic</i> [sic] <i>Antiquities</i> ,	Edinburgh, 1780.
26 Sept 1793	Conybeare, John	<i>Sermons</i> , Vol. 1	London, 1757.
23 Dec 1793	Conybeare, John	<i>Sermons</i> , 2 Vols	London, 1757.
23 Dec 1793		<i>Monthly Review</i> ‘for 1789’	
22 Jan 1794	Agar, William, 1709/10–1776	<i>Military Devotion</i>	London, 1758.
22 Jan 1794	Brakenridge, William.	<i>Sermons on Several Subjects</i>	London, 1764.
30 May 1794	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713–1771	<i>Sermons on Various Subjects</i>	London, 1772.
21 July 1794	Nalson, Valentine	<i>Twenty Sermons</i>	London, 1737.
21 July 1794	Clarke, Samuel, 1675–1729	<i>XVIII Sermons on Several Occasions</i>	London, 1734.
18 Oct 1794	Snape, Andrew, 1675–1742	<i>Forty-five Sermons</i> , Vol. 2	London, 1745.

25 May 1797	Hoole, Joseph, d. 1745	<i>Sermons on Several Important Practical subjects</i> , Vols 1 & 2	London, 1748.
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When he first borrowed, John was aged 25 residing at Cowgask.⁴²⁶ By September 1787, he recorded himself as ‘student’, still at Cowgask, then later as ‘student of Divinity’, using ‘Cowgask’ and ‘Trinity Gask’ as his address interchangeably. External sources corroborate that he was registered as a student at St Andrews from 1781 to 1789, first at United College then at St Mary’s (Divinity).⁴²⁷ He first borrowed from Innerpeffray four years after he began to borrow from St Andrews University Library (for which see chapter seven), and used both collections in very similar ways. This suggests that students were using Innerpeffray to supplement their university studies. From October 1790 to January 1794, he recorded himself as ‘preacher of the gospel’ and still provided an address as Trinity Gask, marking the end of his university studies and perhaps an instance of ‘preacher’ being used as an interim term. In May 1794, the address reverted to Cowgask, and the final five borrowings have no address or occupation attached, though the identical signatures (alongside the uniqueness of his name in the register) confirm that it is the same individual.

Unsurprisingly, 22 of the 33 items John borrowed were sermon collections. He borrowed widely across the Protestant tradition, beginning with volume five from the popular eight-volume set of Clarke’s *Sermons on Several Subjects and Occasions* in May 1786. This volume covers broad topics such as morality, the necessity of Christ’s suffering, wickedness, sin and interpretation of the scriptures. That he begins with volume five, instead of reading it in order, shows that there may have been something within that particular volume which piqued his interest, but, since there are no marks within the volume itself nor surviving evidence for how he read it, we cannot speculate on what it was. The specificity of volume five, however strongly indicates that his borrowing was topic-driven.

His interest in Clarke’s *Sermons* extended beyond his first visit, coming again in July 1794, once he had become ‘Preacher of the Gospel’, to borrow it again. No volume number was given on

⁴²⁶ Born 24 October 1759, 2nd son of James Whytock (born Methven 1723) and Catherine Wilson (b. 1718 and married at Methven 1743). *ScotlandsPeople* 380/10 236.

⁴²⁷ Smart, ‘John Whytock’ <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1418621508>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

this occasion, likely indicating that he borrowed the one-volume *XVIII Sermons on Several Occasions* as opposed to one from the eight-volume set. Borrowed on the same day as Nalson's *Twenty Sermons*, a comparison of topics covered by both volumes again gives no real overriding mutual concept. Clarke was renowned as a popular preacher and prolific writer, yet Nalson is relatively unknown, and while his *Twenty Sermons* was published twice (1724 and 1737), he produced no other work.⁴²⁸ Topic is therefore not necessarily what drives Whytock to borrow these sermons on this occasion. On 16 September 1791, Whytock borrowed both Allestree's *Forty Sermons* and the second volume of Seed's *Discourses*. Though both these preachers came from the Church of England, the former lived under the reign of Cromwell and died well before the latter was born.⁴²⁹ It is possible, then, that they offered alternative viewpoints even from within the same denomination. Seed is notoriously 'not very theological', but was latterly praised for his sermon style, if not content.⁴³⁰ Here we see evidence that Whytock, then a preacher in his own right, was interested in sermon style, rather than content. This further justifies not privileging the intellectual content of the work as a motivation for its borrowing.

Whytock borrowed John Abernethy's *Sermons* on three occasions. As a student in 1787 he borrowed volumes two and three, returning in both May and October of 1790 (as a Preacher of the Gospel) to borrow volumes one and four respectively. Abernethy was a Presbyterian minister with a Scottish education, but largely Irish background.⁴³¹ Volume two focuses on mutual edification, knowledge, godliness and charity, while volume three covers virtue, wisdom and confidence in God. Borrowing these volumes first shows a potential emphasis on godly life over the more theologically challenging aspects of repentance, evil and temptation dealt with in volumes one and four. Whytock borrowed Abernethy at much the same frequency as he borrowed Robert South, indeed once on the same day (29 October 1790). South is never borrowed alone, first

⁴²⁸ W. G. Blaikie, 'Clarke, Samuel (1684–1750)', rev. M. J. Mercer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5531>> [accessed 19 October 2016]; This is unlike his father, who was a prolific pamphleteer: R. C. Richardson, 'Nalson, John (bap. 1637, d. 1686)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19734>> [accessed 30 October 2016].

⁴²⁹ John Spurr, 'Allestree, Richard (1621/2–1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/395>> [accessed 19 October 2016].

⁴³⁰ Charlotte Fell-Smith, 'Seed, Jeremiah (bap. 1699?, d. 1747)', rev. Robert D. Cornwall, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25024>> [accessed 19 October 2016].

⁴³¹ M. A. Stewart, 'Abernethy, John (1680–1740)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48>> [accessed 19 October 2016].

taken out in tandem with Butler's *Sermons*. South is said to have 'feared protestant nonconformity more than Catholicism', which makes his being taken out in conjunction with Abernethy so notable.⁴³² The lack of uniformity in denomination of these works, particularly of those taken out together indicates that they were to be read critically, rather than verbatim, and were not likely to have been intended to be preached aloud, though this may depend on the denomination within which Whytock himself was operating.

Whytock's own religious persuasion, as we have seen, is not easily ascertained from his borrowing habits. His absence from Scott's *Fasti* could suggest that he was operating outside of the Church of Scotland.⁴³³ The *Old Statistical Account* for Trinity Gask (1791–1799) mentions that there is also 'one of the first erected Seceding Meeting-houses, belonging to the Antiburgher Synod of Scotland' at Kinkell within the parish.⁴³⁴ Further, while Kinkell might be in the parish of Trinity Gask, they are sufficiently distinct places in the borrowers' register that Whytock would not have recorded one when he meant the other. It is also true that Whytock's borrowing habits were not solely Presbyterian. Anglicans figured strongly: South, Allestree, Seed, Conybeare, Stillingfleet, Atterbury and Snape. Whytock did not borrow these figures initially, first taking them out in 1789, while still a student. His final borrowings were all of Joseph Hoole, who, though not a particularly prolific author, is both Anglican, and read by Anglicans.⁴³⁵ The make-up of the collection means that such choices cannot simply be down to running out of Presbyterian ministers to read, but instead shows either a progression towards an interest in that faith, or a curiosity in these other works which proliferate in the collections at Innerpeffray. Thus, Whytock borrows broadly even within a single genre, using sermon writers across the denominations to explore a variety of styles and viewpoints.

What, then, of the non-sermon items borrowed by Whytock? The first ever book he took from the library was *The Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Halhill*, a primary account of the life of a page of Mary Queen of Scots. He returned just eight days later to retrieve Cudworth's *Treatise Concerning*

⁴³² Three versions of South's sermons remain at Innerpeffray, and it is not evident which of the three ought to be identified as the version which Whytock borrowed alongside Butler.

⁴³³ Scott, *Fasti*, passim.

⁴³⁴ *Old Statistical Account*, Vol. 18, p. 484.

⁴³⁵ Anne Lister, Helena Whitbread (ed.), *The Diaries of Anne Lister 1791-1840* (London, 1988), p. 31, via *Reading Experience Database 1450–1945* <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=3044> [accessed 12 February 2017].

Eternal and Immutable Morality, then the following month for Voltaire's *Treatise on Religious Toleration*. The latter two works fit well with the sermons he borrowed throughout his life, pursuing as they do morality and a godly life, though from a more philosophical perspective than a theological one. The Voltaire in particular fits well with the suspicion that Whytock is operating within a religion other than the Church of Scotland, likely still Protestant, given the work's argument for tolerance among religions, though still with a strong critique of Catholicism.

By September 1785, John moved onto Potter's *Archaeologia Graeca*, which was to be the last non-religious book he borrowed for almost a decade. Before 1800 this book was borrowed 12 times by 10 different borrowers, including a smith, a mason and a schoolmaster. It was not popular among students, or among preachers, detailing as it does the history and governance of ancient Athens (book I) and their religious worship from temples to games (book II). As will be seen in his borrowing from St Andrews, Whytock displayed an interest in reading wider works available within the library collection, but this interest narrows the further into his career he travels. In this instance, then, he used Innerpeffray and St Andrews in similar ways.

26 of the 33 items Whytock borrowed are in octavo, which further justifies the argument that such formats were portable and most suitable for borrowing as posited in chapter one. Of Whytock's borrowing, only Allestree is sizeable. Allestree again is notable in terms of age, one of only two seventeenth century items borrowed by Whytock, the other being Stillingfleet's *An Answer to Some Papers Lately Printed*. The other works he borrowed were published predominantly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the most recent being *Galic Antiquities* from 1780. It is clear, therefore, that much of his borrowing was from the modern collections of the newly refurbished library, reflecting the strong preference for novelty displayed across all borrowers at Innerpeffray. Of the authors Whytock borrowed, Stillingfleet, Atterbury, South, Sherlock, Cudworth and Clark were all recommended on the Archbishop's list, thus constituting the type of scholarly reading which Hay Drummond envisaged.⁴³⁶ However, contrary to Hay Drummond's vision, every single book John borrowed is in English, and by no means constitutes any attempt to get back to the original texts, as one might with a commentary.

⁴³⁶ As outlined in chapter one.

John Whytock borrowed for the final time in May 1797, taking out volumes one and two of Hoole's *Sermons*, three years after his last visit, when he borrowed Snape's *Forty-Five Sermons* in October 1794. This is the longest gap between his borrowings, and seems to suggest that either his need for books was waning, or that he had another source upon which to draw. A record from Dunblane Commissary Court states that John died 'at Drumend in the Parish of Gask' on 7 June 1815, which tells us first that he goes on to live far beyond when his borrowing ends, and that he maintained a residence in the area, so neither moving away nor ceasing to exist can explain the end of his borrowing.⁴³⁷ This record, created when John died intestate, goes on to state that he was 'preacher of the gospel sometime at Dundee', though as yet further records to corroborate this have not been identified.⁴³⁸ The same record from Dunblane shows us that John's family remained at Gask: an elder brother, James at Mains of Gask and a sister, Liliash, who resided at nearby Smiddyhaugh with her husband, John McLiesh. It is possible, therefore, that he gave a family address, and had other lodgings in Dundee, which would explain the waning frequency of his borrowing.

By the time of his death, John Whytock was himself a book owner, further highlighting the deficiencies of a borrowing record in developing a picture of the books to which an individual had access, as identified in the introduction. His entire personal estate is listed simply as 'books, cloathing and other articles'.⁴³⁹ It does not list which titles this collection would include, but the fact that books are listed first might suggest that they are not insignificant in number or value. His book ownership might also be employed as a reason why Whytock focused on sermon collections as his career progresses, since the library was so strong and had such a variety of them, and Whytock's own collections might have served his other needs.

Alexander Maxton

With almost 400 entries in the borrowers' register across a span of 52 years, Alexander Maxton is by far the most prolific borrower at Innerpeffray even including records up to 1968. To extensive for full inclusion within this chapter, it is detailed in appendix seven. While the sheer quantity of his record, therefore, makes him an exceptional, rather than typical reader, such a

⁴³⁷ CC6/5/33 Dunblane Commissary Court, p. 150.

⁴³⁸ An enquiry to Dundee City Archives revealed that there is no way currently to search for one individual in records across denominations.

⁴³⁹ CC6/5/33 Dunblane Commissary Court, p. 151.

quantity of data across so great a time span offers a rare opportunity to assess books borrowed by one person as a whole, as well as on a more detailed level. It is important to note, however, that during his borrowing life, though the library's collections are static, the type of library it becomes changes dramatically. In 1794, when Maxton first borrowed, the library had recently been filled with more up-to-date works, yet by 1846, when he borrowed last, those same books had become outdated and the collection had remained static. Since key moments in the library's history have been addressed in chapter two, it is fitting therefore here to give a short account of Alexander Maxton's own life before assessing his borrowing against both personal and institutional factors.

Alexander Maxton was born in Crieff on 7 August 1774, to John Maxton and Isobel Clow.⁴⁴⁰ The son of a farmer, he matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1796, but there is no record of his graduation.⁴⁴¹ He also attended the University of St Andrews (United College from 1797 to 98, then St Mary's 1798–1802), which confirms his identity as 'student' as recorded (once) in the borrowers' register between 16 May 1799, and 6 January 1803, with the address 'Tamechknock' (variously spelt) identified as Tomaknock, just outside Crieff.⁴⁴² On 6 September 1803 he was deemed sufficiently qualified to be licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Auchterarder in 1803.⁴⁴³ He was presented to Crieff in 1811 after the post of minister became vacant but the presentation is not sustained, not through any personal deficiencies, but over a dispute as to who claimed patronage of the vacant charge.⁴⁴⁴ In January 1817 he was presented to another vacant charge, Fowlis Wester, and by April of the same year was ordained there. He compiled the account of this parish for the second *Statistical Account of Scotland*.⁴⁴⁵ The Maxtons of Cultoquhey were a major landowning family in the area, but there seems to be no link between our Alexander Maxton and this family.⁴⁴⁶ He became a landowner himself, purchasing two nearby farms during his lifetime: Redford, Madderty in 1829 and Ardbennie, Madderty in

⁴⁴⁰ Identified using additional information from *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728–1858* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1913) and Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

⁴⁴¹ He does not appear in W. Innes Addison, *A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow from 31st December 1727 to 31st December 1897* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1898)

⁴⁴² Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, Vol. 1, ff. 71–81; Smart, 'Alexander Maxton' <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1398037916>> [accessed 31 July 2018].

⁴⁴³ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

⁴⁴⁴ A full account is given in Porteous, p. 125.

⁴⁴⁵ 'Fowlis Wester, County of Perth', *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. 10, p. 249.

⁴⁴⁶ He distinguished himself specifically in text written for Anthony Maxton of Cultoquhey in 1830 prepared as a response to a letter regarding the Maxton family history (NRS GD155/989/2).

1840.⁴⁴⁷ A brief glimpse of his life at Fowlis Wester, and his canny character, is given in Macara's *Crieff: its Tradition and Characters* (Edinburgh, 1881).⁴⁴⁸ He discouraged another Maxton, John the ploughman, from competing in the ploughing contests and, once John had established his reputation as a champion against advice, encouraged him not to compete again so his employee could retain the 'champion' title.⁴⁴⁹ Alexander Maxton died in 1851, leaving £2 for Andrew Rogie, his long-time servant, £10 for the poor of Fowlis, and everything else to his two sisters.⁴⁵⁰

Evidence for Maxton's life between his misfortune at the Crieff vacancy and his election to Fowlis Wester exists only in a tantalising phrase adjoined to his name in 20 of the 24 times he borrows from Innerpeffray between March 1809 and February 1813: 'for Mr Murry'. As with John Bayne above, this does not mean that those items marked for Mr Murry should necessarily be treated separately, especially since there is little difference in borrowing patterns (nature, or frequency) between items 'for Mr Murry' and not.⁴⁵¹ We can reasonably guess at the identity of this 'Mr Murry'; though a very common name, the minister before Alexander Maxton at Fowlis Wester, John Murray, is the strongest candidate, given that Alexander was preaching at Fowlis Wester during John's tenure and because there may have been some connection between the two to facilitate the purchase of Ardbennie, which had previously belonged to John Murray and from whose descendent Alexander Maxton made the purchase.⁴⁵² Ultimately, however, his identity is not crucial, since the person selecting the books is always Alexander Maxton himself, as it was with John Bayne above. This is emphasised by the complete lack of library catalogue available to the offsite user. These borrowings will, therefore, be examined as part of Alexander Maxton's own record.

As expected, given Maxton's profession and the type of books available at Innerpeffray, his borrowing is overwhelmingly religious. Within that, there is a clear preference for sermons throughout his life, with several authors borrowed on multiple occasions. John Abernethy, John

⁴⁴⁷ NRS GD155/312 and NRS GD155/311 respectively.

⁴⁴⁸ Macara, pp. 297–8.

⁴⁴⁹ Macara, pp. 297–8.

⁴⁵⁰ NRS SC49/31/52/445.

⁴⁵¹ It is possible either that Alexander Maxton begins to borrow for Mr Murry long before it is recorded in the register, or that the books were for them both, but no decision need be made since it can never be certain whether borrowers from the library choose books to read themselves, or indeed only for themselves, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

⁴⁵² NRS GD155/311/7.

Sharp and Samuel Clark were his most favoured sermon writers, with Sherlock, South, Tillotson and Snape among a host of others with multiple borrowings. Abernethy and Clark were mostly borrowed at the beginning of his borrowing life, with Sharp popular throughout. Following the nature of sermons identified as available in the previous chapter, they are predominantly Anglican and Royalist. Abernethy is the only Presbyterian writer among them. Sharp, a former Archbishop of York, was both Anglican and a Royalist.⁴⁵³ Clark was again Anglican, though renowned as a theologian and philosopher rather than a minister.⁴⁵⁴ Since Maxton was operating within the Church of Scotland, it seems unlikely that he could have preached such sermons verbatim; perhaps sermons in this context offered a quick and accessible way to comprehend as many differing interpretations as possible.

Religious works which are not sermons are less popular, but still frequently borrowed across his lifetime, especially Johann Lorenz Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1765) and Thomas Stackhouse's *Body of Divinity* (London, 1734). Stackhouse's work summarises key works for the 'lesser clergy', thus educating the reader as well as, for those with access to collections like Innerpeffray at least, informing them of who to read next.⁴⁵⁵ Similarly, Mosheim is a summative work, this time of church history instead of theologians, through which the reader gains an overview of a deep and complex subject. That Maxton borrowed the work in 1799, 1800, multiple times in 1810 (for Mr Murry) and again in 1817 shows he used it throughout his borrowing life. These works are integral to the story of Alexander Maxton the borrower, demonstrating that he was interested in broadening his overall knowledge of church history and thought, but without the kind of scholarship that might have been envisaged in another context (such as at the Leighton Library) through close study of languages, text and commentaries. This further suggests sermon collections might be used to access scripture interpretation.

Though there is no strong preference for literature in his borrowings, Alexander Maxton certainly looks to have maintained an interest in it, even if he did not (or could not) borrow the

⁴⁵³ Barry Till, 'Sharp, John (1645?–1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/25213>> [accessed 10 January 2017].

⁴⁵⁴ John Gascoigne, 'Clarke, Samuel (1675–1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/5530>> [accessed 11 January 2017].

⁴⁵⁵ Scott Mandelbrote, 'Stackhouse, Thomas (1681/2–1752)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/26197>> [accessed 10 January 2017].

works from Innerpeffray. While his first ever borrowing in 1794 was of *Sir Thomas Overbury's Wife* (London, 1630), a poem outlining the virtues a man should look for in a wife, only Shakespeare is found in the rest of his record, occurring three times.⁴⁵⁶ This follows patterns seen in chapter four, where Shakespeare is the only literary author with any popularity. However, Maxton borrowed editions of the *Critical Review* as often as his favourite sermon writers (on 10 occasions) followed closely by the *Monthly Review* (eight times). In the context of a subscription library, for example, borrowing such works, especially for Mr Murry, might point towards their use as a means by which to select further reading material. However, these are borrowed long before and after, as well as during the 'for Mr Murry' period, and the limited acquisitions history of Innerpeffray would further discount such use. These works summarise and critique published works and, though the editions vary wildly in age, point again to a man looking for summaries of the (published) world, or for some gateway to a wider knowledge. As with sermons and the summative works of history, again we see Maxton's propensity for gathering works which allowed him to quickly build upon his knowledge, reading an extensive number of items, or even summaries of works, rather than focusing in depth on any one thing. In this way, Maxton may therefore be said to show the characteristics of an 'extensive' reader, as opposed to the 'intensive' reader, not through any surviving evidence of how he was reading, but because of the types of summative works across genres in which he repeatedly showed interest.⁴⁵⁷

Now that his borrowing preferences have been examined as a whole, and since so clear a picture of key events from his life has been established, it is possible to trace these events against the type of books he borrowed, how many and how often. The most notable pattern in Maxton's record is changes in the quantity of books borrowed. Maxton always preferred borrowing multiple titles. After his first two single borrowings in 1794 and 1799, he proceeded to borrow in bundles of no less than three, but most usually between eight and ten, up until 1813. These dates covered his period as a student at Tomaknock, as well as his fetching 'for Mr Murry'. From 1813, his borrowing continued in single instances. Whilst this change coincided with the death date of Mr Murry, contemporary borrowers' records show that the change was in fact imposed by the library, with all those who had been borrowing multiple titles now restricted to single

⁴⁵⁶ 'Plays' in 1809 then 'Johnson's Shakespear' twice in 1816.

⁴⁵⁷ Described by Roger Chartier, 'The Practical Impact of Writing' in *The Book History Reader*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 157–181 (p. 167).

works.⁴⁵⁸ This change in library regulation coincides with the creation of the first library catalogue, which might suggest an overall reassessment of how the library functioned at the same time. From 1810 to 1813 the same people borrowed bundles of books regularly and new names were infrequent. From this point on, there is a more diverse list of names, all borrowing one book at a time.

Once the opportunity to borrow multiple works at a time ceased, the type of work Maxton borrowed began to change. While the types of work he did borrow are not unfamiliar (Shakespeare, Mosheim) sermons are notable by their absence - only Moses (twice) and 'Sermons de Bertheau' (once) among the 27 borrowings between 1815 and 1846.⁴⁵⁹ A greater emphasis seems to be placed on church history and commentaries. In the period between 1815 and 1818 his visits also became more regular, though decreased over time (eight times in 1815, six in 1816, five in 1817, one in 1818 and two in 1819). In combination, these factors seem to point towards a change in preference from sermons, functional and quickly skimmed, to more in-depth works intended to provide fodder for a longer length of time.

Alexander Maxton's ordination on 29 April 1817 essentially marked his demise as Innerpeffray's most prolific borrower. After this date, Maxton retrieved only nine books, with gaps of up to a decade between visits. Maxton returned for the unidentified 'epistres tom II' which he had previously borrowed in March 1817 in the run up to his ordination. Works retrieved on 20 January 1819, 20 January 1829, 17 May 1838 and 5 July 1838 were various histories, few of which are identifiable.⁴⁶⁰ Henry Guthry's *Memoirs* (London, 1702) were borrowed by him twice, first 4 March 1819 and again 16 August 1838. Notably, these titles were much older than the average age of the collection, historic texts in their own right. It is possible, therefore, that given the ageing collections at Innerpeffray by this period, the library no longer fulfilled Maxton's requirements as it had before, and he instead used it infrequently to consult older works. Maxton was also busily engaged in a form of scholarship of his own in this period – preparations for the

⁴⁵⁸ While there is no archival evidence from which to quote to support this evidence, there is a strong visual change in the borrowers' register as it moves from narrative entries, with up to 15 titles at one time to tabular format with just one or two (Innerpeffray Borrowers' Registers, Vol. 1, f. 127v)

⁴⁵⁹ Moses' *Sermons* is an unidentified volume found in the 1855 catalogue. Bertheau is Charles Bertheau, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (Amsterdam, 1730).

⁴⁶⁰ Largely due to a lack of information in the register. One title identified was that of David Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1678), borrowed by Maxton in 1829.

Fowlis Wester entry in the *Statistical Account*.⁴⁶¹ From his borrowing record, Innerpeffray appears to have been of little use in this endeavour.

Personal factors certainly could have influenced Maxton's borrowing: access to books elsewhere might mark this change in borrowing habits, and the salaried post may have enabled Maxton to purchase books for himself.⁴⁶² In an official post after years of waiting, perhaps Maxton did not need to exhibit the extensive borrowing that characterised his earlier years. However, the institutional history of the library can also be seen to impact his long association with it, and serves to demonstrate that the type of borrowing which characterised use into the nineteenth century could not be sustained beyond the first few decades, because of the unique hiatus in acquisitions explored in chapter two.

Thus it is clear that by identifying and expounding upon additional information about the users' lives and combining it with the context of the library collections, we can go some way towards exploring an individual's borrowing despite the lack of traditional sources. This individual focus demonstrates the significant impact that both personal and institutional factors might have on a borrowing record. To begin to understand Ebenezer Clement's record, for example, one must consider both his personal rise in status and the changes to the library building and collection which occurred during his borrowing period. For Alexander Maxton, a change in library policy caused him to stop borrowing works *en masse*, instead borrowing them individually, a change which might otherwise have been attributed to his new position. The impact of institutional change does not decrease in significance when individual life contexts are also considered, but remains a vital factor within individual borrowing records, just as it did when assessing behaviours on a macro level as in chapters three and four. This reasserts the importance of understanding institutional history when approaching a borrowing record, a central tenet of this thesis.

⁴⁶¹ 'Fowlis Wester', *New Statistical Account*, Vol. 10, pp. 249–261.

⁴⁶² Maxton earned enough to purchase the farms of Ardbenie and Redford, both in Madderty, during this phase of his life. NRS GD155/312 and NRS GD155/311.

CHAPTER SIX: LEIGHTON LIBRARY

The preceding chapters have shown how borrowers' registers can be develop an understanding of an institution's history and give a glimpse into how individuals interacted with that institution. This has been shown to be dependent not only upon the space and time to explore the requisite institutional and personal contexts, but also in the survival of sufficient records, therefore such pursuits necessarily tend towards the case study. However, a comparison to other institutions is a vital step towards understanding how Innerpeffray's management and use differs from other libraries. Further, it offers an opportunity to demonstrate the benefits of the methodological approach expounded in this thesis when applied elsewhere.

Finding suitable comparisons to Innerpeffray, or indeed identifying the criteria by which other libraries might be considered comparable, is no easy task due to Innerpeffray's unique borrowing demographic and the need for sources by which the demographic at other libraries might be identified. This pursuit forms the basis for chapter seven, and concerns libraries which were intended to be publicly accessible. The present chapter explores a library which, although not originally intended for the public, and never freely accessible to them, is closest to Innerpeffray not only geographically but in its foundation, managing personnel and comparable rich record of use: the Leighton Library in Dunblane. It demonstrates the difference that a board of trustees managing a library of which they are users, compared to a library meant for others as at Innerpeffray, makes to the collections and fortunes of a library. Further, it reveals how the terms of Madertie's foundation, 'for benefit', rather than 'for use' as at the Leighton, ultimately lead to Innerpeffray's eventual longevity, since its survival was not dependent upon its level of use.



Figure 6.1: Map showing Innerpefferay and Leighton Libraries

Foundation

Figure 6.1 locates the Leighton Library in Dunblane (red pin), just twenty miles south west of Innerpefferay (yellow pin). The Leighton Library was founded in 1684 through the will of Robert Leighton, an almost exact contemporary of Innerpefferay's founder, Madertie.⁴⁶³ Much more is known about Robert Leighton than Madertie because of Leighton's career as a scholar and member of the clergy. Born at Newcastle to a Scottish father, Leighton grew up in the north of England while his father, who lectured in various churches during Leighton's childhood, went to train as a physician in Europe.⁴⁶⁴ Leighton spent significant time in Europe during his formative years, before attending university at Edinburgh 1627–1631.⁴⁶⁵ This pursuit of education

⁴⁶³ Both were born c. 1611. Leighton died in 1684, eight years earlier than Madertie.

⁴⁶⁴ Hugh Ouston, 'Leighton, Robert (bap. 1612, d. 1684)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/16402>> [accessed 4 August 2018].

⁴⁶⁵ Ouston.

sets Leighton apart from Madertie. An ordained minister, vigorous scholar and multi-lingual, Leighton taught Hebrew at the University of Edinburgh, and went on to become its Principal, a post which he relinquished to be ordained Bishop of Dunblane at the restoration of the episcopacy.⁴⁶⁶ He eventually became Archbishop of Glasgow, and during his incumbency continued to advocate for ‘accommodation’, seeing ‘the polity of the church as less important than personal piety’.⁴⁶⁷ In this way, despite his very different background and intense scholarly pursuits, Leighton’s personal values seem aligned with those of Madertie, or at least those which can be inferred from the contents of Madertie’s foundation, as explored in chapter one.



Figure 6.2 Portrait of Robert Leighton
courtesy of the University of Edinburgh

At least one contemporary portrait of Leighton exists, shown in figure 6.2.⁴⁶⁸ This image highlights Leighton’s scholarly and bibliophilic nature through the small book in his hand and the ink pot on the table, both of which evoke the many books, large and small, still held in the Leighton collection, annotated heavily with his thoughts. Created in his own lifetime, the portrait shows Leighton perhaps as he saw himself: one hand on the book marking his scholarly endeavours, one hand on his heart, marking his beliefs. The personal connection to his books, and his extensive annotation of them, marks a key difference between Madertie and Leighton. Leighton’s books were procured for his own use and evidence of this use is often present within

them. Madertie’s MS interventions did not extend beyond a signature in the front of each book. Furthermore, Madertie’s library was created in his own lifetime and his later purchasing choices may have been informed by the intention to create it, as in chapter one. Leighton, by contrast, accrued a large number of personal books, and considered the foundation of a library a fitting

⁴⁶⁶ Gordon Willis, ‘The Leighton Library, Dunblane: its History and Contents’, *The Bibliotheca*, 10:6 (1981), 139–157 (p. 139).

⁴⁶⁷ Ouston.

⁴⁶⁸ L Schuneman, *Robert Leighton*, Edinburgh University EU0082 <<https://collections.ed.ac.uk/art/record/505>>

purpose for them after his death⁴⁶⁹. Leighton's vision is more similar to how most other libraries began across Britain and emphasises further the anomalous nature of Innerpeffray as a library intentionally created for the use of a group beyond its original owner, rather than a library originally formed by the preferences of a single individual.⁴⁷⁰

Robert Leighton left his books to Dunblane 'to remaine there for the vse of the Clergie of that Diocess' along with £100 sterling to make a 'chamber' for the books, a clear distinction from the Library of Innerpeffray in terms of user group.⁴⁷¹ However, the Leighton Library's earliest borrowing records (1699–1745) show that it was frequented by lay persons, including local landowners, a schoolmaster and even a boltmaker.⁴⁷² Access to the Leighton Library by non-clergy was formalised in 1734 when the trustees agreed upon a subscription for 'civis' members. The fact that Leighton's terminology was far clearer than the 'young students' Madertie identified, but that the actual user group of the Leighton Library was as broad as at Innerpeffray, suggests that, even if Madertie had intended a specific user group for his library, the general populace had a desire to borrow from Innerpeffray, and that those responsible for carrying out his wishes permitted such use.

The provenance of items in Leighton and Madertie's collections show how the pursuits of their ancestors flavoured their respective collections even before the purchase of their own items. Leighton's father collected his own library, of which many works appear in the Leighton collection, though they have not yet been systematically identified.⁴⁷³ Though provenance has not been recorded with any regularity in the Leighton Library catalogue, and a full search is beyond the scope of this thesis, Leighton's books do include a variety of items with evidence of scholarly

⁴⁶⁹ Evidenced by the fact that Leighton took his books with him to Horstead Keynes in Sussex on his retirement. Willis, *Bibliotheca*, p. 140.

⁴⁷⁰ See, for example, the comparison with Kirkwall and Haddington libraries in chapter seven of this thesis.

⁴⁷¹ Willis, *Bibliotheca*, p. 141.

⁴⁷² See Graeme Young, 'Leighton Library Borrowers of the Early Eighteenth Century' *Journal for the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, 20:4 (2009), 151–153 and Linda Chapman's 1999 transcription and index of CH2/104/1/4, held at Stirling Council Archives.

⁴⁷³ Frances Condick, 'Leighton, Alexander (c. 1570–1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/16395>> [accessed 17 November 2017].

bibliophilic former owners, including Kenelm Digby and John Lumley, First Baron Lumley.⁴⁷⁴ Leighton, therefore, was able to acquire works from prominent collections, either directly, or through a third party who had access to those sales. The places of publication of his collections are more various than at Innerpeffray, with far less English-printed material. The few early works at the Library of Innerpeffray that do not originate from Madertie, or from one of his ancestors, come from other notable Perthshire families.⁴⁷⁵ A key difference is therefore demonstrated between the two foundations: Leighton had the access, and the finances, to acquire the items he wished, as emphasised by the sheer quantity of books he amassed for his library. By contrast, the pursuit of specific titles for private use is not characteristic of Madertie's collecting. The presence of *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1667) in Leighton's collection, lists of works often used outside the Catholic Church to determine books of interest, further emphasise this point, and such aids to book selection are absent from Madertie's collection.⁴⁷⁶

A 1691 manuscript catalogue of the Leighton Library gives an idea of the scale of Leighton's bequest and of the type of works which characterised his own collection. While the catalogue does not give any bibliographical details beyond author and title, it provides enough of an insight to give the broad overview which follows.⁴⁷⁷ Listed in press order, the catalogue contains 1363 bound items, emphasising the very different scale of collecting by Leighton compared to Madertie: Among clergy libraries in Restoration Scotland, Leighton's was second only to James Nairn and was more than double the size of Madertie's bequest at Innerpeffray.⁴⁷⁸ The catalogue also contains two sections appended to the main list, [sic] 'a catalogue of sticht peeces, viz single sermons, Litle treatises and other pamphlets put up in six bundles' and [sic] 'the manuscripts of

⁴⁷⁴ I am indebted to Giles Mandelbrote for spotting the Kenelm Digby provenance. Both 'Lumley' and 'Arundel' provenance markings can be found in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum uitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran, quae ante annos CCCC D. Petrus abbas cluniacensis per uiros eruditos ex arabica lingua in latinam transferri curauit* (Basel, Joannis Oporinus, 1534).

⁴⁷⁵ As listed in this thesis, chapter one.

⁴⁷⁶ *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgandorum nouissimus. Pro catholicis Hispaniarum regnis Philippi IV et Index librorum prohibitorum Alexandri VII, pontificis maximi jussu editus*. Issued together ([n.p.], 1667).

⁴⁷⁷ Leighton MS 1. Future work matching entries to remaining titles in the collection, as demonstrated at Innerpeffray in chapter two of this thesis, might reveal more about Leighton's connections and collecting habits.

⁴⁷⁸ Gordon Willis, 'Introduction' in *The Leighton Library Dunblane: Catalogue of Manuscripts* (Stirling: University of Stirling Bibliographical Society, 1981); Murry C. T. Simpson, *The Library of the Reverend James Nairn (1629–1678): Scholarly Book Collecting in Restoration Scotland* (Doctoral Thesis: University of Edinburgh, 1987).

Bishop Lighton's which are in this house', representing classes of material unavailable at Innerpeffray and again reflecting the scope and scholarly nature of Leighton's collections in comparison to those at Innerpeffray.⁴⁷⁹

The genres present within Leighton's collection reflect the type of man that he was. Religion once more dominates, but the works he accrued do not fall under the category of practical divinity or general religious history, and instead are far more concerned with the interpretation of the text. These include multiple editions of the Bible in various languages, commentaries and exegeses, exemplified by what must have been one of Leighton's most expensive purchases – Walton's seven-volume *Biblia sacra polyglotta*.⁴⁸⁰ There are also works to support the learning of biblical languages, as well as standard educational works, especially in the classical genre.⁴⁸¹ Literature, as in Madertie's foundation, is lacking, but could again be explained by its lack of presence in scholarly curricula. That which does appear is classical in origin. These two libraries, therefore, both represent collections intended to be used for learning; what differs is the type of learner they envisage. For Leighton, a young gentleman just like himself, keen to attain as many languages as possible and work his way towards his own understanding of the biblical text. For Madertie, higher in status than Leighton but lower in education, it suggests a collection intended for a wider audience.

Madertie's foundation collection was overwhelmingly English, reflecting either his personal reading preferences, his intentions to create a library for a wide audience, or a mixture of both. By contrast, Leighton's bequest reflects his scholarly ability and command of multiple languages. As well as Latin, Greek and French, which are all well represented, there are multiple works in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic scripts. Many are annotated in Leighton's own hand, usually in the language in which they were written, and some, including the library's 'Koran in Latin', are cross-

⁴⁷⁹ Leighton MS 1, p. 60 and p. 63 respectively. Leighton's manuscripts are limited to his own sermons, responses and commentaries, again marking him out as a scholar and author in his own right, though it is unlikely these were intended for the use of the clergy in the same manner as his printed books: 'locked up in this house' in the 'care of the bibliothecar' suggesting that the library was considered a suitable place for them to be kept, rather than that they would be of use to the collection. Leighton MS 1, p. 63.

⁴⁸⁰ *Biblia sacra polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, hebraicum, cum Pentateucho samaritano, chaldaicum, graecum* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1657).

⁴⁸¹ The online catalogue, limited to items with a Leighton Library location, records 23 seventeenth-century items by Buxtorf (elder and younger), for example, which are also spread throughout Leighton MS 1. <libcat.stir.ac.uk> [accessed 7 August 2018].

referenced against the language from which they were translated.⁴⁸² These books were certainly of use to himself, and it is possible that this was precisely the type of work he envisaged clergy of the diocese, his intended library users, to work from, in the manner that he did.

The age of editions within Leighton's foundation collection is not easy to ascertain without extensive additional work matching remaining titles at Leighton to the MS catalogues, but from the list of titles it is clear that he held a strong interest in both earlier and more modern works. As well as a wealth of classical editions, the catalogue contains works by church fathers, reformers and historians, and Leighton appears to have been keen to purchase entire, or near complete, sets of authors' works, demonstrating a comprehensiveness further exemplified by his use of items such as the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.⁴⁸³ This comprehensiveness seems to be more a driver to Leighton than the age or currency of a work, further exemplifying a scholarly library reflecting the traits of its collector.

It is possible to gain a broad overview of the proportions of book formats at the Leighton Library by the shelves which house them. The original six presses, still present within the library and filled mostly with Leighton's original bequest, were built in preparation for the arrival of the books, constructed specifically according to their size.⁴⁸⁴ On first appearances, these show a very evenly split collection: two shelves for folio, two for quarto, and two for octavo or smaller. However, given that many more smaller books can be accommodated by each shelf than folios, it shows that the collection was weighted towards smaller formats, just as Innerpeffray had been. Where the collections do differ is in the quantity of large items. More funds seem to have been available to Leighton than to Madertie, which meant he could buy larger and often more prestigious works, such as the aforementioned seven-volume polyglot Bible. This may also reflect an understanding that Leighton was collecting for his personal reference collection, not to create a lending library for others. Innerpeffray is therefore shown to be highly anomalous; not a bequest but founded during Madertie's lifetime. The circumstances of their creation, therefore,

⁴⁸² 'Koran in Latin' is the later spine title for *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum uitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran, quae ante annos CCCC D. Petrus abbas cluniacensis per uiros eruditos ex arabica lingua in latinam transferri curauit* (Basel: Joannis Oporinus, 1534).

⁴⁸³ See, for example, the 18 entries for Jeremias Drexel, Leighton MS 1, p. 53 (Drexel); p. 54 (Gregory).

⁴⁸⁴ Willis, *Bibliotheca*, p. 146.

affects the collections at both libraries, which can most obviously be seen through format and language.

That both collections were gathered for use and not for show is evident through their bindings. At the Leighton Library, around a quarter of the works are in limp vellum covers, of the variety which would usually be removed and replaced with a uniform binding after purchase.⁴⁸⁵ There are also a number of these bindings at Innerpeffray, fewer than at the Leighton because of the latter's wider range of places of publication, with that cover type a largely European phenomenon, as opposed to a British one.⁴⁸⁶ In both collections, any decorative or remarkable bindings have been on donated items. For both men, therefore, these were books to be used. For Leighton, however, the books were to be read by him, and consequently left for others upon his death, whereas Madertie appears to have been driven, at least in part, by a work's accessibility to others, in both its size and its language.

Thus, an analysis of the foundation and early collections highlight the importance of book use to both founders but demonstrate how the Leighton Library was principally a library for an individual, incidentally made public, whereas Innerpeffray was a library conceived with a greater audience than its original collector. This key difference characterises the way in which both collections were managed and used, explored below.

Changing Collections

The Leighton Library trustees were made up of local landowners as at Innerpeffray, but also of local ministers; the Minister of Dunblane becomes *ex officio* trustee, while two other ministers are appointed by the Presbytery.⁴⁸⁷ This meant the stated user group makes up at least half of the trustee board. Further, while there is no evidence of any Innerpeffray trustee ever using the library, those landowning trustees at the Leighton use the library themselves. This follows the previous supposition that the Leighton Library was conceived as a library for an individual user,

⁴⁸⁵ Mirjam J. Foot, *Bookbinders at Work: Their Roles and Methods* (London: British Library 2005), pp. 12–13. See also Nicholas Pickwood, 'The interpretation of bookbinding structure: an examination of sixteenth-century bindings in the Ramey collection in the Pierpoint Morgan Library' in *Eloquent Witnesses: Bookbindings and their History*, ed. by Mirjam J. Foot (London: British Library, 2004), pp. 127–70.

⁴⁸⁶ The 'cheap, retail bindings' described by Foot as particularly common to Germany, the Low Countries and Italy between 1515 and 1560 (pp. 12–13).

⁴⁸⁷ Willis, *Bibliothek*, p. 142.

while Innerpeffray is thought of as a library for others. Though the Leighton Library no longer served a single user, it was governed by individuals who made use of it, and recommended for purchase books that they, as users, considered suitable. The introduction of the subscription fee in 1734, alongside careful investment choices which are discussed at every meeting, put the Leighton Library in a position to increase its collections in a manner which suited these individual needs.⁴⁸⁸ At Innerpeffray, where the trustees manage a library for others, care for its content is not shown after the flurry of purchasing for the new building.

From its very foundation, the Leighton Library had been larger than Innerpeffray: 1,363 volumes with 149 pamphlets as well as manuscripts in Leighton's hand, forged by a very scholarly gentleman for his own benefit, bequeathed to be of benefit to similar scholarly gentlemen.⁴⁸⁹ The numerous catalogues of the Leighton collection, in manuscript and in print, attest both to the good management of the collection and to a desire to make the collection more navigable for users.⁴⁹⁰ Printed catalogues were distributed among subscribers for 1/- each and, despite evidence for early administrative MS catalogues at Innerpeffray, represent a consideration for the user not evident at Innerpeffray until the 1850s.⁴⁹¹

The wealth of catalogue evidence and constant additions to the Leighton collections means that a full assessment of how the collections change over time, as demonstrated at Innerpeffray, is not possible within the constraints of this thesis. The minute book, however, records several instances where trustees list works to be brought into the library, and where donors give specific titles to the collection, which exemplify the type of work entering the collection. Infrequent in the 1740s, the number of meetings held by the trustees steadily increased, with money given to booksellers recorded at almost every one. By the 1770s, acquisition of new items identified by the trustees began in earnest. As an example, at the 1776 and 1777 meetings, the library sought to acquire the following items:

⁴⁸⁸ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 148 identifies this active acquisition as the reason the Leighton Library is 'exceptional amongst documented endowed libraries' i.e. in contrast to Innerpeffray and Haddington.

⁴⁸⁹ Willis, *Bibliothèque*, p. 145. The MS were later lost having been sent down to his executors in search of material for publication, for which see Willis, *Bibliothèque*, p. 147.

⁴⁹⁰ *A Catalogue of the Leightonian Library, Dunblane* (Edinburgh, William Smellie, 1794), supplement (Edinburgh: Charles Randall, 1809) and further catalogue (Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart & Co, 1843). These works are presented alphabetically by author, distinct from the MS shelflist format at Innerpeffray before 1855.

⁴⁹¹ Leighton MS 16, p. 83.

Figure 6.3: Items Acquired for the Leighton Library 1776–7		
Meeting Date	Title of Work.⁴⁹⁰	Publication Information.⁴⁹¹
1776	Dr Robertson's History of America	London: for W. Strahan ; T. Cadell ; and J. Balfour, 1777.
1776	Dr Smith's Enquiry into the causes of the wealth of nations	London: printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell [...], 1776.
1776	Professor Watson's History of Phillip 2 nd of Spain	London: for W. Strahan and T. Cadell ; and J. Balfour and W. Creech, 1777.
1776	Dr Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric	London: for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, and W. Creech, 1776.
1776	Annual Register for 1776	[Specific volume not found].
1776	Gibbon's causes of the rise and fall of the Roman empire	London: for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776–1788. ⁴⁹²
1776	Hurd's Horace	London: W. Bowyer and J. Nichols for T. Cadell and J. Woodyer, 1776.
1776	Dr Gerard's Essay on Genius	London: for W. Strahan ; T. Cadell ; and W. Creech, 1774.
1776	Burnaby's Travels in North America.	[London: printed for T. Payne, at the Mews-Gate] ⁴⁹³
1777	Blair's Sermons 2v	London: for W. Strahan and T. Cadell ; and W. Creech, 1777–1801. ⁴⁹⁴
1777	Dr Craig's Sermons 3v	Edinburgh: Robert Fleming and Company, and sold by Gavin Hamilton, 1732–1733. ⁴⁹⁵
1777	Soame Jenyns' Treatise on Religion	London: for J. Dodsley, 1776 (5 th edn)
1777	Hampton's Polybius	London: [n.p.], 1766. (3 rd edn)
1777	Forster's Voyage with Captain Cook	Dublin: printed for W. Whitestone [etc.], 1777.
1777	Don Juan de Ulloa's Voyages to South America	London: for Lockyer Davis, 1772 (3 rd edn)
1777	The Scots Preacher 2v	Edinburgh: for J. Dickson and T. Cadell, [1775–] 1779.
1777	Atlas Americanus	London: printed and sold by R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 1776.
1777	Warburton's Sermons	[Unidentified].

This snapshot demonstrates the breadth of collecting at the Leighton Library, even at a time when Innerpeffray was also actively acquiring books, there is a very different focus from the one which Innerpeffray's trustees took. Novelty was paramount for the Leighton trustees, perhaps because as users themselves, they are displaying similar traits of those users at Innerpeffray as explored in chapter four. Histories, travels and sermons make up a large proportion of works listed for acquisition, but note too the inclusion of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (a first edition still

present at the Leighton Library), and a variety of works associated with America, perhaps reflecting an interest piqued by the American Revolution. The acquisition of 'Hampton's Polybius', a new translation by clergyman James Hampton, demonstrates a desire to buy not just classical history, but the newest edition, again demonstrating the type of material the trustees thought was important for the library not as its guardians, but as its users.

Innerpeffray's acquisitions, by contrast, were largely limited to those works named on Robert Hay Drummond's list of recommended books, provided to the library in 1744. Remarkably, and frustratingly, Hay Drummond also provided such a list for the Leighton Library, but in October 1766 the minute book records that it was misplaced. The phrasing suggests it may have been contemporary with the Innerpeffray list: Hay Drummond 'hopes they [the trustees] will excuse his not sending them a list of books proposed to be bought for this library of which a Copy had been sent *many years ago* but had been mislaid by Mr Simson late Minister of Dunblane'.⁴⁹² He also vowed to send another when he gets to London 'for their being purchased so soon as there are funds for so doing', echoing the proviso in the Innerpeffray list for 'as occasion offers'.⁴⁹³ While the list does not survive, it certainly influenced the purchases made by the trustees, though not quite as restrictively as at Innerpeffray, since it is never considered the sole source of acquisition suggestions (nor even a vital one, since it was so casually referred to as misplaced). This highlights the reverence with which Innerpeffray held the Archbishop and his list.

Ten of the items recommended for purchase in the Leighton minute book also appear in the recommended books list for Innerpeffray, though only seven of these were acquired by Innerpeffray.⁴⁹⁴ The majority of these works fall into Hay Drummond's 'Divinity' category, which seems to be the category most similar in both libraries, which is not unexpected, given both their focuses. Neither library in the eighteenth century reflects the wealth of literary works which Hay Drummond recommended, though the Leighton Library moves further towards that interest as it approaches the nineteenth century, perhaps driven by the introduction of temporary borrow-

⁴⁹² Leighton MS 16, p. 45 (emphasis my own).

⁴⁹³ Innerpeffray Robert Hay Drummond List of Recommended Books, 5 May 1744.

⁴⁹⁴ Atterbury, Bingham, Boyle, Tillotson, Cumberland's *Law of Nature*, Cudworth's *Intellectual System* and *Suiceri The-saurus Ecclesiasticus*. Recommended for both Innerpeffray and Leighton but purchased by Leighton only: Sanderson, Dr Scot, Puffendorf.

ing rights to visitors in 1813. Some other works recommended by Hay Drummond at Innerpeffray do enter the collection, but are not mentioned in the Leighton minute book, so may also have appeared in the Leighton list, one notable example being the works of Ormond. The date of the Innerpeffray Archbishop's list (1744) may conflict with the modernity of the books that were recommended for purchase, which are listed almost yearly.⁴⁹⁵ This is another example of how the Leighton Library did not revere such a list, as shown above. It also indicates a more involved and evolving relationship with the Archbishop, again highlighting the distance which the trustees at Innerpeffray felt from the collection and its users.

Donated books also form a significant part of the Leighton Library's acquisitions. There is only one instance of this in the minutes at Innerpeffray, where the Commission for Annexed Estates donated books relating to horticulture in lieu of the missing money pledged by the Duke of Perth for the erection of the new library building in 1744.⁴⁹⁶ On physical evidence, the only book to enter the collection in the lengthy gap between active acquisition at Innerpeffray was given by a library user, minister at Muthill.⁴⁹⁷ At Leighton, these donations were much more numerous and came from a wide range of people, including academics such as James Clow, Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow and anatomist Dr John Barclay, as well as local gentry.⁴⁹⁸ At one meeting in June 1767, books gifted to the library came from one trustee, James Campbell of Aberuchill ('Cambridge Concordance on the holy scriptures'), and two booksellers: from Robert Foulis printer in Glasgow 'as a present for the library' two volumes quarto of 'Sur l'origine des Ancien People' and from David Wilson, bookseller in London, 12 titles also 'as a present' representing a range of genres, yet well-aligned with the type of work the library collects, including 'Bishop Lighton's sermons', 'essay on commerce', 'Voltaire's pieces', and 'antiquities of Herculaneum'.⁴⁹⁹ Both Foulis and Wilson were present as sources from which books the previous year had acquired, so it is possible that these additional titles were given by individuals in order to gain

⁴⁹⁵ While this sample ends in 1790, commissions for new works at the Leighton continued well into the nineteenth century.

⁴⁹⁶ See chapter two.

⁴⁹⁷ William Nicolson, for which see chapter two.

⁴⁹⁸ James Clow donated Cicero's 'Works', Glasgow Edition [Foulis] 20v 12mo 'finely bound and gilded' (Leighton MS 16, p. 42). John Barclay (a local anatomist, and eventual son-in-law to trustee James Campbell of Aberuchill) donated large volumes of works regularly, and is even given his own named press, for which see chapter seven of this thesis and Jill Dye, 'The Anatomist in the Library', *Journal for the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* (2018, in press).

⁴⁹⁹ Leighton MS 16, p. 47. 'Pieces' is presumably the scribe's mishearing of 'epistres', with Lighton being an alternative spelling for Robert Leighton himself.

favour. No such thing occurs at Innerpeffray, likely due to its much less sustainable financial model, and possibly the prestige of the Leighton and its scholarly founder. Membership of the library was also awarded as an acknowledgement for donations, an incentive that Innerpeffray could not provide.⁵⁰⁰ Further, the type of work donated reflects a scholarly, gentleman's library, in stark contrast to Innerpeffray, a library thought fit for works on horticulture.⁵⁰¹ This may, therefore, be another example of the involvement of those providing books to the Leighton with the library itself. Donors knew the collections, or knew what collections the library has been acquiring, therefore donated items more in keeping with existing holdings.

The growing collections at the Leighton Library reflect its superior management than that at Innerpeffray, emphasising the effect of the trustees also being library users. Yet it is not only better management of the collection, but canny financial management that marks a key difference between Leighton and Innerpeffray. This is exemplified by the 1813 decision to introduce a new short-term borrowing fee to capitalise on the rising tourist numbers following the discovery of mineral springs at nearby Cromlix.⁵⁰² Referred to as 'water-drinkers', they represent a class of user completely missing from Innerpeffray, and their borrowings are recorded in a separate register.⁵⁰³ These are a valuable resource for scholars interested in leisure reading, and represent a slightly more diverse user group than in the main register, not only in terms of distance travelled, but with more female users, and what appears to be a greater age range. For the purposes of this analysis, this user group is not explored further because it does not align with the user group at Innerpeffray, but its very existence serves as a reminder of the entrepreneurial spirit of the Leighton trustees, absent at Innerpeffray.

The outlook of the Leighton trustees as library users, rather than preservers of a seventeenth-century intention made legally binding, may ultimately have led to its downfall. By 1845, use of the library had waned, and its fate had become something of a cautionary tale. In a letter which opposed moving the library at Laurencekirk to Brechin, William Goalen noted that if the books 'were deposited at any abandoned charge, who can tell whether they might not eventually share

⁵⁰⁰ Leighton MS 16, p. 112.

⁵⁰¹ See chapter two and the donations from the Commission for Annexed Estates.

⁵⁰² Willis, *Bibliothek*, p. 143.

⁵⁰³ Leighton MS 30.

the lamentable fate of Arch Bishop Leightons Library in Dunblane'.⁵⁰⁴ The details of that fate were not given, but by 1894 a newspaper report described the library in a terribly dilapidated state, with vegetation from the manse garden growing through the windows and the presence of 'extraneous worthless rubbish', from which it would not be reclaimed until the latter part of the twentieth century.⁵⁰⁵ The trustees at Innerpeffray, with a preservation remit, as outlined in Madertie's will, ensured that the library continued despite waning usage. For the Leighton Library, defined for use at its outset, a decline in use was its eventual downfall.

Access

As demonstrated in chapter three, any assessment of library use must first begin with an analysis of who was permitted to use the library and how. The first formalised set of rules for the Leighton Library is dated 31 October 1734 and present on page one of the Matriculation book, into which the signatures of all those who had matriculated were entered:

no person or persons whatsoever, shall be allowed the loan or use of any books therein, except such as shall be first matriculated and be bound to observe the whole regulations to be made by the said Trustees concerning the said Library.⁵⁰⁶

The terminology 'matriculated' emphasised the membership model of the library, understood as a term for enrolment at an educational establishment, further emphasising its difference from Innerpeffray. The fact that subscribers signed the same book suggests that this signature was not only to prove payment, but also to agree to be bound by the library's rules. This extract shows that both reference use and borrowing were limited only to those who had matriculated, and that rules were to be constructed by the trustees. That the trustees, rather than the Keeper, had power over the library regulations is in line with Innerpeffray, perhaps due to the way in which they were founded. It must be noted, however, that such rules on use were implemented decades earlier than at Innerpeffray, likely used as an incentive to matriculate. Since use of Innerpeffray was always without cost, no such incentive was necessary.

⁵⁰⁴ BR MS 4/6/5/5 Letter to Rev John Moir from William Gaolen, Parsonage at Laurencekirk. 18 March 1845. I am indebted to Mhairi Rutherford and her work on the Brechin Library for the discovery of this reference.

⁵⁰⁵ 'The Leighton Library at Dunblane', *Evening Telegraph*, 31 August 1894, p. 2. *British Library Newspapers*, via <tinyurl.galegroup.comtinyurl5cM5Q7> [accessed 4 December 2017]. For the restoration of the Leighton Library see Willis, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 144–5.

⁵⁰⁶ Leighton MS 25, p. 1.

Further rules agreed among the trustees on this same date, 31 October 1734, are present in the minute book.⁵⁰⁷ These prohibit certain categories of material from being removed from the library, including Annotations, Dictionaries, Concordances, Bibles, Commentaries, ‘providing that people shall still have access to read or peruse the same within said library’.⁵⁰⁸ These minutes also stipulate that books are to be loaned out for three months under a penalty, and that the names of all those matriculated are to be written into a book by the Keeper.⁵⁰⁹ These rules are almost identical to those recorded by trustees at Innerpeffray on 18 August 1740. Further highlighting the similarity, at the 1740 Innerpeffray meeting, as at the 1734 Leighton meeting, all books are ordered to be returned and audited. While there is no overlap of personnel at these meetings, Robert Hay Drummond is present at the Innerpeffray meeting in 1740, and goes on to be present at the next Leighton Library meeting two days later. Neither library records meeting between 1734 and 1740. It is possible, therefore, that Robert Hay Drummond had looked out the minutes of the previous (1734) Leighton meeting in preparation for their next meeting he was to attend on 20 August 1740. This is the same Innerpeffray meeting which outlined the aims of the new building at Innerpeffray: ‘a proper central place for the Gentlemen of the neighbourhood to meet’.⁵¹⁰ It is possible, therefore, that the Leighton Library, with its membership and club-like structure, inspired this vision.

The members-only status of the Leighton Library did not mean that rules were more relaxed than at Innerpeffray because membership had been permitted. Indeed, the rights of the library user, in exchange for their money, were much better defined at the Leighton Library in order to be included in their first published catalogue. A trustee meeting in July 1793 ordered that the rules be printed into the front of the catalogue.⁵¹¹ The first rule dictates that the payment of five shillings, and the approval of two trustees, are required for admission as ‘civis’. While notes from the minute book do show individuals being proposed as *civis*, no applications were rejected, and not all names recorded as having matriculated are discussed. The stipulation, however, generates the impression of exclusivity, as well as places the power over who has official access firmly with the trustees. The second rule limited the number of books to be borrowed at one time, ‘two

⁵⁰⁷ Leighton MS 16, p. 5.

⁵⁰⁸ Leighton MS 16, p. 5.

⁵⁰⁹ Leighton MS 16, p. 5.

⁵¹⁰ NRA S1489 Vol. 11, p. 15.

⁵¹¹ Leighton MS 16, p. 84.

volumes folio, or three volumes quarto, or four volumes octavo &c'.⁵¹² The ability to borrow more small works at once, or fewer larger works, differed significantly from Innerpefferay, which may have had implications on what was borrowed. Rule three set the loan period at two months, after which a fine of a shilling will be applied, which increased the longer the book was overdue:

if it kept three months, two shillings; if four, four shillings: After which, the librarian shall write to the person transgressing, to return the book within a fortnight from the date of the letter, which, if he does not obey, he shall be altogether deprived of his right as *Civis*

that is to say, his borrowing and reference rights would be suspended.⁵¹³ Rule four restricted lending to those who have paid for the year only, and rule five left the borrower responsible for any damage done to books 'while in their hands, or in the carriage'. This latter rule suggests that borrowers may not have been responsible for returning items, or possibly even fetching them, themselves. This has implications on the class of the borrower, and on the way in which books might be borrowed, further explored below.

The opening hours of the Leighton Library do not appear to have been codified as at Innerpefferay. Little can be deduced about the way that such items were accessed, except through one episode in the minute book, upon the appointment of a new library Keeper. In 1746, the trustees accepted the appointment of William Coldstream, Schoolmaster in Dunblane, so long as there is 'special injunction that he make his hours of attendance on said Librery so as not to interfere with his school hours or occasion any reflection on him for neglecting the education of the youth under his care'.⁵¹⁴ This proviso bore no consideration of the Keeper needing to be in place at a suitable time for users to access the library. The duties of the Keeper listed at the same meeting also centre firmly on the preservation of the existing books and acquisition of new items, rather than on administering to the users. Together, this evidence would suggest that the Keeper was only lightly involved with issuing the books. Indeed, he may not have been present for their issuance at all. One entry in the borrowers' register is on the wrong page, and is marked as 'by mistake carried too soon by John [Ramsay of Ochertyre, the borrower] to page 66th', suggesting that sometimes users might enter books into the register themselves with minimal or

⁵¹² *A Catalogue of the Leightonian Library* (Edinburgh: William Smellie, 1793), p. iii.

⁵¹³ *A Catalogue of the Leightonian Library* (Edinburgh: William Smellie, 1793), p. iii.

⁵¹⁴ Leighton MS 16, p. 23.

no supervision.⁵¹⁵ How they enter the building, for which locks are most certainly purchased, is to be debated.⁵¹⁶ It is possible that the trustees could also have opened up the library for access, especially since some of them are figures regularly present in daily life, such as the Minister for Dunblane, who was always a trustee of the library *ex officio*.

Unlike at Innerpeffray, glimpses of interactions with the collection beyond the borrowing register do exist, though they are largely incomplete and without context.⁵¹⁷ Many of these are letters addressed to Mr Grierson, Minister of Dunblane from 1818 to 1841, again adding weight to the supposition that the Keeper was not the sole issuer of items.⁵¹⁸ Some of these indicate that, on occasion, non-registered borrowers were permitted to obtain items from the library using someone else's membership.

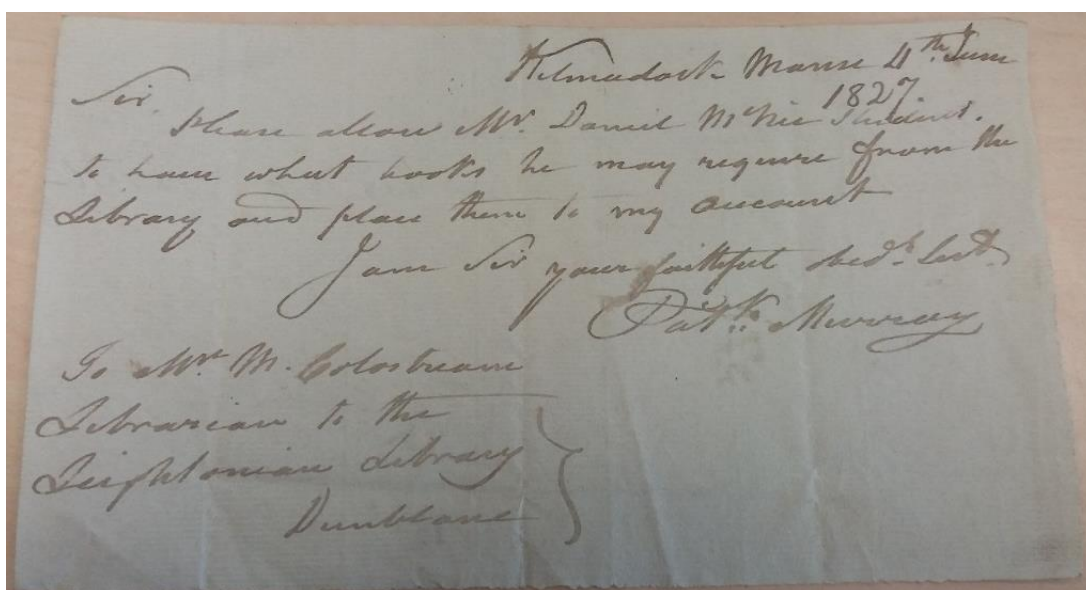


Figure 6.4: Patrick Murray writing in support of student Daniel McNie, 4 June 1827 (Leighton MS 28)

Both surviving examples of this practice come from Patrick Murray, Minister of Kilmadock from 1791 to 1838, first for student Daniel McNie and then for Thomas Buchanan, Student of Divinity, 'for my college exercises'.⁵¹⁹ The latter is dated 1822 and marked 'sent'. Figure 6.4, concerning Daniel McNie, shows Patrick Murray giving permission for items to be placed on to his account by somebody else. These two items in combination show not only that books were

⁵¹⁵ Leighton MS 27, p. 39.

⁵¹⁶ Leighton MS 16, pp. 26, 32, 103.

⁵¹⁷ Leighton MS 28.

⁵¹⁸ Dates taken from Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 344.

⁵¹⁹ Leighton MS 28 [unnumbered]; Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 347.

often fetched by someone else, but that they could be used by them, on the other person's account. This is a direct impact of the subscription charge, which highlights the fact that at Innerpeffray, where access was more open and no charge issued, the borrowers' records may give a more accurate impression of the person using the book. At the Leighton, without these supporting letters, which do not generally survive in legible form, there is no guarantee that the person who signed the item out was the intended user.

Despite elements of obscurity in the record for both collections, it is clear that they had very different concepts of access and ideas of what access should be for. The Leighton Library was, from its foundation, for 'use' not for 'benefit', and its membership model provided the means by which the collections could remain useful, even though ultimately it restricted who could access the collections, as will be outlined below. This comparison highlights the exceptional nature of Innerpeffray, where access is prioritised above usefulness, as demonstrated in the library's continuation despite a small and declining user group in the nineteenth century.

Users

As at Innerpeffray, records from the Leighton Library show borrowing (not all use) but the difficulty in identifying opening hours and access to the collections along with the relatively high quantity of borrowing suggests that it made up a significant proportion of library use. Since borrowing records for the Leighton Library are incomplete, the subscription list running from 1734 to 1814,⁵²⁰ has been used previously as a reliable overview of library users for that period.⁵²¹ However, a comparison of the subscription list to the earliest portion of borrower records (1734–1745) has shown that many pay to support the library without recorded use, and some support the library financially without any expectation of use. For example, Robert Hay Drummond and his factor, James Robertson Barclay, sign the subscriber's list (figure 6.5), yet only the latter borrowed, and only once.⁵²²

⁵²⁰ Leighton MS 25.

⁵²¹ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 148, following Willis, *Bibliothèque*, though Towsey remarks that the initial £3 payments seem 'rather too high [...] it is unclear whether the fee represented a permanent description or a temporary deposit' (p. 149).

⁵²² Leighton MS 25 compared with Stirling Council Archives CH2/104/1/4. Robertson's single borrowing is of an unidentified dictionary in 27 August 1741. Towsey notes Hay Drummond under Episcopal 'borrowers' from the library, using only the matriculation records as evidence in this instance (p. 150).

Year	Name	Amount
1740	Robert Hay Drummond	3. 0. 0
20. August	Rev	3 0 0
20	Ja: Robertson	1. 10

Figure 6.5: Extract from the Leighton Library Matriculation Book (Leighton MS 25), 1740

The subscription book does not, therefore, give a reliable indication of who was using the library, as there are many instances where use was permitted, though not paid for, and where payment was given, but the opportunity to borrow never pursued.⁵²³ The general impression of who was using the library must, therefore, be taken from the surviving borrowers' records.

The analysis which follows is drawn from a general overview of the records, and from an in-depth sample for the year 1790. This year was selected as it marks the point at which Innerpeffray was most similar to the Leighton Library in terms of the collection it held, as well as being a fairly representative year for both libraries in terms of the number and nature of borrowers. The Leighton at this point was still actively acquiring titles and working towards the publication of its first catalogue. Innerpeffray had settled into its new surroundings, freshly rejuvenated with new texts following Robert Hay Drummond's tenure. Temporary borrowers from the Leighton, as discussed above, which were a distinctly different type of user than at Innerpeffray, had not yet begun to appear.

Occupation

Occupations are recorded in the Leighton Library registers roughly as often as they are at Innerpeffray (one in 10 borrowers). Students and schoolmasters are often identified, and, alongside evidence from the titles given to users ('Sir', 'Revd', 'Capt'), it becomes clear that the most predominant users at the Leighton Library are the same as at Innerpeffray: ministers, followed by students of divinity and, to a lesser extent, schoolmasters. Where the user groups of the libraries differ is in the make-up of the remaining borrowers. At Innerpeffray, free and open to all, these reflect the local population and are often lower in status than at the Leighton: weavers, dyers etc. The Leighton Library does not have this class of user after it becomes a subscription library

⁵²³ Comparison of Leighton MS 25 to Leighton MSS 26 and 27.

in 1734.⁵²⁴ Instead, a wider range of middling occupations are present (writer, architect, surgeon), as well as members of the gentry, who rarely use Innerpeffray. Again, this may be because of the use of the collection by trustees, but such users are not solely the trustees. Local members of the literary classes (Ramsay of Ochtertyre, Mrs Anne Grant) are also present, and the occasional literary visitor comes in pursuit of specific items, such as travel writer ‘Mr Bruce of Kinnaird’, who borrowed the first volume of *Biblia sacra polyglotta* in December 1791.⁵²⁵ This reflects the Leighton Library’s status of a place to go for up-to-the-minute works, worth the subscription fee, as well as a possible centre of literary circles which warrant further study, and of which there is no evidence at Innerpeffray. In the 1790 sample those Leighton users for which occupations are recorded are ministers, merchants, and one commissary, in contrast to the dyer, farmer and mason borrowing from Innerpeffray, joining the overwhelming ranks of schoolmasters, ministers, and preachers.

Gender

Male borrowers are predominant in both libraries, though the Leighton Library has proportionately more female users. This may reflect the different social class of user observed, particularly given that some earlier female Leighton users are usually titled or from landed families.⁵²⁶ In the 1790 sample, neither library records a female borrower. More women began to use the Leighton Library after the 1813 temporary-borrower fee was created. The gender of these temporary users, recorded in a separate borrowers’ register, is much closer to 50:50.⁵²⁷ It is possible that this also reflects the type of works available at the Leighton Library. Mrs Dalzell, a ‘water-drinker’ borrowing from the library in 1815 selects novels (John Moore’s *Zeluco*, Charles Johnstone’s *Chrysal*), memoirs (Woolsey, *Life of Lopez*) and poetry (Mrs Grant’s *Poems*) in addition to the letters of Cicero and Voltaire.⁵²⁸ It is difficult to divorce her choice of borrowing as a woman from her choices of borrowing as a visitor, since these types of title also prove popular to the

⁵²⁴ Stirling Council CH2/104/1/4 for borrowers prior to 1734, alongside Leighton MS 26 (fragmentary) for 1725–8 and 1746–48.

⁵²⁵ *Biblia sacra polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, hebraicum, cum Pentateucho samaritano, chaldaicum, graecum* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1657). Leighton MS 27, p. 57.

⁵²⁶ See, for example, Miss Stirling of Kippendavie (Leighton MS 27, p. 271) and Lady Louisa Erskine (Leighton MS 27, p. 289).

⁵²⁷ Leighton MS 30.

⁵²⁸ Leighton MS 30; for a full assessment of her borrowing with transcription of the items she selected, see Jill Dye, ‘Mrs Dalzell’, *Leightonborrowers.com* <<https://leightonborrowers.com/2017/03/05/mrs-dalzell/>> [accessed 10 September 2018].

male leisure visitor. In any case, they certainly reflected many types of work which were in limited supply at Innerpeffray.

Frequency

The Leighton Library was used more intensively by fewer users than Innerpeffray, shown clearly in the 1790 sample. While the number of users does not differ vastly (24 at Innerpeffray, 18 at Leighton), there is not one instance of a unique user at the Leighton Library for this period. Further, there are 193 recorded borrowings from the Leighton Library. At Innerpeffray, this figure is just 78. The Leighton subscription fee goes some way towards explaining this disparity, with users literally invested in using the collection. The type of user may contribute to this phenomenon also; ministers and preachers far were more likely to repeat-borrow at Innerpeffray than others.

Where the number of Innerpeffray users fluctuated a great deal from year to year, with some years failing to record a single borrowing, this is less common at the Leighton Library. The Leighton Library's supply of up-to-date books might have tempted the user back more frequently than the more stable, older works which characterise the Innerpeffray collections. To understand this further, and to continue the comparison of the use of each collection, it is vital to focus not only on how people used the library, but on the items they selected for borrowing.

Books

Genre

At Innerpeffray, Religion was the most significantly borrowed genre, and given the intentions of the Leighton Library foundation and the nature of its administrators, it would be easy to assume the same at the Leighton Library. However, while works on religion were commonly borrowed, such as Robert Barclay's *Apology* (London, 1736), other genres were equally as popular. The genres of History and Travel, popular with borrowers at Innerpeffray, were also popular at the Leighton, though through different works. For History, these included Robertson's *History of Scotland* (London, 1759) and *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (London, 1791), as well as Rollins, Gibbon and Keith. Travel works borrowed were

very broad in scope, including at least three different accounts of the voyages of Captain Cook.⁵²⁹ There was also popular demand for philosophy and politics, likely demonstrating genres which, while also borrowed from Innerpeffray, were available from the Leighton in greater variety and quantity.⁵³⁰ The same was true for literary works, both of local interest (the poems of Anne Grant of Laggan, a Leighton borrower herself), general interest (cheap series such as John Bell's *Poets*) and often reflecting the fascination for overseas observable in other genres. One such example, John Moore's 1789 *Zeluco: Various Views of Human Nature, Taken from Life and Manners, Foreign and Domestic*, is cited as the Leighton Library's most borrowed book across all time in panels on display in the library, and though it has not been possible to verify this claim with a full quantitative analysis within the scope of this thesis, the records do indicate that it was very popular. However, much of its popularity was among temporary borrowers from the library (Leighton MS 30), who were only afforded borrowing rights from 1813 onwards.

Serial publications like *Critical Review*, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Biographia Britannica* and Bell's *British Poets* also had a strong showing at the Leighton Library. While at Innerpeffray these genres were also popular, their popularity over religious works at the Leighton Library may reflect both the acquisitions of the trustees, and the subtly different nature of the borrowers. Towsey attributed the popularity of periodicals to borrowers looking 'for advice on what to read and how to read'.⁵³¹ Given the overall higher social class of borrower from the Leighton Library, it is likely that more of the users of the Leighton Library had access to collections of their own than at Innerpeffray, so a focus on serial works might be explained by the sustained economic commitment to such publications, more achievable at an institutional level.

⁵²⁹ John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* (Dublin, 1773); John Rickman, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, on Discovery* (London, 1781); James Cook and George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World, Performed in His Britannic Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775* (Dublin, 1777).

⁵³⁰ See for example repeated borrowings of Thomas Reid's *Intellectual Powers* (London, 1769) Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (London, 1776) and Ralph Cudworth's *True Intellectual System* (London, 1743).

⁵³¹ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 152.

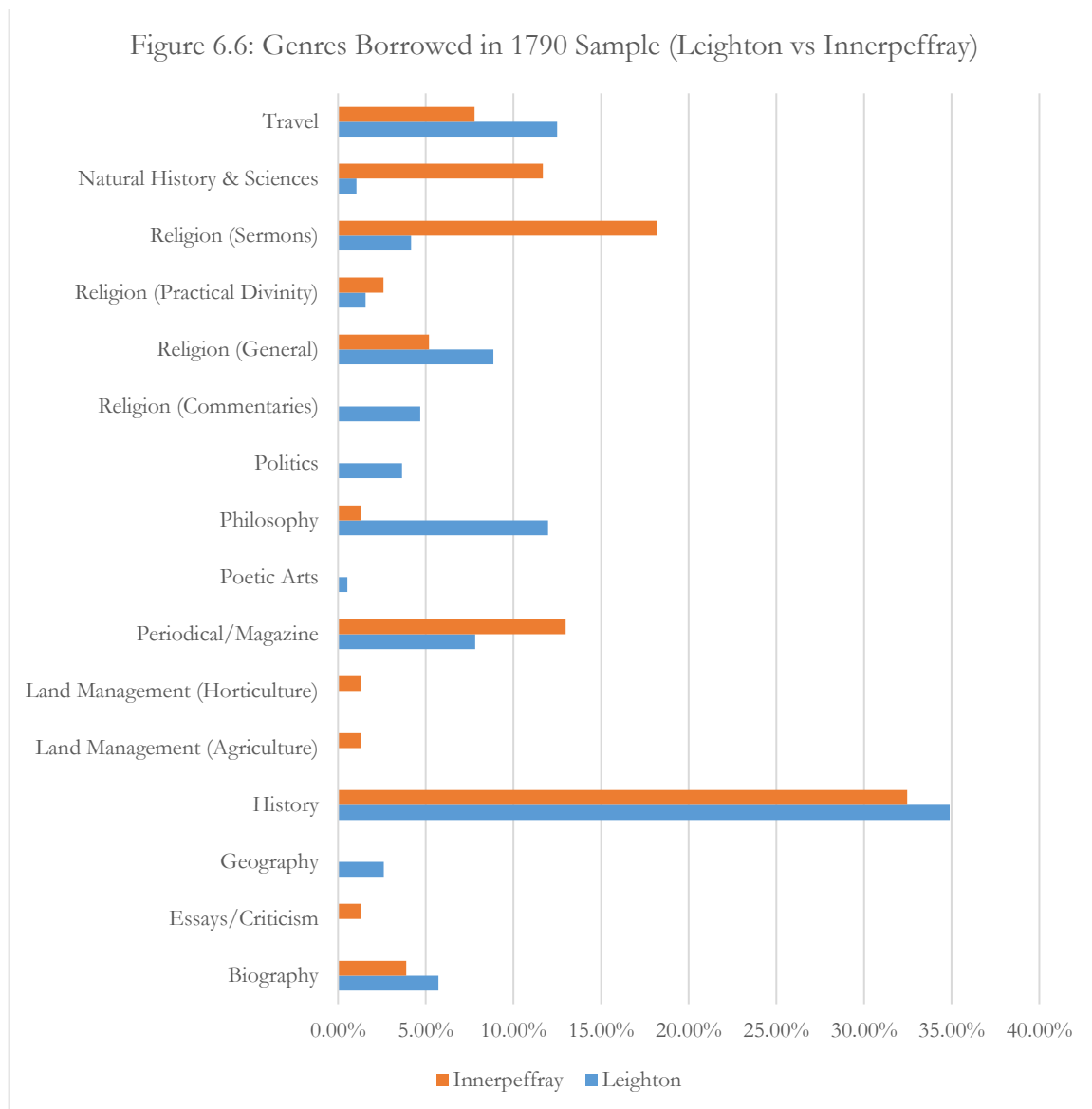


Figure 6.6 shows the genres borrowed from each library in the 1790 sample. Genres borrowed from one library but not the other are particularly telling: political works and commentaries from the Leighton Library, horticulture and agriculture for Innerpeffray.⁵³² What looks like an overwhelming interest in Natural History at Innerpeffray can be attributed almost solely to the borrowing of Buffon. By contrast, very few of the same Leighton books are borrowed by different people, only the *Annual Register* (5 users), William Dickson’s *Letters on Slavery* (London, 1789) and

⁵³² The one work under ‘essays’ is John Sinclair’s *Observations on the Scottish Dialect* (Edinburgh, 1782) only ever borrowed by four Innerpeffray individuals, despite its relative novelty.

Reid's *Active Powers* (2 users each).⁵³³ The earliest possible edition of Reid is 1788, just two years before this sample is taken, and Dickson was published in 1789, making them very current selections. These latter works also reflect that, at the Leighton, politics and philosophy make up a significant proportion of borrowed works which, at Innerpeffray, was taken up by sermons. Currency may be the reason. At Innerpeffray, where acquisition focused on rounding out collections rather than updating them, politics and philosophy, rapidly progressing in this period, were not well provided.

Language

Overall, borrowing from both institutions is overwhelmingly of English-language items, despite the range of languages represented in both collections. The only other borrowed languages in the 1790 sample are French (two at Innerpeffray, five at the Leighton Library) and Latin (two borrowings of Tacitus, both from the Leighton). Foreign language works borrowed at the Leighton Library reflect the interest in emerging Enlightenment thinking. Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* (Paris, 1749) is borrowed once, and volumes 8–11 of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Heloise, ou lettres de deux amans, habitans d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes* (Neuchâtel, 1764) are renewed twice by Mr John James Edmonstoune. The only other title represented is Saurin's *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte* (La Haye, 1748–65). At Innerpeffray, the works are Burlamaqui's *Principes du droit naturel* (Geneva, 1767) and *Memoires de Maximilien de Bethune, Duc de Sully* (London, 1767) which, while different titles, reflect a similar interest to what was being borrowed at the Leighton.

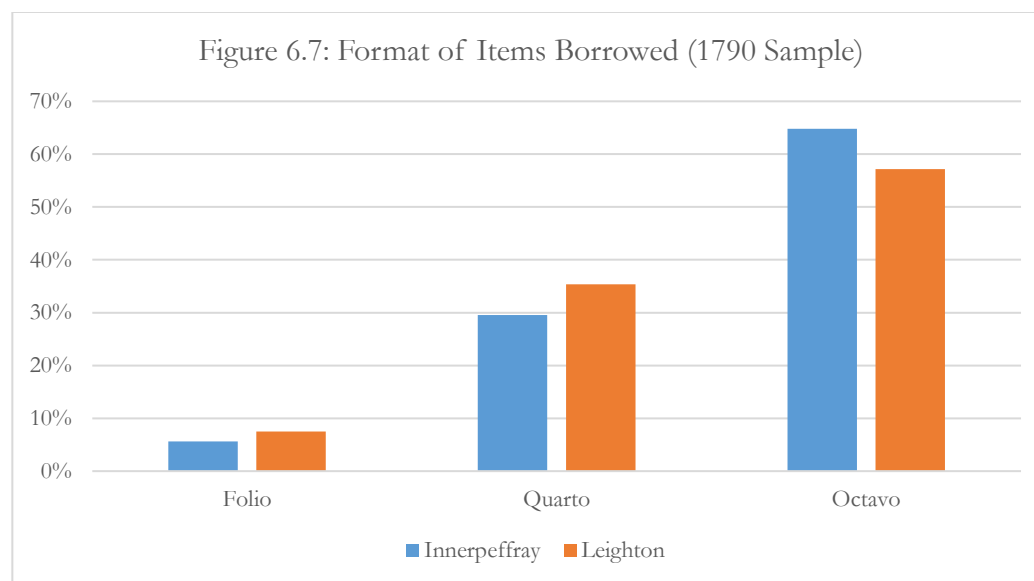
What does seem to differ is the motivation behind the acquisition of these texts in their original languages. Buffon was beginning to become available in translation in this period, and it is the English edition which was so frequently borrowed at Innerpeffray, yet it seems only ever to have been available at the Leighton Library in French.⁵³⁴ This is likely because they began to collect the volumes as soon as they were published, and perhaps did not see the need to purchase copies in translation, which again shows the different expectations of the library user at the Leighton Library. Similarly, the Rousseau and Saurin volumes would also have been available to the Leighton Library in translation if they had desired it. At Innerpeffray, though both the Burlamaqui

⁵³³ Neither title still held by the Leighton Library. Dickson can only be *ESTC* T145585, Reid perhaps *ESTC* T109117.

⁵³⁴ *ESTC* records one early edition restricted to the Horse in 1762. Others begin to emerge from 1780 onwards.

and the Sully would have been available in translation at the point at which the library was acquiring new works, the lack of resources available to them may have prevented the purchase of specifically what they wanted. In any case, both libraries show that, despite the availability of other foreign language materials, borrowers at the Leighton too preferred books in English. The key difference is that, at Innerpeffer, this reflected Madertie's own vision for the user of the library, distinctly different from the importance of language to Leighton himself.

Format



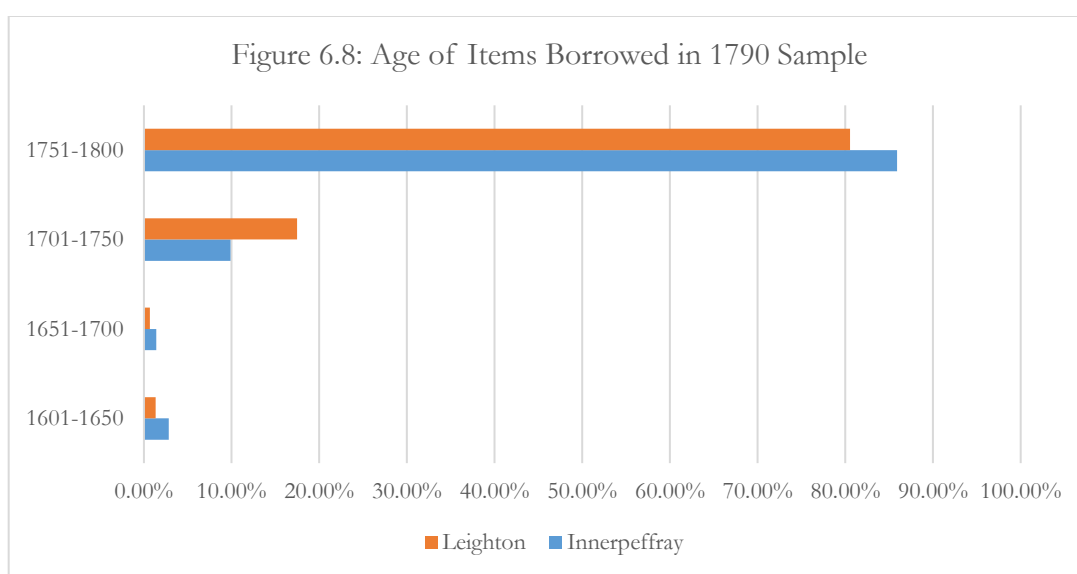
Since it is very difficult to ascertain an overview of the sizes of works borrowed from the Leighton Library without the in-depth focus which this thesis gives to Innerpeffer, the 1790 sample shown in the graph above (format of borrowed works from each library as a percentage of all books borrowed) shows that in this regard borrowers were broadly similar. They seem to prefer the same formats at each institution, with octavo the most popular. At Innerpeffer, it was suggested that this could be due to the easier borrowability of smaller works, as well as the influence of a lack of funds on the type of work purchased.⁵³⁵ At the Leighton, because borrowing limitations were set by size of book (one folio, two quartos, four octavos), this preference in format could be simply that it allowed more books to be borrowed at a time, particularly in light of their users' tendency to borrow a greater quantity of works than at Innerpeffer.⁵³⁶ However, the data for 1790 shows that this cannot be the motivation, since there are no occasions on which a user

⁵³⁵ See chapter four of this thesis.

⁵³⁶ *A Catalogue of the Leightonian Library* (Edinburgh: William Smellie, 1793), p. iii.

borrowers four items at once. Additionally, although the funds at the Leighton answered for more than at Innerpeffray, the Leighton's acquisition policy was still driven by the search for cost effectiveness; in May 1752 Hay Drummond suggested that he ask his chaplain to acquire relevant books in London 'as they can be purchas'd considerably cheaper there' and in April 1795 no books were commissioned because there were not enough funds.⁵³⁷ Even with a membership fee, it appears the library struggled to purchase new books, which demonstrates why it is so unsurprising that a library like Innerpeffray, free of charge, would make so few acquisitions.

Age



At Innerpeffray it was observed that newer editions were more popular for both their content (because they reflected more popular genres) and because they were more likely to be 'in good case', not leaving the borrower open to financial reparations for damage. It is difficult to identify how age motivates borrowing at the Leighton Library by comparison, as demonstrated in the graph above. Proportionally, Innerpeffray lent the most recent texts, but also the oldest texts too. In yet another demonstration of how context impacts the results of borrowing analysis, this outcome does not show as much about the users of the library and their interests as it does the impact of institutional history upon borrowing, even decades after the event. While the Leighton Library had been steadily acquiring works since at least the 1730s, Innerpeffray's acquisitions did not begin in earnest until after the building opened in 1762. Consequently, as it appears to have been easier to source more modern editions, Innerpeffray held far fewer works from the

⁵³⁷ Leighton MS 16, p. 37, p. 90.

earlier eighteenth century than the Leighton Library, who continued to make acquisitions throughout the period.

Individual borrowers

While the social status of some users at the Leighton Library was markedly different to those at Innerpeffray, including high-class literary figures and the (often female) tourist temporary borrowers, the core-user group at both institutions remained the same: ministers, students and schoolmasters.⁵³⁸ Without the luxury of a full transcription of the Leighton records, the best way to approach how the overlapping user groups is to consider an individual borrower from each institution with a similar occupation borrowing within broadly the same timeframe. This also follows the method posited at the end of chapter three, that the absence of a typical borrower at Innerpeffray justifies an individual focus.

John Scott and William Sheriff were both ministers in the Church of Scotland when they appeared as library borrowers. John Scott, Minister for Muthill 1767–1809 has 48 entries in the Innerpeffray register, all between 1772 and 1806.⁵³⁹ William Sheriff (or as he appears in the registers, ‘Shireff’), was Minister at St Ninians (six miles south of Dunblane) 1788–1823, and accessed the Leighton Library between November 1790 and October 1806, with 111 entries in the register.⁵⁴⁰

While the borrowing limits at Innerpeffray seem far more flexible than at the Leighton Library, John Scott usually limited himself to three or four books per visit. Towards the end of his borrowing life, at a time when the average number of books borrowed on each visit was approaching double figures, Scott reflected this trend, borrowing nine books on 11 April 1806 and seven on 24 October 1806. Though Scott borrowed in a period where return dates were traditionally not included, the register does note that the 11 April works were returned on the same day that

⁵³⁸ For more on the borrowing from the Leighton Library by types of user not present at Innerpeffray see ‘Mrs Dalziel, water-drinker’ in Jill Dye, ‘Leighton Library Borrowers’, *Journal for the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, 22:4 (2017), 136–140 and ‘John Ramsay of Ochertyre’, *Leightonborrowers.com* <<https://leightonborrowers.com/2017/03/05/john-ramsay-of-ochertyre/>> [accessed 5 August 2018].

⁵³⁹ Person ID 972 in the data set. Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, pp. 285, 315.

⁵⁴⁰ Leighton MS 25 pp. 40, 56, 75, 95, 159 and 187. For a full transcription of his borrowings see Jill Dye, ‘William Sheriff’, *Leightonborrowers.com* <<https://leightonborrowers.com/2017/03/05/william-sheriff/>> [accessed 10 September 2017].

the 24 October items were borrowed. By contrast, the dates on which Sheriff returned and was issued items are always a couple of days apart, which suggest that his items were not issued and returned in person. This remained true throughout his borrowing life and means that users such as Sheriff may never have even set foot in the library. It shows the stark difference with how users interacted with the two libraries, and demonstrates a culture of service, which never existed at Innerpeffray. Even for William Young, who fought for his right to use Innerpeffray as outlined in chapter three, his battle is for access to what books there are, not for anything further, and it is highly unlikely that Innerpeffray Keepers would have been expected to take such lengths for their users, both because the library was free to use and because its users were of a lower class overall than users of the Leighton.

John Scott repeatedly borrowed broadly religious works from Innerpeffray throughout his borrowing life, largely those from non-conformist writers (Isaac Barrow, Richard Baxter, Philip Doddridge, Samuel Stennett) but also of Anglican writers also popular with other minister borrowers (Jeremiah Seed, John Sharp and Thomas Sherlock), showing a typical preference for sermons. He also selected some History (Archibald Bowers' *History of the Popes* (London, 1750), Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*) as well as Travel (Anson's *Voyages*, Blainville's *Travels*, Templeman's *Travels*), but of most note within his borrowings is the unusual inclusion of Poetic Arts. Beyond the summative works such as the *Critical Review*, John Scott also borrowed Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (Dublin, 1779) on three occasions and Johnson's *Shakespeare* on five occasions, covering volumes one and three to five, demonstrating the type of borrowing he might have been interested in were Innerpeffray better able to support it.

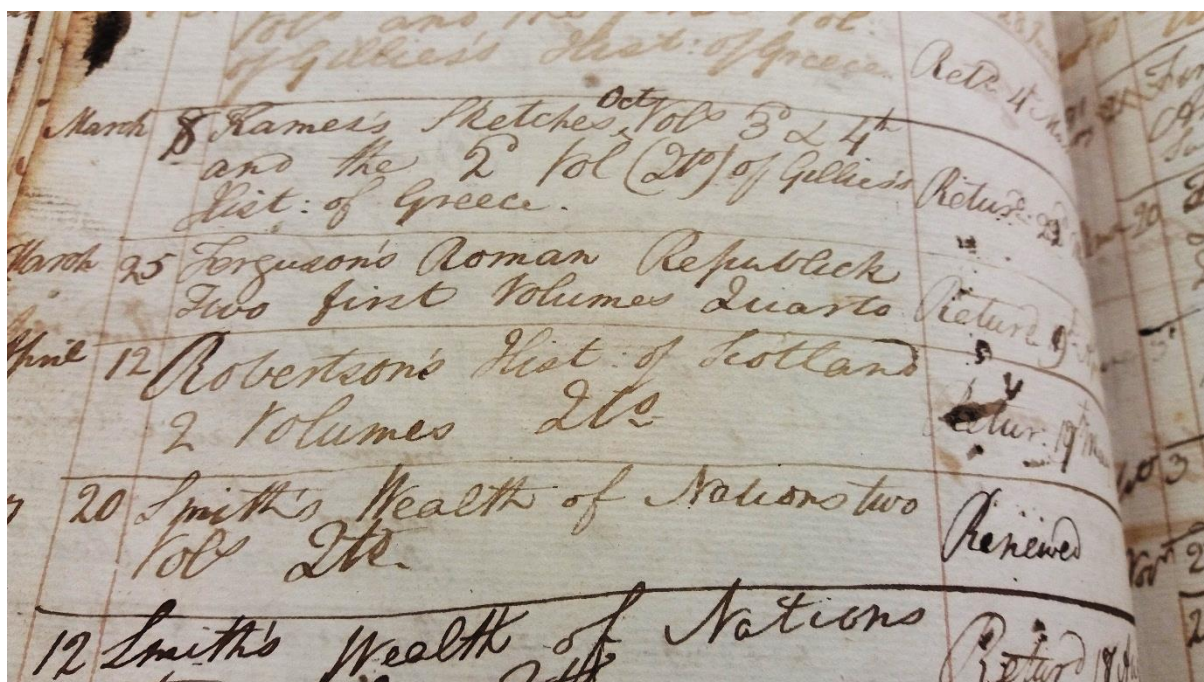


Figure 6.9 Extract from Leighton MS 27, p. 40 (William Sheriff's Borrowing)

The extract from Sheriff's borrowing record above shows the contrast between the works he was accessing, and those selected by John Scott at Innerpefferay: it is filled with many works associated with the Scottish Enlightenment (Ferguson, Smith, Kames, Robertson, Reid) and very few religious works at all, despite their identical occupation. However, this was in the earliest year of his membership, and relatively early in his career. By 1792, his tastes had moved on to travel books, as Sheriff read his way around the globe (France, Russia, Ireland, Spain, India, China, Egypt).⁵⁴¹

From 1793 it is far more difficult to ascertain specific types of work which interested Sheriff, which may be explained by the availability of a printed catalogue for the first time, meaning he could be more specific in his book requests. His religious borrowings became more prevalent, including multiple works by early church fathers (Justinian, Tertullian, Ignatius) as well as more accessible sermons and general works. He repeatedly borrowed 'Buxtorf Thesaurus', which is a Hebrew grammar (Leighton holds the 1629 fourth edition). This suggests he was conducting

⁵⁴¹ For a full list, see Dye, 'William Sheriff'.

scholarly theological work across multiple languages, exactly the type of thing for which Leighton may initially have envisaged the library being used, and exactly the type of work which John Scott would not have had access to via Innerpeffray, even if he had so desired.

Throughout this period too, however, Sheriff began to borrow John Bell's series of literature for the masses (referred to in the register as 'Bell's Poets' or 'B: Poets' or 'British Poets') sometimes even being issued with 12 volumes at a time. Inexpensively produced and running to 109 volumes, these works are no longer in the Leighton collection, but add to our impression not only of the library, but also of its borrowers. In stocking this title, the library was actively expanding its collections with inexpensive literary works, which reflect its expanding target readership. That Sheriff interspersed his weighty, academic borrowing with such works shows that he maintained an interest in using the library for other purposes, as he had from his earliest use. John Scott at Innerpeffray may have shared this literary interest, as indicated through his borrowing of Shakespeare, one of the very few literary greats available at Innerpeffray. Again, Sheriff shows the greater variety of works that the Leighton Library could offer thanks to its increased collections.

In 1823, William Sheriff left for Glasgow to lead a Baptist congregation, breaking away from the Church of Scotland.⁵⁴² It is pleasing, therefore, to see his religious borrowings lean towards interpretation of text and informing himself of the views of others, which we might infer led towards a change in his own beliefs. Overall, however, religion made up so small a part of Sheriff's borrowing that it serves as a reminder that the Leighton Library was not used by clergy only in their work lives, but for their rounded interests, from politics to poetry.

Though Sheriff is not necessarily representative in the way that his borrowing is divided into discrete phases, overall he displays the type of borrowing in which a typical Leighton borrower was interested. John Scott, as a similar Innerpeffray borrower, shows in his record an interest in the same types of work, yet held back by the collections available at Innerpeffray. For the bulk of typical Innerpeffray users (ministers, schoolmasters, students of divinity), who overlap with the bulk of Leighton borrowers, this comparison serves to show that, when given access to a

⁵⁴² Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV p. 315.

library with a more diverse and up-to-date collection, such users make full use of what is available in terms of genre. Users still show a preference for borrowing smaller works in the English language, despite the availability of many works larger in size and a wide variety of languages available at the Leighton, and again novelty plays a huge part in what is both acquired and borrowed.

Since such a strong case has been made for the superiority of the Leighton Library collections over those available to Innerpeffray borrowers, and given the proximity of both libraries, it is fitting to conclude with a reflection on why some borrowers do not simply use both collections. Bar two rare examples of individuals using both collections on individual occasions, as outlined in chapter seven, the user groups are sharply delineated and to date no individuals making frequent use of both collections have been identified. This is particularly perplexing in the case of ministers, who, as at Innerpeffray, are more likely to travel a distance to access books, and more likely also to be aware of the existence of the other library. For this, there is no good conclusion, save to suggest that the Leighton Library's membership model, both in its charge and in its requirement that names of members be put to the trustees, to deter users further afield making the journey. It is also possible that ministers using both Innerpeffray and the Leighton Library were satisfied with what was closest to hand because they did not seek specific works, but made do with what was available.

This comparison of Innerpeffray to the Leighton Library has demonstrated just how exceptional Madertie's foundation was in its intentions, use and longevity. It has shown how canny financial management of a collection, as at the Leighton Library in its late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century heyday can influence the borrowing of two relatively similar individuals through what was available and how it could be accessed. Further, it highlighted the importance of the foundation terms set by Madertie for Innerpeffray in ensuring the library's survival, in a way that Leighton's incidental bequest was never secured.

CHAPTER SEVEN: WIDER COMPARISONS

The added value of understanding Innerpeffray in the context of other libraries has been demonstrated in chapter six, but other valid comparisons to Innerpeffray are not easy to identify. They might include similar libraries (in foundation, collections, access or type of user) or libraries where there is a significant overlap in users. The latter option has not been explored by scholars, likely due to the level of work required to identify individual library users across institutions; this chapter will conclude by demonstrating the benefits of such efforts. In determining similar libraries, Innerpeffray's anomalousness, as demonstrated in previous chapters, presents a challenge. It is impossible to find another institution operating in the same time period, free, open to all, serving a rural public, serving both middle- and lower-class users, with detailed records of what was on the shelves in any given period and some evidence of how it was used. However, by broadening the search to a similar user group with some surviving record of collections and their use, some comparisons can be securely made. This chapter will first identify these comparators, before examining each in turn, then moving on to an assessment of individual Innerpeffray borrowers who have been identified using other libraries.

The very different educational climate from the rest of Britain is a strong justification for the usual approach taken by scholars comparing libraries in Scotland only within the Scottish context. While Kaufman remarked that the only comparable record of reading in Britain, if not Europe, to Innerpeffray is that from Bristol Central Library, due to the depth and timespan of the records, even he refrained from directly comparing the two.⁵⁴³ For the purposes of this analysis, comparisons will again be limited to the rest of Scotland, since for the majority of the period with which this thesis is concerned, the English borrowing public could simply not be considered the same, given that England introduced compulsory education more than a century after its neighbour. This educational context has a significant effect on the library's potential and actual user group, a vital factor in determining comparable libraries.

⁵⁴³ Kaufman, 'Innerpeffray: Reading for all the people', p. 154. The borrowing records from the Leighton Library appear not to have been known to Kaufman. Similar records also exist for Armagh Public Library (though the geographical context places it outside the remit of this study) for which see Richard C. Cole, 'Community Lending Libraries in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *The Library Quarterly* 44:2 (1974), 111–123.

Public accessibility must be the next criterion by which a comparable institution is identified. As seen at the Leighton Library, public accessibility is not necessarily defined at the libraries' foundation but can be identified through evidence of use. William Aitken's seminal *A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland* states that the earliest public library in Scotland, broadly defined, was the establishment of what would become the University of Edinburgh library by Clement Little in 1580, but since the foundation of that institution pre-dates Innerpeffray significantly, comes from an urban context and lacks comparable evidence of use, comparison here cannot be justified. However, the other example of early public libraries outlined by Aiken (Kirkwall, Gray's Library at Haddington and libraries of the Kirkwood scheme) are publicly accessible institutions, in the same time period, with evidence of use similar enough to Innerpeffray, and are therefore fit for consideration in more detail below.⁵⁴⁴

Though not deliberately limiting his comparisons to those which were publicly accessible, Mark Towsey lists Innerpeffray by foundation type, within 'religious and endowed libraries', where it finds company with Gray's Library at Haddington and the Leighton Library, all of which were incidentally publicly accessible, and also feature in Aitken's overview.⁵⁴⁵ Elsewhere, Innerpeffray is dismissed as simply another religious foundation.⁵⁴⁶ Though, as this thesis has shown, Innerpeffray cannot be fully understood as a religious foundation, it is similar to other religious foundations not because of how they were founded, but because they were also intended for public use.

Kaufman, by contrast, excludes parochial/other ecclesiastical or educational foundations from comparison to Innerpeffray, instead including it in his 'public' category, defined as 'open gratis to all within the community'.⁵⁴⁷ Innerpeffray, is described as a 'sort of capstone in the pyramid' of 'libraries fashioned out of a people's need', with miners' societies as the pyramid corner stones.⁵⁴⁸ By distinguishing Innerpeffray from parochial/ecclesiastical foundations, Kaufman

⁵⁴⁴ Aitken, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 163–199. While the Leighton Library was only officially publicly accessible from 1734, when a subscription fee was introduced, borrowers' records from 1699–1735 show that it was used by the public. (Stirling Council Archives CH2/104/1/4 and Graeme Young, 'Leighton Library Borrowers of the Early Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, 20:4 (2009), 151–153).

⁵⁴⁶ John Crawford 'The Community Library in Scottish History', *IFLA Journal*, 28:5-6 (2002), 245–255 (p. 245).

⁵⁴⁷ Paul Kaufman, 'Scotland as the Home of Community Libraries' in *Libraries and their Users*, pp. 134–147 (p. 145).

⁵⁴⁸ Kaufman, 'Scotland as the Home of Community Libraries', p. 145.

keeps Innerpeffray in the company of Leadhills and Wanlockhead.⁵⁴⁹ Similarly, Jonathan Rose brings Innerpeffray into his discussion of mutual improvement societies, but only to make use of the data on rural craftsmen populations contained within the borrowing records.⁵⁵⁰ Neither draw direct comparisons, perhaps in the knowledge that this is not comfortable company. For example, the very specific way in which access was permitted at Leadhills, with the library open once a month and members filing in an ordered procession, would have strong implications on how the library was used.⁵⁵¹ Membership applications were to be made in writing, and access to the collections mediated at one time by three librarians and an assistant librarian.⁵⁵² The user group of these libraries, because of the way in which they were founded and administered, is markedly different from those using Innerpeffray, and borrower choices much more regulated.⁵⁵³

Private libraries lending books to major landed families in the surrounding area, such as that at Craigston, have ‘genteel’ user groups, which again make unsatisfying comparison.⁵⁵⁴ While some Scottish landed families did open up their private libraries to the likes of clergy, lawyers and surgeons in their local areas, evidence for such use is patchy, and almost non-existent for users outside of the professions.⁵⁵⁵ One exception is Thomas Crawford, Baronet of Cartsburn, who lent books to a schoolmaster, carpenter, wigmaker and barber, but individual instances of occupations suggest access only by those directly involved in the estate, by connection.⁵⁵⁶ At Innerpeffray, where books were stored communally, guarded by a Keeper, rather than by a household, access was less restricted. While this thesis has thoroughly considered the limits on access to

⁵⁴⁹ Paul Kaufman, ‘The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland’, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 59:3 (1965), 233–294.

⁵⁵⁰ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 59.

⁵⁵¹ Kaufman, ‘The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland’, p. 259.

⁵⁵² Paul Kaufman, ‘Leadhills: Library of Diggers’ *Libri*, 17:1 (1967), 13–20 (p. 14).

⁵⁵³ The membership model at Wigtown caused Towsey to consider the sociability of library use, but the scarcity of a sense of membership to Innerpeffray, exemplified by its multiple single-users, means they cannot be fruitfully compared. Mark Towsey, ‘First Steps in Associational Reading: Book Use and Sociability at the Wigtown Subscription Library 1795–9’ *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 103:4 (2009), 455–95 (p. 456).

⁵⁵⁴ Towsey uses these records to trace the sociability of book lending, of *belles lettres* by, for example, Kames and Beattie, particularly among female borrowers, for which at Innerpeffray there is no equivalent (user or book). Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 49–50.

⁵⁵⁵ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 51.

⁵⁵⁶ NLS MS 2822 Catalogue of Books of Thomas Crawford of Cartsburn. The small size of this volume when compared to Innerpeffray and Leighton records further indicate its intention as small-scale and private as opposed to institutional borrowing.

Innerpeffray in chapter three (the whims of individual Keepers, opening hours and even simply knowing about the library) compared to other collections which remained in the houses of landowners, access was considerably easier.

The sense of being an institution, then, rather than a private library to which some are granted privileged access, is integral to an understanding of Innerpeffray.⁵⁵⁷ It does not easily fit the membership model either, with no sense of overarching society or implications of sociability as at Leadhill's or Wigtown. This has a significant impact not only on who was able to use the library, but also on the sorts of texts that characterised library collections. Taking into account these considerations, libraries selected here for comparison are: Kirkwall, Inverness and Had-dington.

Kirkwall Library

Beyond the Leighton Library, the closest comparison to Innerpeffray for similarity is that of Kirkwall. The library at Kirkwall, as it was first known, was founded in 1683 and is renowned as one of the first public libraries in Scotland, particularly exciting scholars of early public libraries as it has a 'lineal connection' with the public library service which operates in Orkney today.⁵⁵⁸ It was formed upon the death in 1683 of William Baikie, a local landowner, whose books and manuscripts were administered by Rev. James Wallace and made to form 'the publeck liberarie of Kirkwall'.⁵⁵⁹

While Madertie founded his library during his lifetime, Baikie kept his collections with him until his death. That his annotations feature so heavily in his early collections also proves testament to his use of his own books, in contrast to Madertie, justifying the foundation of a library only after his death.⁵⁶⁰ In this respect, then, the bequest seems more akin to Leighton's than to Madertie's. Unlike both those foundations, however, Baikie appointed Rev. James Wallace to first ensure that suitable works are sought out for Baikie's sisters, brother and nephew, with only the remaining c. 160 left to make up a library, to which Baikie hoped further additions might be

⁵⁵⁷ See Matthew Sangster, 'Defining Institutions', *Institutions of Literature 1700-1900* <<http://institutionsofliterature.net/2017/11/23/defining-institutions/>> [accessed 3 July 2018].

⁵⁵⁸ Aitken, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁹ J. B. Craven, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bibliothek of Kirkwall 1683, with a Notice of the Founder, William Baikie, M.A., of Holland* (Kirkwall: [n.p.], 1897), p. viii.

⁵⁶⁰ Myrtle Anderson-Smith, 'The Bibliothek of Kirkwall', *Northern Scotland*, 15 (1995), 127-134.

made by ‘any ministers within the country’.⁵⁶¹ It is this latter request that Kaufman used to infer that Baikie had in mind a parochial library for the use of ministers, supported by the overwhelmingly religious focus of Baikie’s foundation collection (more than 90%) and prevalence of Latin (over 50%).⁵⁶² In this sense, Baikie did not found a library entirely, but attempted to kickstart the foundation of one.

In English-language works, Baikie’s collection overlaps significantly with Madertie’s, both featuring authors such as Thomas Shephard, William Perkins, Henry Ainsworth and Samuel Rutherford. Baikie’s collection, however, is more academic in tone, with a greater proportion of commentaries and other scholarly works to aid the interpretation of the Bible. For example, Baikie’s Hebrew collection is strong, listing ‘Biblia Hebraica’, ‘Hebrew Psalm Books wt’out poynts’, ‘Pentateuch in Hebrew (two of them)’ and ‘Proverbs in Hebrew’ alongside a dictionary, ‘Jassoni Syllabus Dictionum Hebraeum’ and two Hebrew grammars (Rowe and Martinus).⁵⁶³ Though on a much smaller scale, the collection therefore has more in common with Leighton’s than with Madertie’s, underlining quite how astonishing the nature of Madertie’s foundation collection, in its language and its practical focus, is when compared to its contemporaries.

Kaufman attributes the transformation of Baikie’s original bequest into a public library to Rev. James Wallace, who saw to it that the Presbytery took the books ‘for a publick liberarie’, and was the first minister to also add his collection (30 books and 12 volumes of pamphlets) to the library to increase it, as per Baikie’s original plan, and which was followed by at least three further ministers.⁵⁶⁴ After this short period of increase, however, the library appears to stagnate, and the only evidence for its continuing existence in the eighteenth century is a move into the newly built Tolbooth around 1740, having previously been moved between St Magnus Cathedral and the minister’s house.⁵⁶⁵ This would mean that the library went from being located in Kirk-owned buildings to council-owned buildings, a move roughly contemporaneous with the broadening of

⁵⁶¹ Craven, p. viii.

⁵⁶² Paul Kaufman, ‘Discovering the Oldest Publick Bibliothek of the Northern Isles’, *Library Review*, 23:7 (1972), 285–287 (p. 285).

⁵⁶³ The full contents of Baikie’s collection is listed in Craven, pp. viii–ix, and the majority of this collection is now held at the University of Aberdeen.

⁵⁶⁴ Kaufman, ‘Discovering the Oldest Publick Bibliothek’, p. 286; Anderson-Smith, p. 127.

⁵⁶⁵ David M. N. Tinch, *The Orkney Library: a short history 1683–1983* (Kirkwall: Orkney Library for Orkney Islands Council, 1983), p. 3. I have been unable to locate the primary source for Tinch’s account.

the Leighton Library's user group in 1734, and the beginnings of a discussion about a dedicated library space at Innerpeffray. Such changes in the same period may reflect a changing perspective in the 1730s–40s of the role of such library spaces – for the community, rather than closely aligned, or attached to, the Kirk.

At Kirkwall, however, despite its new home, the collection remained in the care of the Kirk, and in the eighteenth century presbytery made decisions about its care. Between 1743 and 1745, the Presbytery minutes record payments made for renting a library room, and a small sum to be spent on new books.⁵⁶⁶ By 24 August 1815 responsibility appears to have been transferred to the Synod, who made the following decision on its future: 'The Synod having taken into consideration the present state of their Library unanimously agreed to give it over to the Public Library new forming by subscription in the Town of Kirkwall'.⁵⁶⁷ The wording of this decision would suggest that the library had not been well kept, though the quantity of books printed before 1740 which came from it indicate that it was at least well preserved. While a lack of evidence of the library for the period to 1815 makes it difficult to compare Kirkwall library's use with that of Innerpeffray, once the Synod's collections move into this new library, records are substantial. Before this analysis, it is necessary briefly to consider both the collections and precisely how they were accessed.

Terms of access to the new library are set out clearly from its outset in 1815:

In order to make the Library accessible to all who may wish to become members, the annual subscription shall only be half a Guinea, and no one shall be bound to subscribe for more than one year; but none shall be received as subscribers who are not approved of by the Committee; and whenever any contributor shall cause to pay his annual subscription, he shall cease to be a member for the Society.⁵⁶⁸

The implications of setting in place a fee to use the library have already been explored in chapter six with regard to the Leighton Library. While it allows the collections to continue to grow, and for new, current items to be purchased, it discourages single or infrequent users, which at In-

⁵⁶⁶ Orkney Library & Archive OCR 4/8, Kirkwall Presbytery Minutes 1738–1781, pp. 130, 158, 160.

⁵⁶⁷ Orkney Library & Archive OCR 1/3 Synod of Orkney Minutes 1806–1820, p. 77.

⁵⁶⁸ Orkney Library & Archive CO5/100/1: Minute book - Subscribers to the Library 1815–1857, p. 1.

nerpeffray include artisanal and lower classes. Of the 70 individuals who borrow from the Orkney library in 1816, only 17 borrowed one item once, with the average user borrowing over seven items in that year. Those who did use the library frequently, therefore, were those with the luxury of time and money, or those who can make the most of their subscription fee, such as clergy. At Kirkwall, the user group is particularly high-class, consisting of a veritable who's-who of Orkney society in the early nineteenth century, likely due to the way in which this new library was set up, more in the manner of a learned society rather than arising directly from a specific benefaction.⁵⁶⁹ Further, by writing into the rules the necessity of committee approval, a further barrier is presented to potential new users, who would need to know the right people in order to gain access. This highlights just how accessible Innerpeffray was to its users (with the only real barrier to access being the Keeper's discretion) and thus how difficult it is to find a library with a comparable user group.

The collections which moved from the Synod of Orkney to the new library consisted of Baikie's original bequest, bequests from later ministers and a small number of purchased items, making up the 297 items recorded in the new library's first printed catalogue as from 'Synod of Orkney'.⁵⁷⁰ Their contents are broadly in the same vein as that of Baikie's original collection; the library at 1816, unlike Innerpeffray, was categorised by genre and, following the new library's own classification scheme as shown in the figure below, an overwhelming majority fall under 'Theology' (189 volumes), with a strong showing for 'Hebrew Bibles, Lexicons, Classics &c' (38) and 'Philosophy and the Arts' (37).⁵⁷¹ By contrast, the collection overall favours Novels, Poetry, Travel and History, and the biggest single category is Criticism etc., made up largely of periodicals.

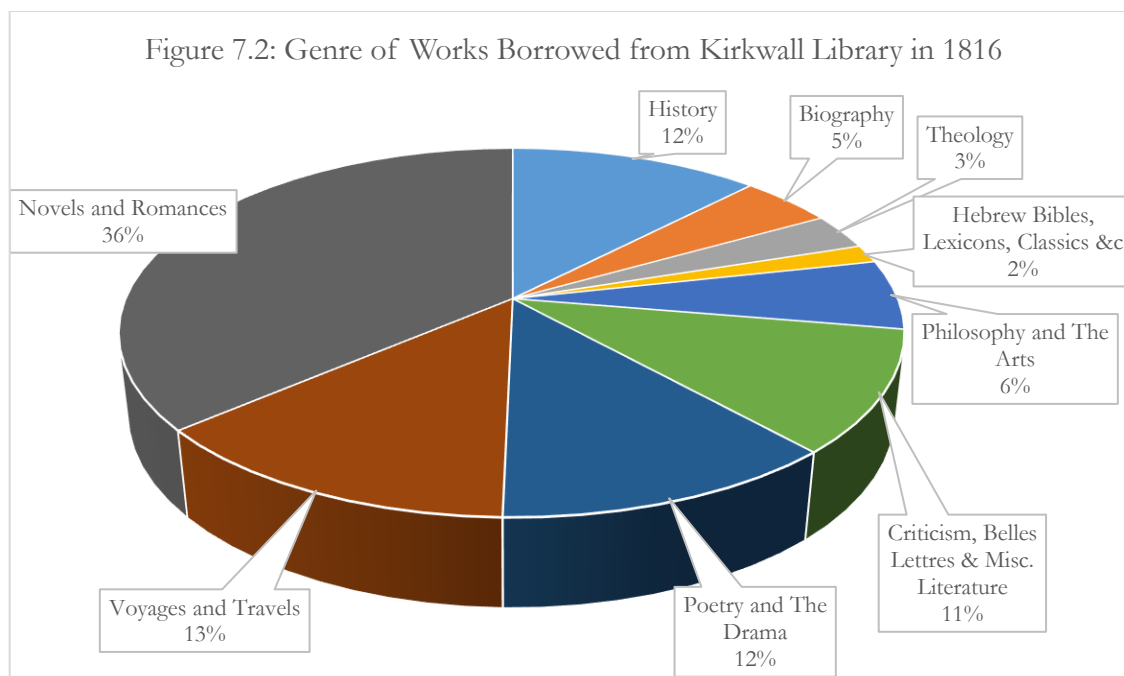
⁵⁶⁹ A list of the original 24 subscribers is given in Orkney Library & Archive CO5/100/1: Minute book – Subscribers to the Library 1815–1857, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁰ *Institution, Rules & Catalogue of the Orkney Library* (Edinburgh: John Moir, 1816). 297 items with 'Synod of Orkney' as their donor out of 909 titles in total. A handful of items from the earliest part of the eighteenth century entered the collection from the Synod, the most recent being a 1740 edition of Elisha Smith's *The Cure of Deism* and 1741 folio *Cypriani Epistolae*.

⁵⁷¹ This analysis is based on the classification scheme used by the library in its 1816 catalogue.

Figure 7.1: Genres in 1816 Kirkwall Catalogue		
Category	Total no. of titles	Of which are 'Synod of Orkney'
History	207	8
Biography	31	0
Theology	234	189
Hebrew Bibles, Lexicons, Classics &c	40	38
Philosophy and The Arts	103	37
Criticism, Belles Lettres & Misc. Literature	305	21
Poetry and The Drama	169	3
Voyages and Travels	68	0
Novels and Romances	249	1

As at Innerpeffray, novelty most attracted borrowers and, given that the collection was augmented by its subscribers and through purchases afforded by their subscription fees, Kirkwall was far better placed to meet their desires. In the first year of Kirkwall's borrowing records (to 1816) the average publication date of work borrowed is 1800, and that the median publication date is 1813 truly emphasises the popularity of more recent works. This has a direct impact on the types of work which are popular within the collection. Though History and Travel remain popular as at Innerpeffray, more than a third of borrowing is of items listed as 'Novels and Romances', and 'Poetry and the Drama' also makes up a significant proportion of borrowing, as seen in figure 7.2.



The preference for these genres may also reflect the type of user who frequented the library. 52 borrowers are male, but a further 20 are female. Of the 52 male borrowers, 20 are listed as ‘Rev’d’ indicating that they are ministers. The 32 non-ministers are almost all ‘esq’, largely major land-owners from across Orkney, and include the likes of elderly politician and historian Malcolm Laing (1762–1818) and writer (lawyer), author and Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney Alexander Peterkin (1780–1846).⁵⁷²

Even when analysis of borrowing is limited to ministers (the subset of the Orkney user occupations which overlap with Innerpeffray), what was available for borrowing had a marked impact on what was borrowed, as exemplified in the individual case of the Rev. John Dunn. Born 1787, John Dunn was the son of a minister at Laurencekirk, educated at Marishal College, Aberdeen and had worked as a schoolmaster in several places before becoming Minister (second charge) of Kirkwall from 1815 until his death on 24 December 1830.⁵⁷³ John Dunn does not appear in

⁵⁷² T. Henderson, ‘Laing, Malcolm (1762–1818), historian and advocate’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15890>> [accessed 10 September 2018]; L. Ritchie, ‘Peterkin, Alexander (1781–1846), writer’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22020>> [accessed 10 September 2018].

⁵⁷³ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. VII, p. 227.

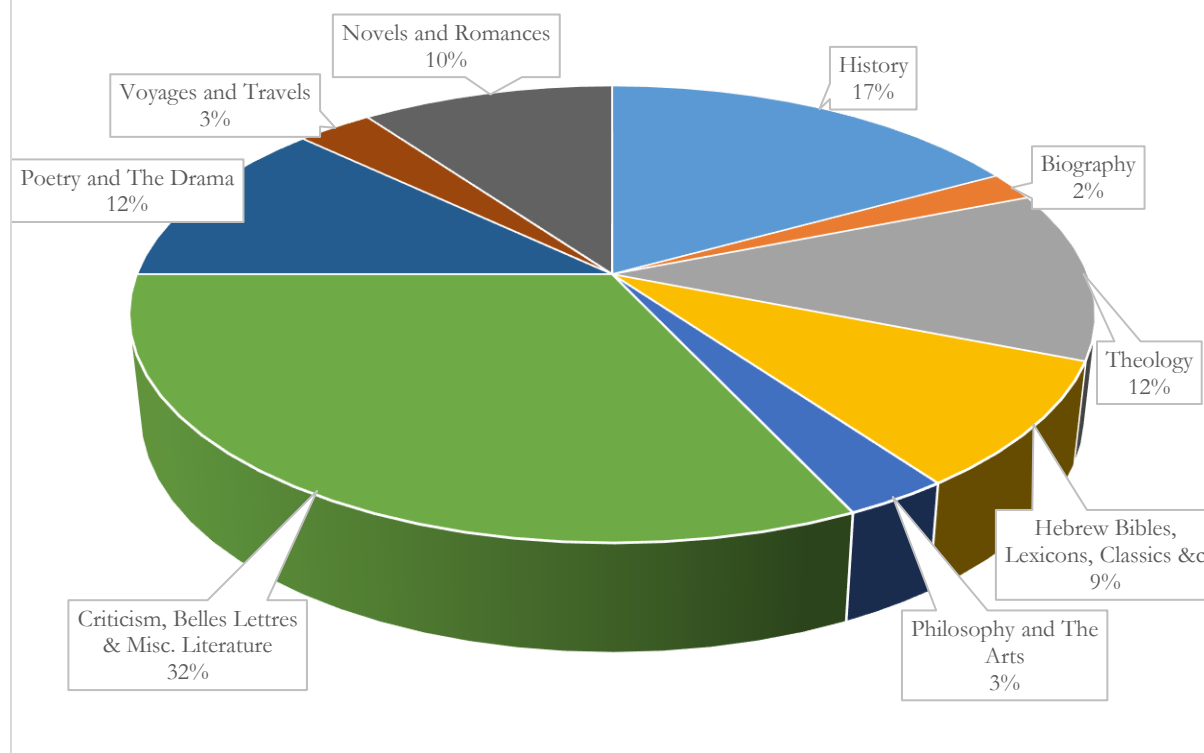
the first ever list of subscribers to the library (though his first charge minister, Robert Yule, does), but is recorded as frequenting the library from 1816 until at least 1824.⁵⁷⁴ It is for this reason that Dunn was selected as comparable to a borrower at Innerpeffray: a minister, who had also worked as a schoolmaster, who did not descend from the gentry class and was not involved in the library's creation. Dunn differs in one respect, however, as after he 'expressed his willingness to act as Librarian until some further management is made as to that office', he was duly appointed Librarian in 1816. The minutes of the library committee suggest that this was purely an administrative role, with frequent committee meetings among members where decisions were made, and very little interest in the post. It therefore sets Dunn apart from his fellow library members, perhaps keen to make an impression from his comparably lower status. Further, during Dunn's tenure, it was decided that the librarian was entitled to 'enjoy the privileges of the library free of expense', a concession perhaps given because of Dunn's less privileged position, but which also meant that he, uniquely among Kirkwall borrowers, was accessing the collections on the same terms as the Innerpeffray borrowers.⁵⁷⁵

Though theological and scholarly works do punctuate his borrowing, they bear no resemblance to clergy borrowing from Innerpeffray ('Psalterium Davidis', 'De Physica Christiano', 'Paley's Evidences', and each title on three different occasions). The only volume of sermons borrowed is the English translation of Saurin (first volume of the seven-volume octavo set, printed in Blackburn 1800–1806). Dunn borrowed an unidentified edition of the Hebrew Bible (also popular at Innerpeffray) but supplemented it with repeat borrowings of both 'Hebrew Grammar' and 'Lexicon Hebraicum', in a manner more akin to borrowers from the Leighton Library.

⁵⁷⁴ There is a short break in the records following this period, and records do not restart until after his death. Orkney Library & Archives CO5/100/2–5.

⁵⁷⁵ Orkney Library & Archive CO5/100/1: Minute book – Subscribers to the Library 1815–1857, p. 9; p. 11.

Figure 7.3: Genre of Works Borrowed by John Dunn



The graph above shows from which of the library's genre divisions Dunn most borrowed. While History is significant, it is closely followed by Novels and Poetry and The Drama, but completely dominated by Criticism, Belles Lettres and Miscellaneous Literature, which as a category makes up nearly a third of his borrowing. This is almost entirely repeat borrowing of periodicals like *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review*, *Scots Magazine*, and *Christian Instructor*. Unlike at Innerpeffer, these works were all the latest issues. Dunn's desire for current periodicals is further underlined in the request book which was kept within the library for users to note down what they wished to borrow from the collection.⁵⁷⁶ Of his 40 requests, 24 were for current or recent periodical issues, which on 1 May 1827 is demonstrated in the somewhat exasperated demand, 'Latest Periodicals'. This either suggests that the library was not receiving them fast enough for Dunn's liking, or that when they had arrived they were in high demand by other users.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ Orkney Library & Archive CO5/100/2. It is unclear whether this book records desire-to-buy or desire-to-borrow i.e. a waiting list for popular titles.

⁵⁷⁷ For example, on 24 January 1818, Mr Laing donates the *Edinburgh Review* 'from its commencement to the present day [...] on condition of getting the first reading of the future numbers as they come to the Library'. Orkney Library & Archive CO5/100/1: Minute book – Subscribers to the Library 1815-1857, p. 30.

Perhaps linked to the information gleaned from these new periodicals, novels are a huge presence across the Kirkwall borrowers' register as a whole. The request book mentioned above records borrowers asking for new novels as soon as they were published. In this, John Dunn is no exception, calling for *Abbot* in October 1820, *Kenilworth* in July 1824 and *Woodstock* in June 1826. He also requested Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* in March 1822, exemplifying a small trend for the borrowing of female authors, though the only female author in Dunn's borrowing record is Alethea Lewis, whose novel *Rhoda* he borrowed (all three volumes) in 1817, just one year after its publication. Innerpeffray could not have supported such borrowing with its static collections, but we might hypothesise that this is precisely what ministers might have been borrowing, had Innerpeffray been able to support it. Alexander Maxton's fondness for summative literary periodicals, in so far as Innerpeffray held them, may indicate that the type of reading in which John Dunn was participating was exactly the type of reading Maxton desired. Again, the focus on what was on the library shelves when interpreting borrowers' records is strongly justified.

Inverness

With public accessibility a key factor in determining collections whose use may be comparable to Innerpeffray, libraries generated under the Kirkwood scheme are a valuable inclusion, provided that enough evidence of their use survives. More ambitious than his English contemporary, Thomas Bray, James Kirkwood envisioned a scheme in 1699 that would not only provide a library for the benefit of the clergy and student clergy of each parish, but for lay persons as well.⁵⁷⁸ His ambitions were first outlined in *An Overture for Founding & Maintaining of Bibliotheks in Every Paroch throughout this Kingdom*, published anonymously in 1699.⁵⁷⁹ While this initial scheme was not adopted fully (Manley attributes this to the General Assembly being suspicious of the Episcopalians),⁵⁸⁰ it did result in a scheme to distribute books among the Highland parishes, and the incremental passing of acts by the General Assembly eventually led to the foundation and preservation of collections in most presbyteries.⁵⁸¹ That scholars do not precisely agree on the

⁵⁷⁸ For an overview of Bray's scheme in England see W.M. Jacob, 'Libraries for the Parish' in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland vol. II 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 65–82 (pp. 73–78). For what became of Bray's libraries, see G. Best, 'Libraries in the Parish' in the same volume pp. 324–344.

⁵⁷⁹ See Aitken, pp. 6–13 for a full assessment of Kirkwood's provisions.

⁵⁸⁰ Manley, p. 7.

⁵⁸¹ Aitken, p. 12.

number and location of libraries established under the scheme (70–80), and that almost all had disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century, demonstrates the lack of surviving evidence for these foundations.⁵⁸² One exception is that of Inverness.

While evidence for the use of what became known as Inverness Session Library is not plentiful, its collections survive almost intact and are still held at Inverness Public Library, as what appears to be the only known survival of a Kirkwood library from the Highlands.⁵⁸³ Though the archival material accompanying the collection is largely uncatalogued, it contains MS catalogues from 1737 and 1777 and a published catalogue from 1897.⁵⁸⁴ Alongside physical evidence contained within the books themselves, this builds a very clear picture of what was in the library and how it changed over time, and provides a point of comparison to Innerpeffray.

No published history of the library at Inverness exists save for an overview taken from extracts of the Kirk Session records, but an MS lodged in the Highland Archive Centre provides reasonable context based upon the surviving sources.⁵⁸⁵ The library was already in operation by the time of Kirkwood's death in 1709, and originally housed around 200 items, plus 30 copies of the Bible in Irish, 45 Irish New Testaments, 150 Catechisms and 12 copies of 'a plain man's reply to the Roman missionaries'.⁵⁸⁶ This marks a significant difference to the collections at Innerpeffray, where duplicates are few and far between, suggesting a very different vision for how the library was to be used. The 200 volumes included many titles which could be considered of benefit to the clergy, or future clergy of the area, including multiple foreign language dictionaries and scholarly philosophical and theological treatises.⁵⁸⁷ The proliferation of Bibles in Irish show how strongly this collection was linked to Kirkwood's plan, since Kirkwood was also associated with the drive for producing a Bible printed in Scots Gaelic, at which time the Bible in Irish

⁵⁸² Manley, p. 7 gives the figure of 80. Towsey, p. 22, states that there were 70 collections of 60–130 volumes founded between 1704 and 1709, largely in the Highlands and Islands.

⁵⁸³ Manley, p. 7, remarks that the only other survivor, Dumfries is 'not noticeably in the Highlands'.

⁵⁸⁴ Inverness Kirk Session Library [uncatalogued]: MS Catalogue 1737; Inverness Kirk Session Library MS [unnumbered]: Catalogue 1777; *Catalogue of the Inverness Session Library 1897* (Inverness: T.M. Thomson, 1897).

⁵⁸⁵ A. Mitchell ed. *Inverness Kirk Session Records 1661-1800* (Inverness: Robt Carruthers & Sons, 1902) Part III, pp. 189–206; Highland Archive Centre HCA/D776/D/I/1/q 'Notes by Alan Lawson entitled 'Inverness Kirk Session Library' c1979–c1984.

⁵⁸⁶ Highland Archive Centre HCA/D776/D/I/1/q, p. 1.

⁵⁸⁷ Mitchell, p. 195.

would have been closest.⁵⁸⁸ They also show that its intended audience, then, was not only students or ministers, but lay persons.⁵⁸⁹

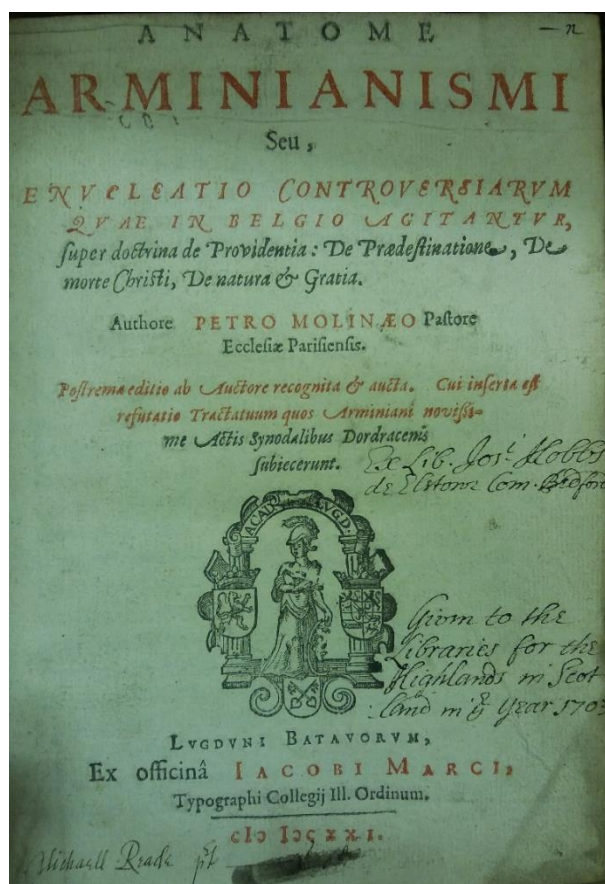


Figure 7.4: Donation to Inverness Library

That such a library relied upon donations meant that its collections were gathered more haphazardly even than at Innerpeffray, where the short period of acquisition was informed by the Archbishop's list. Evidence from within the books themselves shows donors from across the country. Figure 7.4 shows an early addition, 'given to the libraries for the Highlands in Scotland in y^e year 1703' by Joseph Hobbs, Rector of Elstow Abbey in Bedford. Though the subject is one represented at Innerpeffray in its earliest incarnation it is also reflective of a donor who is not necessarily considering the lay highlander. While the library's most notable benefactor, James Fraser, mortified £1000 merks scots for the management of the library and the buying of books upon his death in 1724, other benefac-

tors saw fit to leave their own collections, or parts of their collections, to the library. For Hector McKenzie, dying around 1764, this meant 'all his Greek and Latin books'.⁵⁹⁰ These donations demonstrate what different individuals imagined the purpose of the library to be.

⁵⁸⁸ Murray C. T. Simpson, 'Kirkwood, James (b. c. 1650, d. in or after 1709), clergyman and advocate of parochial libraries' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15682>> [accessed 8 June 2018].

⁵⁸⁹ In the areas surrounding Innerpeffray, Gaelic was a minority language, but still persisted into the nineteenth century, particularly in Comrie. See for example *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. 10, p. 586 via <statacscot.edina.ac.uk> [accessed 4 September 2018].

⁵⁹⁰ Mitchell, p. 203.



Figure 7.5a: 'Invernes' Library Iron Stamp



Figure 7.5b: 'Invernes' Library Iron Stamp

By the time Thomas Pennant visited Inverness Session Library in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was 'a library of 1400 volumes of both antient and modern books', indicating that it is precisely the same size as Innerpeffray at this period.⁵⁹¹ As early as 1737, immediately following the creation of the first catalogue the committee notes that 1160 volumes are present, showing that the massive influx of new items came early in the eighteenth century.⁵⁹² All items were stamped (figures 7.5a and 7.5b) with the library iron and 72 duplicates were marked for disposal.⁵⁹³ Although some works

were still held as multiple copies (at least 10 copies of the first volume of Thomas Bray's *Biblioteca Parochialis* (London, 1707)) the collection appears broadly similar to that at Innerpeffray at the time. This means that an assessment of the sparse evidence for the use of the collection may prove an insightful comparison to the use of Innerpeffray.

The final note by the committee at 1737 is the most tantalising:

That of Books given out, and not at this time in the Librery, they find several memorandums and Receipts, most of them old, none of them very late as may be seen by any who next takes charge of the Librery – who should be required by the help of such notes and otherwise, to do his best to recover.⁵⁹⁴

Of these memoranda and receipts, no evidence remains, save for four pages of notes in the 1737 catalogue, one page of which follows the remark by the committee above, and three at the end of the volume. These give a patchy snapshot of borrowing, with 29 individuals borrowing between one and three titles each, from 1758 to 1765, 1777–1780 and 1790–1793, and prove remarkably similar to Innerpeffray in who was borrowing, what they borrowed and when. Of the 29 borrowers, four can be soundly identified as Church of Scotland ministers from around Inverness, but that none of the others are to be found in *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, would suggest that the user group was more broad, and included not only ministers from other denominations,

⁵⁹¹ Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*, 4th edn (London, 1776), p. 179.

⁵⁹² Inverness Kirk Session Library MS [unnumbered]: Catalogue 1737, p. 44.

⁵⁹³ Mitchell, p. 194 identifies the iron as a gift from Andrew Kilgour in 1709.

⁵⁹⁴ Inverness Kirk Session Library [unnumbered] MS Catalogue 1737, p. 143.

but lay persons as well.⁵⁹⁵ The items borrowed are a sound reflection of titles borrowed from Innerpeffray too: Rapin's *History of England* is listed twice, so too Prideaux's *Connection*, Stackhouse's *History of the Bible* and Calvin's *Institutes*.⁵⁹⁶ Of the few sermons borrowed, Leighton was a popular choice (not available at Innerpeffray) but Atterbury, Barrow and Whitby also make appearances. Warburton's *Divine Legation* also appears, alongside Du Pin's *Method of Studying* and Cruden's *Concordances*. Where borrowing does differ it is usually of foreign language items, remarkably prevalent among the records which remain. 'Deering in Hebrew' went out in 1770, and Ebenezer Young, presumably a student, borrowed a full range of the classics in Latin (Caesar, Virgil, Cicero) plus Pope's English translation of the *Iliad*. Such choices Innerpeffray could, but largely did not, support.

Though very few records of borrowing survive at Inverness, those which do survive serve to demonstrate how, as at Innerpeffray, the library was less likely to attract repeat borrowers than elsewhere. As characterised by the William Young case expounded in chapter three, it appears that the library at Innerpeffray was something to which people wanted to have access, but did not necessarily want to use. Libraries which garnered a fee, or to which some sort of formal membership was required (including the Leighton explored in chapter six) appear to have fostered much more of a sense of belonging, meaning users were more likely to visit repeatedly.

Haddington

John Gray's library at Haddington has been most thoroughly explored by Vivienne Dunstan, whose studies centre on reading habits, yet still provide the context and data to build a picture of library use.⁵⁹⁷ Founded as a mortification following the death of local minister John Gray in 1717, the library was 'open to all residents of the town of Haddington in East Lothian, not charging any fee to join or borrow books'.⁵⁹⁸ Thanks to the survival of borrowing records for

⁵⁹⁵ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. VI: 'Alexander Fraser', p. 458; 'James Leslie', p. 476; 'Murdoch Mackenzie', p. 465; 'George Watson', p. 462.

⁵⁹⁶ Specific editions cannot be confidently identified from the record.

⁵⁹⁷ Vivienne S. Dunstan, 'Glimpses into a Town's Reading Habits in Enlightenment Scotland: Analysing the Borrowings of Gray Library, Haddington, 1732–1816' *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 26:1+2 (2006), 42–59; Vivienne S. Dunstan, *Reading habits in Scotland circa 1750-1820* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Dundee, 2010). For the problems on using borrowing records as evidence of reading see the introduction to this thesis.

⁵⁹⁸ Dunstan, 'Glimpses', p. 42. Terms of the Mortification at Haddington are pasted into NLS MS 16479.

1732–1796 and 1803–1816, it also provides evidence for library use, borrowing if not reference, comparable to Innerpeffray.⁵⁹⁹

The library exemplifies a private library made public following the death of the single benefactor, as at Orkney and Leighton, but is also comparable to the Kirkwood's idea of a parish library with books made available to all. While borrowing was technically limited to ministers in the town, with lay readers permitted reference use, in practice, as with many of the rules at Innerpeffray, this was never applied.⁶⁰⁰ Its collections were largely religious and relatively aged; even at 1828 one fifth of its book stock dated from the sixteenth century or earlier.⁶⁰¹ It is a notable difference, however that at Haddington the library was regularly augmented from 1750 onwards, with more religious works, and largely excluding fiction and periodicals.⁶⁰² In this manner, Haddington is similar to Innerpeffray in what it selected for purchase; even though Hay Drummond recommended much literature in his 'miscellenea' section, these titles did not enter the collection.⁶⁰³

Haddington was a town with a population of around 2000 and a significant administrative centre for East Lothian, compared to rural Innerpeffray's sparse local populations and relatively distant borrowers.⁶⁰⁴ The library at Haddington was therefore fairly convenient to its user group, with a location at the centre of the town, and though its opening times, officially restricted to Tuesdays and Thursdays between 12 and 1, appear limited, they were in practice much more flexible.⁶⁰⁵ This may go some way towards explaining why Haddington's individual borrowers were using its collections much more heavily than borrowers at Innerpeffray. Even when compared to a period in which Innerpeffray's collections were being augmented (1747–1790), at Haddington users borrowed an average of 21 items each in the 1750s, 32 in the 1760s and 47 in the 1770s.⁶⁰⁶ At Innerpeffray, the average number of books borrowed per user over the course of

⁵⁹⁹ NLS MSS 16446–16482.

⁶⁰⁰ Dunstan, 'Glimpses', p. 44.

⁶⁰¹ Dunstan, 'Glimpses', p. 45; *Catalogue of the Books in the Town of Haddington's Library. MDCCCXXVIII* (Haddington, 1828)

⁶⁰² Dunstan, 'Glimpses', p. 47.

⁶⁰³ For a full discussion of the Archbishop's list see chapter one of this thesis.

⁶⁰⁴ Dunstan, 'Glimpses', p. 44 on status of Haddington at the time.

⁶⁰⁵ Dunstan, 'Glimpses', p. 45.

⁶⁰⁶ Dunstan, 'Glimpses' p. 46 n. 23. Dunstan also attributes a small boom in the 1740s to one keen minister borrowing heavily, a difficulty with the interpretation of such usage statistics as identified with super-users at Innerpeffray in chapter four.

their lifetime never reached double figures.⁶⁰⁷ As well as attributable to the convenient location of the library and the faster growth of its modern collections, this might also reflect the type of user accessing the collections because, as demonstrated in chapter three at Innerpeffray, the middle-class professions were more likely to borrow repeatedly.

Around 700 individuals are recorded borrowing from the library between 1732 and 1816.⁶⁰⁸ 584 of these were male and 73 female, again showing the dominance of male book borrowing, particularly outside of circulating or subscription libraries.⁶⁰⁹ In the earliest phase of the records, to 1750, borrowers were largely professionals, but the number of artisans, merchants etc. increased over time.⁶¹⁰ There were no masons or weavers, and though it may be possible that it is precisely this class of user that would be unidentifiable in other sources, it is far more likely that these trades did not represent so large a proportion of the population as they did at Innerpeffray.⁶¹¹ Far fewer students, preachers and clergy appeared at Haddington, particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century. These Dunstan includes among the ‘professionals’ she identified, which make up only 33% of borrowers in the period 1790–1816.⁶¹² At Innerpeffray, these types of borrowers appear to endure; though occupations were not regularly listed after 1800, the title ‘Rev’ continued to appear within the register.

Dunstan lists the most popularly borrowed books from Haddington decade by decade.⁶¹³ While some choices remain popular throughout (Rollins; *Universal History*) other titles make surprisingly late appearances, for example Robertson’s *History of Charles V* in the 1780s, and disappear from the popular titles soon afterwards. The longevity of their popularity at Innerpeffray, therefore, is likely due to the lack of newer works which entered the collection as time went on. By the 1800s at Haddington, borrowers had moved on to Burns’ works (purchased 1804), William Russell’s *History of Modern Europe* (first published 1782, likely purchased later) and Robert Henry’s

⁶⁰⁷ See chapter four of this thesis.

⁶⁰⁸ Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 88.

⁶⁰⁹ Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 95.

⁶¹⁰ Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 88 n. 293 and p. 91. Since occupations are never listed in the borrowers’ register, and instead identified by Dunstan using other sources, it has not been possible to verify them within the scope of this thesis.

⁶¹¹ Dunstan identifies the professions of borrowers from external sources, *Reading Habits*, p. 102.

⁶¹² Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 102.

⁶¹³ Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 93.

History of Great Britain (first published 1771 likely purchased later).⁶¹⁴ As at Innerpeffray, therefore, borrower choices at Haddington were driven largely by novelty, and a continuing process of acquisition meant that, in novelty if not in diversity of genre, these preferences were much better catered for than at Innerpeffray.⁶¹⁵ As at Innerpeffray too, those fictional and poetic works which did make it into the collection were popular. Instead of Shakespeare, borrowers at Haddington selected Burns as mentioned above, and Fielding's works enjoyed popular longevity.⁶¹⁶ These works have the combined strength of both being examples of the few works of fiction to enter the collection, as well as the appeal of novelty.

Of works popular with female borrowers, imaginative literature dominates (Fielding, Scott, Pope, Burns and Ossian) joined by some historical titles (Rollins' *Roman History*, Robertson's *History of America*, Henry's *History of Great Britain*), following conventional narratives associated with female reading preferences.⁶¹⁷ While female users were not particularly prevalent at Haddington, that they made up a greater proportion of borrowing than at Innerpeffray means that such deductions can be made by an assessment of their borrowing. Further, since a broader range of items traditionally associated with female reading was present at Haddington, its records can contribute towards scholarship in that area. At Innerpeffray, with so few female users and a lack of items traditionally associated with female reading, this opportunity does not present itself.

This final thought on female borrowing once more underlines the anomaly of Innerpeffray, and reaffirms that the best tactic to assess its use is to focus on the individual borrower. The remainder of this chapter takes that individual assessment, as expounded in chapter five, and seeks to apply it further, tracing specific users across different library collections.

Where users overlap

Within a broad methodological framework for the interpretation of borrowers' records, this thesis considers what the Library of Innerpeffray was for and how it was used, so any records of Innerpeffray borrowers also borrowing from elsewhere at the same time can contribute significantly to our understanding. Such an analysis has never been undertaken before. Though

⁶¹⁴ Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 93–4.

⁶¹⁵ Dunstan, 'Glimpses', p. 48.

⁶¹⁶ Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 93. For Innerpeffray see chapter four of this thesis.

⁶¹⁷ Dunstan, *Reading Habits*, p. 95.

difficult to match up individuals precisely in such records, particularly those which have not been transcribed or indexed, it has been possible to identify some individuals borrowing both from Innerpeffray and from elsewhere. Most of these are students borrowing from St Andrews and will be considered first, followed by an assessment of two further individuals who borrow from both Innerpeffray and the Leighton Library: Cornelius Stewart and John Barclay.

As shown in chapter three, the occupation recorded most frequently in the Innerpeffray borrowers' register is that of student. While some examples of borrowing records from Scottish universities have grown in profile through recent scholarship, in-depth archival research and transcription projects associated with such records are currently in their infancy.⁶¹⁸ The most extensive borrowing records from a Scottish University are to be found at St Andrews, which is also the closest university to Innerpeffray, thus the one which is likely to have been the place of study for most of the Innerpeffray students. Matthew Sangster's 2017 article using the records at St Andrews takes a similar methodological approach to this thesis, demonstrating the advantages of looking at a 'single coherent body of interconnected evidence' for one institution, rather than working across collections, to assess 'reading practices' in their institutional context.⁶¹⁹ While a detailed analysis of the context surrounding the borrower records at the University of St Andrews is beyond the scope of this thesis, Sangster's assessment via extensive archival work has meant that an informed examination of any subset of these records is possible.

Sangster highlights that the collections at St Andrews were curated by legislation, via the Copyright Act of 1710, rather than by professors and students. This meant that, unlike at Innerpeffray whose collections were heavily reliant upon what the trustees selected and what funds could afford, the university was entitled to free copyright copies of registered works.⁶²⁰ Far more vernacular literature was therefore available and, while at other universities this might have been sold off or deaccessioned, its inclusion in the courses at St Andrews meant that most of what was acquired remained in the collection.⁶²¹ As at Innerpeffray (and in contrast to other contemporary university libraries), opening hours and reading space was restricted, compensated with

⁶¹⁸ In Scotland, notably Matthew Sangster and Karen Baston at the University of Glasgow and the Library Receipt Books at St Andrews as outlined in the introduction to this thesis.

⁶¹⁹ Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities', p. 946.

⁶²⁰ Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities', p. 947.

⁶²¹ Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities', pp. 948–9, 952.

generous borrowing rights of up to six weeks for students.⁶²² This means that the borrowers' records give a good idea of what students were using the library for and reduces the potential impact of reference use on the impression given by the records.⁶²³

Searches were conducted for any person listing themselves as 'student' in any subject in the Innerpeffray registers, which were then traced in Smart's *Biographical register of the University of St Andrews, 1747–1897*.⁶²⁴ While this inevitably meant that those who did not record their occupation at Innerpeffray would not be found, it increased the likelihood that those with the right names and plausible dates were the same individuals. This was backed up with additional evidence in Smart, such as the home location of the borrower. 17 students from the register were identified in Smart, though eight of these fell before 1768, the first year when registers began.⁶²⁵ Of the remaining nine, 'William Smith' was excluded as it was not possible to identify which of those registered at St Andrews was the one who had been using Innerpeffray. Eight students borrowing from Innerpeffray, therefore, were identified as students at St Andrews who might appear in the borrowing registers. As the St Andrews registers were indexed at the time of their creation, it was possible to identify individual users without conducting a page-by-page search, as at Innerpeffray or the Leighton Library. Every one of the eight students identified by this process appear in the St Andrews registers.

Figure 7.6: Student Borrowers using St Andrews and Innerpeffray Libraries

Name	Dates using Innerpeffray	Dates using St Andrews
James Mitchell	1774–1778	1773–1775
Alexander Reid	1783	1781–1786
John Whytock	1785–1797	1781–1787
Samuel Cameron	1787–1805	1785–1791
Andrew Kemp	1785–1795	1785–1790
Alexander Rintoul	1793–1794	1785–1792
Thomas Thomson	1789–1790	1788–1791
Alexander Maxton	1794–1846	1797–1801

⁶²² Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities', p. 952.

⁶²³ For which, see chapter four of this thesis.

⁶²⁴ Robert N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews* <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/>> [accessed 7 May 2018].

⁶²⁵ Earlier records that exist from 1737 merge professorial & student borrowing (St Andrews UYLY 205). This analysis has therefore been limited to St Andrews UYLY 207, definitively student borrowers.

With the exception of Alexander Maxton, who has proven himself an exceptional borrower throughout this thesis, student borrowers began to borrow from Innerpeffray after they first borrowed from St Andrews. Usually the two libraries were accessed concurrently - only Alexander Rintoul used Innerpeffray for the first time in the year after his final borrowing from St Andrews. How much they used Innerpeffray varies significantly from borrower to borrower: from Alexander Reid, who visited the library once to borrow two items in May 1785, to Alexander Maxton, who used Innerpeffray heavily throughout his life, as in chapter five. Their borrowing from Innerpeffray usually continued after they stopped borrowing from St Andrews, but only in the years immediately following. While it is difficult to draw conclusions about Innerpeffray from these results, they do stress the validity of the comparison of what these individuals were using the library for, exemplifying as they do borrowing by the same person in roughly the same time period. For that, it is necessary to take a closer look at the items they borrow.

The earliest student identified as borrowing from both Innerpeffray and St Andrews is James Mitchell, noted for being tutor to Walter Scott in Edinburgh while still a divinity student.⁶²⁶ Alexander Maxton is a surprise inclusion in the list, since Innes-Addison records him as matriculating at Glasgow in 1796, and his *Fasti* entry makes no mention of his having been educated elsewhere.⁶²⁷ These two examples show the very different circumstances of the individual borrowers. To draw any firm conclusions, then, about the borrowing of St Andrews students specifically is not possible through just these eight students; it is the comparison with what they select for borrowing from Innerpeffray which is most valuable in this context. As identified in chapter five, looking at individual borrowers on a case by case basis is the best way of approaching the records, following a broad overview of the whole group, since the context of their lives can also be considered through their borrowing pattern. Two of the students listed here, John Whytock and Alexander Maxton, were already given as individual exemplars in chapter five, therefore it is fitting to compare their borrowing from St Andrews at an individual level. Since Maxton is anomalous in so many ways, and so prolific in his borrowing habits, John Whytock has been selected below for individual treatment.

⁶²⁶ Smart, 'James Mitchell' <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1399615516>> [accessed 3 July 2018]; Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. V, pp. 414–5.

⁶²⁷ Scott, *Fasti*, Vol. IV, p. 272; Innes-Addison, *A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow from 31st December 1727 to 31st December 1897* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1898) no. 5764; Smart, 'Alexander Maxton' <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1398037916>> [accessed 3 July 2018].

Given the context of the collections at St Andrews as detailed above, and the fact that all borrowing under consideration here took place before 1800, at a time when Innerpeffray had relatively new items on its shelves, students use both collections in a very similar way. This shows that Innerpeffray was, by the St Andrews comparison at least, fulfilling its goal of serving ‘young students’. History is overwhelmingly the most popular genre for Innerpeffray student borrowers at St Andrews, with a strong showing for Rollins and Goldsmith across all individuals. General religion is popular too, with several authors and titles familiar to Innerpeffray (Pearson, Burnet, Mosheim) as are sermons, though their authors somewhat differ from at Innerpeffray; while Clarke, Tillotson, Sharpe, Abernethy, Atterbury and Moss all appear, they are joined by Blair, Carr and Davy. Since it has not been possible to identify Davy and Carr, borrowed on multiple occasions by Alexander Maxton between 1799 and 1800, either with a specific author, or with items at St Andrews, it is likely that they were relatively obscure, further demonstrating the niche borrowing habits displayed by Maxton.⁶²⁸ Blair, however, was borrowed by four of the eight students, and seems to represent a fairly conservative choice, which makes his absence from the collections at Innerpeffray all the more marked.

Sangster’s impression of the borrowing of vernacular literature observed across all borrowers at St Andrews is also reflected in the student borrowers who use both Innerpeffray and St Andrews collections. This may be, as he suggests, reflecting the impact that copyright deposit had on what was available in the collections and, consequently, what was borrowed. Shakespeare remains popular among the Innerpeffray student borrowers at St Andrews, but so too do both Pope and Swift; Henry Fielding has a huge presence (his complete works as well *Amelia* and *Tom Jones*) and single instances of borrowed titles, taken together, emphasise the popularity of the genre, such as Eliza Haywood’s *Epistles for the Ladies* and Rousseau’s *Eloisa*. Popular periodicals too are more literary in focus (*The Rambler*, *Spectator*, *Tatler*), again reflecting the strength of the collections at St Andrews. Since these very same borrowers were using Innerpeffray contemporaneously with St Andrews, the argument that their borrowing was strongly impacted by what they could, rather than what they wanted to borrow, is strengthened. Further, it is possible that these users approached using the university collections rather differently than Innerpeffray simply because of

⁶²⁸ University of St Andrews, *Library Catalogue* <library.st-andrews.ac.uk/> does not show sermons held by either author [accessed 10 June 2018].

where they were. For example, if Innerpeffray were a short distance from the student's home address, it might have been used exactly as the library at St Andrews. If more effort was made to access Innerpeffray's collections, such as making a significant journey to access them, it is likely that the books accessed were required, rather than incidental.

When John Whytock first borrowed from Innerpeffray in July 1785, aged 25, he had already been using the collections at St Andrews for nearly four years.⁶²⁹ The first seven items he borrowed from Innerpeffray appear, therefore, to have been accessed over the summer, to supplement his studies. Though it is difficult to determine whether Whytock's tastes at St Andrews were informed by the curriculum or by personal choice, they are well-aligned with what was also available at Innerpeffray, as observed for students overall, listed in full in appendix eight. They also follow his progression from a student at United College (1781–1785) studying a range of subjects, to his enrolment at St Mary's College (1785–1789) to study Divinity.⁶³⁰ Rollin's *Roman History*, Gerard's *Essay on Genius*, the works of Bolingbroke, Goldsmith (though his *History of England*, rather than his *Roman History* as at Innerpeffray), all characterise Whytock's borrowing from St Andrews prior to 1785, and represent items that were also available at Innerpeffray, though, as observed for St Andrews students overall, supplemented by literary periodicals which were not accessible at Innerpeffray (*The Rambler*, *The Spectator*).⁶³¹ Philosophy is also a strong presence in Whytock's early borrowing from St Andrews, whether related specifically to language and criticism (Watts' *Logic*, Monboddo's *Origin of Language*, Kames' *Elements of Criticism*) or more general (*The Moral Philosopher*, Bolingbroke as above, unspecified 'philosophical essays'). Whytock's borrowing at Innerpeffray almost exactly replicates, in theme if not in title, the preferences he displayed at St Andrews, Philosophy (Cudworth *On Morality*, Voltaire *On Toleration*) and History (Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, Melville's *Memoirs*). In this manner, it seems that Innerpeffray was working 'for the benefit of young students'.

⁶²⁹ For full discussion of Whytock's borrowing from Innerpeffray see this thesis chapter five.

⁶³⁰ Smart, 'John Whytock' <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1418621508>> [accessed 11 June 2018].

⁶³¹ It has not been possible to identify which specific editions were borrowed from St Andrews, hence author and title are the only details given here.

Returning as a St Andrews borrower in autumn of 1785 at St Marys College (Divinity), Whytock's borrowing became markedly less broad, but still included non-religious items. Items Whytock selected include Wilkins' *Natural Religion*, 'Pamphlets on the 39 articles', Henry's *Religious Life* and Gillies' *Devotional Exercises*, again things akin to what was available at Innerpeffray. By contrast, works in other genres Whytock favoured include poems by Parnell and Whitehead, Young's *Night Thoughts* and Swift's *Works*. This suggests that Whytock's interest in this reading material was extra-curricular, rather than attributable to any course material, given that it persisted even after he moved into Divinity. Borrowing from Innerpeffray in the following spring (May & June 1786), Whytock appeared only interested in religious works (Stillingfleet's *Works*, Clarke's *Sermons*, Butler's *Analogy*), which may suggest that Innerpeffray supported his study-related reading, but not the broad range of material which was accessible to him at St Andrews.

The narrowing of Whytock's borrowing preferences became truly evident during his final academic year of significant borrowing at St Andrews, 1786–7. Sermons began to feature very heavily, though of a much broader ilk to what was being accessed at Innerpeffray. Whytock's loans in this year included Hugh Blair as well as Massillon, a French Catholic, and Bourdaloue, a French Jesuit, alongside the expected Tillotson, Sharpe and Atterbury. Though they are still accompanied by Young's *Night Thoughts* and unspecified 'Plays', such wider reading was much in the minority. The variety of opinions accessed by Whytock might support the supposition, as identified in chapter five, that he eventually operated as a preacher outside the Church of Scotland. That Whytock continued to use Innerpeffray long after he stopped using St Andrews (his final borrowing from there in March 1788 is Glover's *Leonidas*) is perhaps more of a testament to his physical location than that the library specifically offered the items he wished to borrow. Innerpeffray was, therefore, supporting Whytock as a 'preacher of the gospel' just as it supported him as a student.

By placing Whytock's borrowing at Innerpeffray in the context of his borrowing at St Andrews, it is clear that Innerpeffray, in the latter part of the eighteenth century at least, had much to offer the student, or recently completed student, borrower. The lack of the broader type of literature at Innerpeffray which characterised Whytock's earlier borrowing from St Andrews may have been one factor in how his borrowing habits at Innerpeffray might appear one-dimensional, but a decline in interest in those works can also be seen in his choices at St Andrews, driven perhaps

by his increasing focus on his chosen occupation. St Andrews students, with Whytock as a prime exemplar, do not appear to prioritise novelty over content in the way that characterised borrowing from Innerpeffray in chapter five, and it is perhaps for this reason that their borrowing from Innerpeffray was not inhibited by the limited amount of new works available. It is possible, however, that this did not remain true into the nineteenth century, during which time the library did not actively acquire new works, a matter on which further study and the identification of more students borrowing from both collections at a later date may shed light.

It is not only a library's collections and borrowers' occupation which can impact a borrowers' choice, but also how that library was managed. This is exemplified in the borrowing of Cornelius Stewart, surgeon in Dunblane, who used the Leighton Library. As outlined in chapter six, the Leighton Library introduced a subscription fee for 'civis' (lay) membership of the library in 1734, which meant that the collection could be used by people other than the clergy of Dunblane to whom the library had been left, in exchange for a small fee. Cornelius Stewart, arriving in Dunblane immediately following his medical training in 1800, joined the library on such terms, and borrowed from it almost monthly until 1804.⁶³² The abrupt end date of his borrowing is not to attributable to any life event; he remained Surgeon in Dunblane and a prominent figure in the town until his death in 1855.⁶³³ Instead, a rise in subscription fee seems to have been the deciding factor. Leighton MS 25 records a short period from 1800 where subscription charges were just 5/- per annum until 1805, when the charge was raised back to 10s6d.⁶³⁴ This was the moment at which Cornelius Stewart did not renew his membership instead, in 1807, making the journey to Innerpeffray.

Stewart's use of the Leighton Library was quite prolific, especially when compared to overall borrowing from Innerpeffray, taking home 98 items between December 1800 and October 1804.⁶³⁵ Unlike borrowing by the students outlined above, novelty did play a factor in his preferences, particularly concerning the latest issues of the *Annual Register* or *Transactions of the Royal*

⁶³² For further details on the life of Cornelius Stewart at Dunblane and his borrowing from the Leighton Library see Jill Dye, 'Cornelius Stewart', *Leightonborrowers.com* <<https://leightonborrowers.com/2017/03/28/cornelius-stewart-surgeon-in-dunblane/>> [accessed 3 July 2018].

⁶³³ Barty, p. 233.

⁶³⁴ Leighton MS 25, pp. 9–10.

⁶³⁵ Leighton MS 27, pp. 141, 155, 160, 174.

Society. He was also interested in cutting-edge medical works such as an English-language translation of Lazzaro Spallanzani's *Dissertations Relative to the Natural History of Animals and Vegetables* (London, 1789) a ground-breaking work on digestion. Though Stewart's tastes were broad (he also borrowed Buxtorf, Delolme, Buffon, Reid, Blair, Guthrie, Dalrymple, and Ossian) only a minority of his selections appear in the collections at Innerpeffray. On his visit to Innerpeffray he borrowed the first three volumes of *Medical Observations and Inquiries* (London, 1763) and the first volume of Bacon's *Works* (London, 1787), relatively new works to Innerpeffray and some of the very few scientific or medical items.⁶³⁶ It is unsurprising, therefore, that he did not become a frequent user of its collections, given its distance from Dunblane and that it had few collections to support this type of borrowing. What this episode does show, however, is that users might have tried to use Innerpeffray and found it lacking, which therefore explains why so many borrowers from Innerpeffray were unique users.⁶³⁷ It also demonstrates how an entry in a borrowing record might reflect institutional change not at the library concerned, but elsewhere.

That unique or infrequent users of Innerpeffray made up over 50% of borrowing need not detract from the potential impact of the library on those users, exemplified by a further borrower, John Barclay. Barclay was the son of a farmer in Strageath, Muthill, just a short wade through the river across from Innerpeffray.⁶³⁸ Barclay's uncle and namesake, preacher in Muthill and founder of the Berean church, had made use of the library's collections as a student between 1753 and 1756, and the younger John Barclay followed suit, borrowing three items in the summer of 1777 and one further item in May 1780, as detailed below.⁶³⁹ Though Barclay never gave his occupation (only his address at Strageath) it has been possible to identify him as a student during these years using Smart's biographical register.⁶⁴⁰ John Barclay did not make use of St Andrews until later in his student career, first appearing in the borrowers' register in 1779.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁶ Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, Vol. 1, f. 110v.

⁶³⁷ Stewart does return to Innerpeffray on one further occasion, in 1843, alongside his adult son who had become Surgeon in Auchterarder. Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, Vol. 1, f. 164r.

⁶³⁸ L. Rosner, 'Barclay, John (1758–1826), anatomist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1345>> [accessed 11 June 2018].

⁶³⁹ D. Murray, 'Barclay, John (1733–1798), Church of Scotland minister and founder of the Berean church', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1343>> [accessed 11 June 2018].

⁶⁴⁰ Smart, 'John Barclay' <<https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/biographical-register/data/documents/1365403932>> [accessed 11 June 2018].

⁶⁴¹ St Andrews UYLY207/4, p. 7.

Works by Hume dominate his borrowing, with room too for Rousseau, Addison and Shakespeare, as well as Rollins and Ferguson who also feature heavily among borrowing by other students. He borrowed from Innerpeffray while a student at United College but stopped borrowing upon his entry to St Mary's College (Divinity) in 1781, combining this study with work as a tutor to Mr C. Campbell's household in Dunblane in the same year. Barclay did not use the library at St Andrews between 1779 and 1784, an absence which may be attributed to his having access to books elsewhere, perhaps through the family of his patron. He was evidently well-recommended, moving on to another post as tutor to the sons of Sir James Campbell of Aberuchill in 1789, eventually marrying his daughter, Eleanora in 1811.⁶⁴²

These biographical details are pertinent to John Barclay's borrowing history not specifically because of his relationship to Innerpeffray or St Andrews, but to the Leighton Library in Dunblane. Having benefitted from access to books at Innerpeffray and as a student at St Andrews, as well as whatever books were available in the households for whom he tutored, Barclay ensured that others would enjoy the same privileges by donating significant collections not to either library which he had frequented as a student, but to the Leighton Library in Dunblane.⁶⁴³ The ability to donate such items came from his success as extra-mural lecturer in anatomy at the University of Edinburgh, having pursued this study after accompanying the sons of Sir James Campbell to their classes.⁶⁴⁴ His numerous donations (at least 25) were given between 1803 and 1808, and included not only his own works (*Anatomical Nomenclature*, *Muscular Motions of the Human Body*) but periodicals (*The Gazette*), series of parliamentary acts and items such as 'the best translation of Aristotle's Works'.⁶⁴⁵ The gift was not entirely selfless – Barclay asked for his donations to be kept together in the same press which bore his name.⁶⁴⁶ Even so, Barclay filled in the gaps of the library collections at Leighton much in the same way that, as Rosner notes, his publications 'stemmed from his desire to fill lacunae in the literature available to his students'.⁶⁴⁷ His early experiences as a student, therefore, may have demonstrated the potential of institutions like Innerpeffray, ultimately unfulfilled through its limited acquisitions. His decision to replenish

⁶⁴² Rosner.

⁶⁴³ Barclay borrowed from the Leighton Library on only one occasion, on 25 August 1800 (three items). Leighton MS 27, p. 138.

⁶⁴⁴ Rosner.

⁶⁴⁵ Leighton MS 16, pp. 116; 128; 135.

⁶⁴⁶ On the initial set up of the press Leighton MS 16, p. 128.

⁶⁴⁷ Rosner.

the Leighton Library rather than Innerpeffray could stem from its already more diverse and up-to-date collections, thanks to its access fee, or from respect to his employer and future father-in-law, Sir James Campbell, who sat as governor of the Leighton Library.

In different ways, all these comparisons have added towards a deeper understanding of what is occurring at Innerpeffray. In seeking to identify comparable libraries and library records to develop an understanding of where Innerpeffray sits in the broader Scottish library landscape, it has become clear just how anomalous Innerpeffray is when set in that landscape. The best comparisons are ones for which the user group or the administration is akin to Innerpeffray, and while it is not always possible to identify collections which are comparable in both, individually they are not without merit. For administration, this includes the Leighton Library and the library at Kirkwall, though Kirkwall would be a far better comparison were earlier borrower records to survive from before it became a subscription library in 1816. For usage, the library at Inverness emerges as a good comparison, though again the lack of extensive borrower records means it is not possible to test fully. The collection for which better records survive, Haddington, which has been compared to Innerpeffray previously, served mostly to demonstrate just how different Innerpeffray is, and any similarities are shared in common with the other libraries assessed in this chapter.

By identifying individual users borrowing across different collections, it has been possible to demonstrate, for the first time, the impact that the contents of a collection and its administration has on borrower choice, even when that borrower is the same person borrowing around the same time. Whytock and the students at St Andrews, Stewart and Barclay highlight the potential of tracing individuals across institutional boundaries when investigating borrowers' records, provided that the content and the context of those individual institutions is first understood.

CONCLUSION

This thesis began with an examination of the Library of Innerpeffray's early history through the terms of Madertie's will and the collections at its foundation, the composition of which has been firmly identified in this thesis for the first time. The nature of the books in that collection, particularly their language, served as evidence of the potential breadth of the library's intended user group. Robert Hay Drummond's changes to the library in the eighteenth century indicated a very different vision for the library, which informed the collection and its administration in the main period of the borrowers' register explored in chapter two. Chapter two also uncovered the unique acquisition pattern at Innerpeffray, where no further items were acquired between c.1790 and 1855. In depth analysis of the surviving catalogues from Innerpeffray (1813 and 1855) proved this pattern for the first time. Specific changes in institutional practice, such as the sudden end to book acquisition, were shown to be not necessarily attributable to changes within the library but rather to extraneous factors, such as the death of a bookseller. Overall, these findings highlighted the importance of understanding an institutional history and the content of its collections before approaching a borrowing record.

The examination of the people at Innerpeffray (governors, keepers and users) as in chapter three emphasised the power of keeper discretion, asserting the importance of understanding the institutional history of a library beyond its foundation and the contents of its collections. A notable example was the peak in borrowing by women during the tenure of the only Keeper to have been married while in post, James Fulton. This chapter also dismissed the concept of a typical borrower at Innerpeffray through the identification of individual super-users and a high level of single users. This would not have been possible without the extensive lengths taken to disambiguate individuals within the borrowers' register, a key component of the methodological framework necessary when approaching borrowers' records as established by this thesis.

The creation of Book IDs from surviving catalogue records as part of the methodological framework expounded by this thesis meant that the wider attributes of books beyond their content could also be considered as drivers behind book borrowing. This enabled the identification of novelty (the age of the work) as the most significant factor in book popularity over content-

specific factors such as genre and author. It demonstrated that macro-level patterns in borrowing at Innerpeffray, previously difficult to identify, are only discernible once the content of the work is not privileged. A better understanding of the way in which the collection changed or did not change over time as identified in chapter two was also key to this assessment, for example when the initial popularity of Locke's works could only be understood by it being the most modern item in the collection until the completion of the new building.

Chapter five explored the borrowing of four individual users, using institutional context identified in the preceding chapters and personal circumstances gleaned from additional biographical information to assess individual borrowing choices despite the lack of traditional sources such as diaries or annotations specific to individuals. It demonstrated that institutional factors can still be seen to drive patterns of borrowing even when the context of each individual life is considered. The traceability of institutional factors within individual patterns of borrowing as identified in this chapter further justifies the use of borrowers' records as evidence for the history of library use rather than, or in addition to, the History of Reading.

Comparisons drawn with the Leighton Library (chapter six) and other publicly-accessible libraries with similar collections across Scotland (chapter seven) highlighted the anomalousness of Innerpeffray in its administration, but also demonstrated how the methodology within which Innerpeffray has been examined can uncover other institutional factors affecting borrowing in other contexts. While Innerpeffray was the ideal institution with which to demonstrate the potential of this method due to the wealth of its borrowers' records, its largely intact physical collections and surviving archival sources relating to their administration, these chapters demonstrated the potential of the method beyond Innerpeffray. Though each individual library could not be expounded upon to the same level of richness as Innerpeffray within the constraints of this thesis, these chapters also represent significant contributions to the understanding of each of these collections, particularly concerning the post-foundation history of the Leighton library, the early nineteenth-century history of the Kirkwall library and evidence of Inverness Kirk Session Library.

Though the main body of this thesis might appear to call for a return to the micro-history or case study of individual library collections, the final part of chapter seven demonstrated the

potential for linking the records of individuals across collections, provided that they are supported by appropriate work towards understanding the institutional histories of each collection. This thesis strengthens the call, traditionally championed from within the History of Reading, for large-scale transcription projects and linkage between records, precisely so that individual users working across collections might be identified.

This thesis has uncovered major new findings about the Library of Innerpefferay to 1855, but its most profound contribution to knowledge is its thorough consideration of the nature of borrowing records as a source and the proposition of a methodological framework within which such records might be considered.

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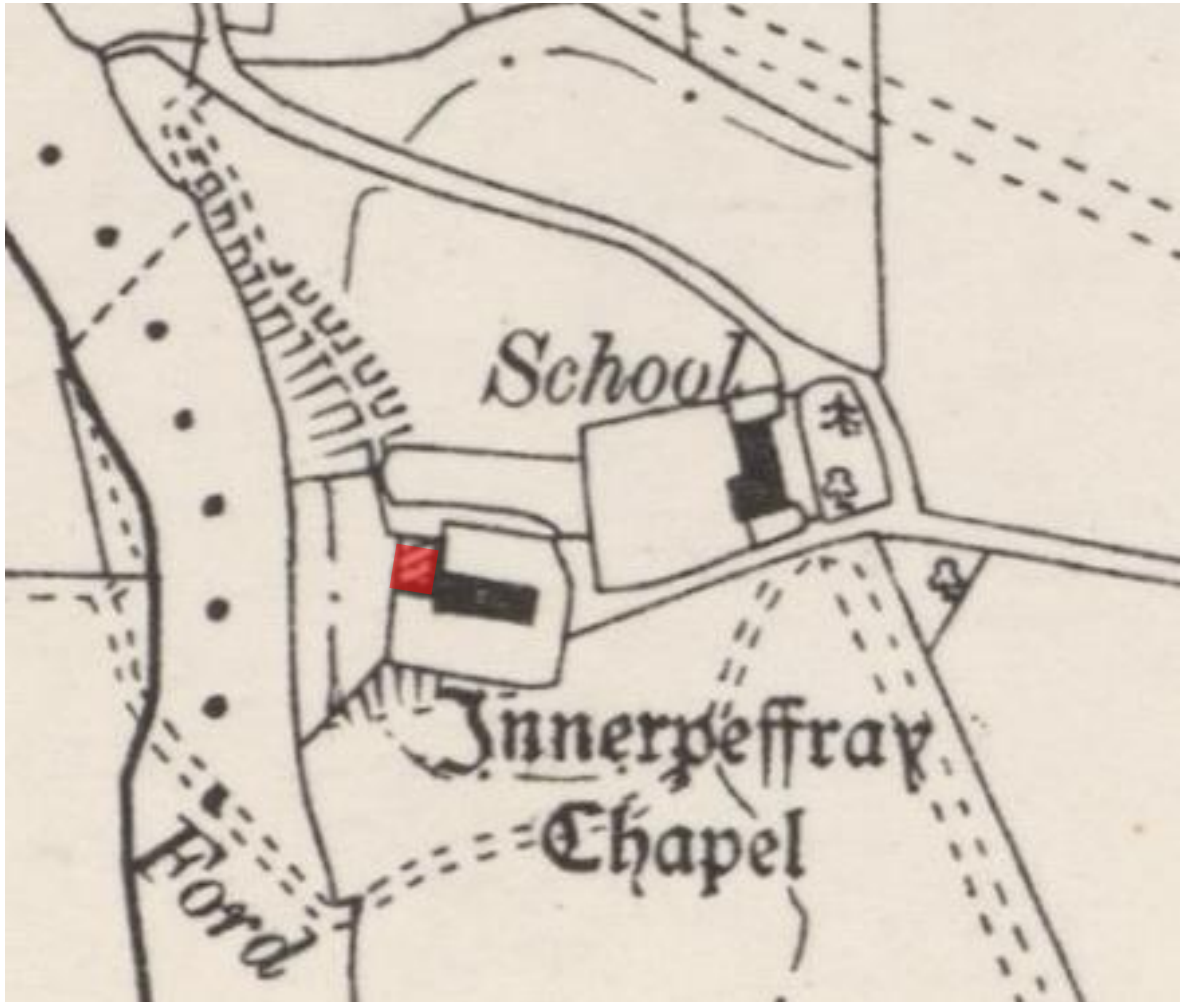
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APPENDIX ONE: GENRE TERMS

Abbrev.	Genre Term	Scope Notes
A	Arts/Architecture	Including Autobiography & Diary/Journal
AS	Astrology	
B	Biography	
C	Classics	
CD	Conduct Books	
CR	Crafts	
E	Education	
EC	Essays/Criticism	
EM	Emblem Books	
G	Geography	
H	History	
HE	Heraldry	
LAG	Land Management (Agriculture)	
LAH	Land Management (Animal Husbandry)	
LH	Land Management (Horticulture)	
L	Law	
MA	Mathematics	
ME	Medicine	
MI	Miscellanies	
O	Other	
P	Periodical/Magazine	
PH	Philosophy	For Religious Philosophy see Religion.
PO	Politics	Including Fiction, Drama & Poetry Includes whole, part & books of common prayer. Includes Exegeses & Annotations
PA	Poetic Arts	
RB	Religion (Bible)	
RC	Religion (Commentaries)	
RG	Religion (General)	
RP	Religion (Practical Divinity)	
RS	Religion (Sermons)	
S	Natural History & Sciences	
SL	Sports/Leisure	
T	Travel	
Z	Reference/General	

APPENDIX TWO: INNERPEFFRAY SITE PLAN



Eighteenth-century Library building highlighted in red. It is not attached, as it may appear on the map, but separated from the chapel by an 18-inch gap. Upper room in the chapel, location of the books in the chapel phase, located in the chapel's west end. River crossing points clearly marked, nineteenth-century ferry (with toll) to the north, and ford to the south.

Base map: 1900s OS Map via <maps.nls.uk>, reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

APPENDIX THREE: FOUNDATION COLLECTION

Author	Title	Place of Pub.	Date	Provenance
Abbot, Robert, 1560-1618	<i>A defence of the Reformed Catholicke of M. W. Perkins: lately deceased, against the bastard counter-Catholicke of D. Bishop, seminary priest. The first part ... By Robert Abbot</i>	Lon	1606	Mad
Acosta, Jose de, 1540-1600	<i>The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies.</i>	Lon	1604	Mad; AW
Aglionby, William, d.1705	<i>The present state of the United Provinces. of the Low-Countries</i>	Lon	1671	Mad
Ailesbury, Thomas, fl. 1622-1659	<i>A treatise of the confession of sinne, and chiefly as it is made unto the priests and ministers of the Gospel. Together with the power of the keys, and of absolution</i>	Lon	1657	Mad
Ainsworth, Henry, 1571-1622?	<i>Annotations vpon the five bookees of Moses</i>	Lon	1639	Mad
Aleman, Mateo, 1547-1614?	<i>The rogue: or, The life of Guzman de Alfarache</i>	Lon	1634	Mad
Alleine, Joseph, 1634-1668	<i>An alarme to unconverted sinners</i>	Lon	1672	Mad
Allen, William, d. 1686	<i>A perswasive to peace & unity among Christians, notwithstanding their different apprehensions in lesser things.</i>	[Lon]	[1672]	Mad
Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>The works of the learned and pious author of The whole duty of man</i>	Lon	1687	Mad
Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Forty sermons</i>	Lon	1684	Mad
Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Scala sancta: or The exaltation of the soul.</i>	Lon	1678	Mad
Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>The art of contentment.</i>	Glas	1676	Mad
Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>The government of the tongue. by the author of The whole duty of man, &c..</i>	Oxf	1674	Mad
Alsop, Vincent, 1629/30-1703	<i>Melius inquirendum. Or, A sober inquiry into the reasonings of the Serious inquiry</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Ames, William, 1576-1633	<i>Coronis ad collationem Hagensem</i>	Lon	1630	M Drummond
Andrewes, Lancelot, 1555-1626	<i>Apospasmata sacra: or A collection of posthumous and orphan lectures</i>	Lon	1657	Mad
Arias Montano, Benito, 1527-1598	<i>The practical rule of Christian piety</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
Audiguier, Vital d', 1569-1624	<i>A tragi-comicall history of our times, under the borrowed names of Lisander, and Calista</i>	[Lon]	[1627]	Mad
Augustine,, Saint, Bishop of Hippo.	<i>St. Augustine, Of the citie of God</i>	Lon	1610	Mad
Azorius, Joannes	<i>R.P. Ioannis Azorii ... Institutiones morales</i>	Col	1559	Mad

Babington, Gervase, 1550-1610	<i>Certaine plaine, briefe, and comfortable notes, vpon euery chapter of Genesis.</i>	Lon	1596	Mad
Bacon, Francis, 1561-1626	<i>Sylua syluarum: or A naturall historie</i>	Lon	1628	Mad
Bacon, Francis, 1561-1626	<i>The historie of the raigne of King Henry the Senenth</i>	Lon	1622	Mad
Bacon, Francis, 1561-1626	<i>The essayes or, counsels, ciuill and morall: of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.</i>	Lon	1639	Mad
Bacon, Francis, 1561-1626	<i>The wisdome of the ancients</i>	Edin	1681	Mad
Baillie, Robert, 1599-1662	<i>A dissuasive from the errors of the time</i>	Lon	1646	Mad
Bairdy, John	<i>Balm from Gilead: or, The differences about the indulgence, stated and impleaded</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Baker, Richard, Sir, 1568-1645	<i>A chronicle of the kings of England</i>	Lon	1665	Mad
Balcanquhall, Walter, 1586?-1645	<i>A large declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland</i>	Lon	1639	Mad
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de, 1595-1654	<i>New epistles of Mounsieur de Balzac.</i>	Lon	1638	Mad
Barckley, Richard, Sir, 1578?-1661	<i>The felicitie of man, or, his summum bonum.</i>	.	.	Mad
Barker, Peter, preacher of Gods word.	<i>A learned and familiar exposition vpon the Ten Commandements.</i>	Lon	1633	Mad
Barnes, Barnabe, 1569?-1609	<i>Foure bookes of offices</i>	Lon	1606	Mad
Barrow, Isaac, 1630-1677	<i>A treatise of the Pope's supremacy. To which is added a discourse concerning the unity of the Church.</i>	Lon	1680	Mad
Baxter, Richard, 1615-1691	<i>A key for Catholicks, to open the juggling of the Jesuits, and satisfie all that are but truly willing to understand, whether the cause of the Roman or reformed churches be of God; and to leave the reader utterly unexcusable that after this will be a papist.</i>	Lon	1659	Mad
Baxter, Richard, 1615-1691	<i>Two disputations of original sin.</i>	Lon	1675	Mad
Baxter, Richard, 1615-1691	<i>Full and easy satisfaction, which is the true and safe religion, in a conference between D. a doubter, P. a papist, and R. a reformed Catholick Christian.</i>	Glas	1674	Mad
Bayly, Thomas, d. 1657	<i>The royal charter granted unto kings, by God himself</i>	Lon	1649	Drummond 1650
Baynes, Paul, d. 1617	<i>A commentarie vpon the first chapter of the epistle of Saint Paul, written to the Ephesians.</i>	Lon	1618	Mad
Beard, Thomas, d. 1632	<i>A retractiue from the Romish religion: contayning thirteene forcible motiues, dissuading from communion with the Church of Rome</i>	Lon	1663	Mad
Bernard, of Clairvaux, Saint, 1090/1-1153	<i>Saint Bernard his meditations: or Sighees, sobbes, and teares, vpon our sauours passion, in memoriall of his death.</i>	[Lon]	[1631]	Mad
Bernard, Richard, 1568-1641	<i>Thesaurus Biblicus seu Promptuarium sacrum</i>	Lon	1644	Mad
Bernard, Richard, 1568-1641	<i>Ruths recompence: or a commentarie vpon the booke of Ruth: wherein is shewed her happy calling out of her owne country and people, into the fellowship and society of the Lords inheritance: her vertuous life and holy carriage amongst them: and then, her reward in</i>	Lon	1628	Mad

	<i>Gods mercy, being by an honourable marriage made a mother in Israel: deliuered in seuerall sermons, the brieft summe whereof is now published for the benefit of the Church of God.</i>			
Bernard, Richard, 1568-1641	<i>Rhemes against Rome: or, The remoouing of the gage of the new Gospell, and rightly placing it in the mouthes of the Romists, by the Rhemists</i>	Lon	1626	Mad
Bethel, Slingsby, 1617-1697	<i>The interest of princes and states..</i>	Lon	1680	Mad
Beverley, Thomas	<i>A discourse of the judgments of God. Composed for the present times, against atheism and prophane-ness..</i>	Lon	1668	Mad
Beze, Theodore de, 1519-1605	<i>A brieft and piththie [sic] sum of the christian faith, made in forme of a confession, with a confutation of all such superstitious errours, as are contrary therevnto</i>	[Lon]	[1572]	Mad
Binning, Hugh, 1627-1653	<i>Fellowship with God: or, XXVIII. Sermons on the I. Epistle of Iohn, chap. 1, and 2.</i>	Edin	1671	Mad
Biondi, Giovanni Francesco, Sir, 1572-1644	<i>Eromena, or, Love and revenge</i>	Lon	1632	Mad
Blount, Thomas, 1618-1679	<i>The academy of eloquence: containing a compleat English rhetoric, exemplified</i>	Lon	1656	Mad
Boccaccio, Giovanni, 1313-1375	<i>The fall of prynces</i>	.	.	AW
Boccaccio, Giovanni, 1313-1375	<i>The modell of wit, mirth, eloquence, and conuersation</i>	[Lon]	. [1625]	Mad; AW
Bodin, Jean, Bp.	<i>The six booke of a commonweale.</i>	[Lon]	. [1635]	Mad
Bohme, Jakob, 1575-1624	<i>The way to Christ discovered, in these treatises</i>	Lon	1656	Mad
Bolton, Robert, 1572-1631	<i>A three-fold treatise: containing the saints sure and perpetuall guide</i>	Lon	1634	Mad
Botero, Giovanni, 1540-1617	<i>Relations, of the most famous kingdoms and common-weales thorough the world</i>	Lon	1611	Mad; AW
Boyle, Robert, 1627-1691	<i>Some considerations touching the style of the H. Scriptures</i>	Lon	1668	Mad
Boyle, Robert, 1627-1691	<i>Occasional reflections upon several subjects.</i>	Lon	1669	Mad
Boyle, Robert, 1627-1691	<i>Some motives and incentives to the love of God, pathetically discours'd of in a letter to a friend.</i>	Edin	1667	Mad
Brant, Sebastian, 1458-1521	<i>Stultifera nanis</i>	.	1658	Mad
Brerley, Roger, 1586-1637	<i>A bundle of soul-convincing, directing and comforting truths: clearly deduced from diverse select texts of holy Scripture, and practically improven, both for conviction and consolation.</i>	Lon	1677	Mad
Brightman, Thomas, 1562-1607	<i>A reuelation of the reuelation that is, the reuelation of St. Iohn opened clearly.</i>		1615	Mad
Bromhall, Thomas.	<i>A treatise of specters. Or, An history of apparitions, oracles, prophecies, and predictions</i>	Lon	1658	Mad
Brookes, Thomas	<i>A string of pearles.</i>	Lon	1671	Mad

Brooks, Thomas, 1608-1680	<i>Precious remedies against Satans devices.</i>	Lon	1658	Mad
Brooks, Thomas, 1608-1680	<i>Apples of gold for young men and women: and a crown of glory for old men and women.</i>	Lon	1672	Mad
Brown, John	<i>An apologeticall relation, of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers & professors of the Church of Scotland, since August. 1660.</i>		[1665]	Mad
Browne, David, fl. 1622-1638	<i>The new invention, intituled, calligraphia: or, the arte of faire writing</i>	St And	1622	Mad
Browne, William, 1590-ca. 1645	<i>Britannia's pastorals</i>	.	.	Mad; AW
Brownrig, Ralph, 1592-1659	<i>Sixty five sermons</i>	Lon	1674	Mad
Bullinger, Heinrich, 1504-1575	<i>A hundred sermons vpon the Apocalypse of Iesu Christ, reueiled by the angell of the Lord</i>		1557	Mad
Bunny, Edmund, 1540-1619	<i>A booke of Christian exercise</i>	Lon	1630	Mad
Burges, John,, 1561?-1635.	<i>An answer reioyned to that much applauded pamphlet of a namelesse author, bearing this title</i>	Lon	1631	Mad; AW
Burnet, Gilbert, 1643-1715	<i>The abridgment of the history of the reformation of the Church of England.</i>	Lon	1658	Mad
Burnet, Gilbert, 1643-1715	<i>Reflections on Mr. Varillas's history of the revolutions that have happned in Europe in matters of religion.</i>	Amst	1686	Mad
Burnet, Gilbert, 1643-1715	<i>A vindication of the authority, constitution, and laws of the church and state of Scotland.</i>	Glas	1673	Mad
Burroughs, Jeremiah, 1599-1646	<i>Moses his choice: with his eye fixed upon heaven: discovering the happy condition of a self-denying heart. Delivered in a treatise upon Heb. 11.25,26.</i>	Lon	1641	Mad
Burroughs, Jeremiah, 1599-1646	<i>The saints happinesse. Together with the severall steps leading thereunto, delivered in divers lectures on the beatitudes; being part of Christs sermon in the mount; contained in the fifth of Mathew.</i>	Lon	1660	Mad
Burroughs, Jeremiah, 1599-1646	<i>The saints treasury</i>	[Lon]	[1656]	Mad
C., J. V. ((Canes, John Vincent)), d. 1672	<i>Fiat lux. Or, A general conduct to a right understanding in the great combustions and broils about religion here in England.</i>		1661	Mad
Calderwood, David, 1575-1650	<i>The true history of the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the reformation, unto the end of the reigne of King James VI</i>		1678	Mad
Calderwood, David, 1575-1650	<i>A re-examination of the five articles enacted at Perth anno 1618.</i>		1636	Mad
Calvin, Jean, 1509-1564	<i>Institution de la religion chrestienne</i>	[Geneva]	1557	Patrick Lord Drummond
Camden, William, 1551-1623	<i>Britain, or A chorographical description of the most flourishing kingdomes</i>	Lon	1637	Mad; Montrose

Camerarius, Philipp, 1537-1624	<i>The living librarie, or, Meditations and obseruations historical, natural, moral, political, and poetical</i>	Lon	1621	Mad
Camus, Jean-Pierre, 1584-1652	<i>Elise, or Innocencie guilty. A new romance</i>	Lon	1655	Mad
Canaries, James	<i>A discourse representing the sufficient manifestation of the will of God to his church in all its several periods and dispensations.</i>	Edin	1684	Mad
Capel, Richard, 1586-1656	<i>Tentations: their nature, danger, cure.</i>	Lon	1636	Mad
Capel, Richard, 1586-1656	<i>Tentations: their nature, danger, cure.</i>	[Lon]	[1636]	Mad
Carion, Johannes, 1499-1537 or 8	<i>Les chroniques de Iean Carion philosophe</i>	Paris	1551	PLD; Lilius Ruthven Drummond
Carleton, George, 1559-1628	<i>A thankfull remembrance of Gods mercy.</i>	Lon	1627	Mad
Carmichael, Alexander, d. 1676?	<i>Believers mortification of sin by the spirit: or, Gospel-holiness advanced by the power of the Holy Ghost on the hearts of the faithful.</i>	Lon	1677	Mad
Cartwright, Christopher, 1602-1658	<i>Certamen religiosum: or, A conference between the late King of England, and the late Lo: Marquesse of Worcester, concerning religion.</i>	Lon	1652	Mad
Caryl, Joseph, 1602-1673	<i>An exposition with practicall observations upon the three first chapters of the booke of Job.</i>	Lon	1647	Mad
Castiglione, Baldassarre, conte, 1478-1529	<i>Il libro del cortegiano</i>	[Vinegia]	[1538]	Inchaffray
Caussin, Nicolas, 1583-1651	<i>The holy court in five tomes</i>	Lon	1678	Mad
Cave, William, 1637-1713	<i>Ecclesiastici: or, The history of the lives, acts, death, & writings, of the most eminent fathers of the church, that flourisht in the fourth century.</i>		[1683]	Mad
Cave, William, 1637-1713	<i>Primitive Christianity: or, The religion of the ancient Christians in the first ages of the Gospel.</i>	Lon	1676	Mad
Chelidonius, Tigurinus	<i>L'histoire de Chelidonius Tigurinus sur l'institution des princes Chrestiens, & origine des royaumes</i>	Par	1559	Patrick Lord Drummond
Church of England	<i>The booke of common prayer</i>	Lon	1604	Mad; AW
Church of Scotland.	<i>The CL. Psalmes of Dauid in meter. For the vse of the Kirk of Scotland.</i>	Midd.	1594	Da[vid] Drummond
Cicero, Marcus Tullius	<i>M. Tullii Ciceronis De officiis libri tres</i>	Lug	1642	William Drummond
Clapham, Jonathan	<i>A guide to the true religion</i>	Edin	1669	Mad; Marie Drummond
Clarke, Samuel, 1599-1682	<i>A mirrour or looking-glass both for saints, and sinners</i>	Lon	1656	Mad
Claude, Jean, 1619-1687	<i>An historical defence of the Reformation</i>	Lon	1683	Mad
Claude, Jean, 1619-1687	<i>A treatise of self-examination,</i>	Edin	1685	Mad

Clerke, Richard, d. 1634	<i>Sermons preached by that reverend and learned divine Richard Clerke, Dr. in Divinitie; sometimes fellow of Christ Colledge in Cambridge. One of the most learned translators of our English Bible; preacher in the famous metropolitan church of Christ, Cante</i>	Lon	1637	Mad
Colerus, Johannes	<i>M. Johannis Coleri ... Calendarium perpetuum et sex libri oeconomici ... das ist ein stetsverender Calender</i>	Witt	1613	William Drummond
Collinges, John, 1623-1690	<i>A cordiall for a fainting soule: or, Some essayes for the satisfaction of wounded spirits, labouring under severall burthens</i>	[Lon]	[1649]	Mad
Colvil, Samuel.	<i>The grand impostor discovered: or, An historical dispute of the papacy and popish religion</i>	Edin	1673	Mad
Colvill, William, d. 1675	<i>The righteous branch growing out of the root of Jesse, and healing the nations.</i>	Lon	1673	Mad
Conestaggio, Gerolamo Franchi di.	<i>The historie of the vniting of the kingdom of Portugal to the crowne of Castill</i>	Lon	1600	Mad; AW
Constable, Henry, 1562-1613	<i>The Catholike moderator: or A moderate examination of the doctrine of the Protestants.</i>	Lon	1624	Mad
Cooke, William	<i>A learned and full answer to a treatise intituled; The vanity of childish baptisme.</i>	Lon	1644	Mad
Corbet, John, 1620-1680	<i>The kingdom of God among men</i>	Lon	1679	Mad
Cornwallis, William, Sir, d. 1631?	<i>Essayes, by Sr William Cornwallyes, the younger, Knight. Essayes, the second part</i>	Lon	1632	Mad
Cotton, John, 1584-1652	<i>A modest and cleare answer to Mr. Balls discourse of set formes of prayer.</i>	Lon	1642	Mad
Cotton, John, 1584-1652	<i>A briefe exposition with practicall observations upon the whole booke of Ecclesiastes.</i>	Lon	1654	Mad
Cowell, John,, 1554-1611	<i>The interpreter: or Booke containing the signification of words</i>	Lon	1637	Mad
Cowley, Abraham, 1618-1667	<i>Poems: viz. I. Miscellanies. II. The mistress, or, love verses. III. Pindarique odes. And IV. Davideis, or a sacred poem of the troubles of David</i>	Lon	1656	Mad
Cowper, William, 1568-1619	<i>A defiance to death.</i>	Lon	1610	Mad
Cradock, Samuel, 1621?-1706	<i>Knowledge & practice, or, a plain discourse of the chief things necessary to be known, believ'd, & practised in order to salvation.</i>	Lon	1659	Mad
Crashaw, Richard, 1613?-1649	<i>Steps to the temple, sacred poems. With The delights of the muses</i>	Lon	1648	Mad
Crouch, Nathaniel, 1632?-1725?	<i>Wonderful prodigies of judgment and mercy</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
[Crouch, Nathaniel]	<i>England's monarchs.</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
Curione, Celio Augustino, 1538-1567	<i>A notable historie of the Saracens</i>	Lon	1575	Mad; AW
D. R. ((Daniel Rogers)), 1573-1652	<i>Naaman the Syrian his disease and cure</i>	Lon	1642	Mad
Dallington, Robert, 1561-1637	<i>Aphorismes ciuill and militarie</i>	.	.	Mad; AW

Dallington, Robert, 1561-1637	<i>Aphorismes civill and militarie</i>	Lon	1613	David Drummond
Davies, John, 1625-1693	<i>The civil warres of Great Britain and Ireland</i>	Lon	1661	Mad
Davila, Arrigo Caterino, 1576-1631	<i>The historie of the civill warres of France</i>	Lon	1647	H Drummond
Dent, Arthur, d.1607	<i>The plaine-mans path-way to beauen</i>	Lon	1631	Mad
Derodon, David, ca. 1600-1664	<i>The funeral of the mass, or The mass dead and buried without hope of resurrection.</i>	Edin	1680	Mad
Dickson, David, 1583?-1663	<i>A brief exposition of the evangel of Jesus Christ according to Matthen.</i>	Lon	1651	Mad
Dickson, David, 1583?-1663	<i>A short explanation, of the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrewes.</i>	Cam	1649	Mad
Dickson, David, 1583?-1663	<i>Truths victory over error.</i>	Lon	1684	Mad
Digges, Dudley, Sir, 1583-1639	<i>The compleat ambassador</i>	Lon	1655	Mad
Diodati, Giovanni, 1576-1649	<i>Pious and learned annotations upon the Holy Bible</i>	Lon	1651	Mad
Dod, John, 1549?-1645	<i>A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten commandments</i>	Lon	1632	Mad
Dod, John, 1549?-1645	<i>A treatise or exposition vpon the Ten commandments</i>	.	.	Mad
Donne, John, 1572-1631	<i>LXXX sermons preached by that learned and reverend divine, Iohn Donne</i>	Lon	1640	Mad
Donne, John, 1572-1631	<i>Ignatius his conclave: or, his inthronisation in a late election in bell: wherin many things are mingled by way of satyr.</i>	[Lon]	[1635]	AW
Doolittle, Thomas, 1632?-1707	<i>A treatise concerning the Lords Supper</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Downname, John, d. 1652	<i>The Christian warfare</i>	Lon	1634	Mad
Drayton, Michael, 1563-1631	<i>Poly-Olbion by Michael Drayton Esqr</i>	.[Lon]	.[1612]	Mad
Drelincourt, Charles, 1595-1669	<i>The Christians defence against the fears of death.</i>	Lon	1682	Mad
Drelincourt, Charles, 1595-1669	<i>The protestant's self-defence: or, A discourse between a Papist and Protestant</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
Drexel, Jeremias, 1581-1638	<i>The considerations of Drexelius upon eternity.</i>	Lon	1684	Mad
Drummond, William, of Hawthornden, 1585-1649	<i>The history of Scotland, from the year 1423. until the year 1542</i>	Lon	1654	Mad
Du Moulin, Pierre, 1568-1658	<i>Francisco's Novels</i>	Edin	1641	Mad
Du Tronchet, Estienne	<i>Lettres missives et famiieres d'Estienne du Tronchet</i>	Par	1596	David Drummond
Dumay, Louis, d. 1681	<i>A discourse historical and political of the War of Hungary</i>	[Glas]	[1669]	Mad

Durham, James, 1622-1658	<i>The dying mans testament to the Church of Scotland; or, a treatise concerning scandal.</i>	[Lon]	[1680]	Mad
Durham, James, 1622-1658	<i>The dying mans testament to the Church of Scotland; or, a treatise concerning scandal.</i>	Edin	1680	Mad
Dyke, Daniel, d. 1614	<i>The mystery of selfe-deceiuing; or, A discourse and discovery of the deceitfulnesse of mans heart.</i>	Lon	1683	Mad
Edwards, Thomas, 1599-1647	<i>The first and second part of Gangraena ; The third part of Gangraena; Or, A new and higher discovery of the errors, heresies, blasphemies, and insolent proceedings of the sectaries of these times</i>	Lon	1646	Mad
Elton, Edward, d. 1624	<i>An exposition of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Colossians</i>	Lon	1620	Mad
England.	<i>Magna charta, made in the ninth year of King Henry the Third, and confirmed by King Edward the First, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.</i>	Lon	1680	Mad
Estienne, Charles, 1504-ca. 1564	<i>L'agriculture, et maison rustique de mm. Charles Estienne, et Iean Liebault</i>	[Lyon]	[1593]	Inchaffray
Estienne, Charles, 1504-ca. 1564	<i>Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum omnia gentium, hominum, locorum, fluminum, ac montium antiqua recentioraque, ad sacras &c prophanas historias, poetarumque fabulas intelligendas necessaria vocabula, optimo ordine complectens.</i>		1579	AW
Estienne, Charles, 1504-ca. 1564	<i>L'agriculture, et maison rustique de mm. Charles Estienne, et Iean Liebault.</i>	[Lyon]	1593	Inchaffray
Estienne, Henri, 1531-1598	<i>A world of wonders</i>	Lon	1607	Mad; AW
Eusebius, of Caesarea, Bishop of Caesarea, ca. 260-ca. 340	<i>Thesaurus temporum Eusebii Pamphili Caesareus Palaestinae Episcopi, chronicorum canonum omnimodae historiae libri duo</i>	Amst	1658	Inchaffray
Fabyan, Robert, d. 1513	<i>Fabyans cronycle newly prynted</i>	Lon	1533	Mad; AW
Fairclough, Richard, 1621-1682	<i>A pastors legacy, to his beloved people: being the substance of fourteen farewell sermons</i>	Lon	1663	Mad
Featley, Daniel, 1582-1645	<i>The Romish Fisher caught and held in his owne net.</i>	Lon	1623	Mad
Firmin, Giles, 1614-1697	<i>The real Christian, or A treatise of effectual calling</i>	Lon	1670	Mad
Flavel, John, 1630?-1691	<i>Sacramental meditations upon divers select places of scripture,</i>	Glas	1680	Mad
Flavel, John, 1630?-1691	<i>The touchstone of sincerity: or, The signs of grace, and symptomes of hypocrisie</i>	Edin	1684	Mad
Fleming, Robert	<i>The fulfilling of the Scripture, or An essay shewing the exact accomplishment of the Word of God in his works of providence, performed & to be performed.</i>		1671	Mad
Fleming, Robert	<i>A survey of Quakerism, as it is stated in the professed doctrine and principles of that party</i>	Lon	1677	Mad
Ford, Stephen, d. 1694	<i>The evil tongue tryed, and found guilty: or, The hainousness, and exceeding sinfulness of defaming and back-biting, opened and declared.</i>	Lon	1672	Mad
Forrester, David, fl.1679	<i>The differences of the time, in three dialogues.</i>	Edin	1679	Mad
Fougasses, Thomas de	<i>The generall historie of the magnificent state of Venice</i>	Lon	1612	Mad
Fowns, Richard, 1560?-1625	<i>Trisagion or, The three holy offices of Iesus Christ, the sonne of God, priestly, prophetically, and regally; how they ought of all his Church to be received.</i>	Lon	1619	Mad

Foxe, John, 1516-1587	<i>Christs victorie ouer Sathans tyrannie</i>	Lon	1615	Mad
Foxe, John, 1516-1587	<i>The mirrour of martyrs, the first and second part: in a short view, lively expressing the force of their faith, the feruency of their loue, the wisdom of their sayings, the patience of their sufferings, &c.</i>	Lon	1631	Mad
Francis, de Sales, Saint, 1567-1622	<i>An introduction to a deuoute life</i>	.	1613	Mad
Francis, de Sales, Saint, 1567-1622	<i>An introduction to a devout life.</i>	.	[1687]	Mad
Fuller, Thomas, 1608-1661	<i>A Pisgah-sight of Palestine</i>	Lon	1650	Mad
Fuller, Thomas, 1608-1661	<i>The historie of the holy vvarre</i>	Cam	1647	Mad
Fuller, Thomas, 1608-1661	<i>The holy state</i>	Lon	1652	Mad
Fuller, Thomas, 1608-1661	<i>Good thoughts in bad times.</i>	Lon	1657	Mad
Gascoigne, George, 1542?-1577	<i>The noble art of venerie or hunting.</i>	Lon	1611	Mad; AW
Gauden, John, 1605-1662	<i>Hieraspistes: a defence by way of apology for the ministry and ministers of the Church of England</i>	Lon	1653	Mad
Gauden, John, 1605-1662	<i>Eikon basilike. The povtraicture of His Sacred. Majestie in his solitudes and sufferings.</i>	.	1648	Mad
Gemma, Frisius, 1508-1555	<i>L'arithmetique</i>	Par	[15--?]	Patrick Lord Drummond
Gentillet, Innocent, 1535?-1595?	<i>A discourse vpon the meanes of vvel governing and maintaining in good peace, a kingdome, or other principalitie.</i>	Lon.	1608	Mad
Gerbel, Nicolaus, ca. 1485-1560	<i>Nicolai Gerbelij Phorcensis, Pro declaratione picturae siue descriptionis Græciæ Sophiani, libri septem</i>	Bas	[1550]	Mad
Gerhard, Johann, 1582-1637	<i>Gerards meditations written originally in the Latine tongue by John Gerard doctor in divinity, and superintendant of Heldburge</i>	Cam	1632	Mad
Gibson, Thomas, 1647-1722	<i>Syntaxis mathematica: Or, A construction of the harder problemes of geometry</i>	Lon	1655	Mad
Gillespie, George, 1613-1648	<i>A dispute against the English-popish ceremonies, obtruded vpon the Church of Scotland.</i>	[Leid]	1637	Mad
Gillespie, George, 1613-1648	<i>An assertion of the government of the Church of Scotland in the points of ruling-elders and of the authority of presbyteries and synods with a postscript in answer to a treatise lately published against presbyteriall government..</i>	.	1641	Mad
Giraffi, Alessandro.	<i>An exact historie of the late revolutions in Naples; and of their monstous successes, not to be parallel'd by any ancient or modern history.</i>	Lon	1650	Mad
Goodwin, John, 1625/6-1690	<i>Winter-evening conference between neighbours.</i>	Edin	1684	Mad

Goodwin, Thomas, 1600-1680	<i>The works of Thomas Goodwin</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Goodwin, Thomas, 1600-1680	<i>The returne of prayers. A treatise wherein this case how to discern Gods answers to our prayers is briefly resolved.</i>	Lon	1636	Mad
Goodwin, Thomas, 1600-1680	<i>The tryall of a Christians growth in mortification, vivification, or purging out corruption.</i>	Lon	1641	Mad
Gother, John, d. 1704	<i>A papist mis-represented and represented: or, A two-fold character of popery</i>	.	1685	Mad
Gouge, William, 1578-1653	<i>Gods three arrowes plague, famine, sword, in three treatises.</i>	Lon	1631	Mad
Goulart, Simon, 1543-1628	<i>Admirable and memorable histories containing the wonders of our time. Collected into French out of the best authors.</i>		1607	AW
Gray, Andrew, 1633-1656	<i>The mystery of faith opened up. Or some sermons concerning faith, two whereof were not formerly printed.</i>	Edin	1665	Mad
Greenhill, William, 1591-1671	<i>An exposition of the five first chapters of the prophet Ezekiel, with useful observations thereupon. ; An exposition continued upon the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters of the prophet Ezekiel, with useful observations thereupon. ; An exposition continued upon the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters of the prophet Ezekiel, with many useful observations thereupon.</i>	Lon	1649	Mad
Grotius, Hugo, 1583-1645	<i>Hugo Grotius of the authority of the highest powers about sacred things</i>	Lon	1651	Mad
Guarini, Battista, 1538-1612	<i>Il pastor fido, the faithfull shepherd.</i>	Lon	1647	Mad
Guevara, Antonio de, Bp., d. 1545?	<i>The dial of princes</i>	.	[1568]	Mad
Guicciardini, Francesco, 1483-1540	<i>The historie of Guicciardin: containing the warres of Italie and other part</i>	Lon	1618	Mad
Guild, William, 1586-1657	<i>An answer to a popish pamphlet</i>	Aber	1656	Mad
Guild, William, 1586-1657	<i>Moses unveiled: or, those figures which served unto the pattern and shadow of heavenly things, pointing out the Messiah Christ Jesus, briefly explained.</i>	Glas	1701	Mad
Guillim, John, 1565-1621	<i>A display of heraldrie</i>	Lon	1638	Mad
Guthrie, James, 1612?-1661	<i>The nullity of the pretended-assembly at Saint Andrews & Dundee</i>	Edin	1652	Mad
Gwalther, Rudolf, 1519-1586	<i>Isaias In Isaiam Prophetam</i>	Tig	1583	Lord David Drummond
H. C., Gent.	<i>The plain Englishman's historian: or, A compendious chronicle of England, from its first being inhabited to this present year 1679.</i>	Lon	1679	Mad
Habington, William, 1605-1654	<i>Castara.</i>	Lon	1631	Mad

Hainault, Jean de	<i>The estate of the Church, with the discourse of times, from the apostles vntill this present</i>	Lon	1602	Mad
Hakewill, George, 1578-1649	<i>An apologie or declaration of the povver and providence of God in the government of the world</i>	Oxf	1633	Mad
Hales, John	<i>Golden remains, of the ever memorable, Mr. John Hales, of Eaton-Colledge</i>	Lon	1673	Mad
Hall, John, of Richmond.	<i>Of government and obedience, as they stand directed and determind by Scripture and reason</i>	Lon	1654	Mad
Hall, Joseph, 1574-1656	<i>A recollection of such treatises as haue bene heretofore senerally published, and are nowe reuised, corrected, augmented</i>	Lon	1621	Mad
Hammond, Henry, 1605-1660	<i>Of the reasonableness of Christian religion.</i>	Lon	1650	Mad
Harwood, James	<i>The Lords Prayer unclasped: with a vindication of it, against all schismatics.</i>	[Lon]	[1654]	Mad
Hay, Peter, gentleman of North-Britaine	<i>A vision of Balaams asse.</i>	Lon	[1616]	Mad
Hayward, John, Sir, 1564?-1627	<i>The sanctuarie of a troubled soule.</i>	Lon	1636	Mad
Henshaw, Joseph, 1603-1679	<i>Horae succisivae, or, Spare-boures of meditations; vpon our duty to God, others, our selves</i>	Lon	1632	Mad
Heylyn, Peter, 1600-1662	<i>Cosmographie in four books</i>	Lon	1657	Mad
Heylyn, Peter, 1600-1662	<i>Mikrokosmos. A little description of the great world.</i>	Oxf	1627	Mad; AW
Heywood, Thomas, d. 1641	<i>The hierarchie of the blessed angells</i>	Lon	1635	Mad
Hildersam, Arthur, 1563-1632	<i>CLII lectures vpon Psalme LI</i>	Lon	1635	Mad
Hill, Robert, d. 1623	<i>The contents of scripture</i>	Lon	1596	Mad
Holles, Denzil Holles, Baron, 1599-1680	<i>A letter of a gentleman to his friend, shewing that the bishops are not to be judges in Parliament in cases capital.</i>		1679	Mad
Hollingworth, Richard, 1607-1656	<i>An exercitation concerning usurped powers</i>	[Lon]	[1650]	Mad
Honourable person.	<i>The third part of Cloria and Narcissus: a delightful and new romance, imbellished with divers political notions, and singlar [sic] remarks of modern transactions.</i>	Lon	1658	Mad
Hooker, Richard, 1553/4-1600	<i>Of the lawes of ecclesiastical politie, eight bookees by Richard Hooker.</i>	Lon	.[1622]	Mad
Hooker, Thomas, 1586-1647	<i>The soules humiliation..</i>	Lon	1637	Mad
Hooker, Thomas, 1586-1647	<i>The soules exaltation.</i>	Lon	1638	Mad
Howe, John	<i>The reconcileableness of God's prescience of the sins of men, with the wisdom and sincerity of his counsels, exhortations, and whatsoever other means he uses to prevent them</i>	Lon	1677	Mad
Howell, James, 1594?-1666	<i>Lustra Ludovici, or The life of the late victorious King of France, Lewis the XIII</i>	Lon	1646	Mad

Howell, William, 1631/2-1683	<i>An institution of general history, or The history of the ecclesiastical affairs of the world</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
Howell, William, 1631/2-1683	<i>Medulla historiae Anglicanae. Being a comprehensive history of the lives and reigns of the monarchs of England, from the time of the invasion thereof by Julius C^æsar, to this present year 1681.</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Huarte, Juan, 1529?-1588	<i>Examen de ingenios. = The examination of mens wits.</i>	Lon	1616	Mad
Huarte, Juan, 1529?-1588	<i>Examen de ingenios. = The examination of mens wits.</i>	[Lon]	[1594]	Mad
Hume, David, 1560?-1630?	<i>The history of the houses of Douglas and Angus</i>	Edin	1644	Mad
Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego, 1503-1575	<i>The pleasant history of Laz^{ar}rillo de Tormes a Spaniard</i>	Lon	1639	Mad
Irvine, Christopher, fl. 1638-1685	<i>Historiae Scoticae nomenclatura Latino-vernacula</i>	Edin	1682	Mad
J. S (John Shirley), fl. 1680-1702., fl. 1680-1702	<i>The history of the Turkes. Describing the rise and ruin, of their first empire in Persia; the original of their second.</i>	Lon	1683	Mad
Jenison, Robert, 1584?-1652	<i>The cities safetie: or, a fruitfull treatise (and usefull for these dangerous times.) on Psal. 127.1.</i>	Lon	1630	Mad
Jewel, John, 1522-1571	<i>The wvorks of the very learned and reuerend father in God Iohn Iewell</i>	Lon	1609	Mad
Jurieu, Pierre, 1637-1713	<i>The policy of the clergy of France, to destroy the Protestants of that kingdom.</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Jurieu, Pierre, 1637-1713	<i>The accomplishment of the Scripture prophecies, or The approaching deliverance of the church.</i>	Lon	1687	Mad
La Placette, Jean, 1629-1718	<i>Six conferences concerning the Eucharist</i>	Lon	1687	Mad
La Popeliniere, Lancelot-Voisin, sieur de, 1541-1608	<i>The historie of France: the foure first bookes</i>	Lon	1595	Mad; AW
La Primaudaye, Pierre de, b. ca. 1545	<i>The French academie</i>	Lon	1618	Mad
Laney, Benjamin, 1591-1675	<i>Five sermons, preached before His Majesty at Whitehall</i>	Lon	1688	Mad
Le Petit, Jean Francois, 1546-ca. 1615	<i>A generall historie of the Netherlands</i>	Lon	1612	Mad
Leigh, Edward, 1602-1671	<i>A treatise of the diuine promises</i>	Lon	1650	Mad
Lightfoot, John, 1602-1675	<i>Erubbin or Miscellanies Christian and Iudaicall, and others.</i>	[Lon]	[1629]	Mad
Lloyd, David, 1635-1692	<i>Eikon basilike or, The true pourtraiture of His sacred Majestie Charls the II</i>	Lon	1660	Mad
Lloyd, William, 1627-1717	<i>An historical account of church-government as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian religion.</i>	Lon	1684	Mad
Lockyer, Nicholas, 1611-1685	<i>Englands warning-piece, or, Seasonable advice to the people of God in these dangerous and backsliding times held forth in XXII sermons</i>	Lon	1659	Mad

Love, Christopher, 1618-1651	<i>Grace: the truth and growth and different degrees thereof. The summe and substance of XV. sermons.</i>	[Lon]	[1652]	Mad
Love, Christopher, 1618-1651	<i>The naturall mans case stated: or, An exact map of the little world man</i>	Lon	1658	Mad
Luis, de Granada, 1504-1588	<i>The sinners guyde</i>	Lon	1598	Mad; M Drummond
Luis, de Granada, 1504-1588	<i>Of prayer and meditation.</i>	Lon	1633	Mad
Lynde, Humphrey, Sir	<i>Via devia: the by-vvay</i>	Lon	1630	Mad
Machiavelli, Niccollo, 1469-1527	<i>Les discours de l'estat de paix et de guerre</i>	Paris	1571	Inchaffray
Mackenzie, George, Sir, 1636-1691	<i>The laws and customes of Scotland, in matters criminal.</i>	Edin	1678	Mad
Mackenzie, George, Sir, 1636-1691	<i>A defence of the antiquity of the royal line of Scotland</i>	Edin	1685	Mad
Mackenzie, George, Sir, 1636-1691	<i>A moral essay, preferring solitude to publick employment, and all it's appanages; such as fame, command, riches, pleasures, conversation, &c</i>	Edin	1665	Mad
Mackenzie, George, Sir, 1636-1691	<i>Moral gallantry. A discourse, wherein the author endeavours to prove, that point of honour (abstracting from all other ties) obliges men to be vertuous.</i>	Edin	1667	Mad
[Mackenzie], [George], [Sir]	<i>Religio stoici.</i>	Lon	1663	Mad
Malvezzi, Virgilio, marchese, 1595-1653	<i>Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus</i>	Lon	1642	Mad
Malvezzi, Virgilio, marchese, 1595-1653	<i>Romulus and Tarquin</i>	Lon	1648	Mad
Marmet, Melchior de, seigneur de Valcroissant	<i>Entertainments of the cours: or, Academical conversations.</i>	Lon	1658	Mad
May, Thomas, 1595-1650	<i>The history of the Parliament of England</i>	Lon	1647	Mad
Mayer, John, 1583-1664	<i>A treasury of ecclesiasticall expositions, vpon the difficult and doubtfull places of the Scriptures collected out of the best esteemed interpreters, both auncient and moderne, together with the authors judgement, and various observations.</i>	Lon	1622	Mad
Mayerne, Louis Turquet de, d. 1618	<i>The generall historie of Spaine,</i>	Lon	1612	Mad
McWard, Robert, 1633?-1687	<i>The true non-conformist in ansvere to the modest, and free conference betwixt a conformist and a non-conformist</i>		1671	Mad
Mead, Matthew, 1630?-1699	<i>[En] olig#o christianos: the almost Christian discovered, or the false professor tried and cast.</i>	Glas	1672	Mad
Mellema, Elcie Edouard Leon, 1544-1622	<i>Dictionaire ou promptuaire flameng-francoys tres ample et tre copieux ...</i>	Rott	1591	Inchaffray
Mexia, Pedro, 1496?-1552?	<i>The imperiall historie</i>	Lon	1623	Mad
Mexia, Pedro, 1496?-1552?., 1496?-1552?	<i>The historie of all the Romane emperors,</i>	Lon	1604	Mad; AW

Minsheu, John	<i>Minsheui emendatio, vel a mendis expurgatio, seu augmentatio sui Ductoris in linguas, The guide into tongues.</i>	Lon	1627	Mad
Mornay, Philippe de, seigneur du Plessis-Marly, 1549-1623	<i>A worke concerning the trunesse of Christian religion</i>	Lon	1617	Mad
Mumford, J. (James), 1606-1666	<i>The question of questions</i>	Lon	1686	Mad
Munster, Sebastian, 1489-1552	<i>La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde</i>	A Par	1575	Patrick Lord Drummond
Musculus, Wolfgang, 1497-1563	<i>In Esaïam Prophetam commentarii locupletissimi, ac recens editi</i>	Baz	1557	Lord David Drummond
Mutius, Huldreich, 1496-1571	<i>De Germanorum prima origine, moribus, institutis, legibus & memorabilibus pace & bello gestis</i>	Baz	[1539]	J Lord Drummond
N. N., 17th cent.	<i>An answer to Monsieur De Rodon's Funeral of the mass</i>	Flan	1681	Mad
Nelson, John, 1638?-1686	<i>An impartial collection of the great affairs of state</i>	Lon	1682	Mad
Napier, John,, 1550-1617.	<i>A plaine discovery, of the whole Revelation of S. Iohn</i>	Lon	1611	Mad
Nemesius,, Bp. of Emesa.	<i>The nature of man.</i>	Lon	1636	Mad
Newman, Samuel, 1600?-1663	<i>A large and complete concordance to the Bible in English</i>	Lon	1650	Mad
Norden, John, 1548-1625?	<i>A pensieue mans practise.</i>	Lon	1635	Mad
Norden, John, 1548-1625?	<i>A pensieue soules delight. Or, The deuout mans helpe</i>	Lon	1615	Mad
O. C.	<i>The conduct and character of Count Nicholas Serini, Protestant Generalissimo of the auxiliaries in Hungary, the most prudent and resolved champion of Christendom.</i>	Lon	1664	Mad
Orlers, Jan Janszn, 1570-1646	<i>The triumphs of Nassau</i>	Lon	1613	AW
Overbury, Thomas, Sir, 1581-1613	<i>Sir Thomas Ouerbury his VVife. With additions of new characters, and many other wittie conceites neuer before printed.</i>	Lon	1630	Mad
Owen, John, 1616-1683	<i>The doctrine of justification by faith</i>	Lon	1677	Mad
Owen, John, 1616-1683	<i>The nature of apostasie from the profession of the Gospel, and the punishment of apostates declared, in an exposition of Heb. 6. 4, 5, 6.</i>	Edin	1676	Mad
Owen, John, 1616-1683	<i>A brief declaration and vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity</i>	Lon	1669	Mad
Pagitt, Ephraim, 1574/5-1647	<i>Heresiography: or, A description of the bereticks and sectaries of these latter times.</i>	Lon	1645	Mad

Parival, Jean-Nicolas de, 1605-1669	<i>The history of this iron age:</i>	.	[1656]	Mad
Parr, Elnathan, d. 1622	<i>A plaine exposition vpon the whole 8. 9. 10. 11. chapters of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans.</i>	Lon	1618	Mad
Patrick, John, 1632-1695	<i>A full view of the doctrines and practices of the Ancient Church relating to the Eucharist. Wholly different from those of the present Roman Church, and inconsistent with the belief of transubstantiation. Being a sufficient confutation of Consensus veterum, Nubes testium, and other late collections of the Fathers, pretending the contrary. Full view of the Eucharist.</i>	.	.	Mad
Patrick, Simon, 1626-1707	<i>The devout Christian instructed how to pray, and give thanks to God</i>	Lon	1694	Mad
Peacham, Henry, 1576?-1643?	<i>The truth of our times: revealed out of one mans experience, by way of essay.</i>	Lon	1638	Mad
Pearse, Edward, 1633-1674?	<i>Mr. Pearse's last legacy. Two discourses</i>	Lon	1687	Mad
Pearse, Edward, 1633-1674?	<i>The great concern, or, a serious warning . . . preparation for death</i>	Lon	1686	Mad
Pearson, John, 1613-1686	<i>An exposition of the Creed</i>	Lon	1683	Mad
Penington, Isaac, 1616-1679	<i>Divine essays or Considerations about several things in religion of very deep and weighty concernment, both in reference to the state of the present times, as also of the truth itself.</i>	Lon	1654	Mad
Perkins, William, 1558-1602	<i>The works of that famous and vvorthy minister of Christ in the Vniversitie of Cambridge, M. VVilliam Perkins</i>	Lon	1631	Mad
Perkins, William, 1558-1602	<i>The whole treatise of the cases of conscience, distinguished into three bookes</i>	[Lon]	[1608]	Mad
Person of quality.	<i>The history of the kingdome of Portugal</i>	Lon	1661	Mad
Petau, Denis, 1583-1652	<i>The history of the world</i>	Lon	1659	Mad
Philologus.	<i>A seasonable discourse of the right use and abuse of reason in matters of religion</i>	Lon	1676	Mad
Platina, 1421-1481	<i>The lives of the popes</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
Pliny, the Elder.	<i>The historie of the world. Commonly called, the naturall historie of C. Plinius Secundus</i>	Lon	1601	Mad; AW
Pliny, the Elder.	<i>The historie of the vworld</i>	Lon	1601	Mad
Plutarch.	<i>The lues of the noble Grecians and Romaines</i>	Lon	1613	AW
Polhill, Edward, 1622-1694?	<i>Precious faith considered in its nature, working, and growth</i>	[Lon]	[1675]	Mad
Polybius	<i>The history of Polybius the Megalopolitan</i>	Lon	1634	Mad
Pontier, Gedeon, d. 1709	<i>A new survey of the present state of Europe</i>	Lon	1684	Mad
Poole, Matthew, 1624-1679	<i>The nullity of the Romish faith; or A blow at the root of the Romish Church</i>	Lon	1679	Mad
Poole, Matthew, 1624-1679	<i>A dialogue between a popish priest and an English Protestant.</i>	Edin	1681	Mad
Potter, Christopher, 1591-1646	<i>Want of charitie iustly charged, on all such Romanists, as dare (without truth or modesty) affirme, that Protestancie destroyeth salvation. Or an answer to a</i>	Lon	1634	Mad

	<i>late popish pamphlet intituled Charity mistaken &c.</i>			
Preston, John, 1587-1628	<i>An abridgment of Dr. Preston's works,</i>	Lon	1648	Mad
Purchas, Samuel, 1577?-1626	<i>Purchas his pilgrimage, or Relations of the world and the religions observed in al ages and places discovered, from the Creation vnto this present</i>	Lon	1617	Mad
Quarles, Francis, 1592-1644	<i>Divine fancies: digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations.</i>	Lon	1636	Mad
Quarles, Francis, 1592-1644	<i>Solomons recantation, entituled Ecclesiastes, paraphrased.</i>	Edin	1649	Mad
R. A. ((Alleine, Richard)), 1611-1681	<i>Vindiciae pietatis: or, A vindication of godlinesse, in the greatest strictness and spirituality of it, from the imputations of folly and fancy</i>	Lon	1669	Mad
R. B. K.	<i>An antidote against Arminianisme</i>	Lon	1641	Mad
Rait, William, 1617-1670	<i>A vindication, of the reformed religion, from the reflections of a romanist</i>	Aber	1671	Mad
Raleigh, Walter, Sir,, 1552?-1618	<i>The historie of the world</i>	[Lon]	[1634]	Mad
Reid, John	<i>The Scots gard'ner</i>	Edin	1683	Mad
Robinson, Ralph, 1614-1655	<i>Panoplia. Universa arma. Hieron. Or, The Christian compleatly armed</i>	Lon	1656	Mad
Rogers, Nehemiah, 1593-1660	<i>A mirrour of mercy</i>	Lon	1640	Mad
Rogers, Richard, 1550?-1618	<i>The practice of Christianitie</i>	Lon	1629	Mad; Margaret Drummond; Beatrix
Ross, Alexander, 1591-1654	<i>The history of the world: the second part, in six books: being a continuation of the famous history of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight</i>	Lon	1652	Mad
Rowland, William.	<i>Judiciall astrologie, judicially condemned</i>	Lon	1652	Mad
Rutherford, Samuel, 1600?-1661	<i>A peaceable and temperate plea for Pauls presbyterie in Scotland</i>	Lon	1642	Mad
Rutherford, Samuel, 1600?-1661	<i>Lex, rex: The law and the prince.</i>	Lon	1644	Mad
Rycaut, Paul, Sir, 1628-1700	<i>The present state of the Ottoman Empire</i>	Lon	1668	Mad
Ryther, John, 1634?-1681	<i>A funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of that reverend, and faithful minister of the Gospel Mr. James Janeway, who departed this life the 16th.</i>	Lon	1674	Mad
Sanderson, William, Sir, 1586?-1676	<i>A compleat history of the lives and reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland</i>	Lon	1656	Mad
Scotland.	<i>The laws and acts of Parliament made by King James the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Queen Mary, King James the Sixth, King Charles the First, King Charles the Second who now presently reigns, Kings and Queen of Scotland</i>	Edin	1681	Mad
Scotland.	<i>The lawes and actes of Parliament, maid be King James the First</i>	Edin	1597	Mad
Scotland.	<i>Regiam Majestatem. The auld lawes and constitutions of Scotland</i>	Edin	1609	Mad

Scott, John, 1639-1695	<i>The Christian life. Part II</i>	Lon	1687	Mad
Sedgwick, John, 1600/1-1643	<i>Antinomianisme anatomized; Or, A glasse for the lawlesse</i>	Lon	1643	Mad
Segar, William, Sir, d. 1633	<i>Honor military, and ciuill</i>	Lon	1602	Mad
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, ca. 4BC- 65AD	<i>The workes of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, both morall and naturall</i>	Lon	1614	Mad
Serres, Jean de, 1540?-1598	<i>A general inuentorie of the history of France</i>	Lon	1607	Mad
Serres, Jean de, 1540?-1598	<i>An historical collection, of the most memorable accidents, and tragicall massacres of France, vnder the raignes of Henry. 2. Francis. 2. Charles. 9. Henry. 3. Henry. 4. now lining</i>	Lon	1598	Mad; AW
Shepard, Thomas, 1605-1649	<i>The sincere convert, discovering the paucitie of true beleeuers</i>	Lon	1647	Mad
Sheppard, William, d. 1675?	<i>The whole office of the countrey justice of peace.</i>	Lon	1655	Mad
Sibbes, Richard, 1577-1635	<i>Evangelicall sacrifices. In xix. sermons.</i>	Lon	1640	Mad
Sleidanus, Johannes, 1506-1556	<i>A famouse cronicle of oure time, called Sleidanus Commentaries</i>	[Lon]	[1560]	Mad; AW
Sleidanus, Johannes, 1506-1556	<i>A famouse cronicle of oure time, called Sleidanus Commentaries</i>	[Lon]	[1560]	Mad
Smith, Richard, 1566-1655	<i>The prudentiall ballance of religion, wberin the Catholike and protestant religion are weighed together with the weights of prudence, and right reason.</i>	[Saint-Omer]	1609	Mad
Smyth, John, d.1612	<i>A paterne of true prayer. A learned and comfortable exposition or commentarie vpon the Lords prayer</i>	Lon	1605	Mad
Stanley, William, 1647-1731	<i>A discourse concerning the deuotions of the Church of Rome,</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
Stevin, Simon, 1548-1620	<i>L'arithmetique de Simon Steuin de Bruges</i>	Leyde	1585	Inchaffray
Stillingfleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>A rational account of the grounds of Protestant religion</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Stillingfleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>The mischief of separation. A sermon preached at Guild-Hall Chappel, May 11. MDCLXXX.</i>	Lon	1680	Mad
Stillingfleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>A vindication of the answer to some late papers: concerning the unity and authority of the Catholicke Church, and the reformation of the Church of England.</i>	Lon	1687	Mad
Stirling, William Alexander, Earl of, 1567/8-1640	<i>The monarchicke tragedies</i>	.	.	Mad; AW
Stow, John, 1525?-1605	<i>Annales, or, a generall chronicle of England.</i>	Lon	1631	Mad
Stow, John, 1525?-1605	<i>The chronicles of England: from Brute vnto this present year of Christ.</i>	Lon	1580	Mad
Swan, John, d. 1671	<i>Speculum mundi; Or A glasse representing the face of the world</i>	Cam	1635	Mad
T. S.	<i>The second part of The pilgrims progress,</i>	Lon	1682	Mad
Tanner, Thomas	<i>Primordia: or, The rise and growth of the first church of God described.</i>	Lon	1683	Mad

Tasso, Torquato, 1544-1595	<i>Godfrey of Boulogne: or The recovery of Ierusalem</i>	Lon	1624	Mad
Taylor, Jeremy, 1613-1667	<i>The great exemplar of sanctity and holy life according to the Christian institution; described in the history of the life and death of the ever-blessed Jesus Christ</i>	Lon	1667	Mad
Taylor, Jeremy, 1613-1667	<i>Ductor dubitantium, or The rule of conscience in all her generall measures</i>	Lon	1660	Mad
Taylor, Jeremy, 1613-1667	<i>Theologia 'eklektike. A discourse of the liberty of prophesying.</i>	Lon	1647	Mad
Taylor, John, 1580-1653	<i>All the workes of Iohn Taylor the water-poet</i>	Lon	1630	Mad
Taylor, Thomas	<i>Dauids learning, or the way to true happinesse</i>	[Lon]	[1618]	Mad
Temple, William, Sir, 1628-1699	<i>Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands</i>	Lon	1673	Mad
Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons and discourses: some of which never before printed.</i>	Lon	1686	Mad
Towerson, Gabriel, 1635?-1697	<i>An explication of the Decalogue or Ten Commandments</i>	Lon	1674	Mad
Towerson, Gabriel, 1635?-1697	<i>An explication of the catechism of the Church of England</i>	Lon	1676	Mad
Towerson, Gabriel, 1635?-1697	<i>An explication of the catechism of the Church of England</i>	Lon	1678	Mad
Troughton, John, 1637?-1681	<i>Lutherus redivivus: or The Protestant doctrine of justification by faith onehy, vindicated</i>	Lon	1677	Mad
Trussel, John, fl. 1620-1642	<i>A continuation of The collection of the history of England</i>	Lon	1636	Mad
Ursinus, Zacharias, 1534-1583	<i>The summe of Christian religion</i>	Lon	1633	Mad
Ussher, James, 1581-1656	<i>An answer to a challenge made by a Iesuite in Ireland.</i>	Lon	1631	Mad; J Drummond
Ussher, James, 1581-1656	<i>The power communicated by God to the prince, and the obedience required of the subject</i>	Lon	1661	Mad
Ussher, James, 1581-1656	<i>A body of divinity, or The summe and substance of Christian religion</i>	[Lon]	[1649]	Mad
Veil, Charles-Marie de, 1630-1685	<i>A literal explanation of the acts of the holy Apostles</i>	Lon	1685	Mad
Vialart, Charles, d. 1644	<i>Histoire du ministere d'Armand Iean du Plessis cardinal duc de Richelieu, sous le regne de Louys le Juste, XIII du nom, roy de France et de Navarre</i>	Paris	1649	Mad
Vilant, William.	<i>A review and examination of a book, bearing the title of the History of the indulgence.</i>	Lon	1681	Mad
Vincent, Thomas, 1634-1678	<i>An explicatory catechism: or, An explanation of the Assemblies shorter catechism.</i>	Glas	1674	Mad
Vincent, Thomas, 1634-1678	<i>The true Christians love of the unseen Christ or A discourse, chiefly tending to excite and promote the decaying love of Christ</i>	Lon	1677	Mad

Viret, Pierre	<i>Instruction Chrestienne & somme generale de la doctrine comprinse es Saintes Escritures</i>	Gen	1556	Patrick Lord Drummond
W. B. (William Badcock.)	<i>A touch-stone for gold and silver wares</i>	Lon	1677	Mad
W. G., fl. 1660	<i>The abridgement of the English history</i>	Lon	1660	Mad
W. S. ((William Stuart)), d. 1677	<i>Presbyteries triall: or The occasion, and motives of conversion to the Catholique faith</i>	.	.	Mad
Walkley, Thomas, d. 1658?	<i>A new catalogue of the dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, barons, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the times of their creations.</i>	Lon	1658	Mad
Ward, Seth, 1617-1689	<i>Six sermons preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, Seth Lord Bishop of Sarum. Sermon against ingratitude.</i>	Lon	1672	Mad
Warriston, Archibald John-ston, Lord, 1611-166	<i>A short relation of the state of the Kirk of Scotland</i>	Edin	1638	Mad
Watts, attributed name William, 1590?-1649	<i>The Swedish intelligencer. wherein out of the truest and choyssest informations are the famous actions of that warlike prince historically led along, from His Majesties first entring into the empire, untill his great victory over the generall Tilly at the battle of Leipsith</i>	Lon	1634	Mad
Webbe, George, 1581-1642	<i>The practice of quietnes: directing a Christian how to live quietly in this troublesome world.</i>	Lon	1653	Mad
Whately, William, 1583-1639	<i>Prototypes, or, The primarie precedent presidents out of the booke of Genesis</i>	Lon	1640	Mad
Whitfield, Henry, 1597-1660?	<i>Some helpes to stirre up to Christian duties.</i>	Lon	1634	Mad
Wilkins, John, 1614-1672	<i>A discourse concerning the gift of prayer</i>	Lon	1678	Mad
Willet, Andrew, 1562-1621	<i>Synopsis papismi, that is, A generall view of papistrie</i>	Lon	1634	Mad
Willet, Andrew, 1562-1621	<i>Synopsis papismi, that is, A generall viene of papistrie</i>	Lon	1594	Mad
Williams, Gryffith, 1589?-1672	<i>Ho Antichristos the great antichrist revealed</i>	Lon	1660	Mad
Wilson, John, M.A.	<i>The Scriptures genuine interpreter asserted: or, A discourse concerning the right interpretation of Scripture.</i>	Lon	1678	Mad
Wilson, Thomas, 1563-1622	<i>A complete Christian dictionary</i>	Lon	1678	Mad
Wirsung, Christof, 1500/5-1571	<i>The general practise of physicke</i>	[Lon]	[1617]	Mad
Wither, George, 1588-1677	<i>A collection of emblemes, ancient and moderne</i>	Lon	1635	Mad
Wither, George, 1588-1677	<i>Iuuenilia. A collection of those poems which were heretofore imprinted, and written by George wither</i>	Lon	1622	Mad; AW
Wren, M. ([Mathew]), 1629-1672	<i>Monarchy asserted or The state of monarchicall & popular government</i>	Oxf	1659	Mad
Young, Robert, fl. 1674	<i>A breviary of the later persecutions</i>	Glas	1674	Mad

-	<i>The booke of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments</i>	Edin	1631	Mad
-	<i>The shepheards kalender.</i>	Lon	1611	AW
-	<i>Cabala, sive Scrinia sacra, mysteries of state and government</i>	Lon	1663	Mad
-	<i>The morning-exercise against popery.</i>	Lon	1675	Mad
-	<i>Scrinia Cecilian: mysteries of state & government</i>	Lon	1663	Mad
-	<i>An ansvere to a sermon preached the 17 of April. anno D. 1608, by George Downe Doctour of Divinitie and intituled, A sermon defendinge the honorable function of bishops</i>		1609	Mad
-	<i>The representation, propositions, and protestation of divers ministers, elders and professors, for themselves, and in name of many others well-affected ministers, elders, and people in Scotland.</i>	Edin	1652	Mad
-	<i>The Gunpowder-treason: with a discourse of the manner of its discovery</i>	Lon	1679	Mad
-	<i>The history of the Bohemian persecution, from the begining of their conversion to Christianity in the year 894.</i>	Lon	1650	Mad
-	<i>The life and death of Mr. Joseph Alleine, late teacher of the church at Taunton, in Somersetshire, assistant to Mr. Newton.</i>	Lon	1671	Mad
-	<i>The supplication of certaine masse-priests falsely called Catholikes.</i>	Lon	1604	Mad
-	<i>The confession of faith, and the larger and shorter catechisme</i>	Edin	1679	Mad
-	<i>An historical discourse of the Popes usurped supremacy over princes.</i>	Lon	1679	Mad
-	<i>Devout reflections on time, and eternity</i>	Amst	1687	Mad
-	<i>The sacrifice of a Christian soule</i>	Edin	1591	Mad
-	<i>A garden of spirituall flowers.</i>	Edin	1634	Mad
-	<i>La Bible qui est toute la sainte escripture du vieil et nouveau Testament</i>	Sedan	1633	Montrose
-	<i>Les CL. Pseaumes de David</i>	Paris	1567	Patrick Lord Drummond
[multiple]	<i>[Archaio-ploutos] containing, ten following bookees to the former Treasure of auncient and moderne times</i>	Lon	1619	Mad
[multiple]	<i>Essayes or moral discourses on several subjects.</i>	Lon	1671	Mad

APPENDIX FOUR: PARISH BOUNDARIES



Portion of SE and SW sections of James Stobie's *The Counties of Perth and Clackmannan*. (London, 1783)
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APPENDIX FIVE: PENALTIES SET ON BOOKS BORROWED

Date	Penalty	Name	Other Info	Item
5 Jun 1747	1/-	James Sharp		William Cave, <i>Apostolici: or, The history of the lives, acts, death, and martyrdoms of those who were contemporary with, or immediately succeeded the Apostles</i> (London, 1687)
8 Jul 1747	4/-	John Thomson		Jeremiah Burroughs, <i>The saints happinesse</i> (London, 1660)
25 Jul 1747	19/-	Magnus Fenton		Henry Ainsworth, <i>Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses</i> (London, 1639)
25 Jul 1747	15/-	Neil Roy		Patrick Abercromby, <i>The martial achievements of the Scots nation</i> (Edinburgh, 1711)
5 Aug 1747	2/-	James Master		Philip Traherne, <i>The soul's communion with her savior</i> (London, 1685)
19 Aug 1747	£2.0.0	Robert McAra		Paul de Rapin, <i>The history of England</i> , Vol. 2 (London, 1732)
12 Sep 1747	4/-	David Drummond	Schoolmaster, Fowlis	John Tillotson, <i>Sermons</i> Vol. 3 [Innerpeffray holds mismatched set of 14 vols]
22 Sep 1747	2/-	John Bryce	Innerpeffray	Thomas Taylor, <i>Dauids learning, or the way to true happinesse</i> (London, 1618)
19 Oct 1747	10/-	Pat Brovand [2 items]		D. Jones, <i>A compleat history of Europe</i> Vol. 4 (London, 1708)
				Gilbert Burnet, <i>The abridgment of the history of the reformation of the Church of England</i> (London, 1683)
19 Oct 1747	4/-	Andrew Ramsay		D. Jones, <i>A compleat history of Europe</i> , Vol. 10 (London, 1708)
19 Oct 1747	15/-	John Ramsay		Royal Society, <i>Philosophical transactions and collections</i> , Vol. 3 (London, 1731–3)
19 Oct 1747	3/-	John Young [2 items]		D. Jones, <i>A compleat history of Europe</i> Vol. 9 (London, 1708)
				William Temple <i>Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands</i> (London, 1673)
14 Sep 1748	15/-	John Young [2 items]		Royal Society, <i>Philosophical transactions and collections</i> , Vol. 9 (London, 1731–3)
				John Wilkins' <i>Of the principles and duties of natural religion</i> , [not in Innerpeffray catalogues, several possible edns]
18 Sep 1748	10/-	John Mertin	Nether Brothie	David Calderwood, <i>The true history of the Church of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1768)
28 Sep 1748	5/-	James Keran [2 items]	Smithlands	John Owen, <i>The nature of apostasie</i> (Edinburgh, 1676)
				William Perkins, <i>The whole treatise of the cases of conscience</i> (London, 1608)
2 Nov 1751	£1.15.0	James Sharp Jnr		'Big bible with cuts' [unidentified]
2 Nov 1751	15/-	Patrick Gardner [3 items]	Quarrier, Benendeth	William Greenhill, <i>An exposition of the five first chapters of the prophet Ezekeiel</i> , Vol. 3 (London, 1649–51)
				John Nalson, <i>An impartial collection of the great affairs of state</i> , Vol. 1 (London, 1682)
				Lancelot Andrewes <i>The pattern of catechistical doctrine at large</i> (London, 1675 or 1641 edn)
12 Jul 1766	2/6	Patrick Morison		Thomas Taylor, <i>Dauids learning, or the way to true happinesse</i> (London, 1618)
13 Nov 1771	6/4	James Faichney		John Rotherham, <i>An essay on faith</i> (London, 1768)
2 Nov 1774	10/-	James Richard	Coblehaugh	Royal Society, <i>Philosophical transactions and collections</i> Vol. 4. (London, 1731–3)

APPENDIX SIX: ITEMS SHELVED ABOVE THE WEST WINDOW (1813 Catalogue)

<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Place of Pub.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Format</u>	<u>Times Borrowed (1814-1854)</u>
Beattie, James, 1735-1803	<i>Essays. On the nature and immutability of truth, ... On poetry and music, ... On laughter, and ludicrous composition. On the utility of classical learning.</i>	Religion (General)	Edin	1776	4to	27
Potter, John, 1673/4-1747	<i>Archaeologia graeca: or, the antiquities of Greece.</i>	History	Lon	1764	8vo	26
Maclaurin, Colin, 1698-1746	<i>An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries, in four books</i>	Mathematics	Lon	1750	8vo	19
Ferguson, James, 1710-1776	<i>Lectures on select subjects in mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, and optics.</i>	Natural History/Science	Lon	1776	8vo	19
Johnson, Samuel, 1709-1784	<i>The lives of the English poets; and a criticism on their works.</i>	Biography	Dub	1779	8vo	18
Anson, George Anson, Baron, 1697-1762	<i>A voyage round the world, in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV, by George Anson, Esq</i>	Travel	Lon	1776	4to	14
Stuart, Gilbert, 1742-1786	<i>The history of Scotland, from the establishment of the Reformation, till the death of Queen Mary.</i>	History	Lon	1785	8vo	12
Ferguson, James, 1710-1776	<i>Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles, and made easy to those who have not studied mathematics.</i>	Natural History/Science	Lon	1772	8vo	11
-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>	Periodical/Magazine	Edin	1785	8vo	10
Smith, John, 1747-1807	<i>Galic antiquities: consisting of a history of the Druids, particularly of those of Caledonia; a dissertation on the authenticity of the poems of Ossian; and a collection of ancient poems, translated from the Galic</i>	History	Edin	1780	4to	9
Demosthenes.	<i>All the orations of Demosthenes, pronounced to excite the Athenians against Philip King of Macedon./The orations of Demosthenes, on occasions of public deliberation./The orations of Nschines and Demosthenes on the crown.</i>	Classics	Lon	1770	8vo	7
-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	Periodical/Magazine	Lon	1786	8vo	7
Shaw, Peter, 1694-1763	<i>Chemical lectures, publickly read at London, in the years 1731, and 1732; and at Scarborough, in 1733; for the improvement of arts, trades, and natural philosophy.</i>	Natural History/Science	Lon	1755	8vo	6

Anglicanus, Theophilus.	<i>Protestant armour: or, the Church of England-man's defence against the open attacks and artful insinuations of Popish delusion.</i>	Religion (General)	Lon	1769	8vo	3
Kames, Henry Home, Lord, 1696-1782	<i>Elucidations respecting the Common and Statute Law of Scotland..</i>	Law	Edin	1777	8vo	2
MacNicol, Donald, 1735-1802	<i>Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, observations on the antiquities, language, genius, and manners of the Highlanders of Scotland.</i>	History	Lon	1779	8vo	2
Stewart, Archibald, 1697-1780	<i>The trial of Archibald Stewart Esq; late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, for neglect of duty, and misbehaviour</i>	Law	Edin	1747	8vo	2
Ferguson, James, 1710-1776	<i>Select mechanical exercises: shewing how to construct different clocks, orreries, and sundials, on plain and easy principles.</i>	Natural History/Science	Lon	1773	8vo	2
Conybeare, John	<i>Sermons by John Conybeare, D.D.</i>	Sermon	Lon	1757	8vo	2
Society of Gentlemen.	<i>The complete farmer: or, a general dictionary of husbandry, in all its branches; ... To which is now first added, the gardener's kalendar</i>	Agriculture	Lon	1769	4to	1
Arnot, Hugo, 1749-1786	<i>The history of Edinburgh</i>	History	Edin	1779	4to	1
Maclaurin, John, Lord Dreghorn, 1734-1796	<i>Arguments, and decisions, in remarkable cases, before the High Court of Justiciary, and other supreme courts, in Scotland.</i>	Law	Edin	1774	4to	1
Anderson, James, 1739-1808	<i>Observations on the means of exciting a spirit of national industry; chiefly intended to promote the agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, of Scotland.</i>	Agriculture	Edin	1777	4to	1
Rutter, John, ca. 1711-1772,	<i>Modern Eden: or the gardener's universal guide: containing plain and familiar instructions, for performing every branch of gardening,</i>	Horticulture	Lon	1769	8vo	1
Sinclair, John, Sir, 1754-1835	<i>Observations on the Scottish dialect.</i>	Education	Lon	1773	8vo	1
Dossie, Robert, d. 1777	<i>Memoirs of agriculture, and other oeconomical arts.</i>	Agriculture	Lon	1768	8vo	1
Ellis, William, ca. 1700-1758	<i>Ellis's Husbandry, abridged and methodized: comprehending the most useful articles of practical agriculture.</i>	Husbandry	Lon	1772	8vo	1
-	<i>The annual register</i>	Periodical/Magazine	Lon	1780	8vo	1

Savary, Jacques, 1622-1690	<i>Le parfait negociant, ou instruction generale pour ce qui regarde le commerce des marchandises de France, et des pais etrangers</i>	Politics	Amst	1717	4to	0
Voltaire, 1694-1778	<i>A treatise on religious toleration. Occasioned by the execution of the unfortunate John Calas; unjustly condemned ... for the supposed murder of his own son.</i>	Religion (General)	Lon	1764	8vo	0
Stuart, Gilbert, 1742-1786	<i>An historical dissertation concerning the antiquity of the English constitution.</i>	History	Lon	1771	8vo	0
Boyd, Robert, d. 1793	<i>Judicial proceedings before the High Court of Admiralty, and supreme consistorial or Commissary Court, of Scotland</i>	Law	Edin	1779	8vo	0
Home, Francis, 1719-1813	<i>Experiments on bleaching</i>	Natural History/Science	Edin	1756	8vo	0
Wight, Andrew	<i>Present state of husbandry in Scotland.</i>	Husbandry	Edin	1778	8vo	0
Dickson, Adam, 1721-1776	<i>A treatise of agriculture.</i>	Agriculture	Edin	1770	8vo	0
Wilcocks, Joseph, 1724-1791	<i>Sacred exercises. In four books.</i>	Religion (Practical)	Lon	1768	8vo	0
Dutot, 18th. cent.	<i>Political reflections upon the finances and commerce of France; shewing the causes which formerly obstructed the advancement of her trade</i>	Politics	Lon	1739	8vo	0
Wight, Alexander, d. 1793	<i>A treatise on the laws concerning the election of the different representatives sent from Scotland to the Parliament of Great Britain.</i>	Law	Edin	1773	8vo	0
Lisle, Edward, 1666?-1722	<i>Observations in husbandry.</i>	Husbandry	Lon	1757	8vo	0
Tull, Jethro, 1674-1741	<i>Horse-hoeing husbandry: or, an essay on the principles of vegetation and tillage.</i>	Husbandry	Lon	1762	8vo	0
Henry, David, 1710-1792	<i>The complete English farmer, or, a practical system of husbandry, founded upon natural, certain, and obvious principles</i>	Husbandry	Lon	1771	8vo	0
Johnson, Samuel, 1709-1784	<i>Political tracts. Containing, The false alarm. Falkland's Islands. The patriot; and, Taxation no tyranny..</i>	Politics	Lon	1776	8vo	0
Burgh, James, 1714-1775	<i>Political disquisitions: or, an enquiry into public errors, defects, and abuses.</i>	Politics	Lon	1774	8vo	0
Anderson, James, 1739-1808	<i>Essays relating to agriculture and rural affairs; in two parts, illustrated with copper-plates.</i>	Agriculture	Edin	1775	8vo	0
-	<i>The London mercury; containing the history, politics, and literature of England, for the year</i>	Periodical/Magazine	Lon	1780	8vo	0
Campbell, John, 1708-1775	<i>The present state of Europe; explaining the interests, connections, political and commercial views of its several powers</i>	History	Lon	1757	8vo	0

APPENDIX SEVEN: ALEXANDER MAXTON'S BORROWING

Date	Author	Title	Vol.	Pub. Details
26 May 1794	Overbury, Thomas, Sir, 1581-1613	<i>Sir Thomas Overbury his VVife. With additions of new characters, and many other wittie conceites neuer before printed.</i>		London, 1630
25 Apr 1799	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	2 vols	London, 1748
16 May 1799	Atterbury, Francis, 1662-1732	<i>Sermons and discourses on several subjects and occasions</i>	7	London, 1761
16 May 1799	Sherlock, William, 1641?-1707	<i>A discourse concerning the divine providence.</i>	1 vol	London, 1694
16 May 1799	Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons</i>	vol 7	London, 1700
8 Jun 1799	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	1 vol	London, 1748
8 Jun 1799	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	4	London, 1756
8 Jun 1799	Conybeare, John	<i>Sermons : by John Conybeare, D.D.</i>	vol 4	London, 1757
8 Jun 1799	Sherlock, William, 1641?-1707	<i>A discourse concerning the divine providence.</i>	2 vol	London, 1694
8 Jun 1799	South, Robert, 1634-1716	<i>[Sermons preached upon several occasions.]</i>	3	London, 1737
27 Jun 1799	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	1 vol	London, 1748
27 Jun 1799	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	1 vol	London, 1756
27 Jun 1799	Lowth, Robert, 1710-1787	[multiple options] [unidentified]		[not identified]
27 Jun 1799	Sherlock, William, 1641?-1707	<i>A discourse concerning the divine providence.</i>	2 vol	London, 1694
27 Jun 1799	Warburton, William, 1698-1779	<i>The principles of natural and revealed religion occasionally opened and explained</i>	3 vol	London, 1758
25 Jul 1799	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	v 1	London, 1748
25 Jul 1799	-	<i>A defence of natural and revealed religion: : being a collection of the sermons preached at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq</i>	vol 1	London, 1739
25 Jul 1799	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713-1771	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1772
25 Jul 1799	Sherlock, William, 1641?-1707	<i>A discourse concerning the divine providence.</i>	1 vol	London, 1694
25 Jul 1799	Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons and discourses: : some of which never before printed.</i>	2 vol	London, 1686
25 Jul 1799	Hoadly, Benjamin, 1676-1761	<i>Sixteen sermons formerly printed, now collected into one volume</i>		London, 1754
12 Aug 1799	Barrow, Isaac, 1630-1677	<i>The works : of the learned Isaac Barrow</i>	vol 1	London, 1716

12 Aug 1799	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>		London, 1765
12 Aug 1799	Sherlock, William, 1641?-1707	<i>A discourse concerning the divine providence.</i>		London, 1694
4 Sep 1799	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	1	London, 1756
4 Sep 1799	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	9	London, 1756-1789
4 Sep 1799	Sherlock, Thomas, 1678-1761	<i>Several discourses preached at the Temple church.</i>	1	London, 1764
5 Sep 1799	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>XVIII sermons on several occasions</i>	16	London, 1734
5 Sep 1799	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	16	London, 1786
5 Sep 1799	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>	1	London, 1766
3 Oct 1799	Brakenridge, William.	<i>Sermons on several subjects.</i>	1 vol	London, 1764
3 Oct 1799	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	30	London, 1756-1789
3 Oct 1799	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>	1st vol	London, 1766
3 Oct 1799	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713-1771	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	vol 1	London, 1772
3 Oct 1799	Sharp, John, 1645-1714	<i>The works : of the Most Reverend Dr. John Sharp</i>	1st vol	London, 1754
31 Oct 1799	Gerard, Alexander, 1728-1795	<i>An essay on genius.</i>	2 vol	London, 1774
31 Oct 1799	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>		London, 1766
31 Oct 1799	[unidentified]	"Sharp Mer of Testa" [unidentified]		[not identified]
15 Apr 1800	Conybeare, John	<i>Sermons : by John Conybeare, D.D.</i>	2 vol	London, 1757
15 Apr 1800	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]	6	[not identified]
15 Apr 1800	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>	4	London, 1765
15 Apr 1800	Sherlock, Thomas, 1678-1761	<i>Several discourses preached at the Temple church.</i>	2 vol	London, 1764
15 Apr 1800	Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons</i>	13	London, 1700

15 Apr 1800	-	<i>The morality of the New Testament : digested under various heads, comprehending the duties which we owe to God, to ourselves, and to our fellow-creatures.</i>	vol 3	London, 1765
5 Jun 1800	Hoadly, Benjamin, 1676-1761	<i>A plain account of the nature and end of the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper.</i>		London, 1735
5 Jun 1800	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	1 vol	London, 1756
5 Jun 1800	Brooke, Zachary, 1716-1788	<i>Several discourses preached before the late King, and His present Majesty</i>		Cambridge, 1763
5 Jun 1800	Leland, John, 1691-1766	<i>The advantage and necessity of the Christian revelation, : shewn from the state of religion in the ancient heathen world</i>	2 vol	London, 1768
5 Jun 1800	Millar, John, 1735-1801	<i>Observations concerning the distinction of ranks in society.</i>	3 & 4	London, 1773
5 Jun 1800	Poiret, Pierre, 1646-1719	<i>The divine oeconomy: or, an universal system of the works and purposes of God towards men, demonstrated.</i>		London, 1713
5 Jun 1800	Sherlock, Thomas, 1678-1761	<i>Several discourses preached at the Temple church.</i>	3 vol	London, 1764
5 Jul 1800	Hoadly, Benjamin, 1676-1761	<i>A plain account of the nature and end of the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper.</i>		London, 1735
5 Jul 1800	Brooke, Zachary, 1716-1788	<i>Several discourses preached before the late King, and His present Majesty</i>		Cambridge, 1763
5 Jul 1800	Butler, Joseph, 1692-1752	<i>The analogy of religion : natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature.</i>		London, 1765
5 Jul 1800	Kames, Henry Home, Lord, 1696-1782	<i>Sketches of the history of Man.</i>	2d vol	Edinburgh, 1774
23 Oct 1800	Andrewes, Lancelot, 1555-1626	<i>XCVI sermons by the Right Honourable, and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, late Lord Bishop of Winchester</i>	Tom Premier	London, 1635
23 Oct 1800	Cameron, John, 1579?-1625	<i>Ioannis Cameronis Scotobritanni Theologi eximii</i>		Geneva, 1642
18 Jun 1801	Butler, Joseph, 1692-1752	<i>Fifteen sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel</i>		London, 1765
18 Jun 1801	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	4	London, 1756
18 Jun 1801	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
2 Jul 1801	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1748
2 Jul 1801	Baynes, Paul, d. 1617	<i>A commentarie vpon the first chapter of the epistle of Saint Paul, written to the Ephesians.</i>		London, 1618
2 Jul 1801	Powell, (William Samuel) W. S., 1717-1775	<i>Discourses on various subjects.</i>		London, 1776

16 Jul 1801	R. B. K.	<i>An antidote against Arminianisme</i>		London, 1641
16 Jul 1801	Hales, John	<i>The works of the ever memorable Mr. John Hales of Eaton.</i>	2v	Glasgow, 1765
16 Jul 1801	Howe, John	<i>The reconcileableness of God's prescience of the sins of men, with the wisdom and sincerity of his counsels, exhortations, and whatsoever other means he uses to prevent them</i>		London, 1677
16 Jul 1801	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>	2v	London, 1765
30 Jul 1801	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	2v	Glasgow, 1747
30 Jul 1801	Poole, Matthew, 1624-1679	<i>Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum</i>		London, 1676
13 Aug 1801	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1748
13 Aug 1801	Butler, Joseph, 1692-1752	<i>The analogy of religion : natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature.</i>		London, 1765
13 Aug 1801	Hammond, Henry, 1605-1660	<i>A paraphrase and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament.</i>		London, 1659
13 Aug 1801	Bertheau, Charles	<i>Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte</i>		Amsterdam, 1730
10 Sep 1801	-	<i>A defence of natural and revealed religion: : being a collection of the sermons preached at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq</i>		London, 1739
17 Sep 1801	Bertheau, Charles	<i>Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture sainte</i>		Amsterdam, 1730
1 Oct 1801	Carmichael, Frederick, 1708-1751	<i>Sermons on several important subjects.</i>		Edinburgh, 1753
1 Oct 1801	Dyke, Daniel, d. 1614	<i>The mystery of selfe-deceiuing: or, A discourse and discovery of the deceitfulness of mans heart.</i>		London, 1683
1 Oct 1801	Fothergill, George, 1705-1760	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions.</i>		Oxford, 1761
1 Oct 1801	Pearson, John, 1613-1686	<i>An exposition of the Creed</i>		London, 1683
1 Oct 1801	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>	2	Edinburgh, 1785
22 Oct 1801	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	3 vol	London, 1756-1789
22 Oct 1801	Goodwin, Thomas, 1600-1680	<i>The works of Thomas Goodwin</i>	2	London, 1681
22 Oct 1801	Warburton, William, 1698-1779	<i>The principles of natural and revealed religion occasionally opened and explained</i>		London, 1758
12 Nov 1801	-	<i>Biblia hebraica : secundum ultimam editionem</i>		Amsterdam, 1705

12 Nov 1801	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>		London, 1765
12 Nov 1801	Taylor, John, 1694-1761	<i>The Hebrew concordance, adapted to the English Bible; : disposed after the manner of Buxtorf.</i>	1vo	London, 1754
6 Jan 1803	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	8	London, 1756-1789
6 Jan 1803	Jones, Walter, 1692/3-1739	<i>Seventeen sermons upon several subjects.</i>		London, 1741
6 Jan 1803	Musculus, Wolfgang, 1497-1563	[multiple options] [unidentified]		[not identified]
6 Jan 1803	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>	48	Edinburgh, 1785
6 Jan 1803	Shepherd, William, b. 1696/7	<i>Sermons on several religious and important subjects.</i>		Sherborne, 1748
6 Jan 1803	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
21 Jan 1803	Rutherford, Samuel, 1600?-1662	<i>Lex, rex: The law and the prince.</i>		London, 1644
9 Jun 1803	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1748
9 Jun 1803	Carmichael, Frederick, 1708-1751	<i>Sermons on several important subjects.</i>		Edinburgh, 1753
9 Jun 1803	Clagett, William, 1646-1688	[Sermons.; Selections]	2v	London, 1764
9 Jun 1803	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	7v	London, 1756
11 Jul 1803	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	3v	London, 1748
11 Jul 1803	Fothergill, George, 1705-1760	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions.</i>		Oxford, 1761
11 Jul 1803	South, Robert, 1634-1716	[<i>Sermons preached upon several occasions.</i>]		London, 1737
19 Aug 1803	Leland, John, 1691-1766	<i>The advantage and necessity of the Christian revelation, : shewn from the state of religion in the antient beathen world</i>	2 vol	London, 1764
19 Aug 1803	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	1777	London, 1786
19 Aug 1803	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]		[not identified]
19 Aug 1803	Sharp, John, 1645-1714	<i>The works : of the Most Reverend Dr. John Sharp</i>	2 & 4	London, 1754
19 Aug 1803	Sherlock, Thomas, 1678-1761	<i>Several discourses preached at the Temple church.</i>		London, 1764
27 Mar 1804	Jones, Walter, 1692/3-1739	<i>Seventeen sermons upon several subjects.</i>		London, 1741
27 Mar 1804	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	1 & 2	London, 1748

27 Mar 1804	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	1 vol	London, 1748
27 Mar 1804	Atterbury, Francis, 1662-1732	<i>Sermons and discourses on several subjects and occasions</i>	vol 3	London, 1761
27 Mar 1804	Brooke, Zachary, 1716-1788	<i>Several discourses preached before the late King, and His present Majesty</i>	1 volume	Cambridge, 1763
27 Mar 1804	Carmichael, Alexander, d. 1676?	<i>Believers mortification of sin by the spirit: or, Gospel-holiness advanced by the power of the Holy Ghost on the hearts of the faithful.</i>		London, 1677
27 Mar 1804	-	<i>[La Sainte Bible] traduit en françois avec des explication du sens litteral & du sens spirituel; tiree des SS. Peres et des authours ecclesiastiques.</i>	vol 19	Paris, 1697
27 Mar 1804		"[illeg] Sermon" [unidentified]	6 v	[not identified]
27 Mar 1804	Rotheram, John, 1725-1789	<i>An essay on faith, : and its connection with good works.</i>	1st	London, 1768
27 Mar 1804	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713-1771	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	1.3	London, 1772
27 Mar 1804	Shepherd, William, b. 1696/7	<i>Sermons on several religious and important subjects.</i>		Sherborne, 1748
27 Mar 1804	Willet, Andrew, 1562-1621	<i>Synopsis papismi, that is, A generall view of papistrie</i>		London, 1634
27 Mar 1804	Stennett, Samuel, 1727-1795	<i>Discourses on personal religion.</i>	vol 1	London, 1769
3 Jul 1804	Brooke, Zachary, 1716-1788	<i>Several discourses preached before the late King, and His present Majesty</i>		Cambridge, 1763
3 Jul 1804	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	6th vol	London, 1756
3 Jul 1804	Drelincourt, Charles, 1595-1669	<i>The Christians defence against the fears of death.</i>		London, 1682
3 Jul 1804	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]	6th vol	[not identified]
3 Jul 1804	Sharp, John, 1645-1714	<i>The works : of the Most Reverend Dr. John Sharp</i>	1 & 2vol	London, 1754
16 Jan 1805	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>	1 vol	London, 1748
16 Jan 1805	Atterbury, Francis, 1662-1732	<i>Sermons and discourses on several subjects and occasions</i>	vol 3	London, 1761
16 Jan 1805	Brooke, Zachary, 1716-1788	<i>Several discourses preached before the late King, and His present Majesty</i>	1 vol	Cambridge, 1763
16 Jan 1805	Carmichael, Alexander, d. 1676?	<i>Believers mortification of sin by the spirit: or, Gospel-holiness advanced by the power of the Holy Ghost on the hearts of the faithful.</i>	1 vol	London, 1677
16 Jan 1805	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	6th vol	London, 1756
16 Jan 1805	Drelincourt, Charles, 1595-1669	<i>The Christians defence against the fears of death.</i>	1 vol	London, 1682

16 Jan 1805	Jones, Walter, 1692/3-1739	<i>Seventeen sermons upon several subjects.</i>	1	London, 1741
16 Jan 1805	Sharp, John, 1645-1714	<i>The works : of the Most Reverend Dr. John Sharp</i>	1st	London, 1754
16 Jan 1805	Shepherd, William, b. 1696/7	<i>Sermons on several religious and important subjects.</i>	1 vol	Sherborne, 1748
16 Jan 1805	Stennett, Samuel, 1727-1795	<i>Discourses on personal religion.</i>	1	London, 1769
4 Mar 1806	Abernethy, John, 1680-1740	<i>Discourses concerning the being and natural perfections of God</i>	1st	London, 1757
4 Mar 1806	South, Robert, 1634-1716	<i>[Sermons preached upon several occasions.]</i>	2 vol	London, 1737
29 Jan 1807	Bragge, Francis, 1664-1728	<i>Practical discourses upon the parables of Our Blessed Saviour.</i>	2	London, 1711
29 Jan 1807	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	vol 5	London, 1756
13 Jun 1809	Doddridge, Philip, 1702-1751	<i>The family expositor: : or, a paraphrase and version of the New Testament: with critical notes; ... By P. Doddridge, D.D</i>		London, 1760
13 Jun 1809	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	1st vol	Glasgow, 1747
13 Jun 1809	Johnson, Samuel, 1709-1784	<i>The lives of the English poets; : and a criticism on their works.</i>		Dublin, 1779
13 Jun 1809	Brown, John	<i>Christ, the way, and the truth, and the life.</i>		Rotterdam, 1677
13 Jun 1809		"Meay Sermons" [unidentified]		[not identified]
13 Jun 1809	Nalson, Valentine.	<i>Twenty sermons on the following subjects : : most of them preached in the cathedral of York.</i>		London, 1737
13 Jun 1809	Saurin, Jacques, 1677-1730	<i>Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte</i>	3	The Hague, 1721
13 Jun 1809	Stennett, Samuel, 1727-1795	<i>Discourses on personal religion.</i>	vol 1	London, 1769
30 Aug 1809	Doddridge, Philip, 1702-1751	<i>The family expositor: : or, a paraphrase and version of the New Testament: with critical notes; ... By P. Doddridge, D.D</i>		London, 1760
30 Aug 1809	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	1 vol	Glasgow, 1747
30 Aug 1809	Flavel, John, 1630?-1691	<i>Husbandry spiritualized: or, The bevenly use of earthly things</i>		London, 1669
30 Aug 1809	Shakespeare, William, 1564-1616	<i>The plays : of William Shakespeare, in eight volumes, with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators; to which are added notes by Sam. Johnson..</i>		London, 1765
30 Aug 1809	-	<i>[La Sainte Bible] traduit en françois avec des explication du sens litteral & du sens spirituel; tiree des S.S. Peres et des auteurs ecclesiastiques.</i>		Paris, 1697

30 Aug 1809	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
30 Aug 1809	Stennett, Samuel, 1727-1795	<i>Discourses on personal religion.</i>	vol 1	London, 1769
17 Sep 1809	Doddridge, Philip, 1702-1751	<i>The family expositor: : or, a paraphrase and version of the New Testament: with critical notes; ... By P. Doddridge, D.D</i>		London, 1760
17 Sep 1809	Flavel, John, 1630?-1691	<i>Pneumatologia; A treatise of the soul of man</i>		London, 1698
17 Sep 1809	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	3	London, 1782
17 Sep 1809	Snape, Andrew, 1675-1742	<i>Forty five sermons on several subjects.</i>	vol 2	London, 1745
17 Sep 1809	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
17 Sep 1809	Stennett, Samuel, 1727-1795	<i>Discourses on personal religion.</i>	vol 1	London, 1769
17 Sep 1809	Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons</i>	v 10	London, 1700
17 Sep 1809	Weston, Stephen, 1666-1742	<i>Sermons on various subjects, : moral and theological.</i>		London, 1747
10 Nov 1809	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	3	London, 1782
10 Nov 1809	-	<i>An interpretation of the New Testament. : Part the second.</i>		London, 1761
10 Nov 1809	Russell, William, 1741-1793	<i>The history of modern Europe.</i>	2 vols	London, 1782
10 Nov 1809	Smith, John, 1747-1807	<i>Galic antiquities: consisting of a history of the Druids, particularly of those of Caledonia; a dissertation on the authenticity of the poems of Ossian; and a collection of ancient poems, translated from the Galic</i>		Edinburgh, 1780
10 Nov 1809	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
10 Nov 1809	Stennett, Samuel, 1727-1795	<i>Discourses on personal religion.</i>	vol 1	London, 1769
10 Nov 1809	Voltaire, 1694-1778	<i>A treatise on religious toleration. : Occasioned by the execution of the unfortunate John Calas; unjustly condemned ... for the supposed murder of his own son.</i>		London, 1764
5 Mar 1810	Scattergood, Samuel, 1646-1696	<i>Fifty two sermons, upon several occasions.</i>		London, 1723
5 Mar 1810	Abercromby, Patrick, 1656-1716?	<i>The martial atchievements of the Scots nation.</i>	1 & 2	Edinburgh, 1711

5 Mar 1810	Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount,, 1678-1751	<i>The philosophical works of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, : Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.</i>	vol 1	London, 1754
5 Mar 1810	-	<i>An interpretation of the New Testament. : Part the second.</i>		London, 1761
5 Mar 1810	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]	vol 1	[not identified]
5 Mar 1810	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]	4th	[not identified]
5 Mar 1810	Pennant, Thomas, 1726-1798	<i>A tour in Scotland.</i>	v 1.2	London, 1776
5 Mar 1810	Scattergood, Samuel, 1646-1696	<i>Fifty two sermons, upon several occasions.</i>	vol 2	London, 1723
5 Mar 1810	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>		London, 1766
5 Mar 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>	1 2	London, 1734
5 Mar 1810	-	<i>British Statutes</i>		Edinburgh, 1748
5 Mar 1810	Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons</i>	10	London, 1700
5 Mar 1810	Weston, Stephen, 1666-1742	<i>Sermons on various subjects, : moral and theological.</i>		London, 1747
11 May 1810	Abercromby, Patrick, 1656-1716?	<i>The martial achievements of the Scots nation.</i>	vol 2	Edinburgh, 1711
11 May 1810	Scotland.	<i>The larves and actes of Parliament, maid be King Iames the First</i>		Edinburgh, 1597
11 May 1810	Craufurd, David, 1665-1726	<i>Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland. : Containing a full and impartial account of the revolution in that kingdom in the year MDLXVII.</i>		Edinburgh, 1767
11 May 1810	-	<i>An interpretation of the New Testament. : Part the second.</i>		London, 1761
11 May 1810	Mackenzie, George, 1669-1725	<i>The lives and characters of the most eminent writers of the Scots nation</i>	vol 3	Edinburgh, 1708
11 May 1810	Pennant, Thomas, 1726-1798	<i>A tour in Scotland.</i>	vol 1	London, 1776
11 May 1810	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Scala sancta: or The exaltation of the soul.</i>		London, 1678
11 May 1810	Scott, John, 1639-1695	<i>The Christian life. Part II</i>	vol 2	London, 1687
11 May 1810	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>	vol 1	London, 1766
11 May 1810		"Sermons sur Premier" [unidentified]		[not identified]

11 May 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
27 Jun 1810	Scotland.	<i>The lawes and actes of Parliament, maid be King James the First</i>		Edinburgh, 1597
27 Jun 1810	Butler, Joseph, 1692-1752	<i>Fifteen sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel</i>		London, 1765
27 Jun 1810	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	vol 2	London, 1756
27 Jun 1810	Cooke, William	<i>A learned and full answer to a treatise intituled; The vanity of childish baptisme.</i>		London, 1644
27 Jun 1810	Fothergill, George, 1705-1760	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions.</i>		Oxford, 1761
27 Jun 1810	-	<i>An interpretation of the New Testament. : Part the second.</i>		London, 1761
27 Jun 1810	Perkins, William, 1558-1602	<i>A commentarie, or, exposition upon the five first chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians</i>		Cambridge, 1604
27 Jun 1810	Perkins, William, 1558-1602	<i>The works of that famous and vworthy minister of Christ in the Vniversitie of Cambridge, M. VVilliam Perkins</i>		London, 1631
27 Jun 1810	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Scala sancta: or The exaltation of the soul.</i>		London, 1678
27 Jun 1810	Scott, John, 1639-1695	<i>The Christian life. Part II</i>	2	London, 1687
27 Jun 1810	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>	vol 1	London, 1766
27 Jun 1810		"Sermons sur Premier" [unidentified]		[not identified]
27 Jun 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
8 Sep 1810	Cooke, William	<i>A learned and full answer to a treatise intituled; The vanity of childish baptisme.</i>		London, 1644
8 Sep 1810	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	59	London, 1786
8 Sep 1810	Perkins, William, 1558-1602	<i>A commentarie, or, exposition upon the five first chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians</i>		Cambridge, 1604
8 Sep 1810	Perkins, William, 1558-1602	<i>The works of that famous and vworthy minister of Christ in the Vniversitie of Cambridge, M. VVilliam Perkins</i>		London, 1631
8 Sep 1810	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Scala sancta: or The exaltation of the soul.</i>		London, 1678
8 Sep 1810	Scott, John, 1639-1695	<i>The Christian life. Part II</i>	vol 2	London, 1687
8 Sep 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
8 Sep 1810	Stillingfleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>The works of that eminent and most learned prelate, Dr. Edm. Stillingfleet</i>	vol 1	London, 1710

8 Sep 1810	Gilbank, W. ((William)), 1739/40-1807	<i>The scripture history of Abraham</i>		London, 1773
26 Sep 1810	Cooke, William	<i>A learned and full answer to a treatise intituled; The vanity of childish baptism.</i>		London, 1644
26 Sep 1810	MacNicol, Donald, 1735-1802	<i>Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, observations on the antiquities, language, genius, and manners of the Higblanders of Scotland.</i>		London, 1779
26 Sep 1810	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	62	London, 1786
26 Sep 1810	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>	vol 2	London, 1765
26 Sep 1810	Nicolson, William, 1655-1727	<i>The English, Scotch and Irish historical libraries. : Giving a short view and character of most of our historians, either in print or manuscript.</i>		London, 1736
26 Sep 1810	Perkins, William, 1558-1602	<i>A commentarie, or, exposition upon the five first chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians</i>		Cambridge, 1604
26 Sep 1810	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Scala sancta: or The exaltation of the soul.</i>		London, 1678
26 Sep 1810	Scattergood, Samuel, 1646-1696	<i>Fifty two sermons, upon several occasions.</i>		London, 1723
26 Sep 1810	Scott, John, 1639-1695	<i>The Christian life. Part II</i>	vol 2	London, 1687
26 Sep 1810	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>	34	Edinburgh, 1785
26 Sep 1810	Sinclair, John, Sir, 1754-1835	<i>Observations on the Scottish dialect.</i>		London, 1773
26 Sep 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
26 Sep 1810	Stillfleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>The works of that eminent and most learned prelate, Dr. Edw. Stillfleet</i>		London, 1710
26 Sep 1810	Rycaut, Paul, Sir, 1628-1700	<i>The present state of the Ottoman Empire</i>		London, 1668
19 Oct 1810	Bate, James, 1703-1775	<i>A rationale of the literal doctrine of original sin; : or a vindication of God's permitting the fall of Adam, and the subsequent corruption of our human nature.</i>		London, 1766
19 Oct 1810	Cooke, William	<i>A learned and full answer to a treatise intituled; The vanity of childish baptism.</i>		London, 1644
19 Oct 1810	-	<i>Critical Review</i>		London, 1756-1789
19 Oct 1810	Fleetwood, William, 1656-1723	<i>Seventeen sermons : preach'd upon several occasions.</i>		London, 1717
19 Oct 1810	Guthry, Henry, ca. 1600-1676	<i>Memoirs : of Henry Guthry, late Bishop of Dunkel [sic], in Scotland</i>		London, 1702

19 Oct 1810	MacNicol, Donald, 1735-1802	<i>Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, observations on the antiquities, language, genius, and manners of the Highlanders of Scotland.</i>		London, 1779
19 Oct 1810	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]	1 & 2	[not identified]
19 Oct 1810	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>	2	London, 1765
19 Oct 1810	Priestley, Joseph, 1733-1804	<i>An examination of Dr. Reid's Inquiry into the human mind on the principles of common sense, Dr. Beattie's Essay on the nature and immutability of truth, and Dr. Oswald's Appeal to common sense in behalf of religion.</i>		London, 1774
19 Oct 1810	Scattergood, Samuel, 1646-1696	<i>Fifty two sermons, upon several occasions.</i>		London, 1723
19 Oct 1810	Sinclair, John, Sir, 1754-1835	<i>Observations on the Scottish dialect.</i>		London, 1773
19 Oct 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
19 Oct 1810	Stillingfleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>The works of that eminent and most learned prelate, Dr. Edw. Stillingfleet</i>		London, 1710
30 Nov 1810	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Forty sermons</i>	1	London, 1684
30 Nov 1810	Atterbury, Francis, 1662-1732	<i>Sermons and discourses on several subjects and occasions</i>		London, 1761
30 Nov 1810	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	vol 2	London, 1782
30 Nov 1810	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	53	London, 1756-1789
30 Nov 1810	Guthry, Henry, ca. 1600-1676	<i>Memoirs : of Henry Guthry, late Bishop of Dunkel [sic], in Scotland</i>		London, 1702
30 Nov 1810	MacNicol, Donald, 1735-1802	<i>Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, observations on the antiquities, language, genius, and manners of the Highlanders of Scotland.</i>		London, 1779
30 Nov 1810	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	63	London, 1786
30 Nov 1810	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>	2	London, 1765
30 Nov 1810	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713-1771	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1772
30 Nov 1810	Sinclair, John, Sir, 1754-1835	<i>Observations on the Scottish dialect.</i>		London, 1773

30 Nov 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
30 Nov 1810	Stillingleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>The works of that eminent and most learned prelate, Dr. Edw. Stillingleet</i>		London, 1710
26 Dec 1810	Tacitus, Cornelius.	<i>The annales of Cornelius Tacitus</i>		[n.p.], 1612
26 Dec 1810	Keith, Robert, 1681-1757	<i>The history of the affairs of church and state in Scotland,</i>		Edinburgh, 1734
26 Dec 1810	Keith, Robert, 1681-1757	<i>The history of the affairs of church and state in Scotland,</i>		Edinburgh, 1734
26 Dec 1810	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>		London, 1782
26 Dec 1810	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	vol 3	London, 1782
26 Dec 1810	Calderwood, David, 1575-1650	<i>The true history of the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the reformation, unto the end of the reign of King James VI</i>		[n.p.], 1678
26 Dec 1810	Davies, John, 1625-1693	<i>The civil warres of Great Britain and Ireland</i>		London, 1661
26 Dec 1810	Davies, John, 1625-1693	<i>The civil warres of Great Britain and Ireland</i>		London, 1661
26 Dec 1810	-	<i>Critical Review</i>		London, 1756-1789
26 Dec 1810		"Discourses" [unidentified]		[not identified]
26 Dec 1810		"Discourses" [unidentified]		[not identified]
26 Dec 1810	MacNicol, Donald, 1735-1802	<i>Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, observations on the antiquities, language, genius, and manners of the Highlanders of Scotland.</i>		London, 1779
26 Dec 1810	MacNicol, Donald, 1735-1802	<i>Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, observations on the antiquities, language, genius, and manners of the Highlanders of Scotland.</i>		London, 1779
26 Dec 1810	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	70	London, 1786
26 Dec 1810	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>	2d vol	London, 1765
26 Dec 1810	Sinclair, John, Sir, 1754-1835	<i>Observations on the Scottish dialect.</i>		London, 1773
26 Dec 1810	Wilcocks, Joseph, 1724-1791	<i>Sacred exercises. : In four books.</i>		London, 1768
26 Dec 1810	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713-1771	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1772

26 Dec 1810	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713-1771	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1772
26 Dec 1810	Sinclair, John, Sir, 1754-1835	<i>Observations on the Scottish dialect.</i>		London, 1773
26 Dec 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
26 Dec 1810	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
26 Dec 1810	Stuart, Gilbert, 1742-1786	<i>The history of Scotland, : from the establishment of the Reformation, till the death of Queen Mary.</i>	v 1	London, 1785
26 Dec 1810	Stillingfleet, Edward, 1635-1699	<i>The works of that eminent and most learned prelate, Dr. Edm. Stillingfleet</i>		London, 1710
25 Apr 1811	Keith, Robert, 1681-1757	<i>The history of the affairs of church and state in Scotland,</i>		Edinburgh, 1734
25 Apr 1811	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	3	London, 1782
25 Apr 1811	Burnet, Gilbert, 1643-1715	<i>The abridgment of the history of the reformation of the Church of England.</i>		London, 1658
25 Apr 1811	Calderwood, David, 1575-1650	<i>The true history of the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the reformation, unto the end of the reign of King James VI</i>		[n.p.], 1678
25 Apr 1811	-	<i>Critical Review</i>		London, 1756-1789
25 Apr 1811		"Discourses" [unidentified]		[not identified]
25 Apr 1811	Drelincourt, Charles, 1595-1669	<i>The Christians defence against the fears of death.</i>		London, 1682
25 Apr 1811	MacNicol, Donald, 1735-1802	<i>Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, observations on the antiquities, language, genius, and manners of the Highlanders of Scotland.</i>		London, 1779
25 Apr 1811	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	47	London, 1786
25 Apr 1811	Neal, Daniel	<i>The history of the Puritans : or Protestant non-conformists, ... with an account of their principles</i>	1 vol	London, 1754
25 Apr 1811	Irvine, Christopher, fl. 1638-1685	<i>Histori.Á Scoti.Á nomenclatura Latino-vernacula</i>		Edinburgh, 1682
25 Apr 1811	Berruyer, Isaac Joseph, 1681-1775	<i>Histoire du peuple de Dieu depuis la naissance du Messie jusqu'a la fin de la synagogue</i>	Tom 6	Antwerp, 1754
25 Apr 1811	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>	8	Edinburgh, 1785
25 Apr 1811	Sharpe, Gregory, 1713-1771	<i>Sermons on various subjects.</i>		London, 1772

25 Apr 1811	Snape, Andrew, 1675-1742	<i>Forty five sermons on several subjects.</i>		London, 1745
25 Apr 1811	Stackhouse, Thomas, ca. 1680-1752	<i>A complete body of speculative and practical divinity, consisting of five parts</i>		London, 1734
3 May 1811	Hammond, Henry, 1605-1660	<i>A practical catechism. : By H. Hammond</i>		London, 1670
3 May 1811	Macpherson, John, 1710-1765	<i>Critical dissertations : on the origin, antiquities, language, government, manners, and religion, of the ancient Caledonians, their posterity the Picts, and the British and Irish Scots.</i>		London, 1768
3 May 1811	Dyer, William, d. 1696	<i>Christ's famous titles; and a believers golden chain</i>		Glasgow, 1650
3 May 1811	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>		London, 1786
3 May 1811	-	<i>Devout reflections on time, and eternity</i>		Amsterdam, 1687
2 Jul 1811	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	vo 5	London, 1756
2 Jul 1811	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	61	London, 1756-1789
2 Jul 1811	Knatchbull, Norton, Sir., 1602-1685	<i>Annotations upon some difficult texts in all the books of the New Testament.</i>		Cambridge, 1693
2 Jul 1811	-	<i>Les CL. Pseaumes de DavidPseaumes de David</i>	3	Paris, 1567
7 Sep 1811	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	3	London, 1782
7 Sep 1811	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, : the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation.</i>		London, 1766
7 Sep 1811	Du Pin, Louis Ellies, 1657-1719	<i>A compleat method of studying divinity: or, a regular course of theological studies, digested into a new method.</i>		London, 1720
7 Sep 1811	Harris, William, 1720-1770	<i>An historical and critical account of the life and writings of James the First, : King of Great Britain.</i>		London, 1753
7 Sep 1811	Neal, Daniel	<i>The history of the Puritans : or Protestant non-conformists, ... with an account of their principles</i>	vol 1	London, 1754
7 Sep 1811	-	<i>Les CL. Pseaumes de DavidPseaumes de David</i>	3	Paris, 1567
7 Sep 1811	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A collection of tracts, published between the years 1729 and 1759, : in the defence and explanation of Christianity and its evidence.</i>	1	London, 1766
7 Sep 1811	Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons</i>	7	London, 1700
7 Sep 1811	Weston, Stephen, 1666-1742	<i>Sermons on various subjects, : moral and theological.</i>		London, 1747

27 Nov 1811	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	v 3	London, 1782
27 Nov 1811		"Discourses" [unidentified]		[not identified]
27 Nov 1811	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	v 2	Glasgow, 1747
27 Nov 1811	Hume, David, 1711-1776	<i>Essays and treatises : on several subjects.</i>	4 v	London, 1753
27 Nov 1811	-	[Leases of the Abbey of Inchaffray] [unidentified]		[not identified]
27 Nov 1811	Pennant, Thomas, 1726-1798	<i>A tour in Scotland.</i>		London, 1776
27 Nov 1811	Wake, William, 1657-1737	<i>The principles of the Christian religion explained</i>		London, 1708
27 Nov 1811	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A brief account of prayer, : and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and other religious duties</i>		London, 1739
27 Nov 1811	Webster, W. ([William]), 1689-1758	<i>Two discourses. I. On prayer. ... II. On the sacrament.</i>		London, 1753
25 Dec 1811	Anson, George Anson, Baron, 1697-1762	<i>A voyage round the world, : in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV, by George Anson, Esq</i>		London, 1776
25 Dec 1811	Talbot, William, 1658/9-1730	<i>Twelve sermons preached on several subjects and occasions.</i>	13	London, 1725
25 Dec 1811	-	[Sermons] [unidentified]		[not identified]
25 Dec 1811	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	v 2	Glasgow, 1747
25 Dec 1811	-	[Leases of the Abbey of Inchaffray] [unidentified]		[not identified]
25 Dec 1811	Kidder, Richard, 1633-1703	<i>A demonstration of the Messias.</i>		London, 1684
25 Dec 1811	Pennant, Thomas, 1726-1798	<i>A tour in Scotland.</i>	v 3	London, 1776
25 Dec 1811	Wake, William, 1657-1737	<i>The principles of the Christian religion explained</i>		London, 1708
25 Dec 1811	Robertson, William, 1721-1793	<i>The history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V</i>	1	London, 1769
25 Dec 1811	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>		Edinburgh, 1785
25 Dec 1811	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A collection of tracts, published between the years 1729 and 1759, : in the defence and explanation of Christianity and its evidence.</i>		London, 1766
25 Dec 1811	Webster, W. ([William]), 1689-1758	<i>Two discourses. I. On prayer. ... II. On the sacrament.</i>		London, 1753
11 Mar 1812	Trapp, John	<i>A commentary or exposition upon the four Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles</i>		London, 1647

11 Mar 1812	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>		Glasgow, 1747
11 Mar 1812	-	[Leases of the Abbey of Inchaffray] [unidentified]		[not identified]
11 Mar 1812	Kidder, Richard, 1633-1703	<i>A demonstration of the Messias.</i>		London, 1684
11 Mar 1812	Wake, William, 1657-1737	<i>The principles of the Christian religion explained</i>		London, 1708
11 Mar 1812	Robertson, William, 1721-1793	<i>The history of America.</i>		London, 1777
11 Mar 1812	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>		Edinburgh, 1785
11 Mar 1812	Scotland.	<i>Statute law of Scotland abridged. With historical notes.</i>		Edinburgh, 1757
11 Mar 1812	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A collection of tracts, published between the years 1729 and 1759, : in the defence and explanation of Christianity and its evidence.</i>		London, 1766
11 Mar 1812	Tillotson, John, 1630-1694	<i>Sermons</i>	v 6	London, 1700
11 Mar 1812	Webster, W. ([William]), 1689-1758	<i>Two discourses. I. On prayer. ... II. On the sacrament.</i>		London, 1753
27 Mar 1812	Trapp, John	<i>A commentary or exposition upon the four Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles</i>		London, 1647
27 Mar 1812	Arnot, Hugo, 1749-1786	<i>A collection and abridgement of celebrated criminal trials in Scotland, : from A.D. 1536, to 1784.</i>		Edinburgh, 1785
27 Mar 1812	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	2 v	Glasgow, 1747
27 Mar 1812	-	[Leases of the Abbey of Inchaffray] [unidentified]		[not identified]
27 Mar 1812	Kidder, Richard, 1633-1703	<i>A demonstration of the Messias.</i>		London, 1684
27 Mar 1812	Demosthenes.	<i>All the orations of Demosthenes, pronounced to excite the Athenians against Philip King of Macedon./ The orations of Demosthenes, on occasions of public deliberation./ The orations of Nschines and Demosthenes on the crown.</i>		London, 1770
27 Mar 1812	Robertson, William, 1721-1793	<i>The history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V</i>	vol 3	London, 1769
27 Mar 1812	Scotland.	<i>The laws and acts made in the first Parliament of our most high and dread sovereign James VII. ... Holden at Edinburgh, April 23. 1685.</i>		Edinburgh, 1731
27 Mar 1812	South, Robert, 1634-1716	<i>[Sermons preached upon several occasions.]</i>	v 8	London, 1737

27 Mar 1812	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A collection of tracts, published between the years 1729 and 1759, : in the defence and explanation of Christianity and its evidence.</i>		London, 1766
27 Mar 1812	Webster, W. ([William]), 1689-1758	<i>Two discourses. I. On prayer. ... II. On the sacrament.</i>		London, 1753
5 Aug 1812	Buffon, George Louis Leclerc, comte de, 1707-1788	<i>Natural history, : general and particular</i>	v 1	Edinburgh, 1780
5 Aug 1812	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>	27	Edinburgh, 1785
14 Sep 1812	Trapp, John	<i>A commentary or exposition upon the four Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles</i>		London, 1647
14 Sep 1812	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Forty sermons</i>		London, 1684
14 Sep 1812	-	<i>Biographia Britannica: : or, the lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages, ... and digested in the manner of Mr Bayle's Historical and critical dictionary.</i>		London, 1747
14 Sep 1812	-	<i>Biographia Britannica: : or, the lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages, ... and digested in the manner of Mr Bayle's Historical and critical dictionary.</i>	v 3	London, 1747
14 Sep 1812	Buffon, George Louis Leclerc, comte de, 1707-1788	<i>Natural history, : general and particular</i>	v 3	Edinburgh, 1780
14 Sep 1812	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	vol 1	Glasgow, 1747
14 Sep 1812	Kidder, Richard, 1633-1703	<i>A demonstration of the Messias.</i>		London, 1684
14 Sep 1812	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	49	London, 1786
14 Sep 1812	-	<i>The Scots magazine</i>	47	Edinburgh, 1785
14 Sep 1812	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>		London, 1766
14 Sep 1812	South, Robert, 1634-1716	<i>[Sermons preached upon several occasions.]</i>	1.2	London, 1737
14 Sep 1812	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A collection of tracts, published between the years 1729 and 1759, : in the defence and explanation of Christianity and its evidence.</i>		London, 1766
29 Sep 1812		"Acts des Apostles" [unidentified]		[not identified]
29 Sep 1812	Trapp, John	<i>A commentary or exposition upon the four Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles</i>		London, 1647

29 Sep 1812	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Forty sermons</i>		London, 1684
29 Sep 1812	Beattie, James, 1735-1803	<i>Essays. On the nature and immutability of truth, : ... On poetry and music, ... On laughter, and ludicrous composition. On the utility of classical learning.</i>		Edinburgh, 1776
29 Sep 1812	-	<i>Biographia Britannica: : or, the lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages, ... and digested in the manner of Mr Bayle's Historical and critical dictionary.</i>	3	London, 1747
29 Sep 1812	Buffon, George Louis Leclerc, comte de, 1707- 1788	<i>Natural history, : general and particular</i>	4	Edinburgh, 1780
29 Sep 1812	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	22	London, 1756- 1789
29 Sep 1812	Dunlop, William, 1692-1720	<i>Sermons preached on several subjects and occasions, : with some lectures.</i>	v1	Glasgow, 1747
29 Sep 1812	Kidder, Richard, 1633-1703	<i>A demonstration of the Messiah.</i>		London, 1684
29 Sep 1812	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	54	London, 1786
29 Sep 1812	Seed, Jeremiah, 1700-1747	<i>Discourses on several important subjects. : To which are added, eight sermons preached at the Lady Moyer's lecture, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London.</i>		London, 1766
29 Sep 1812	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A collection of tracts, published between the years 1729 and 1759, : in the defence and explanation of Christianity and its evidence.</i>		London, 1766
15 Feb 1813	Allestree, Richard, 1619-1681	<i>Forty sermons</i>		London, 1684
15 Feb 1813	Beattie, James, 1735-1803	<i>Essays. On the nature and immutability of truth, : ... On poetry and music, ... On laughter, and ludicrous composition. On the utility of classical learning.</i>		Edinburgh, 1776
15 Feb 1813	-	<i>Biographia Britannica: : or, the lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages, ... and digested in the manner of Mr Bayle's Historical and critical dictionary.</i>		London, 1747
15 Feb 1813	Clarke, Samuel, 1675-1729	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions</i>	1	London, 1756
15 Feb 1813	-	<i>Critical Review</i>	29	London, 1756- 1789
15 Feb 1813	Hoole, Joseph, d. 1745	<i>Sermons on several important practical subjects.</i>		London, 1748
15 Feb 1813	Kidder, Richard, 1633-1703	<i>A demonstration of the Messiah.</i>		London, 1684

15 Feb 1813	Stebbing, Henry, 1687-1763	<i>A collection of tracts, published between the years 1729 and 1759, : in the defence and explanation of Christianity and its evidence.</i>		London, 1766
13 Feb 1815	Chambers, Ephraim, ca. 1680-1740	<i>Mr Chambers Cyclopaedia : or, an universal dictionary of arts and sciences</i>	vol 2	London, 1741
12 Mar 1815	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]	vol 3	[not identified]
24 Apr 1815	Arnot, Hugo, 1749-1786	<i>The history of Edinburgh</i>		Edinburgh, 1779
1 May 1815	[unidentified]	[Clark's <i>Examples of a History of the World</i> Vols 2]	v 1	London, 1671
5 Jun 1815	-	<i>The Monthly review; or, Literary journal</i>	56	London, 1786
21 Jun 1815	Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount,, 1678-1751	<i>The philosophical works of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, : Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.</i>	2nd v	London, 1754
12 Jul 1815	Fothergill, George, 1705-1760	<i>Sermons on several subjects and occasions.</i>		Oxford, 1761
19 Sep 1815	Saurin, Jacques, 1677-1730	<i>Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte</i>	4th	The Hague, 1721
3 Oct 1815	Bertheau, Charles	<i>Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture sainte</i>		Amsterdam, 1730
29 Jan 1816	Shakespeare, William, 1564-1616	<i>The plays : of William Shakespeare, in eight volumes, with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators; to which are added notes by Sam. Johnson..</i>		London, 1765
22 Feb 1816	-	<i>"Dictionary of Decisions"</i>	vo 3	Edinburgh, 1778
22 Apr 1816	Newton, Thomas, 1704-1782	<i>The works : of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton</i>	vol 3	London, 1782
30 Aug 1816	Shakespeare, William, 1564-1616	<i>The plays : of William Shakespeare, in eight volumes, with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators; to which are added notes by Sam. Johnson..</i>		London, 1765
9 Oct 1816	Cave, William, 1637-1713	<i>Antiquitates apostolicæ: or, The history of the lives, acts and martyrdoms of the holy apostles of our Saviour</i>		London, 1684
11 Oct 1816	Wilson, Thomas, 1563-1622	<i>A complete Christian dictionary</i>		London, 1678
10 Jan 1817	Russell, John, 1710-1796	<i>The form of process in the Court of Session, and Court of Teinds.</i>		Edinburgh, 1768
21 Jan 1817	Doddridge, Philip, 1702-1751	<i>The family expositor: : or, a paraphrase and version of the New Testament: with critical notes; ... By P. Doddridge, D.D</i>	v 5	London, 1760
4 Mar 1817	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz	<i>An ecclesiastical history, : antient and modern, from the birth of Christ, to the beginning of the present century</i>	v. 1	London, 1765
29 Mar 1817		"Epistres" [unidentified]	2	[not identified]

11 Apr 1817	[?Moses]	[Sermons] [unidentified]	vol 1	[not identified]
23 Jul 1818		"Epistres" [unidentified]	Tom II	[not identified]
20 Jan 1819	Calderwood, David, 1575-1650	<i>The true history of the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the reformation, unto the end of the reign of King James VI</i>		[n.p.], 1678
4 Mar 1819	Guthry, Henry, ca. 1600-1676	<i>Memoirs : of Henry Guthry, late Bishop of Dunkel [sic], in Scotland</i>		London, 1702
20 Jan 1829	Holinshed, Raphael, d. 1580	<i>The firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande</i>		London, 1577
17 May 1838	Dalrymple, David, Sir, 1726-1792	<i>Annals of Scotland.</i>		Edinburgh, 1776
5 Jul 1838	Drummond, William, of Hawthornden, 1585-1649	<i>The history of Scotland, from the year 1423. until the year 1542</i>		London, 1654
16 Aug 1838	Guthry, Henry, ca. 1600-1676	<i>Memoirs : of Henry Guthry, late Bishop of Dunkel [sic], in Scotland</i>		London, 1702
3 Sep 1846	-	[Leases of the Abbey of Inchaffray]	1	[n.p.], [n.d.]

APPENDIX EIGHT: JOHN WHYTOCK'S BORROWING AT ST ANDREWS

Reference	Page	Year	Date	Entry
UYLY207/5	139	1781	Novr 24	Rollin Rn Hist 8 9 vol
UYLY207/5	139	1782	Janry 12	Hooks Rom Hist Vol 2d&3d
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Hookes Ro Hist Vol 3d
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Spectator 2.3d Vol
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Elements of Crits 1.2 Vol
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Rollins Roman History 3.4 vols
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Watt's Improvement
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Watt's Logick
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Pilgrim's Progress
UYLY207/5	144	1782	Octr 30	Origin of Language
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Nov 5th	Rollins Antient History Vol 6 7th
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Nov 5th	Hook's Roman Hist Vol 3,4
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Nov 8th	The Moral Philosopher V1
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Nov 8th	The Rambler 2d 3d
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Nov 8th	Bollingbroke's Works 1.2
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Nov 8th	Philosophical essays
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Dec 9th	Goldsmith's History of England
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Dec 9th	Hartcliffe Moral Virtues
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Dec 9th	Pope's Iliad
UYLY207/6	48	[1783]	Dec 9th	Spectator vol 9th
UYLY207/6	48	[1784]	Jan 9th	Chambeau's Choises Fables
UYLY207/6	48	[1784]	Jan 9th	Nature Displayed vol 3
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Hist of Greece
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Ferguson's Lectures
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Dryden's Works
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Original Poems
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Gerard on Genius
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Dow's Natural History
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Poems
UYLY207/6	152	1785	Octr 29	[Poems]
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Pope's Letters vol 1
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Trap's Praelectiones Poetica
UYLY207/6	152	1784	Octr 28	Blackwell on the classics
UYLY207/6	152	1785	Feb.23	Dialogues on Education & 2d
UYLY207/6	152	1785	Feb.23	Wise Young Man's Compan
UYLY207/6	152	1785	Feb.23	Prior's Works
UYLY207/6	152	1785	Feb.23	Campbell's Enquiry
UYLY207/6	152	1785	Feb.23	Bonn's Natural Philosophy
UYLY207/6	152	1785	Feb.23	Campbell's Enquiry
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	[not given]	Within's Natural Religion
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	[not given]	Murray's Instructor
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	[not given]	Cicero Davisii 3 vols
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	[not given]	Hunter's Reflections
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	[not given]	Young's Rural Economy
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Pamphlets on the 39 Articles
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Maucaulay on Moral Truth
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Hewey's Meditations
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Stewart's Meditations
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Night thoughts Dr Young
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Priestley's Examination
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Devotions Revived
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Revolution of Sweden

UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Reflections on Incredulity
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Henry's Religious Life
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Wise Young Man's Companion
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Antoninus Translation
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Walker's Dictionary
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Parnell's Poems
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Gillie's Devotional Exercises
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Brown's Sermons
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	King on the Creed
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Chandler's Paraphrase
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Whitehead's Poems
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	The wife by Mira
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Wesley's Hymns Vols 1.2d
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Life of Queen Mary
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Novr 17	Nicolaus De Officiis
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Gallery	Cicero Vol 3d
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Gallery	Furneaux's Letters
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Gallery	Voyage through Hell
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Gallery	Tatlers Vols 1.3d
UYLY207/7	272	[1785]	Gallery	Swift's Works vol 7th.
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Octr 4th	Blair's Sermons
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Octr 4th	Massillon's Sermons
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Octr 4th	Foster's Sermons Vols 1.2
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Octr 4th	Hutchinsons Mor. Phil. Vol 2d
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Octr 4th	Night thoughts vol. 1
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Octr 4th	Plays
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Octr 4th	Tillotson's Works vols 6.7
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Decr 18th	Cudworth's In. System
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Decr 18th	Sedley on the evil day differd
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Decr 18th	The Vigirs 2.3d
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Decr 18th	McEwan on the Types
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Gallery	Sherlock on a ful. Judgement
UYLY207/7	307	1786	Gallery	Plays
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 11th	Derby's Paraphrase Vol 2d
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 12th	Bishop's Abridgements
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 12th	Hebrew Psalter
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 23rd	Bourdaloue's Sermons 10.6th
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 23rd	Moss's Sermons vol 4th
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 23rd	Warden's System
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 23rd	Atterbury's Sermons IIId
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 23rd	Wells Paraphrase
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 23rd	Tillotson's works vol 10th
UYLY207/8	234	1787	Dec 23rd	Sharp's Sermons vol 3d
UYLY207/8	234	1787	March 16	Glover's Leonidas