Childhood Reading and Education: The Royal High School of Edinburgh, 1750-1850

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ABSTRACT

The Royal High School of Edinburgh was the first public institution for the education of boys in the city of Edinburgh. The history of the school as a grammar school goes back as far as 1503, and records and histories surrounding the school are unusually complete for the period. Crucially for the history of reading these also contain several borrowing records, catalogues and other documents relating to the use of the school library. This thesis focuses on the school library as a locus that demonstrates the school's changing priorities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I seek to demonstrate the ways in which the library both reflects and pre-empts shifts in the school's educational priorities, and how it acted to supplement the children's reading, both by providing texts which constituted a kind of informal curriculum, and, later, their recreational reading. Focusing on the period 1750 to 1850, this thesis provides a contextual background for the case study of the Royal High School in its first two chapters; the first exploring education and reading practices in Scotland in the period and the second looking at representations of ideal reading and education in conduct books and educational writing in the period. Chapter three offers a revised overview of the history of the school in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, focusing specifically on the school curriculum. It then goes on to provide an overview of the changing makeup of the library collections using catalogues and acquisition records. Chapter four examines the borrowers' records between the 1770s and 1820s, highlighting the top ten most borrowed works in each decade and drawing out specific examples of individual borrowers to give a sense of the reading lives of the Royal High School children. Finally, chapter five examines the most popular books in the school library in greater detail, placing these in a wider literary and historical context, highlighting where the reading habits of the Royal High School children align with, or diverge from, what is known about other libraries and with the recommendations of conduct and educational literature. This thesis challenges and confirms some of the received narratives related both to childhood reading practices and reading practices in libraries more broadly and contributes to building a greater understanding of child readers in this period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Introduction

> … [I]t is necessary to explore links between education, ideology, and power within a society that underwent a profound shift from traditional hierarchical structures of domination to more consensual forms of managing political and social relations. This shift was facilitated, to a great extent, by a newly elaborated set of discursive relations among various social groups, the establishment and dissemination of which demanded in turn novel approaches to literacy and schooling.[1]

The case study of the Royal High School of Edinburgh, comprising the history of its curriculum and its school library, provides a concrete example of the "newly elaborated set of discursive relations… the establishment and dissemination of which demanded in turn novel approaches to literacy and schooling" identified by Alan Richardson in 1994. The radical reform of the school curriculum in 1827 constituted a formal example of this shift, taking into account the modern needs, wants, desires, tastes and talents of its pupils. The school library however was, from fifty years before that, a "consensual" site for the pupils to take charge of their own education, accessing the knowledge they needed to become cosmopolitan and enlightened young men in polite Edinburgh society. As this thesis will show, the Royal High School acts as a microcosmic example of a wider movement of reform and expansion of educational practices in Scotland and of the role that child readers played in libraries and wider print culture. The evidence of books borrowed by the school pupils at the Royal High School gives further weight to the argument that the received literary canon does not necessarily reflect the works that were the most influential in the past, here specifically in the lives of children.

The Royal High School of Edinburgh was the first public institution for the education of boys in the city of Edinburgh. Though the history of the school stretches as far back as its foundation as a seminary at Holyrood Abbey in 1128, it was first recorded as the 'High School' in 1505.[2] Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century records and histories surrounding the school are unusually complete for the period. Crucially for the history of reading, these also contain a number of borrowing records, catalogues and other

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[1] Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 25

[2] James J. Trotter, *The Royal High School, Edinburgh* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1911), p. 186

documents relating to the use of the school library. This thesis focuses on the school library as a locus that demonstrates the school's changing priorities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I seek to demonstrate the ways in which the library both reflects and pre-empts shifts in the school's educational priorities, and how it acted to supplement the children's reading, both by providing texts which constituted a kind of informal curriculum, and, later, their recreational reading. Crucially, this thesis argues two main points. Firstly, that the use of the school library acts as a form of informal curriculum fulfilling the need for a shift towards a more 'useful' and practical education well in advance of the formal curriculum reform of 1827. Secondly, and concurrently, the school library collections and borrowers' records reflect a recognition of the children as a distinct group of readers with a need for a distinct literature of their own. This begins in the eighteenth century, with the borrowing and acquisition of works aimed at a child readership (most notably John Newbery's *World Displayed* (1759)). However, it became an increasingly central use of the school library in the 1830s, with the acquisition of book trade collections, and 1840s, with the establishment of a juvenile library. After the aforementioned formal curriculum changes, the library increasingly became a source of entertaining children's reading material.

This is the first time that such a large group of children and their reading habits as a cohort have been able to be analysed. Individual children have previously been found in library records, but they are rare. In such cases, we have gained an insight into one aspect of that particular child's reading life. Individual borrowing records of children have been discovered at Innerpeffray Library near Crieff,[3] the Leighton Library in Dunblane,[4] the Gray Library in Haddington,[5] and at the University of St Andrews.[6] Students at St Andrews were sometimes as young as eleven at this time, and these borrowers' registers do give some further sense of how young men engaged with other

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[3] The first child borrower discovered at Innerpeffray Library was a scholar named Robert Campbell from Muthil who borrowed a copy of Plutarch's *Lives of the Greeks and Romans* on 16 April, 1773. (See Jill Dye, 'Innerpeffray Borrowers 1747 to 1855 dataset' < http://hdl.handle.net/1893/28881> [last accessed 31/03/2021] Child borrowers were more commonly found at Innerpeffray Library from 1855 onwards (see Jill Dye, 'Books and their Borrowers at the Library of Innerpeffray c. 1680-1855' (PhD thesis, Stirling, 2018), p. 66).

[4] See Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'Leighton Library Borrowers: D Munro – Grammar School Boy, Stirling' < https://leightonborrowers.com/2017/03/20/d-munro-grammar-school-boy-stirling/> [last accessed 31/03/2021]

[5] See 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), pp. 53-55 for a discussion of teenage borrowers at Gray Library, Haddington.

[6] See discussion of young borrowers at St Andrews on p. 130 of this thesis.

institutional libraries in the period. It is not, however, always possible to disentangle the records of children from those of the mass of other students in the St Andrews registers, whereas the Royal High School records allow us to focus specifically on the reading of children.

Other work in this field is limited. My own chapter on school libraries in eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland in the *Edinburgh History of Reading* (2020), edited by Mary Hammond and Jonathan Rose, looks at all extant records for school libraries in Lowland Scotland in this period and details a history of these institutions and how they were used by both the school and the wider community.[7] Jan Fergus' study of the Rugby schoolboys discussed in chapter five reveals individual reading habits among the schoolboys and hints at some broader trends in childhood reading practices.[8] Matthew Grenby's study of child readers makes use of a variety of evidence of childhood reading practices, though he does not include borrowers' records, and does not deal in detail with Scotland.[9] None of the records of childhood reading practices or school libraries, analysed previously, are as complete or rich as those at the Royal High School. Across the period analysed in this thesis (1770-1826 for the borrowers' records), there were 2,338 pupil borrowers who borrowed 19,286 volumes. This quantity of available data allows for a detailed analysis of the role that an institutional library played in the wider life of a grammar school in Scotland at this time, as well as providing a unique insight into the reading lives of individual schoolboys. Where evidence of other contemporary young library users is available, it is explored in order to discover the extent to which the boys of the Royal High School were typical or atypical in their school-based reading habits.

This thesis considers the Royal High School within the context of contemporary expectations about education, as manifested in conduct and educational writing of the period, and the broader context of schooling and education in Scotland. I consider both the broader trends which emerge from the Royal High School dataset, and individual borrowers and texts in order to determine how the reading lives of these children compare to existing narratives about eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century children's reading

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[7] Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'School Libraries in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', *Edinburgh History of Reading* eds. Mary Hammond and Jonathan Rose (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020)
[8] Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
[9] Matthew Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

habits. Borrowing records only ever give us one facet of a borrower's reading habits, particularly in a case such as at the Royal High School, where many children would also have had access to a range of books at home.[10] However, the records of the Royal High School demonstrate how a large group of schoolboys engaged with their school library and used it to augment their studies and ultimately as a source of entertaining and enlightening reading material; *dulce et utile*. This thesis aims to enrich and augment the work on childhood reading experiences already in existence through a detailed and careful analysis of the evidence available from the Royal High School.

The case study of the Royal High School demonstrates an historical moment when a specific institution recognised children as a distinct group, at least in relation to their reading habits, and a need for a literature for them. The problems of defining children's literature are discussed below, but in order to define child readers and children's literature, it is vital to define what is meant by childhood, particularly here in relation to the influence this category has on our interpretation of their reading lives. The recognition of a need for children's literature at the Royal High School in the 1830s and 40s is unsurprising, given the way in which Romantic-period ideals changed contemporary perceptions of childhood as an identifiable state removed from and distinct from adulthood. As Alan Richardson argues:

> The notion of the child, not simply as distinct, but as somehow unique, qualitatively different from (and in some senses superior to) the adult becomes prominent only with Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), and it is to a large extent through Romantic literature that childhood has gained the central position it continues to hold in the Western cultural tradition.[11]

For the purposes of this thesis, I will be taking the term 'child' simply to refer to a person below the age of thirteen, as that was the age at which students left the Royal High School, and will be considering childhood not particularly as an aestheticized category, but simply as the age during which a child received schooling and education.

In 'Observations of Changes Which Have Taken Place in Books for Children and

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[10] For examples, see discussion of Walter Scott's reading in chapter one and the Grindlay collection discussed in chapter three which suggests that students who attended the Royal High School had families with extensive home libraries.

[11] Richardson, p. 9

Young People' in *The Guardian of Education* (1802), Sarah Trimmer warns parents about the need to supervise their children's reading, as well as that of young people until "they are at least twenty-one".[12] The children at the Royal High School, between the ages of nine and thirteen, would by today's standards be described as pre-teens and young teenagers. However, it is clear that by the 1830s and, particularly with the establishment of the juvenile library in 1848 for the younger of these boys, that they were recognised as children. In addition, the records demonstrate that there was a relatively cautious approach to supervising the older boys' reading habits, suggesting that they too were recognised as children with distinct and different needs from their adult counterparts.

Chapters one, two and three place the school library at the Royal High School and the reading practices that took place there within a variety of different contexts. As part of this thesis, an extensive survey of archives and sources relating to Lowland Scotland was undertaken, the results of which are explored in chapter one and my aforementioned chapter, 'School Libraries in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850' in *The Edinburgh History of Reading*. This search has revealed the uniqueness of the Royal High School, and particularly its eighteenth-century records, both in terms of the rarity of the richness and depth of the surviving records and the extent and nature of its school library. As discussed in chapter one, other school libraries in Scotland may have been of comparable size, but in the absence of records relating to what they contained it is difficult to draw comparisons between these and the Royal High School. The small amount of work already completed on the libraries of schools in England, including that on Eton and Harrow by Edna L. Furness[13] and on Rugby by Jan Fergus, indicates that the Royal High School was both to a certain extent unusual, but also may have had more in common with the English grammar school system than historians of education have thus far suggested. The distinctiveness of the Scottish education system is explored more fully in chapter one, but the extent to which the Royal High School was drawing on best practice at schools in England is shown in the evidence surrounding the history of the school discussed in chapter three, and the similarities and differences in expectations of reading habits and the actual reading habits themselves are drawn out more fully in chapter five.

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[12] Sarah Trimmer, 'Observations Which Have Taken Place in Books for Children and Young People', cited in Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 48

[13] Edna L. Furness, 'Portrait of the Pedagogue in Eighteenth Century England', *History of Education Quarterly* 2.1 (1962), 62-70

Chapter one, therefore, looks at the available evidence of school libraries and children's use of other libraries in Scotland during this period, as well as giving a broader overview of literacy and education. It is vital to set the case of the Royal High School against the background of what was happening more broadly in education and literacy at this time, as it both enriches and complicates some of the wider conclusions which have been drawn about the development of literacy and education in Scotland in this period. It is hoped that the extensive discussion of library and book provision in schools in chapter one will also contribute to broader discussions surrounding literacy rates and access to literature in Scotland in this period. These discussions are closely intertwined with the history of literacy, and case studies of this kind challenge some of the existing narratives surrounding literacy rates in the eighteenth century. Chapter one discusses some of these pre-existing narratives and the work of Richard Hoggart,[14] R.A. Houston,[15] and David Vincent.[16] As can be seen from the evidence discussed here, there is a great deal of variation in provision of, and access to libraries. More work is needed to ascertain the extent to which school-aged children had access to libraries outside of school (including Sabbath-school) settings across Scotland.

Chapter two offers a close reading of some of the key educational writings of the period, dealing particularly with expectations surrounding boys' education and reading practices in order to compare these idealised visions with the practice taking place across Scotland and particularly at the Royal High School. Many of these texts were also acquired for the school library to be read, primarily by teachers, but also in some cases by pupils. This chapter therefore offers an insight into some of the pedagogical ideas that the school was engaging with through the school library. These works expressed ideas of ideal education and reading materials for a growing middle class, a term used throughout this thesis to describe those whose "growing wealth and importance" placed them neither in the category of landed gentry nor in the lower classes; that is to say, merchants, professionals such as lawyers and doctors, and those destined for the army and navy. [17]

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[14] Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working Class Life* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2009)

[15] R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500-1800* (London: Longman, 1989) and R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Literacy and Society in Scotland and England, 1660-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

[16] David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000)

[17] Leah Leneman, ''No Unsuitable Match": Defining Rank in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Social History* 33.3 (2000), p. 665

The ideas expressed in these works are relevant to the case study of the Royal High School where the curriculum changed across the period to fulfil the shifting needs of this emerging group. Here too, the works which were approved by conduct-book and educational writers had a demonstrable impact on what was available, and what was borrowed, by the boys at the Royal High School, as drawn out in chapter five.

Chapter three begins with a detailed investigation of the changing nature of the school curriculum at the Royal High School towards a more useful education, something which was increasingly demanded by contemporary educational reformers, as discussed further in chapter two. I use the term *useful education* throughout this thesis in the sense of an education that prepared boys practically for various professions and full participation in the public and political life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as opposed to a strictly classical education. Joseph Priestley proposed an education which introduced "some new articles of academical instruction, such as have a nearer and more evident connexion with the business of active life"[18] while George Chapman argued for the study of "other branches of useful literature" alongside the classics, as "such a course will be a proper preparation for the University".[19]

The investigation of the curriculum makes it possible to see the points where the school library filled certain gaps in the pupils' education, identified both in the library catalogues and acquisitions records analysed in chapter three, and by the analysis of the borrowing records in chapter four. These include: the reading of Greek texts in translation when the study of Greek in the formal curriculum was either absent or not well taught; the boys' exhaustive reading of Rollin's *Ancient History* (1730-8) and Hume's *History of England* (1754-62) before the introduction of history as a formal subject; the popularity of works of natural history before its introduction to the curriculum, and, later, the boys' reading of works about practical subjects and their future careers. When the curriculum was modernised, the school library was turned over to novels and these crowded out almost every other genre in the frequency lists of the 1820s. Finally, though analysing corresponding records for the 1830s of the borrowing habits of pupils was impossible due to restrictions imposed on access to necessary archives because of Covid-19, the introduction of higher numbers of works of children's literature in the acquisition records

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[18] Joseph Priestley, *Lectures on history, and general policy* (Dublin: Luke White & P. Byrne, 1791), p. 22
[19] George Chapman, *Advantages of a Classical Education* (Edinburgh: J. Moir, 1804), p. 18

of the 1830s and the compilation of a juvenile library discussed in chapter three suggests that, with the increasing focus on novels in the school library, there also came an increasing awareness of the boys as a group of child readers who needed a literature of their own. This is hinted at much earlier in the eighteenth century, and discussed in chapter five, with the popularity of works marketed to children, particularly *World Displayed* was a collection of travels and voyages printed by J. Newbery, written for, and marketed to, a child readership. As Charles Welsh argues in his nineteenth-century history of the publisher, "Newbery was probably one of the most ingenious advertisers of his day, and his ingenuity was in most cases rewarded with success".[20] The acquisition of Newbery's books, and their subsequent popularity among the schoolboys, suggest that a recognition of the Royal High School boys as child readers did take place in the eighteenth century. However, it is not until the 1830s and 40s that the school library was restructured to take account of children's literature and its young readership. It is also at this point that it is possible to see the ways in which the school library's acquisition practices are influenced by the print market, particularly the availability of cheap and popular reprints and serial publications.

Chapter four gives a detailed overview of the borrowing habits of the school pupils from the beginning of the records in the 1770s to the introduction of a modernized school curriculum in the 1820s. This reveals both some expected and surprising popular works: some aligned with the borrowing trends at other lending libraries in the period; some which were unique to the Royal High School's library. While acquisition records indicate the school library collections were purposefully curated for the children, books left by bequest meant that some works were available to the children incidentally. The borrowing records reveal that with a collection of this nature, children read both similarly to contemporary adults by selecting works which were also popular in other libraries and in wider print culture and, by choosing books specially selected for them, in a way that recognised themselves as child readers. This chapter takes a broad look at the borrowing records by identifying the top ten most borrowed works by volume in each decade and then zooms in on individual borrowers in each decade. In so doing, broad trends are drawn out in order to see how the library was used by the cohort in general, and an insight

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[20] Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1885), p. 106

into the reading lives of individual pupils is gained.

Chapter five goes into more detail about the works which dominated the frequency lists identified in chapter four and places these in a wider literary and historical context, highlighting where the reading habits of the Royal High School children align or diverge from what is known about other libraries and with the conduct and educational literature discussed in chapter two. This chapter reveals many instances where the reading habits of the boys at the Royal High School matched up with contemporary expectations, specifically in terms of the idealised reading practices represented in written works. Their reading habits also, in many ways, married up with those of adult library users in the period. However, there are a few instances where the reading habits identified at the Royal High School do not match up with either contemporary expectations, or those of our own garnered from existing records of historical readers, and this chapter explores these findings.

Though a single case study, no matter how detailed, can only reveal so much about reading habits in general, a careful consideration of the wealth of evidence available for the Royal High School certainly fills a gap, both in the history of childhood reading practices, which has thus far focused largely on evidence such as marginalia, letters, diaries and memoirs, and the history of the school library itself. Of course, this naturally leaves out the reading experiences of girls and young women, children from different social classes and ranks of society, and children from rural and small-town contexts. The Royal High School catered for a very specific class of boy in the capital and it is important to foreground this. However, a detailed look at what books these boys were provided with and the extent to which they engaged with these titles, what was read by the majority and what was read by individuals, can tell us a great deal about expectations and priorities of a specific class of boys who were being prepared to take part in an increasingly industrialised and cosmopolitan Edinburgh in the post-Enlightenment and pre-Victorian periods.

A number of critics have used evidence of actual reading experiences to augment our understanding of historical readers. As David Allan correctly points out in *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (2008) what is needed is a "more systematic analysis of the kinds of texts that actually found their way into different people's hands, as well as the practices that they might have employed when reading

them, rather than simply a study of the books that crowded the shelves of the libraries that they happened to frequent".[21]   Studies of this sort provide a more detailed and personal insight into the real experiences of individual readers and Stephen Colclough argues that a combination of theoretical and empirical analysis, based on a large variety of sources is key to constructing a full and complete picture of the historical reader.[22] A number of scholars have completed case studies focusing on library collections and their readers. These include W.R. Aitken,[23] David Allan,[24] Myrtle Anderson-Smith (Kirkwall Library),[25] Iain Beavan (Marischal College Library),[26] Alan Behler,[27] Richard C. Cole,[28] John Crawford,[29] Vivienne S. Dunstan (Gray Library, Haddington),[30] Jill Dye (Innerpeffray and Leighton Libraries),[31] Katie Halsey (Innerpeffray and Leighton Libraries),[32] Paul Kaufmann,[33] Keith Manley,[34] D. Cairns Mason,[35] Mark Olsen and

[21] David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008), p. 227

[22] Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) p. 3

[23] W.R. Aitken, *A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955* (Glasgow: Scottish Library Association, 1921)

[24] David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008)

[25] Myrtle Anderson-Smith, 'The Bibliothek of Kirkwall', *Northern Scotland*, 15 (1995), pp. 127-134

[26] Iain Beavan, 'Marischal College Library, Aberdeen, in the Nineteenth Century: An Overview', *Library & Information History,* 31 (2015), 258-279 [accessed via abdn.ac.uk] (page references relate to this version).

[27] Alan Behler, 'George Frederic Jones Borrowing Record, New York Society Library', *Edith Wharton Review* 28.2 (2012), 24-28

[28] Richard C. Cole, 'Community Lending Libraries in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Library Quarterly* 44.2 (1974), 111-123

[29] John Crawford, 'The Community Library in Scottish History', *IFLA Journal* 28.5-6 (2002), 245-255

[30] 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 and Vivienne S. Dunstan, 'Reading Habits in Scotland circa 1750-1820' (PhD Thesis, Dundee, 2010)

[31] Jill Dye, 'Books and their Borrowers at the Library of Innerpeffray c. 1680-1855' (PhD thesis, Stirling, 2018) and Jill Dye, 'Leighton Library Borrowers', *Journal for the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* XXII. 4 (2017), 136-140

[32] Katie Halsey, 'A "Quaint Corner" of the Reading Nation: Romantic Readerships in Rural Perthshire, 1780-1830', in Mark Towsey and Kyle Roberts, eds., *Before the Public Library: Reading, Community, and Identity in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2017)

[33] Paul Kaufmann, 'The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 57.7 (1967), 1-67; Paul Kaufmann, 'Leadhills: Library of Diggers', *Libri* 17.1 (1967), 13-20; Paul Kaufmann, *Libraries and their Users: Collected Papers in Library History* (London: Library Association, 1969); Paul Kaufmann, 'The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 59.3 (1965), 233-294; and Paul Kaufmann, 'A Unique Record of a People's Reading', *Libri* 14.3 (1964-5), 227-242

[34] K. A. Manley, *Books, Borrowers, and Shareholders: Scottish Circulating and Subscription Libraries Before 1825* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 2012)

[35] 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)

Louis-Georges Harvey,[36] James Raven.[37] Jonathan Rose,[38] Matthew Sangster (University of St Andrews Library and Glasgow University Library),[39] Matthew Simpson (University of St Andrews Library),[40] Mark Towsey,[41] Gordon Willis (Leighton Library),[42] and Graeme Young (Leighton Library).[43] The current *Books and Borrowing 1750-1830* project is exploring and digitizing the borrowing records of 16 historic libraries across Scotland and *Libraries, Reading Communities and Cultural Formation in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic* is creating an open-access database of library holdings, membership and usage in eighteenth-century Britain, Ireland and North America. The availability of this data will allow for more research surrounding the use of libraries and the part they played in print networks and readers' lives. It may be that as more and more records of this kind are unearthed and made available that the use of these libraries by children will be discovered. For the moment, the records at the Royal High School constitute the largest single dataset relating to child readers in the British Isles.

Children's literature as a distinct body of work is also difficult to define.[44] As Marah Gruber argues, though: "The fact that something is very difficult to define… does not mean that it does not exist or cannot be talked about."[45] In this thesis I make a distinction between children's literature, as works written for, published for, or marketed

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[36] 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

[37] James Raven, 'From promotion to proscription: arrangements for reading and eighteenth-century libraries', in James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor eds., *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

[38] Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010)

[39] Matthew Sangster, 'Copyright Literature and Reading Communities in Eighteenth-century St Andrews', *Review of English Studies* 68.287 (2017), 945-967

[40] Matthew Simpson, 'St Andrews University Library in the Eighteenth Century: Scottish Education and Print Culture' (PhD thesis, St Andrews, 1999)

[41] Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Mark Towsey, 'Store their Minds with Much Valuable Knowledge: Agricultural Improvement at the Selkirk Subscription Library, 1799-1814', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38.4 (2015), 569-584; and Mark Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America, c. 1750-c. 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019)

[42] Gordon Willis, 'The Leighton Library, Dunblane: its history and contents', *The bibliotheck* 10.6 (1981) and Gordon Willis, 'An Historic Library Conserved: The Leighton Library, Dunblane', *Library Review* 39.1(1990)

[43] Graeme Young, 'Leighton Library Borrowers of the Early Eighteenth Century', *Journal for the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* XX.4 (2009), 151-153. See also Giles Mandelbrote and K.A. Manley, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume II 1640-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Mark Towsey and Kyle Roberts, eds., *Before the Public Library: Reading, Community, and Identity in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[44] See Marah Gruber, 'On Not Defining Children's Literature', *PMLA* 126.1 (2011), 209-216 for a detailed discussion of the debates surrounding the definition of children's literature.

[45] Ibid, p. 213

to, children (or those supervising their reading), and the works written for adults but read by children. For example, in the former category, I place works such as Maria Edgeworth's *Popular Tales* (1804), and in the latter, novels such as Frances Burney's *Cecilia* (1782). The reading of the former category at the Royal High School from the 1780s onwards fits in with a wider recognition of children as a distinct group, and a distinct readership. This is also marked in this case study by the purchasing of these texts by the Royal High School for the library. By focusing here on what was read by children the conversation moves on from narrow definitions of children's literature and recognises that the boys at the Royal High School read both as children, in terms of embracing the works published for them, and in the same way that adults did in lending libraries of the period, in terms of enjoying other works that were not specifically written for children. Focusing on the history of reception in children's literature is an underexplored area but helps to challenge some of the received narratives surrounding the history of children's literature, particularly in the period discussed in this thesis. Though some work has been done on the children's literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much of the earlier work on the history of children's literature identified a so-called 'Golden Age' of writing for children in the Victorian period;[46] a straight-forward movement from books of instruction to books that delighted;[47] or argued that certain works were relegated to the nursery as adult literacy grew in the eighteenth century.[48]

Critics, such as Matthew Grenby in his *Edinburgh Critical Guide on Children's Literature* (2014), have moved the narrative surrounding children's literature away from some of these notions by identifying many of the earlier works written for and read by children (including many of those which appear in the Royal High School library and are borrowed by students). Grenby argues that "[t]exts have been produced for children since Roman times, and very probably before. Children in medieval and Renaissance Britain were certainly provided with a wide range of reading material, books produced primarily for older readers that they were permitted or encouraged to read, as well as texts designed specifically for them."[49] Furthermore, work on child readers and their reading experiences by critics such as Seth Lerer, Matthew Grenby and Kathleen McDowell

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[46] Humphrey Carter, *Secret Gardens: A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (London: George Allan & Unwin ltd., 1985), p. ix
[47] Peter Hunt, *An Introduction to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 30
[48] Ibid, p. 29
[49] Matthew Grenby, *Children's Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 2-3

(discussed below), which have engaged with the "history of reception" have provided a more holistic and realistic portrait of the historical child reader.[50]

In *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (2011), Grenby uses a combination of anecdotal and empirical evidence in order to provide a rich overview of the development of children's literature and the place of children as autonomous readers in the eighteenth century. The limited number of eighteenth-century records relating to school libraries included means that it is difficult to draw wide ranging conclusions based on these. Grenby, for example, concludes that "school libraries from this period, which occasionally remain intact, include no children's literature, though they are often surprisingly varied."[51] Evidence at the Royal High School, however, controverts Grenby's claims. The boys there engaged with works written for children as early as the 1770s. Other critics have looked at the broader reading lives of schoolchildren in the period. Jonathan Rose identifies a number of working-class child readers who had limited access to books either at home or through their schooling.[52] Catherine Sloan's PhD thesis examines school magazines and juvenile libraries in nineteenth-century England.[53] Kate Flint examines evidence of schoolgirl reading in *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (1995) identifying key differences between the reading lives of those who attended school and those who had a domestic education.[54]

The benefit of using library borrowers' records over anecdotal evidence of childhood reading practices is that it avoids the issue of the adult writer misremembering or embellishing their records of these practices. For example, in a letter in 1773, Anne Grant relays her experience of reading *Paradise Lost* (1667) "with delighted attention":

I will not tire you with the detail of all the little circumstances that gradually acquired me the place in her favour which I ever continued to possess. She [ie Aunt Schuyler] saw me reading Paradise Lost with delighted attention; she was astonished to see a child take pleasure in such a book.[55]

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[50] Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) p. 2
[51] Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 124
[52] Rose, pp. 371-2
[53] Catherine Sloan, 'The School Magazine in Victorian England', PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2019. See also Catherine Sloan, '"Periodicals of an objectionable character": Peers and Periodicals at Croydon Friends' School, 1826-1875' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 50.4 (2017), 769-786
[54] Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 123
[55] Anne Grant, *Letters from the mountains; being the real correspondence of a lady, between the year 1773 and 1807* (London, 1807), p.169

Matthew Grenby draws out other, similar, examples of precocious reading habits, stating that "[f]eats of early literacy, proudly recorded in various kinds of memoir, are often startling."[56] Grenby also marks out this type of precocious reading experience, recounted by an adult in letters and memoirs as a potentially unreliable aspect of anecdotal reading experiences.[57] Though these give a useful insight into memories of childhood reading practices, it is important to remember that these accounts have been filtered through the lens of the adult autobiographer. As William St Clair states: "even if we are willing to regard the written records of individual responses as reliable, as we probably normally should, they too are written texts which were produced by their authors, within the generic conventions of a specific historical time, with implied readers and intended rhetorical effects in mind."[58] In her introduction to the *Reading Experience Database,* Katie Halsey argues that written accounts of reading practice "tell us not only what their writers read, but, more interestingly, what they claimed to think."[59] Accounts of childhood reading practices ought to be treated with even more caution, as discussed below. Borrowers' records, though revealing nothing of what the readers thought of the books, or how closely they read them, avoid this problem and certainly provide an accurate record of the books that were in the hands of readers. Furthermore, they have the benefit of offering an insight into the habits of a community of readers, revealing a collective reading experience in a way which aligns with the following: "Reading communities, unlike mass audiences… did not merely passively consume whatever material came their way; instead, they strove actively to meet their own need for books, and in the process, redefined their collective identity through the act of reading."[60]

A certain degree of caution ought, of course, to be used when employing borrowers' records and library catalogues to construct an accurate representation of actual reading practices. Library records can only ever provide a record of intended reading practice, or what may have just been a passive engagement with a title (a book borrowed, but never read). In order to prove with any certainty that a title was actually read, these records would need to be augmented with further evidence recording a reader's opinion or

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[56] Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 39

[57] Grenby, *The Child Reader,* pp. 11-12

[58] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 4-5

[59] Katie Halsey, 'Reading the Evidence of Reading', *Popular Narrative Media*, 1.2 (2008), p. 129

[60] 'Introduction to Reading Communities', eds. Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone and Katie Halsey, *The History of Reading: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 274

thought about their reading, in the form of letters, diaries or the marginalia in books themselves.[61] The records of reading practices taking place within a school library should be treated with even more caution. While circulating libraries during the eighteenth century were treated with some suspicion because they "provid[ed] unsupervised access to literature,"[62] the school library is, by its very nature, a place for supervised reading. The titles were chosen and purchased by the teachers and, in many cases, the borrowers' records of pupils are countersigned by their teacher indicating the level of control the schoolmasters had over the pupils' reading choices. When considering the school library, the methodological approach needs to take into consideration the supervised nature of the reading practices that occur in this type of institution. Questions of power and influence of adults over children are important in any discussion of children's literature and childhood reading practices, and particularly those taking place in the school environment where the educator has a high level of control over the pupil and his reading.

In 'Toward a History of Children as Readers, 1890-1930' Kathleen McDowell argues that "children's unusual powerlessness in relationship to adults… requires a separate lens."[63] She also emphasises the problem with certain histories of childhood which are "limited to evidence based on adult perceptions of or even nostalgia for childhood,"[64] with the result that "evidence of children's actual lives are [sic] lost behind layers of adult interpretation."[65] To a certain extent the nature of the evidence available at the Royal High School avoids this problem, as the borrowers' registers simply record the facts of pupils' names, the books borrowed, the dates and, in some cases, the teacher supervising this exchange. However, it is still vital to view this evidence with an eye on the potential control that the teachers had over the pupils' reading habits, and to concede that the texts borrowed by these children may not have been the ones they would have chosen to read. In some cases, these books may just have been the ones they were encouraged to borrow from the library by teachers and may have been left unopened once past the library doors. It is also important to note that, potentially, these children would have had access to a broader range of literature outside of the school. Despite this, it is

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[61] For a full discussion of the limitations of borrowers' records as evidence of reading see Jill Dye, 'Books and their Borrowers at the Library of Innerpeffray c. 1680-1855' (PhD thesis, Stirling, 2018), pp. 10-14

[62] Matthew Grenby, 'Adults Only? Children and Children's Books in British Circulating Libraries, 1748-1848', *Book History* 5.1 (2002) p. 27

[63] McDowell, Kathleen, 'Toward a History of Children as Readers, 1890-1930', *Book History* 12.1 (2009) p. 241

[64] Ibid, p. 244

[65] Ibid, p. 244

still possible to use this evidence to reveal something about the types of reading experiences of children at the Royal High School during the long eighteenth century.

Lending records thus have their limitations in how accurately they reflect the actual reading habits of the borrowers, in that it is impossible to know what happened to the text once it was in the hands of the reader. However, they can reveal the broader pedagogical concerns of the teachers at the Royal High School. They also give an indication of, if not the interests of individual pupils, at least of the types of texts they were encouraged to read. It is often difficult to discern between these two uses of the school library: directed and recreational reading. However, as will be discussed in this thesis, there is evidence of the lending records reflecting the individual tastes and interests of the school pupils.

The history of childhood reading practices and the history of education are inextricably interconnected. Jonathan Rose argues that the history of education is also the history of texts because "all texts educate"[66] and that educational records can provide a valuable insight into "literacy acquisition and early reading habits."[67] It is therefore essential that any attempt at a history of childhood reading practice takes into account the texts engaged with at school, whether in the school library or through the curriculum, despite the limitations of this type of evidence. Though the broad assertion that "all texts educate" is problematic, this thesis argues that the texts encountered through the school library constitute an informal curriculum which supplements and augments the formal education received at the Royal High School. It is not surprising that the schoolmasters of the Royal High School curated and supervised the library collections and the boys' engagement with these. As discussed in chapter two, the question of appropriate reading materials for children was one which was particularly contentious and was fervently debated throughout the long eighteenth century by both writers and educational practitioners. More work has recently been done on nineteenth-century school and juvenile libraries. Catherine Sloan's research, for example, supports the notion of a shared reading practice in school, which Matthew Grenby also identifies as a unique feature of reading in school.[68] Sloan concludes that:

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[66] Jonathan Rose, 'The History of Education as the History of Reading', *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 36:4-5, p. 595
[67] Ibis, p. 597
[68] Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 160

> Paradoxically, while schools were ideal sites to control and shape juvenile reading practices, they were also sites where plural and shifting definitions of juvenile reading emerged, as pupils often shared with classmates the varied books and periodicals they had read at home[69].

Though there is no direct evidence of children sharing books at the Royal High School, the huge popularity of specific texts such as *World Displayed* suggests that there was a shared reading practice. Though it is difficult to ascertain the reasons for the popularity of any particular text, it certainly suggests that there were unrecorded discussions about reading materials occurring in school, either as word-of-mouth recommendations between pupils or as pedagogically-informed suggestions from teachers.

Although the focus on one particular school, and a fairly atypical one at that, does have limitations when discussing wider trends in Scottish education and the reading habits of schoolchildren in this period, it is hoped that this case study, given the richness of the surviving records, will prove to be a useful addition to scholarship which has discussed both public libraries more broadly and other types of evidence of childhood reading practices in this period, such as marginalia, letters, and diaries. By comparing the available evidence for school libraries in chapter one, it can be seen that the Royal High School was unique both in the scope of its collections and in the purpose of the school library, with many school libraries in the same period focusing a great deal more on religious and moral reading than we see here. From existing library records, it is clear that the library at the Royal High School was unusual in both the size and scope of its collections and the lack of focus on religious and morally improving works. There is, of course, a class distinction made here, where pupils at parish, charity and hospital schools were perceived as being in a greater need of a moral education than the boys of the middling and upper ranks of polite Edinburgh society, but it is nonetheless notable that these boys were not seen as being in the same moral danger as other children in the period. Rather they were being prepared for roles in society much more in keeping with both Enlightenment values and an increasingly industrialised, imperial Britain.

Overall, this thesis adds to our understanding of childhood reading practices in this period, the role of the school library, and shifting educational practices in Scotland in the period between 1750 and 1850. I argue that in the second half of the eighteenth century,

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[69] Sloan, 'Periodicals of an objectionable nature', pp. 778-9

the school library fulfilled a particular need for the schoolboys as part of an informal curriculum at a time when a more useful and modern education was needed (as recognised in the literature discussed in chapter two of this thesis), but before the formal curriculum was reformed to fulfil this need. Once the school curriculum was reformed in the 1820s, the role of the school library shifted to allow for more leisure reading, for the boys to engage with a growing print culture including novels, periodicals and eventually children's literature, with children finally recognised as a distinct group of readers with the need for a literature of their own.

Chapter One: The Practice of Education and Reading in Scotland, 1750-1850

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an historical context around education and reading practices in Lowland Scotland, focusing primarily on Edinburgh, but also drawing on available evidence from elsewhere. By moving from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, it is possible to see the extent to which education, and access to reading materials, was democratised across Lowland Scotland during this period. More relevantly for the case study of the Royal High School discussed in the rest of the thesis, educational practices were shifting in line with changing societal needs. As well as more and more young people from the lower ranks of society gaining access to books and education, and the perceived importance of this increasing towards the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a growing sense of a need for useful and practical subjects for boys of the middle and upper classes, particularly in Edinburgh.[70] The inclusion of other records here helps to determine the extent to which the educational and reading practices at the Royal High School were representative or atypical for the period. This contextualisation also provides the historical background to the discussion of idealised educational and reading practices in the second chapter, which addresses the extent to which fictional accounts of education and reading in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries correlated with and matched up to the experiences of young people at the time.

This chapter will, first of all, look at educational practice in Lowland Scotland between the years 1750 and 1850, before looking in more detail at the situation in Edinburgh. Here, it will also look at university education in Scotland at the time to the extent that it had an impact on school curricula. It will then go on to examine reading practices in Lowland Scotland in the same period, with a focus on school and university libraries in Edinburgh and beyond. Statistical accounts and institutional records are supplemented with biographical evidence where possible to examine the early reading and didactic experiences of young people in this period. By examining how children and young people accessed books and education across Lowland Scotland, this chapter will argue that young people encountered texts in several different, and often unexpected, ways and that these reading practices complemented, supplemented, and in many cases,

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[70] As defined in the introduction, *useful education* was one that better prepared children for modern life in an increasingly industrialised and cosmopolitan society. It was intended to prepare them for university and included subjects more closely connected with the professions that they would enter.

compensated for their experiences of education.[71] The role of the school library in this education was as a supplement to the curriculum. It also acted as a compensation for the gaps in the school curricula, and this will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, with the selection of texts available in the school library reflecting the changing needs of the schoolboys and pre-empting curricular changes.

Schooling in Scotland, 1750-1850

In the eighteenth century, education for young boys and girls of the middling ranks of society often began at home under the guidance of a family member or private tutor. It is important to note here, as Michèle Cohen argues, that "any discussion of the education of girls (and boys) in middling and upper ranks in the eighteenth century is that it was inflected by the public/private debate". [72] While there was both support and criticism for the public education of boys, there was a great deal of opposition to boarding schools for girls, with the preference for them to be educated at home by a mother or governess.[73] In Scotland, for those who were educated publicly, children of all ranks of society were often sent to parish or burgh schools between the ages of seven and nine, with boys and girls educated together in many cases from the 1750s.[74] Critics have often marked out Scotland's early and relatively well-developed national school system as unique in Europe in this period. Donald J. Withrington, for example, argues that by the early seventeenth century, "there is good evidence that in the majority of Lowland parishes there was schooling of some kind"[75] and stresses the impact that this had on Scotland's higher than average literacy rates, or at least the assumption that "Scotland had enjoyed a substantially superior progress in education and literacy when compared to England".[76] David Vincent argues that "[p]rior to 1800 a handful of countries in the north and north-west of Europe had achieved something like mass literacy in terms of

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[71] The majority of this chapter will focus on Lowland Scotland but in order to give a full picture of higher education in Scotland in the period, the Aberdeen colleges will also be dealt with. It is important, however, to note that there are key differences in the general intellectual and educational culture of the north-east which are outwith the scope of this project.

[72] Michèle Cohen, 'A Little Learning'? The Curriculum and the Construction of Gender Difference in the Long Eighteenth Century', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (2006), p. 322

[73] Ibid, pp. 322-3

[74] See James Grant, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools Volume 2* (Edinburgh: 1876), pp. 535-537

[75] Donald J. Withrington, *Going to School* (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 1997), p. 11

[76] Houston, *Scottish Literacy*, p. 4

reading skills".[77] In this small list, Vincent includes Scotland.[78] R.A. Houston challenged this assumption, arguing that "[e]ven the most basic statistics on Scottish literacy attainments for any period before the nineteenth century are lacking."[79] The evidence from the *Statistical Accounts* discussed in this chapter certainly suggests that more of an emphasis was placed on literacy for the poor in Scotland than in England. David Vincent argues that the purpose of schooling for the poor in England, even by the 1830s, was moral education, rather than literacy.[80] These differences in schooling are further discussed on pp. 27-8. However, due to a lack of evidence surrounding childhood reading practices there is little research surrounding literacy levels among children in this period.

In terms of a national educational provision, R.D. Anderson argues that, although the church was responsible for much of the public education in the eighteenth century, there was "statutory backing" from the state which resulted in "an unusually uniform and effective national system of parish schools".[81] More recently, Tom Devine has argued that "it was a 'national system', not unique, but certainly still uncommon in western Europe."[82] This parochial system of education operated between 1696 and the introduction of compulsory education under the Education Act of 1872. The Educational Act of 1696 made it a legal requirement for every parish in Scotland to have a school.[83] Tom Devine has argued that "the Act anent (concerning) the Settling of Schools in 1696 was the climax of a process of school foundation which had been going on apace in earlier decades" and that "by the 1660s it was already a 'normal thing' for a Lowland parish to have a school under supervision of the kirk session and partly supported by a tax on local landowners".[84] There is a general lack of complete records relating to eighteenth-century educational provision across Scotland, particularly in comparison to the nineteenth century. However, a partial picture of the level of provision can be gleaned from the first *Statistical Account* of the 1790s and other contemporary sources. The *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* were collated by Sir John Sinclair, Member of Parliament for Caithness at Westminster, based on the responses of parish ministers to a range of questions designed

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[77] Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy,* p. 8
[78] Ibid, p. 8
[79] Ibid, p. 11
[80] Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, p. 75
[81] R.D. Anderson, *Scottish Education Since the Reformation,* (Dundee: The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1997), p. 4
[82] T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006) p. 68
[83] 'October 9 1696: Act for Settling of Schools', *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707 (RPS)* 1696/9/144 < https://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1696/9/146 > [last accessed 16/03/2021]
[84] Devine, p. 68

to get a sense of the "quantum of happiness" in Scottish communities and to provide a means for planning "future improvement".[85] The first of these records was completed in 1799 and the second in 1845, with the later *Account* much richer and more detailed, and crucially, containing records of the library provision in each parish. These records ought to be used with some degree of caution, in that they are subjective accounts. However, they are useful in offering a full picture of educational and library provision, alongside a detailed description of the demographics of communities and the services and resources available to them.

As evidenced in the *Statistical Accounts*, in the Highlands, and in some parts of the rural Lowlands, parish schools were supplemented by schools established by the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The SSPCK was created by Royal Charter in 1709 to found schools "where religion and virtue might be taught to young and old" in the Scottish Highlands and other "uncivilised" areas of the country.[86] In the *Statistical Account* of the 1790s, William Creech states that "in 1792… an hundred and sixty thousand children have been educated by this society, and there are ten thousand in their schools this year 1792".[87] Furthermore, "[p]rivate adventure schools designed to fill geographical or religious gaps left by the parochial system were an important part of the network of schools in rural areas in the eighteenth century".[88] There is limited surviving evidence surrounding these schools from the eighteenth century, also referred to as private, venture, or adventure schools, but it is clear that they contributed to the overall system of public educational provision in Lowland Scotland.

In terms of urban educational records, James Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland* (1876) provides a well-researched and referenced overview of educational provision in eighteenth-century Scottish towns, but more recent criticism is limited. Lindy Moore offers a brief overview of urban educational provision in her chapter in *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (2015). Here she argues that the towns "supported a higher concentration of gentry and families from the expanding middle ranks… which led to a greater availability and higher standard of schooling."[89] There was

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[85] 'An Introduction to the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*', <https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/support/introduction> [last accessed 17/03/2021]

[86] 'Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge', < http://www.sspck.co.uk/ > [last accessed 16/03/2021]

[87] William Creech, *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, Vol. VI, p. 590

[88] Ewen A. Cameron, 'Education in Rural Scotland, 1696-1872', *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 155-156

[89] Lindy Moore, 'Urban Schooling in 17th- and 18th-Century Scotland', *The Edinburgh History of*

a variety of schools available to children in the towns of Scotland including hospital schools which were aimed at the children of burgesses, merchants and guildsmen. These schools were "designed to ensure that people of the middling ranks retained their status within the burgh even if they fell into poverty."[90] Other educational provision in the cities was provided through town councils. In Edinburgh, for example, four "English schools" [91] were established in 1759 to provide a public education to the middling ranks of society away from the traditional Latin Grammar or Scots systems.[92] Provision for the poor at that time took the form of charity workhouses, and orphan or pauper schools, which were supported by "private individuals from the urban middling ranks who established a variety of educational institutions in increasing numbers in the Scottish towns in the second half of the eighteenth century".[93] At the same time, a public education for both boys and girls of the upper ranks of society was becoming more common in the cities' grammar schools, and by the end of the eighteenth century, private boarding schools for young ladies were increasingly popular.[94] The number of public schools available to children of this rank of society grew exponentially in the first half of the nineteenth century. This growth in public educational provision at the beginning of the nineteenth century, alongside a growing provision for children of the lower ranks of society points to an element of de-classicisation of the certain parts of the education system.

It is worth noting here the primary differences between public educational provision in Scotland and England at that time. In comparison with the extensive parish school network in Scotland, in England, the most common provision of education for children of the lower ranks of society in the eighteenth century was through endowed schools which taught "religion and the three Rs".[95] R.A. Houston argues that in the period 1750-1850, "English Sunday schools were helping to improve the overall standard of literacy for many children."[96] Houston contradicts the belief that Scotland had a considerably more advanced network of schools than England in the eighteenth century,

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Education in Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), p. 80
[90] Moore, p. 87
[91] English schools were so-called to emphasise that teaching took place in English, rather than Latin or Scots.
[92] Moore, p. 89
[93] Ibid, p. 89
[94] Ibid, p. 90
[95] M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement; A Study of Eighteenth-Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 15
[96] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity,* p. 117

arguing that "the variety of educational provisions was considerable."[97] Joan Simon argues that, earlier than this, there were "schools in England administered by local authorities comparable to the smaller burgh and parish schools of Scotland."[98] Nonetheless, the type of education provided in England and Scotland did differ. Deirdre Raftery *et al.*, for example, argue that the parish schools in Scotland contributed to developing "a common culture for the whole nation, in contrast to the social (and indeed sexual) segregation of English education."[99] Although, this does not take into account the regional variation in parish schools (particularly relevant in parishes where Gaelic was discouraged and the SSPCK schools, therefore, had a great presence), it does account for some of the larger differences in educational provision between England and Scotland in the eighteenth century.

In terms of school curricula, provision also varied between the urban and rural contexts in Scotland with a further divide along class lines. As indicated in *The Statistical Account,* the curriculum in the rural parish schools was a basic one, though many did teach Latin alongside the basics of reading and writing in English and arithmetic. For example, in Campsie in Stirlingshire, "there were thirteen Latin scholars at the two parish schools; the other children are certain of being taught to read English, write and cast accompts".[100] The first works the children were taught to read were the Bible and catechisms. This is supported by anecdotal evidence, such as that of James Hogg, who was educated in a parish school in the Scottish Borders:

> The schoolhouse, however, being almost at our door, I had attended it for a short time, and had the honour of standing at the head of a juvenile class, who read the Shorter Catechism and the Proverbs of Solomon.[101]

In the SSPCK schools, the curriculum was varied, but generally basic. For example, in Kilbrandon and Kilchattan in Argyle there were three schools, one parochial and two supported by the SSPCK, where children were taught "reading, writing, arithmetic, and church music"[102] and the children at the SSPCK school in Cargill, Perthshire were taught

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[97] Ibid, pp. 116-7

[98] Unspecified work by Joan Simon cited in Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, p. 117

[99] Deirdre Raftery *et al.*, 'Social Change and Education in Ireland, Scotland and Wales: Historiography on Nineteenth-Century Schooling' *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 36:4-5 (2007), p. 449

[100] *Statistical Account 1791-1799*, Campsie, County of Stirling, OSA, vol. XV, 1795, p. 371

[101] James Hogg, Gillian Hughes (ed.), *Altrive Tales*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 12

[102] *Statistical Account 1791-1799*, Kilbrandon and Kilchattan, County of Argyle, OSA, vol. XIV, 1795, p. 166

to "read, write and cypher".[103] The private venture (or adventure) schools, mentioned earlier, which were introduced in some parishes to compensate for an increase in population in some areas, also contributed to the education of rural children. For example, by the late eighteenth century, in Fife, as many children were taught in these private venture schools as in the local parish schools.[104]

Schooling in Edinburgh, 1750-1850

Tom Devine argues that the parish school system was not necessarily suited to densely-populated urban areas and so public educational provision in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century was generally poorer than in the rural parishes.[105] However, in the case of Edinburgh, I would argue that it was not necessarily poorer, but due to less of a reliance on the parish school system, was more of a patchwork educational system made up of various types of schools. The first *Statistical Account* provides some insight into the types of schools in Edinburgh from 1763 onwards, and the number of children educated publicly. It gives details from ten parishes: Canongate, the High Church, the Old Church, Little Church, Lady Yesters, Old Greyfriar's, St. Andrews, St Cuthbert's, South Leith, and North Leith. However, most detail comes from William Creech's letters describing changes in the city between 1763 and 1783, which are included as an appendix to *The Statistical Account*. These letters reveal some of the anxieties and preoccupations surrounding educational provision in the burgh towards the end of the eighteenth century. It is also possible to supplement this information with contemporary historical accounts such as Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh* (1779). Here I will discuss the public education available to students, both boys and girls, of the middle and upper ranks of society, before going on to explore the parish and burgh schools within the city, and provision for the poor.

The Royal High School was the largest grammar school in Edinburgh itself. The closest grammar schools were in Leith (now Leith Academy) from 1521 and Dalkeith from approximately 1582.[106] Besides this, provision was similar to that in more rural parishes with a variety of smaller schools in each of the Edinburgh parishes, with the

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[103] *Statistical Account 1791-1799*, Cargill, County of Perth, OSA, vol. XIII, 1794, p. 545
[104] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Identity*, p. 115
[105] Devine, p. 93
[106] Leith was only merged with Edinburgh in 1920 and was historically a separate burgh. Dalkeith was the main burgh of Midlothian and is approximately eight miles from Edinburgh.

exception of the hospital schools. Hospital schools educated the sons and daughters of tradesmen and merchants in this period.[107] These schools included George Heriot's Hospital, founded for the education of the sons of burgesses in 1624 and which by 1791 had "125 boys, who are maintained and educated from 7 to 14 years" and George Watson's Hospital "a charitable foundation for the education of boys, the sons and grandsons of decayed merchant members of the Merchant Company" where 70 boys were "maintained and educated from eight to fifteen years of age".[108] High aspirations were held for boys attending George Heriot's Hospital, the most talented of whom went on to "the grammar school" (the Royal High School) to receive a more thorough grounding in Latin before being admitted to the university or taking apprenticeships. Once the boys had learned to "read and write Scots distinctly, and the Latin *Rudiments*, they shall be put out to the free Grammar School of Edinburgh, there to be taught until such time as they be either fit for the Colledge [sic], or to be Prentices."[109] In *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (1849), William Steven writes that this practice "continued for more than a century and a half… and till the governors determined that the Latin language should be taught in the Hospital by a resident master".[110]

As mentioned above, parish and burgh schools also played a part in the educational provision in Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century, though as Devine argues, this network of schools was less prominent in the cities than in the countryside. There is just one mentioned in the *Statistical Account* for 1793, in North Leith. Here, it is noted, there was an "established" parish school which taught Latin, arithmetic and, reading and writing in English.[111] Education for the poor is also explored in the *Statistical Account*. It is noted that a Sunday school was established in 1790 in North Leith, funded by the Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, "where 100 children attend" which "is of the greatest benefit to the place". It goes on to state that "young people, who were formerly brought up in the profoundest ignorance, and grossly mispent [sic] the Sabbath day, are now taught a reverence for it, and are educated in the principles of religion and morals".[112] This reveals the anxiety surrounding the religious and moral

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[107] The Merchant Maiden Hospital and Trades Maiden Hospital are discussed on p. 34.
[108] William Creech, *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, Vol. VI, p. 598
[109] William D.D. Steven, *History of George Heriot's Hospital with a memoir of the Founder and an Account of the Heriot Foundation Schools* (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1872), pp. 32-33
[110] William D.D. Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart, 1849), p. 63
[111] *Statistical Account 1791-1799*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, vol. VI, 1793, pp. 575-6
[112] Ibid, p. 576

education of the poor, which was the primary concern surrounding the education of this group in the eighteenth century. This runs contrary to the education provided at the Royal High School which, as discussed further in chapter three, did not see the moral education of the schoolboys as part of its remit. As will be discussed later in this chapter, there was however a widening of the type of education provided for the poor in many parishes at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with a greater focus on industry and other academic skills, as well as a religious and moral education. Other provision for the poor includes brief mentions of charity workhouses. For example, in the parish of Canongate, it is reported that there was a charity workhouse which was "built by subscription" in 1761 which housed 35 children in 1793.[113] However, the provision for the children of the lower ranks of society was not as extensive in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century as it became in the early nineteenth century, with the establishment of a greater network of pauper schools.

It becomes much easier to provide a more nuanced picture of educational provision in the nineteenth century. The *Statistical Account* of the 1830s and 40s is much more detailed than the earlier 1790s version, with the ministers "given specific instructions to present information about education".[114] Early education for boys and girls in both the cities and rural Scotland took place in several different settings including charity schools, parish or burgh schools, workhouses and hospital schools.[115] By this point, the number and types of schools had greatly increased. Throughout the first part of the nineteenth century, the growing numbers of children who were educated publicly culminated in the Education Act of 1872, which brought about compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and thirteen across Scotland organised under school boards. The numbers and types of schools reflect a growing need and desire for a public education for children of all social ranks at the beginning of the nineteenth century and a growing need for an educated and skilled workforce within an increasingly industrial society.

In the rural context, the archetype of the 'Lad o' Pairts' also became a significant aspect of the popular imagination relating to rural schooling at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The 'Lad o' Pairts' was the figure of the talented working-class boy

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[113] Ibid, pp. 567-8
[114] Cameron, p. 159
[115] Matthew Daniel Eddy, 'The child writer: graphic literacy and the Scottish educational system, 1700-1820', *History of Education* 45(6) (2016), 695-718, p. 697

who attained a certain degree of social mobility through hard work and the uniquely democratic Scottish education system.[116] Though a contested concept,[117] the mythical figure of the 'Lad o' Pairts' stemmed from the belief that parish schools offered a democratised education for all sons in the countryside, enabling them to go on and attend university. This figure became a cultural fixation in the nineteenth century,[118] and, whether justifiably or not, as Helen Corr argues, "reinforced the prevailing belief that the Scottish education system was more meritocratic and superior to the English one".[119] This archetype was supported by a fashion for working-class memoirs written by self-educated, well-read and motivated young men. These memoirs often reveal a good deal about reading experiences for young men of this social background. There is further evidence to suggest that boys from a working-class background were well placed, by the parochial school system, to access university education and engage in auto-didacticism.[120] In terms of an urban context, several schools were established which focused specifically on industrial and professional skills. There is also evidence at that time of an element of shared practice between Scotland and England, particularly in the education of a growing working class.

An example of this shared practice can be seen in the adoption of the Lancastrian system by schools in Edinburgh and New Lanark. Joseph Lancaster, who opened his first school in 1798, adopted a strict discipline and a "monitorial" system under which older and more advanced pupils would assist in the instruction of less-educated pupils. The curriculum focused on reading, writing, arithmetic, morals and the development of memory skills and emphasized rote-learning.[121] The Lancastrian System was adopted by schools as part of the Edinburgh Education Society and by Robert Owen in his establishment of schools at New Lanark where he "wished to take these children out of those evil conditions".[122] Owen states that "[w]hile in Manchester, my mind had been

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[116] Robert Anderson, 'In Search of the 'Lad of Parts': the Mythical History of Scottish Education', *History Workshop Journal* 19.1 (1985), p. 84

[117] Linda Fleming, David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 'In a Class of their Own: the Autodidact Impulse and Working-Class Readers in Twentieth-Century Scotland', in Katie Halsey and W.R. Owens eds., *The History of Reading: Evidence from the British Isles c. 1750-1950* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 193

[118] Robert Anderson, p. 84

[119] Helen Corr, 'Teachers and Gender: debating the myths of equal opportunities in Scottish education 1800-1914', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 27:3, p. 356

[120] Robert Anderson, p. 85

[121] Ronald Rayman, 'Joseph Lancaster's Monitorial System of Instruction and American Indian Education, 1815-1838', *History of Education Quarterly,* 21:4 (1981), p. 397

[122] Robert Owen, 'The Life of Robert Own Written by Himself'*,* < https://www.robertowenmuseum.co.uk/robert-owen/>, [last accessed 31/03/2021]

deeply impressed with the importance of education. I watched Lancaster in his early attempts to instruct the poor, and assisted him, from first to last, with a thousand pounds".[123] Another popular monitorial system in Scotland was Andrew Bell's Madras System. Bell was a Scottish Episcopalian priest from St Andrews, attending St Andrews University and graduating in 1774. The system was like the Lancastrian model, in that more able pupils taught the rest, allowing one schoolmaster to oversee a large school, "which leaves to the master the simple and easy charge of directing, regulating and controlling his intellectual and moral machine".[124] The main subjects taught were reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, morality and religion.[125] Bell founded two schools in Fife: Madras College in St Andrews, which was an amalgamation of the grammar school and the 'English' school; and Madras Academy in Cupar. The system was widely adopted across the British Empire.[126]

There was therefore a growing interest in different systems and methods of education both in Scotland and England, with a growing element of shared practice between the two. In both a rural and urban context there was an increased emphasis on an education which would prepare young men to take part in and contribute to an increasingly industrialised economy in the first half of the nineteenth century. This is also evident specifically at the Royal High School, as discussed in chapter three.

Records relating to educational provision in Edinburgh are also much more detailed for the nineteenth century than the eighteenth. *The New Statistical Account* is more comprehensive than its predecessor and with the founding of several new schools, it is possible to trace more archival evidence of school curricula and public provision in this period in the archival records of these individual institutions.

At the hospital schools, the curriculum at George Watson's Hospital in the 1830s and 40s is reported to have consisted of "English, Latin, Greek, and other necessary branches of education".[127] In his history of the Merchant Company schools, John Harrison describes in more detail the education received in these schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

They are taught by the best masters, Reading, English, Latin, Greek, and French,

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Andrew Bell, *The Madras School, or Elements of Tuition* (London: J. Murray, 1808), p. 3

[125] Ibid, p. 2

[126] Edmund F. Robertson, 'William Oughterlonie – St Andrews educational reformer', *Madras College Archive* < http://www.madrascollegearchive.org.uk/Foundations/WilliamOughterLoniePaper.pdf> [last accessed 31/03/2021]

[127] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 723

so as to be ready for the University. They are made perfect in writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping. They are also taught geography; and are now furnished with a proper library of books.[128]

Boys at George Watson's Hospital received bursaries upon leaving school which indicate the aspirations this type of charitable organisation had for its students:

Each boy on leaving the hospital receives L. 50 as an apprentice fee, paid by instalments of L. 10 a-year; and on his attaining the age of 25 years, if unmarried and producing certificates of his good behaviour, he receives L.50 more. Such as make choice of a university education get L. 20 a-year for five years.[129]

By the 1830s and 40s, 180 boys attended the school and the curriculum consisted of "English, Latin, Greek, French, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, book-keeping, and geography" and boys wishing to proceed onto "any of the learned professions, are sent to college for four years, with an allowance of L. 30 a-year from the hospital".[130]

In terms of public hospital education for girls in the period, two hospital schools educated girls: the Merchant Maiden Hospital, founded by voluntary contributions in 1695 and the Trades Maiden Hospital, founded in 1704.[131] John Harrison presents archival evidence of the education that took place within the Merchant Maiden Hospital in the nineteenth century:

Of late there have been great improvements made in the education of the girls in the Hospital, the Governors having appointed masters of much greater experience than formerly to teach them in regular classes.[132]

The *Statistical Account of 1834-45* records the curriculum of the Merchant Maiden Hospital as consisting of "English, French, arithmetic, writing, geography, history, dancing, and needle-work. The fees for drawing, music, and the higher accomplishments are defrayed by the friends of those pupils who require them".[133] At the Trades Maiden Hospital, daughters of "decayed tradesmen" were provided with education and living standards which are "plain, but substantial; and on leaving the hospital, each girl receives L5, 11s., and a Bible".[134]

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[128] John Harrison, *Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh and its schools* (Edinburgh: The Merchant's Hall, 1920) p. 19

[129] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 723

[130] Ibid, p. 723

[131] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 724

[132] Harrison, p. 19

[133] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 724

[134] Ibid, p. 724

Besides these hospital schools aimed at the education of sons and daughters of merchant burgesses, several other schools of various types were established at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By the time of the publication of the *Statistical Account of 1834-45*, educational provision for children of the lower ranks of Edinburgh society had greatly increased. Some 'day-schools' were established in various parts of the city (Heriot Bridge, Old Assembly Close, Borthwick Close, Cowgate Port and High School Yards) by George Heriot's Hospital, including two infant schools, which were "attended by upwards of 2000 children".[135] It is reported that "from the efficient manner in which they are conducted, [these] promise to be of the utmost benefit for the general diffusion of education among the lower orders".[136] Moreover, several burgh and Sunday schools had also been established:

> Schools for the education of the lower classes have been established in connection with the kirk sessions of the different parishes. Two schools founded by the late Dr Bell are also in full operation, one in Niddry Street, attended by 500 pupils – one in Greenside, attended by about the same number.
>
> The Edinburgh Education Society School, conducted on the Lancasterian system, has upwards of 600 pupils.
>
> *Sunday Schools* – The first Society for the promotion of Sabbath schools was formed in 1786; and the gratis Sabbath School Society in 1797. In 1812 the presbytery of Edinburgh instituted parochial Sabbath schools in every parish; and these have since increased in number and efficiency.[137]

The range of educational opportunities for children of the lower ranks of Edinburgh had therefore greatly increased by the 1830s and 40s, compared to the small numbers of children attending hospital or charity schools reported in *The Statistical Account 1791-99*. The hospital schools in the eighteenth century were largely aimed at the sons and daughters of tradesmen, merchants and burgesses and therefore the middling ranks of society, who may have fallen on hard times, or the "corporate poor".[138] There is a much larger provision for poorer children reported in the *Statistical Account 1834-45*, with thousands of children attending the "outdoor schools" of Heriot's Trust, Sabbath, kirk session and society schools in the city.

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[135] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 685
[136] Ibid, p. 685
[137] Ibid, p. 685
[138] Moore, p. 87

There was also educational provision for orphan and destitute children, both boys and girls. There was an orphan hospital in the city; "a charitable foundation for maintaining and educating orphans (boys and girls) from any quarter of the kingdom"[139] which was supported by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.[140] By 1832, this school accommodated 200 orphan children and for the benefaction of L.200 which entitled a donor to present a child for admission, "a good plain education is given to both sexes, and the girls are exercised in the domestic duties of the house to train them for servants".[141] In 1830, James Donaldson of Broughton Hall left his "property, heritable and personal, to build and found an hospital for boys and girls, to be called Donaldson's Hospital, preferring those of the name Donaldson and Marshall, - to be after the plan of the Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh and John Watson's Hospital [sic]".[142] This school was an early example of Special Needs education as it admitted both hearing and deaf children, making Donaldson's Hospital unique in Britain at the time. Children with hearing impairments were to be "taught the usual branches of education – the English Language, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, and Drawing".[143]

In 1834 more detailed plans for the education of the hearing children were laid out. The "course of the education" was "to fit the Boys for trades, and the Girls for House-Servants."[144] Boys were taught "English, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and a little Mathematics; but this last to be taught only to the best Scholars" and girls: "English, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Sewing, Knitting, and Spinning".[145] The focus on practical skills was aligned with the aspirations for those poorer pupils. However, the curriculum for boys is significantly more modern than that found even in the parish and burgh schools of the eighteenth century. In 1839 greater consideration was given to the subjects taught to the hearing children. The pedagogical aims of the school remained unchanged, with the 1839 report quoting directly from the recommendations of

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[139] William Creech, *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, Vol. VI, p. 598
[140] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 724
[141] Ibid, p. 725
[142] Donaldson's Hospital, *History of the School from 1 October, 1924* (National Library of Scotland, ACC11896/197)
[143] Donaldson's Hospital, *Answers to Queries, and a few remarks on the Proposal to devote part of Donaldson's Hospital to the Deaf and Dumb* (National Library of Scotland, ACC11896/66)
[144] Donaldson's Hospital, *Minute of Meeting of Mr Donaldson's Trustees, held 22 July 1834* (National Library of Scotland, ACC11896/66)
[145] Ibid

the 1834 report, but more detail is added to the programme of education. As well as the subjects for boys mentioned above:

> The Committee do not consider it expedient that the children should be instructed in trades in the Hospital; but as calculated to interest and enliven the young mind, and to call into operation faculties and powers which might otherwise remain undiscovered and unexercised, care should be taken that the Boys who shew [sic] any aptitude for it should be instructed in the elements of Mechanical Sciences and Natural History, and that every encouragement should be afforded in pursuing these investigations. They should also be taught Mechanical and Architectural Drawing, and their attention should, as the House-Governor may arrange, be directed to Gardening and Floriculture, - pursuits at once interesting, instructive, and useful.[146]

There was therefore, as with the education at the hospital schools for the merchant and burgess classes, a desire to improve the young minds as well as prepare them for future work. The girls' programme of education is similarly expanded upon:

> The Committee recommend that these Girls should be taught by the Female Teachers English, the Elements of Geography, Sewing, and Knitting; and that the Male Teachers should instruct these Girls in Writing and Arithmetic, and should also instruct the more advanced Classes of them in English and Geography; and that the Girls should also be taught Washing, Ironing, the management of the Kitchen Department, and the duties of House-Maids.[147]

The division of subjects between male and female teachers further emphasises the gendered split of subjects. These were not limited to the tasks associated with either trades or housewifery, which were gendered, but also to academic subjects such as English and Geography, the basics of which could be taught by a female teacher with the more advanced classes being taught by a male teacher.

There was also a greater focus on pupil wellbeing, something not seen at the Royal High School until much later in the period when sporting activities such as fencing were introduced. This is reflected in the "division of time" for pupils, with a great deal of

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[146] Donaldson's Hospital, *Report to the Governors of Donaldson's Hospital by the General Committee appointed by them at a Meeting held on 15 March 1849, to consider and to report upon the various matters connected with the Election and Admission of Children into the Hospital, - their Education and Management – and the Internal Domestic Arrangements of the Institution.* (National Library of Scotland, ACC11896/66)

[147] Ibid

emphasis placed on time for "play" and recreation:

> Profiting by the plan which has been adopted in other Institutions, the Sub-Committee would recommend the following for the consideration of the Directors. During winter, Bedside Prayers, Washing, Inspection, &tc. at half-past 7, Public Prayers at 8, Breakfast at half-past 8. School (public hours) from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4; Play from 12 to 1. Dinner at 1, and Play till 2. Bread and Milk at 4; Play till 5. From 5 to 6, Reading with the Teachers; Play from 6 to 7. Public Prayers at 7; Supper at half-past 7; Bedside Prayers, &tc. at 8. Between 9 and 12, and 2 and 4, the younger Children might have an interval of recreation of a quarter or half an hour, as recommended by the House-Governor.[148]

The original aims of the school stated that it would emulate the Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh and Watson's Hospital in its programme, and here too it is evident that Donaldson's Hospital was drawing on the practices of other schools in Edinburgh to design a suitable curriculum. The crossover in educational practice and reference to the practices of other schools suggests that practices were being shared across the city and that schools were not working in isolation to design their programmes of study.

The education of the deaf children was outlined in greater detail in a report from May 1849. The governors recommended the following curriculum:

> The education proper to be imparted in such an Institution as Donaldson's would seem to be given in the following summary taken from an excellent work on the education of the Deaf and Dumb.
>
> Language including Nomenclature and Syntax.
>
> Writing as an acquirement and a means towards higher attainments
>
> Reading by dactylology or by articulation.[149]
>
> Religion and morals, preceptal [sic] and applied
>
> Geometry & Mechanical Drawing
>
> Geography, Physical & Political.
>
> Arithmetic, elementary & applied.
>
> Drawing as an Art and in connection with design.
>
> History ancient from the old Testament.

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[148] Donaldson's Hospital, *Report by Committee with respect to Children who are not Deaf and Dumb 21 June 1849*. (National Library of Scotland, ACC11896/66)

[149] Dactylology refers to fingerspelling; hand signals to represent letters of the alphabet and numerals, while articulation refers to the use of lip-reading to teach literacy skills.

History modern including biography of exemplary characters.

Natural History to a limited extent.

Physics, to a limited extent, including elements of Chemistry, Astronomy, Mechanics and Composition for use and application of language.

Knitting and Sewing.[150]

There was, therefore, an increasing emphasis placed upon the sciences in comparison with the curricula of 1834 and 1839. There was a distinct movement away from a focus on a wholly practical and vocational curriculum to more academic subjects in order to provide a more holistic education. This increasingly academic curriculum is further reflected in the comments by the schoolmaster David Balsillie in 1871. In a letter to school governors, he states:

I would like to make a selection of the most promising boys in the three highest classes and give them lessons for one hour daily in Latin & Mathematics.[151]

Donaldson's Hospital moved from an institution designed primarily to educate the poor and destitute children of Edinburgh to allow them to enter into a trade, to providing an academic education for the brightest boys. It can therefore be seen that there was an increased emphasis placed upon academic subjects for poorer children towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

Public education for boys of the middle and upper ranks of society was also expanding at that time. The Edinburgh Academy, established in the New Town of Edinburgh, was the first main public competitor to the Royal High School. It was established by subscription in 1824 after a second high school run by the town council was deemed unnecessary when the Royal High School moved to a new site in the New Town. The staff and curriculum recorded in the *Statistical Account* of 1834-45 highlight the similarities to that of the Royal High School:

The teachers are a rector, four classical masters, and teachers of French, English, mathematics, arithmetic, and writing[152].

This was almost identical to the staff roll of the Royal High School recorded at the same time, except for a teacher of English. The school curriculum of Edinburgh Academy was

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[150] Donaldson's Hospital, *Notes by One of the Governors of Donaldson's Hospital a Member of their Committee appointed to consider as to the Education of deaf and dumb children to be admitted into their Hospital May 1849* (National Library of Scotland, ACC11896/66)

[151] David Balsillie, *Letter Donaldson's Hospital July 1871, To the Governor of the Education Committee from David Balsillie* (National Library of Scotland, ACC11896/66)

[152] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 684

also very similar, albeit with the students staying at the school slightly longer, keeping a strong focus on a classical education but allowing time for more modern subjects:

> The course of study extends to six or seven years. Each class is taught in the classical department by the same master for the first four years. In the fifth year the class comes under the tuition of the rector, assisted by the same master, and continues under the same for three years. In the intervening hours, English, writing, arithmetic, mathematics and French are successively attended, with ancient and modern history and geography… Pupils enter about the age of nine and ten, and are received at any period of the session.[153]

There were however some subtle differences, primarily the naming of "ancient and modern history" as a distinct subject and the inclusion of English as a subject title rather than "grammar and composition" suggesting that Edinburgh Academy was slightly ahead of the Royal High School with the introduction of a modern curriculum.

Other, more specialised, schools had also been established in Edinburgh by the 1834-45 *Statistical Account*. Most notably, the Scottish Naval and Military Academy had been established with "the purpose of affording education to pupils destined to serve in the army or navy, or East India Company's service".[154] The curriculum consisted "…in addition to the classics and other ordinary branches of a liberal education, of military and civil engineering, landscape, and perspective drawing, navigation, chemistry, natural philosophy, the modern languages, Eastern languages, military exercises, gymnastics, practical mechanics, modelling, &c".[155] The Account also includes a record of a *Normal School*, which "for the instruction of young men devoting themselves to the profession of teaching in the parochial and other schools, has lately been established on a great scale by the General Assembly's Education Committee" and a *School of Arts* "for the instruction of mechanics and tradesmen in the elements of scientific knowledge".[156] There was a clear shift then in the type of educational provision for the young men of Edinburgh at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with what appears to be an eye on the changing professional opportunities in an increasingly industrialised Britain and in the context of the British Empire. It was no longer the only option for young men of a certain rank to devote themselves to a classical education before training in Law,

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[153] Ibid, p. 684
[154] Ibid, p. 684
[155] Ibid, pp. 684-5
[156] Ibid, p. 686

Medicine or Divinity.

There also appears to have been a greater choice of public schools for children of the middling and upper ranks of society by the 1830s and 40s, offering a more general education. Schools mentioned in the *Statistical Account* include Circus Place School (New Town) "for elementary instruction"; Hill Street Institution "for instruction in classics, English, French, German, mathematics, arithmetic, writing, geography, drawing, engineering, &c."; "two public seminaries in the Southern Districts, one for boys and the other for young ladies, where a general course of education is given; a private boarding and educational establishment at Merchiston Castle, numerously attended; and a similar establishment at Newington House, besides numerous other private schools in the various parts of town".[157]

The increase in the number and types of schools in Edinburgh and in other parts of Lowland Scotland, as demonstrated by the Madras and Lancastrian schools discussed previously, points to a widening of public educational opportunities for students of all social ranks. Moreover, the broadening of school subjects available and concentration on new methods of teaching suggest an increased interest in, and perceived need for, a modern education which would prepare young people for life in an increasingly industrialised and international society.

Children's Access to Reading Materials at Home and at School, 1750-1850

The way in which children accessed reading materials varied greatly between home and school. There was an increase in the number of works aimed specifically at children in the eighteenth century and many of these were intended for reading at home, though as revealed in the case of the Royal High School, eighteenth-century works marketed to children, specifically by J. Newbery, were very popular in the school library. As Matthew Grenby argues "the implied users of the new children's literature [were] parents not teachers"[158] and "the new children's literature, whether schoolbook or pleasure reading, was presented as having emerged from actual domestic practice".[159] Children's literature at this time was therefore bound up with the domestic sphere. This reflects the

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[157] Ibid, p. 685
[158] Matthew Grenby, 'Children's literature, the home, and the debate on public versus private education, c. 1760-1845', *Oxford Review of Education* 41.4 (2015), p. 466
[159] Ibid, p. 468

private/public debate surrounding education as well as anxieties surrounding unsupervised reading practices by young people, discussed in more detail in chapter two. Children of the upper and middling ranks of society who were educated at home had access to a range of reading materials, recognised as children's books, compared with those who were educated publicly, with schools in the eighteenth century refraining from the purchase of children's books. Reading within educational institutions, therefore, was a fundamentally different practice than reading in the home and this is reflected in the range of reading materials available to school pupils in the public-school library. Indeed, particularly for girls of the middle and upper ranks of society, who had access to their fathers' libraries at home, there was a great deal more opportunity for reading at home than at school.[160]

There was a great deal of anxiety surrounding unsupervised access to reading materials, both at home and in the school library. Alexander Monro's *Essay on Female Conduct* (1747) offers an example of this. Monro outlines the home education that his children received, focusing on his daughter Margaret, but also providing details of how his sons were educated. This work provides an example of a domestic education for girls of the Scottish upper classes in the middle of the century. Within this Monro also makes numerous comments about reading. He stipulated that his daughter ought to receive an education which would not encourage "too much a Taste for Books".[161] As with other educational writing of this period, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter two, Monro specifies a list of suitable texts for Margaret. His concern seems to be centred around naïve readings of texts, particularly poetry. He states that:

> I must be of Opinion that reading them [poems] is rather hurtfull, till People are of age to be judges of the Justness of the thoughts, of the sublimity of Expression, natural Pictures and fitness of Comparisons.[162]

Monro therefore suggests that it is promiscuous reading of poetry which is harmful. He goes on to state that Margaret should read only the poems which a "judicious friend" has chosen for her to "improve or instruct".[163] This highlights the importance of guided and supervised reading in this period, particularly for young women.

It is important to note that childhood reading experiences incorporated both

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[160] Cohen, 'A Little Learning'?', p. 325
[161] Alexander Monro, 'The Professor's Daughter: An Essay on Female Conduct', *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 26.1 (1996), p. 17
[162] Ibid, p. 15
[163] Ibid, p. 15

domestic and institutional reading experiences and rare occasions where this can be compared can reveal a great deal about the varied reading experiences children had in the eighteenth century. For example, despite an extensive school library, the pupils of the Royal High School would also likely have had access to books at home. Walter Scott took part in a shared domestic reading practice, as well as his school-based reading, during which he borrowed a rather limited range of books in comparison with some of his peers:[164]

> Under [Anne Rutherford, his mother's] strong encouragement Scott, at the age of seven, read aloud Shakespeare's plays and the Arabian Nights in the family circle.[165]

Children further down the social ranks of society, particularly in the countryside, had more limited opportunities to access books, both at home and at school. From anecdotal evidence, the rural poor often had little access to reading materials in the home, with the Bible usually being the only book available to read in the home:

> All this while [between the ages of 7 and 15] I neither read nor wrote; nor had I access to any book save the Bible. I was greatly taken with our version of the Psalms of David, learned the most of them by heart, and have a great partiality for them unto this day.[166]

Drawing on autobiographical accounts of literary figures, such as Joanna Baillie, and eighteenth-century textbooks, Matthew Daniel Eddy has uncovered other childhood reading habits in eighteenth-century Scotland. He argues that children learned, first of all, to decode using "hornbooks, ABCs and the Shorter Catechism of the Church of Scotland" and goes on to state that "ABC charts (printed or written) allowed family members or tutors to train children to recognise and individuate different kinds of letters and blank spacings that were formatted to horizontal lines running across a rectilinear grid".[167] The Catechism and Bible were the primary focus for reading at the SSPCK schools and James Hogg's account of his school curriculum suggests that this was also

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[164] A borrower "Wat. Scott" is shown to borrow eight volumes (four titles) from the school library in the school year 1782/83 but no other borrowing by him is recorded. There is another record of a W Scott borrowing other titles in the 1780s but this could also refer to another pupil recorded in the register, William Scott. In 1782/83 "Wat. Scott" borrowed volumes of *Sully's Memoirs,* Goldsmith's *History of England*, Ray's *Travels*, and *Plutarch's Lives.* He entered the Royal High School in 1779 and so would have been 11/12 when borrowing these titles. (SL137/14/3)

[165] Warden of Wadham College, Oxford (ed.), *Letters Hitherto Unpublished, Written by Members of Sir Walter Scott's Family to their Old Governess* (London: E.G. Richards, 1905), p. 66

[166] Hogg, *Altrive Tales,* p. 13

[167] Eddy, p. 697

the case in many parish schools. The evidence is, however, limited for this period and so it is impossible to state whether this was a universal practice.

There is limited evidence of how much schools provided access to books during the eighteenth century. However, it is possible to see what books pupils engaged with in the classroom, through contemporary reports on school curricula. The role of the school library is not given a great deal of attention until the nineteenth century. What we do know, however, is that, during the eighteenth century, books were produced for use in both domestic and institutional settings. As mentioned previously, the growing body of children's literature often took a domestic didactic setting as its focus, eventually leading to the development of the specific school story genre in the nineteenth century.[168] One of the earliest examples of this is Sarah Fielding's *The Governess; or, Little Female Academy* (1749). Written by Henry Fielding's sister, *The Governess* "is often described as the first English *novel* written for children".[169] The work takes the form of a boarding school narrative and marks "new directions in children's literature".[170] In terms of more explicitly didactic works, the production of textbooks for use in schools was also growing. By the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, growing numbers of school textbooks were in use. These included Catechisms, spelling books and primers published by Scottish printers in Edinburgh and Glasgow, including Oliver & Boyd who provided books for many of the Edinburgh schools discussed here. Latin grammars and history books were published both in Scotland and England and these were also present in the library catalogues of the Royal High School.[171] Records for the nineteenth century are however much more complete and show that there was a growing focus on the importance of the school library, not just for pupils at the Royal High School and similar grammar schools but also at the hospital and pauper schools.

The opportunities for education and reading discussed here reveal the difference between provision for children of lower and middling or upper ranks of society. Thanks to a greater availability of complete records, it is possible to say a great deal more about the state of educational provision across Lowland Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century and what can be ascertained is that the differences between public education provision for different social ranks become much less prominent by the mid-

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[168] Grenby, 'Children's literature, the home and the debate on public versus private education', p. 476
[169] Candace Ward, 'Introduction', *The Governess* (Toronto: Broadview, 2005), p. 28
[170] Ibid, p. 29
[171] Alexander Law, 'Scottish Schoolbooks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Part I', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 18.1 (1983), p. 2

nineteenth century. With the broadening of educational opportunities came increased records of children's reading habits in the nineteenth century. Records relating to the purchasing of reading materials, particularly in the charity and pauper schools in the early nineteenth century suggest that reading material of an instructive and religious nature was given the highest priority, especially for younger and poorer students. However, in the schools aimed at boys of the middle and upper ranks of society, there was a greater emphasis on reading for pleasure. Drawing on records from some of the charity and hospital schools in Edinburgh it is possible to see a snapshot of the reading materials valued by educators during the period.

As detailed in his history of George Heriot's Hospital written in 1872, William Steven states that in 1838, the School Committee of George Heriot's Hospital set out a series of regulations for the establishment of the charity 'out-door schools' which were to extend the free education offered by the trust to many "destitute children of all classes and both sexes" throughout Edinburgh.[172] One of these regulations was "[t]hat a library should be provided for the use of scholars, to be kept under the charge of the teachers".[173] The presence of a school library was not then to be a privilege only for the sons of burgesses, but also for the "destitute children" of the foundation schools.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the presence of a school library, to be kept under strict control of the teachers, was an important part of education at George Heriot's and Donaldson's Hospitals, the Merchant Company Schools and the satellite schools of George Heriot's Trust. On 29 November 1850 the minutes of a meeting of the education committee at Donaldson's Hospital state that:

> The House Governor having suggested that it would be of great importance to have a small library of suitable works to be used by the Children in their leisure hours, he was requested to prepare a List, on a moderate scale, of such Books as he would recommend for this purpose, to be laid before the committees.[174]

By 1850, it was therefore seen as "of great importance" for the children of Donaldson's Hospital to have access to "suitable works… in their leisure hours".[175] The selection of texts came under careful consideration from the education committee, debated over several meetings. This hints at the wider social anxieties around children's unsupervised

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[172] Steven, *George Heriot's Hospital*, p. 253
[173] Ibid, p. 257
[174] Donaldson's Hospital, *Minute of Meeting of the Education Committee of the Governance of Donaldson Hospital, 29 November 1850*, (National Library of Scotland, ACC1896/33)
[175] Ibid

access to reading materials but does also suggest a change in attitude towards the importance of poorer children having access to reading materials in the nineteenth century.

The governors at George Heriot's Hospital also saw the library as an important asset to the school:

> Not the least of the privileges enjoyed by the pupils of this Institution is a large and well-assorted library, containing, in addition to most of the standard works of literature, a large number of such books as are most likely to form a gradual taste for reading. On the tables of the Reading Rooms are spread several of the current publications of the day, such as 'The Illustrated London News', 'Illustrated Times', 'Punch', 'Chambers' Journal', 'Dickens' Household Words', 'Leisure Hour', 'Christian Treasury'. During the Sabbath, these publications are exchanged for religious periodicals, tracts and Christian tales.[176]

This suggests that the presence of a school library was seen as a source of pride, and both these quotations emphasise reading for enjoyment as well as for moral and social improvement. Steven emphasises the purpose of a school library as helping to "form a gradual taste of reading" and as a place to be "enjoyed" by the pupils, while the focus on "leisure" in the Donaldson's Hospital example suggests that reading was a recreational activity. Steven does not provide a date for this particular selection of reading materials but from publication dates for the various periodicals, it is possible to date this collection to between 1855 and 1859, showing that in the mid-nineteenth century the focus was increasingly on reading for enjoyment, as well as moral improvement.[177] Furthermore, the boys of the Merchant Company Schools were also provided with "a proper library of books",[178] though there is no record of what that might contain. The texts within Donaldson's Hospital library are, as the governors state, "suitable works" while the presence of "religious periodicals, tracts and Christian tales" on the reading room tables at George Heriot's Hospital suggests that there ought to be a moral purpose to the

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[176] Steven, *George Heriot's Hospital*, p. 221

[177] *The Illustrated London News* was first published on 14 May 1842 and continued weekly until 1971. *Illustrated Times* was printed between June 1855 and March 1872. *Punch* was established in 1841 and finally ceased publication in 2002. *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* was in publication between 1832 and 1956 but changed its name to *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art* in 1845 and *Chambers' Journal* in 1897. The reference to *Chambers Journal* is likely therefore to be post-1845. Dicken's *Household Words* was published between 1850 and 1859, before being replaced by *All the Year Round*. *Leisure Hour* was produced between 1852 and 1905. It is therefore possible to date this collection to between 1855 and 1859.

[178] Harrison, p. 19

children's reading as well as a recreational or entertaining one.

In terms of domestic reading experiences, there is a little more anecdotal evidence available for this period. From these, the reading experiences of girls, at least those of upper-middle ranks of society, do not seem to differ too much from that of boys in the period, with a combination of novels and historical writing consumed. This runs contrary to the advice of many educational writers of the time. Writing to George Crabbe, Walter Scott states that his eldest daughter Sophia, "begins to read well and enters as well into the humour as into the sentiment of your admirable descriptions of human life".[179] By contrast, Janet Hamilton, a nineteenth-century Scottish poet, "had a heavy literary diet as a child – history by Rollin and Plutarch, *Ancient Universal History*, Pitscottie's *Chronicles of Scotland*, as well as the *Spectator* and *Rambler*. She could borrow books by Burns, Robert Fergusson and other poets from neighbours, and at age eight she found 'to [her] great joy, on the loom of an intellectual weaver', *Paradise Lost* and Allan Ramsay's poems".[180] This recalled episode shows that the domestic reading experiences of at least some Scottish girls in the early nineteenth century correlated with boys educated at the Royal High School, with a shared informal curriculum of Rollin and Plutarch, Robert Burns and periodicals. Furthermore, Janet Hamilton's experience also emphasises the informal networks through which print materials were acquired; through the borrowing and sharing of books among friends and family.

Boys of the lower ranks of society also had the opportunity to gain access to reading materials, albeit in a piecemeal sort of way. The anecdotal evidence of reading experiences from this section of society often appeared in working class memoirs in the nineteenth century, which promoted a narrative of self-improvement and auto-didacticism. These memoirs offer a good insight into the reading experiences of young men in this period, though they ought to be read with the same caution as other autobiographical accounts mentioned previously. Jonathan Rose gives an example of a joiner's son reading a novel for the first time in 1828:

> I literally devoured it… A new world seemed to dawn upon me, and Mansie and
> the other characters in the books have always been historical characters with me,
> just as real as Caius Julius Caesar, Oliver Cromwell, or Napoleon Bonaparte…

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[179] George Crabbe, Thomas Faulkner (ed.), *Selected Letters and Journals of George Crabbe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 91-92, [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=19479], accessed: 11 December 2016
[180] Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes,* p. 117

> So innocent, so unsophisticated – I may as well say, so green – was I, that I believed every word it contained.[181]

This is a particularly evocative description of novel reading which effectively draws out an example of the anxieties surrounding novel reading of the period, particularly in relation to more vulnerable groups of society, such as children, in that they might believe the fantastical stories they encountered and mistake these for real life. It also highlights that the reader has compared his reading of novels with that of histories, suggesting that the reading experiences of these two distinct genres may not have differed as much as expected.[182] These records, though they tend to reveal precocious and voracious reading habits which ought not to be treated as the norm, do reveal a general interest in the transformative effects of reading in children and young people and a growing acceptance of novel reading for children in the 1820s, supported by evidence of novel reading at the Royal High School, discussed in chapter three.

Another first-hand example of reading experiences reveals an interest in periodicals among children, supported by the emphasis on this type of reading material available at George Heriot's, discussed earlier. James Glass Bertram, a Scottish author who was apprenticed to *Blackwood's Magazine* discusses his illicit reading of the magazines there.

> When sent for copies of the magazine, I usually contrived that the message should happen about my dinner-hour, and in several of the common-stairs of the eastern division of George Street, I would sit on the steps for nearly an hour engrossed by the perusal of some interesting portion of its pages, munching at the same time my dinner of bread-and-cheese. The pages of the copies of the magazine in my custody as collector, were of course, uncut, but having as many as eight or ten in my charge, I managed without its being discovered to cut open one leaf in each of the numbers in order to master the narrative.
>
> I pursued a similar plan with others of the magazines whenever I got a chance, especially "Bentley's Miscellany", which contained in my young days "Jack Sheppard".[183]

This type of rebellious, or illicit, reading experience in which young people steal books

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[181] Ibid, p. 94

[182] This idea is discussed in more detail in relation to reading practices at the Royal High School on p. 185 of this thesis.

[183] James Glass Bertram, *Some memories of books, authors and events*, (Westminster: A. Constable and Company, 1893), pp. 120-121

or pages is also reflected in some of the practices by University of St Andrews students discussed in chapter three, revealing that certain anxieties surrounding young readers may not have been unfounded.

Other reading experiences recounted by children of this social rank, like Hogg's experiences discussed previously, consisted of school-based reading. Samuel Smiles, for example, the son of a papermaker, who was schooled in Haddington, remembers:

> …that I had to learn, with another schoolfellow (Nesbet) an act from Home's tragedy of Douglas, and a long passage from Campbell's Poems, entitled 'The Wizard's Warning', and recite, or rather act the passage with as much eloquence and action as we could muster.[184]

This experience highlights the broadening of the parish school education system to include other genres of reading materials, such as poetry and drama, rather than just a focus on the Bible and Catechisms, and in some cases Latin, in the eighteenth century. It also suggests that the focus for reading experiences, in the parish school at least, was more on practicing "eloquence" than an educational reading experience. The combination of these anecdotal reading experiences which highlight the various ways in which children accessed books at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the growing importance of the school library, with a range of reading materials, for all ranks of society, suggests that reading, and reading for purposes other than moral improvement, was actively encouraged in the schools of this period, and is certainly evident at the Royal High School.

University Education in Scotland, 1750-1850

The relationship between the grammar schools of Scotland and the universities in this period has been under-explored. Investigating this relationship offers a useful insight into some of the driving forces behind curricular change at both the Royal High School and at the universities in this period. Alexander Adam, rector at the Royal High School between 1763 and 1809, highlighted the differences of opinion between the grammar school and the universities in the following comment:

> There is nothing in the plan of education in this country more absurd than sending

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[184] Samuel Smiles, Thomas Mackay (ed.), *The autobiography of Samuel Smiles*, (London, 1997) <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=16561> [last accessed: 01/04/2021], p.8

boys too early to college. They should never be taken from school and sent to university till they can at least read plain Latin authors by themselves, and understand the principles of Greek. The contrary practice is hurtful, not only to learning, but also to morals; and if the conductors of education in college did their duty, they would take care that no one should be admitted unless properly qualified, as is this case in a neighbouring country, where a certain number of books is specified, both in Latin and in Greek, which a young man must be prepared to read in any part that is turned up, before he can be admitted as a student to the university.[185]

It is evident that boys sometimes entered the universities at a very young age. The youngest student discovered in the University of St Andrews library borrowing records during this period was just eleven years old. Due to both the crossover in age ranges between the boys who attended the Royal High School and those at university, as well as the universities being the predominant destination for Royal High School pupils, it is appropriate here to give an account of the changing curricula at the Scottish universities during this period. It is also possible then to see the extent to which university curricula had an impact on grammar school curricula and vice-versa, as well as the competition between the two types of institutions, as outlined by Adam above.

By the end of the eighteenth century, there were five distinct universities in Scotland; the University of St Andrews founded in 1413, the University of Edinburgh founded in 1582, the University of Glasgow founded in 1451, and Marischal (1593) and King's Colleges (1495) in Aberdeen. In his 'Advertisement to Volume XXI' of the *Statistical Account* of 1799, John Sinclair states that there is no account of the University of Edinburgh included in the Statistical Account as Arnot and Maitland's Histories include a detailed account of the university,[186], and no separate account for the University of St Andrews as it is included in the Account for the Parish of St Andrews.[187] A detailed account of the University of Glasgow written by Professor George Jardine, titled 'The Statistical Account of the Universities of Scotland', is included in an appendix to the *Statistical Account* of 1799.[188] An 'Historical Account and Present State of Marischal College and University of Aberdeen' and 'University and King's College of Aberdeen'

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[185] Alexander Adam cited in Steven, *The Royal High School,* p. 148
[186] William Creech's letter, included as an appendix to the Statistical Account for Edinburgh, also provides a basic overview of the history of the University of Edinburgh and is referred to below.
[187] John Sinclair, 'Introduction', *Statistical Account 1791-1799*, OSA, Vol. XXI, 1799, p. 5
[188] George Jardine, 'Statistical Account of the Universities of Scotland: Number I. University of Glasgow', *University of Glasgow*, OSA, Vol. XXI, 1799, pp. 1-50

are also included in the *Statistical Account* of 1799.[189]

The number of students at the University of Edinburgh grew in the second half of the eighteenth century, resulting in the need to build New College in 1789,[190] though this was not completed until 1815:[191]

In 1763 – The number of students at the college of Edinburgh was about 500.

In 1791 – the number of students entered in the college books was 1255 – and in 1792 the number was 1306.[192]

As discussed in more detail in chapter three, the changes in the school curriculum at the Royal High School reflected the changes which occurred at the university in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It can therefore be argued that the university system in Scotland had an impact on the curriculum of this elite school, where the students were largely being prepared to enter the university. Christine Shepherd argues that even in the seventeenth century "[t]here seems to have been a fair cross-section of society among the students, in line with the egalitarian tradition of Scottish education."[193] However, it was not until the nineteenth century that there was a real broadening of the social backgrounds of students at the University of Edinburgh. This diversification of the backgrounds of students entering university, with an increase in boys from the merchant and burgess classes attending university in the nineteenth century, had an impact both on university curricula and the expectations of boys attending merchant schools.

Arguably the greatest change to the curriculum of the University of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century was the abolishment of regenting, the practice of one member of staff taking a class through the entire curriculum, in favour of a professorial system in 1708.[194] This points to a broadening of the requirements of the MA qualification and a re-evaluation of the purpose of a university education in eighteenth-century Scotland. J.B. Morrell argues that "by at least the 1750s [the University of Edinburgh] had become a university of European importance in which medicine and science were particularly

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[189] 'Historical Account and Present State of Marischal College and University of Aberdeen', *Statistical Account* vol. XXI, 1799, p. 113

[190] William Creech, *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, Vol. VI, p. 591

[191] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 673

[192] William Creech, *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, Vol. VI, p. 591

[193] Christine Shepherd, 'University Life in the Seventeenth Century', *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983,* ed. Gordon Donaldson, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), p. 4

[194] Devine, p. 72

nurtured."[195] Morrell traces the professors of the faculty of medicine across the second half of the eighteenth century in order to argue for five distinct phases in the improvement of the department across the century,[196] stating that "[b]y 1800, then, Edinburgh had seven tenured specialist medical professors and had been giving clinical teaching for over 50 years".[197] This shows that by the end of the eighteenth century, the university had well established courses in botany, the theory of medicine, the practice of medicine, midwifery, chemistry, anatomy, materia medica (pharmacology), mathematics, natural philosophy, and natural history[198]. Devine argues that "the radical changes in curriculum that took place in the eighteenth century were based on Enlightenment values of improvement, virtue and practical benefit. The universities therefore enhanced the intellectual changes of the period and at the same time were a vital manifestation of them".[199] This is also reflected in the changing school curricula not only of elite schools such as the Royal High School, but also in the broadening of the curricula at the merchant and hospital schools. This therefore suggests that these Enlightenment values had a substantial impact on the educational chances of people in Scotland, from parish schools to the four universities.

In his account of the University of Glasgow, Jardine divides the history of the university into pre- and post-Reformation periods. Jardine's summary of each of the main branches of education reflects the expectations of what students ought to have attained, either privately or in public schools. He states that "the students who attend the humanity lectures, are supposed to have acquired the elements of the Latin tongue… and the professor is employed in reading, explaining, and prelecting upon such Roman authors, as are most suited to carry on their progress in that language".[200] He goes on to comment that "Greek is now seldom regularly taught in public schools" and so "the professor is under the necessity of instructing a great number in the very elements of that language".[201] This highlights the important role of grammar schools in preparing students for the university but also accounts for the higher number of students from the merchant classes attending university at the end of the eighteenth century, as they would have

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[195] J.B. Morrell, 'Medicine and Science in the Eighteenth Century', *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983,* ed. Gordon Donaldson, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), p. 38
[196] Ibid, pp. 38-40
[197] Ibid, p. 40
[198] Ibid, p. 39
[199] Devine, p. 77
[200] G. Jardine, 'Statistical Account of the Universities of Scotland: Number I. University of Glasgow', *University of Glasgow*, OSA, Vol. XXI, 1799, p. 36
[201] Ibid, p. 37

attained the basics of a Latin grammar education in the merchant and hospital schools but would have had little opportunity to study Greek. It further highlights some of the key changes in grammar school education towards the end of the eighteenth century, reflected both in the schools discussed in this chapter and the case of the Royal High School of Edinburgh in chapter three.

At Marischal College, regenting was not abolished until 1759 and a reform in the way that Arts were taught at the college occurred in 1755, after it was recognised that the students were not prepared well enough for the study of philosophy:

> For these reasons the professors of Marischal College were induced to alter the hitherto received order of teaching philosophy; and after the most mature deliberation, they resolved that their students should, after being instructed in languages and classical learning, be made acquainted with the elements of history, natural and civil, of geography and chronology, accompanied with the elements of mathematics; that they should then proceed to natural philosophy, and last of all to morals, politics, logic, and metaphysics[202]

These changes seem to have been made under a similar understanding of the changes which were necessary for university education in the second half of the eighteenth century to better prepare young men for professions and life. The *Statistical Account* reported that with this curricular reform, "may they (professors) not expect the approbation of the public, and better fruits of their labours in forming the minds of youth, so that they may be possessed of knowledge more real in itself, and more useful for the various purposes of human life?".[203]

This *Statistical Account* points to a similar problem with the general absence of Greek on the grammar school curriculum towards the end of the eighteenth century, as Jardine does, stating that "[a]s it is well know that the Greek language is little taught at our grammar schools in this country, and that an accurate knowledge of the elementary parts is of the greatest importance, the first part of the session is necessarily employed in teaching the grammar".[204] The reading materials that the students move on to, having mastered the elements of grammar are like those at the Royal High School, which seems to be unusual in its teaching of Greek in the eighteenth century; Lucian of Samosata's

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[202] 'Historical Account and Present State of Marischal College and University of Aberdeen', *Statistical Account* vol. XXI, 1799, p. 114
[203] Ibid, p. 117
[204] Ibid, p. 117

Dialogues, Aesop's *Fables* and then "Homer and some of the other poets".[205] The *Statistical Account* also suggests that "the knowledge of Latin is rather on the decline, over all this part of the kingdom; which may be imputed in part, to children being sent to school, and thence to the University at too early an age, but chiefly to the present situation of the parochial schools. Here, the enrolments are so very inadequate to the decent support of a public teacher, that they are chiefly occupied by boys at college, or others still worse qualified, and in such circumstances, no one will chuse [sic] to remain longer than he can find another employment more advantageous".[206] This suggests that by the end of the eighteenth century, a greater number of students attended university from the parish schools than had previously. A large number of the divinity students in Aberdeen were also employed as parochial teachers, or as private tutors:

> There are generally from sixty to eighty students in divinity… Of this number, however, seldom more than one third gives regular attendance. The remainder, consisting chiefly of students engaged in teaching parochial schools in the country, or as tutors in gentlemen's families, hear only a few lectures, and deliver a certain number of exercises in each of the divinity halls[207].

It is clear then that the curriculum and governance of both the grammar and parochial schools had an impact on the curricula of the universities. Further, in the case of Marischal College, it also had an impact on the working lives of the students themselves, many of whom took on the roles of parochial teachers in Aberdeenshire.

King's College, the older of the two colleges in Aberdeen, was established to teach "Theology, Canon and Civil Laws, Medicine, the liberal arts, and every other lawful faculty".[208] In 1753, the curriculum "was brought under review for the purpose of improvement".[209] This review included the following changes:

> … that less time than usual should be spent on the logic and metaphysics of the schools, and a great part of the second year be employed in acquiring the elements of natural history in all its branches; that the professors of Greek and humanity should open classes for the more advanced students, during the three last years of their course; that a museum of natural history should be fitted up, and furnished

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[205] Ibid, pp. 117-8
[206] Ibid, p. 138
[207] Ibid, p. 122
[208] 'University and King's College of Aberdeen' *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* vol. XXI, OSA, 1799, p. 52
[209] 'Historical Account and Present State of Marischal College and University of Aberdeen', *Statistical Account* vol. XXI, 1799, p. 79

with specimens, for the instruction of the students; and that a collection of instruments and machines relative to natural philosophy, and a chemical laboratory for exhibiting experiments in that science, should be provided with all convenient speed.[210]

By the end of the eighteenth century, it was reported that "[t]hough the method of teaching and arrangement of subjects adopted by each professor must necessarily vary to a certain degree, yet that generally practiced in this University, seems well calculated to lead the minds of youth in a natural progression to the attainment of useful science".[211] The *Statistical Account* also reveals the expectations of what students should know when they arrive at the university. As with the other Scottish universities, there is little expectation that students would have knowledge of Greek at the end of the century[212] but students are expected "to be previously acquainted with the art of computation as taught at their schools" when they begin their mathematics classes in the second year.[213] Like other Scottish universities at the time, King's College also taught a complete theology course with the option of "Oriental Languages"[214] and there is mention of professors encouraging masters to teach "other branches of education, not commonly reckoned academical" including elocution and French "for the instruction of such students as may wish to apply to them".[215]

It is clear then, that by the end of the eighteenth century, each of the Scottish universities had made substantial changes to their curricula to better suit the modern needs of the young men attending university. As shown above, the *Statistical Accounts* for each institution refer a great deal to the notion of "useful" knowledge or learning to account for these changes. Matthew Sangster has also identified this change, characterising it as a movement "towards curricula that placed greater emphasis on vernacular literature as a means of communicating knowledge and acquiring social graces... [and] new practical and empirical approaches to history, philosophy, political economy and other disciplines that are now grouped together under the umbrella of Scottish Enlightenment"[216].

It is also possible to see reflected in these accounts of practice at the universities,

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[210] Ibid, pp. 79-80
[211] Ibid, p. 84
[212] Ibid, p. 82
[213] Ibid, p. 84
[214] Ibid, p. 87
[215] Ibid, p. 89
[216] Sangster, p. 948

some of the changes taking place in the curricula of grammar schools. Many of the universities changed their first-year courses to accommodate the changed education which boys were receiving at school. Particularly prominent is the increased need for tuition in Greek, as it becomes less common for grammar schools to teach this. Conversely, there is an increased expectation that students will engage in a more rounded education, with students at King's College expected to have already attained a certain level of mathematical skill before beginning university. Finally, the introduction of less academic subjects such as elocution and Modern Languages as part of an informal curriculum point to the increased awareness of the need for a modern education for young men at university at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The *New Statistical Account* does not contain a great deal of additional information about the Scottish universities and their curricula which suggests that not a great deal of change occurred to the subjects taught by the 1840s, despite the appointment of a royal commission on universities in 1826.[217] The commission "had no wish to curb freedom of choice for the diverse body of students that the universities now attracted" but decided that "a rigorous curriculum was needed for 'regular' students, whose interests were often neglected by professors tempted by fee income to maximise their lecture audiences".[218] The curriculum they proposed was designed to strike a balance between classics, philosophy and mathematics. Anderson argues that "[t]hese curriculum proposals, if not exactly an 'invention of tradition', were certainly a systemisation of what had previously been informal and flexible".[219] The main changes which occurred because of this commission were related to the way in which degrees were examined and conferred,[220] rather than any extensive change to curricula. The Universities Scotland Act of 1858 was designed "…to make Provision for the better Government and Discipline of the Universities of Scotland, and improving and regulating the Course of Study therein; and for the Union of the Two Universities and Colleges of Aberdeen".[221] It "refurbished the universities as a national system"[222] and some curricular changes were introduced as a result. For example, at the University of St Andrews, English Literature was introduced

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[217] Robert Anderson, 'Professors and examinations: ideas of the university in nineteenth-century Scotland', *History of Education* 46:1 (2016), p. 25
[218] Ibid, p. 25
[219] Ibid, p. 25
[220] Ibid, pp. 27-8
[221] 'Universities (Scotland) Act 1858' <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/21-22/83> [last accessed 01/04/2021]
[222] Anderson, 'Professors and examinations', p. 23

as a distinct subject in 1858.[223] This marked an important step in the modernization of education offered at Scottish universities.[224]

Prior to the Universities Scotland Act of 1858, the university system in Scotland had not changed a great deal since the eighteenth century. At St Andrews, the usual branches of education were offered at the United College: Greek, Humanity or Latin, Logic and Rhetoric (which encompassed the study of English literary texts), Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Civil History and Medicine.[225] St Mary's College consisted of "a Primarius Professor of Theology , and who is actively employed in conducting the department of systematic theology, a Professor of Divinity, who confines himself chiefly to biblical criticism, and Professors of Ecclesiastical History, and the Oriental Languages".[226] The curriculum at the University of Edinburgh, particularly that of the early nineteenth century was focused on a broad "Arts" education, which allowed students to move on to further study in Divinity, Medicine or Law. For the degree of Master of Arts, the requirements were that the student was at least in their fourth year of study and that he had "attended the classes of humanity, Greek, mathematics, logic, rhetoric, moral and natural philosophy".[227] In terms of the Medical faculty, J.B. Morrell argues that "[u]nlike Oxford and Cambridge, it imposed no religious tests on students, thus making Edinburgh a medical mecca for dissenters" and that this contributed to the growth in student numbers at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[228] This is reflected in the student numbers, with 97 students attending the Medical faculty from England out of a total of 357 students.[229] Morrell states that "at Glasgow, student enrolment had increased considerably: by 1800 Glasgow attracted about 1,000 students, of whom about 200 were studying medicine" and that "[i]t was only in the 1820s, with a medical student population of about 400, that the Glasgow medical school began to compete seriously with Edinburgh's".[230] The education at Glasgow was broadly similar to that at Edinburgh:

> The Faculty of Arts comprehends the Professors of Latin or Humanity, Greek, Logic, Ethics, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Practical Astronomy, and

[223] James Maitland Anderson, 'Introduction', *University of St Andrews Matriculation Roll 1747-1897* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1905), p. xxv

[224] English literary texts had been taught at the university since 1720 (Robert Crawford, *Launch-Site for English Studies*, p. 1).

[225] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, St Andrews, County of Fife, NSA, vol. IX, 1845, p. 490

[226] Ibid, p. 490

[227] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 675

[228] Morrell, p. 43

[229] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 681

[230] Morrell, p. 40

> Natural History… The faculty of Theology includes… those of Divinity, Church History, and Oriental Languages…. The faculty of Medicine comprehends the Professorships of Anatomy, Medicine, Materia Medica, Surgery, Midwifery, Chemistry, and Botany[231].

The changes to the arts curriculum which occurred in 1753 at Marischal College were also discussed further in the 1845 *Statistical Account*. It reports that "[o]n this change being carried into effect, the students greatly increased in number, and a considerable impulse appears to have been given to the courses of science and literature, which are described by Dr Reid as having been, in his time, "slight and superficial", as indeed they must, when one instructor had to teach the whole curriculum.[232] The 1845 curriculum remained like that of the eighteenth century, with students beginning with Greek and Latin before moving on to mathematics and natural history in the second year; moral philosophy and logic, and evidences of Christianity in the fourth year.[233] It is also noted that:

> A third and a fourth Greek class, and a third Latin class, are attended voluntarily by several students of the third and fourth years; the chemical class is also attended by many during these years; and a third Mathematical class, which meets daily, is attended by the mathematical bursars, and by some students of the fourth year.[234]

This suggests that there was a growing interest among the arts students in scientific subjects such as chemistry which were not traditionally associated with an arts education. Students of Divinity studied divinity, "Oriental Languages" and church history.[235] All students also attended a weekly lecture on Practical Religion from the professors of Divinity suggesting that Marischal College took an interest in the more general education of its students in comparison to other universities.[236] Between 1818 and 1839, the two Aberdeen colleges joined together to offer classes in anatomy and physiology, surgery, institutes of medicine, materia medica, and midwifery to accommodate medical students. In 1840, this was reformed resulting in a change in the classes medical students were required to attend. These included anatomy, practical anatomy, chemistry, materia

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[231] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Glasgow, County of Lanark, NSA, vol. VI, 1845, p. 174
[232] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, 'Appendix to the County of Aberdeen', NSA, vol. XII, 1845, p. 1172
[233] Ibid, pp. 1172-3
[234] Ibid, p. 1173
[235] Ibid
[236] Ibid

medica, institutes of medicine, surgery, practice of medicine, midwifery, botany, practical chemistry, and medical jurisprudence.[237] The 1858 Universities Scotland Act included a list of the professorships which the new University of Aberdeen ought to have. It can therefore be seen that the curriculum for this new institution in the 1850s comprised of humanity (Latin), logic, mathematics, moral philosophy, natural philosophy and "two professors in any one or more of such branches of instruction in the faculty of arts, if it shall appear necessary or expedient".[238] The faculty of divinity was to include "Systematic Theology, Oriental Languages. . .Church History [and] Biblical Criticism".[239] Law and Medicine were also offered with the faculty of Medicine comprising institutes of medicine, the practice of medicine, chemistry, anatomy, surgery, materia medica, midwifery, medical jurisprudence, and botany.[240]

The curriculum at King's College was largely like that of Marischal College in the first half of the nineteenth century, apart from a more formal inclusion of chemistry for arts students in the academic year 1840-41:

> The class of chemistry has been found to excite considerable interest among the students, and must be considered as a most important and valuable addition to the curriculum in arts.[241]

The *Statistical Account* for Aberdeen in this period also notes the change in grammar school education from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, stating that:

> The Humanist or Professor of Humanity is not one of the Regents, and his course was formerly not included in the curriculum of the Arts, Latin being in those days more or less completely taught at school, and Greek being left for college study. For a long time past, however, Latin had formed an essential part of the curriculum.[242]

This suggests that the universities were paying close attention to the typical grammar school education boys received at the time and were adjusting their own curricula in response. Divinity, "Oriental Languages", Law and Medicine were all still taught at King's College in 1845.[243] Students were divided into arts and divinity, with the arts

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[237] Ibid, p. 1175

[238] 'Section XVIII: Powers of Commissioners as to University of Aberdeen', *Universities (Scotland) Act 1858* <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/21-22/83> [last accessed 01/04/2021]

[239] Ibid

[240] Ibid

[241] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, 'Appendix to the County of Aberdeen', NSA, vol. XII, 1845, p. 1145

[242] Ibid

[243] Ibid, pp. 1146-7

students studying Greek and Latin in first year, to which mathematics and chemistry were added in the second year. In third year, students studied natural philosophy, and in the fourth year, moral philosophy and logic, Greek, Latin, mathematics and chemistry.[244] There were therefore slight changes to the curricula of some nineteenth-century universities with the formalisation of degree conferment and examination because of the 1826 royal commission; a response to the type of education boys were typically receiving at school and a recognition of the importance of subjects like chemistry in the education of these students. These modernisations were paving the way for a more formal, and modern, approach to university education in Scotland with the introduction of the Universities Scotland Act in 1858.

Another major change in the nineteenth century occurred in the range of social backgrounds of students, which contributed to the popular image of the 'Lad O' Pairts' discussed in chapter one. The *New Statistical Account* suggests that the universities were increasingly open to students from a more varied social demographic. This is reflected a measurable increase in students from the merchant and tradesman classes, partially aided by the range of scholarships and bursaries available. The *Statistical Account for 1834-45* shows that several bursaries were available for students to study at Edinburgh University including one "designed for the benefit of a student who must be a native of the Highlands, and understand the Gaelic language",[245] suggesting that the university was open to a reasonably wide range of students from different backgrounds. At King's College in Aberdeen, a wide range of scholarships (150 bursaries) were available to students and the *Statistical Account* comments that "[t]here can be no manner of doubt that this large amount of scholarship, large in proportion to the whole number of students, is of the very greatest benefit in a country like Scotland, where the inhabitants, although poor, are yet intelligent, and very desirous of giving to their children a liberal education".[246] At the University of Edinburgh, the proportion of students from the merchant and tradesmen classes grew from 26% in the 1740s to around 50% by the 1830s, reflecting both the benefits of the parish and burgh school system in preparing young people for university and an increasingly practical curriculum at universities (particularly Glasgow),[247] though Ian Campbell argues that many students at the University of

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[244] Ibid, p. 1148
[245] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 678
[246] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, 'Appendix to the County of Aberdeen', NSA, vol. XII, 1845, p. 1156
[247] Devine, pp. 79-80

Edinburgh, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, did not "seek a professional training in the first instance".[248] This change coincided with a de-classicisation and modernisation of school-level education around the same time, with boys from the merchant and burgess classes benefitting from a greater focus on Latin and classics to prepare them for university, and grammar school boys benefitting from a growing range of more modern subjects such as mathematics, sciences, writing in English, modern languages, and courses in general knowledge, in order to equip them for a greater range of professions than in the eighteenth century.

University Libraries, 1750-1850

By the end of the eighteenth century, the state of the university libraries across Scotland was varied. At universities, such as St Andrews, where the professors were from "less socially and intellectually prominent families" than at other institutions, there was greater pressure from the faculty to have a well-established and well-stocked library for use by both professors and students as they could rely less on private collections.[249] As with the educational practices discussed in this chapter, reading practices in the libraries of the Scottish universities offer a useful point of comparison to those at the Royal High School. As noted previously, students at the University of St Andrews and Marischal College were of a comparable age to boys at the Royal High School. Furthermore, these records offer an insight into other libraries situated in educational institutions at a time when records of comparable school libraries are difficult to find.

Throughout the eighteenth century, unlike the Royal High School Library, four of the universities were entitled to claim a copy of every book registered at Stationer's Hall under the Copyright Act of 1709. However, as is evident from the *Senate Minutes* of the University of St Andrews, the libraries often had great difficulty in acquiring the works they were entitled to. The four universities decided to work together to make sure that they could take full advantage of the copyright act. It was Mr Ruddiman, Keeper of the Advocates Library at Edinburgh who "was satisfied to serve the University in calling for the books they have right to in Scotland, by virtue of an act of the British Parliament for encouraging of learning, etc. Whereupon they appointed their Library Keeper to grant

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[248] Ian Campbell, 'Carlyle and the University of Edinburgh', *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983* ed. Gordon Donaldson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983) p. 57
[249] Emerson, p. 368

him a commission till the first of Aprile 1712 for the effect foresaid".[250] As Matthew Sangster argues, "[w]hile copyright copies were in themselves free, they required carriage, usually arrived unbound and mandated that valuable storage space be allocated to them".[251] The impact that this had on the collections of the universities means that they had a different character to those at the Royal High School library which largely acquired its books through deliberate acquisition and occasional bequests. This makes any points of overlap in books which were frequently borrowed at the Royal High School and any of the universities particularly significant, pointing to a shared reading practice across educational institutions. Furthermore, as Sangster argues it was the Copyright Act at the University of St Andrews which "brought in vernacular works, diluting the prominence of Latin in the collection".[252] It is therefore remarkable that the Royal High School library experienced a similar dilution in its collection in the same period, with vernacular works deliberately acquired by the schoolteachers reflecting a more modern use of the school library. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter three of this thesis.

Each of the libraries also had a different level of funding and therefore a different level of student access. The financial support available for the library had a substantial impact on the shape and size of collections, the ability for the universities to take full advantage of the Copyright Act, and the level of access allowed to students. The professors at the University of St Andrews held a strong desire to make the library an institution which would rival those at Oxford and Cambridge.[253] They made use of social networks and the funds available to ensure that they could take full advantage of the Copyright Act. This would account for its collection being marked out as particularly rich at the end of the eighteenth century, particularly in relation to those institutions which had less funding available for their libraries. The St Andrews university library was founded in 1612 and became a functioning library in 1642. Despite financial difficulties, the library was marked out for the range of its collection at the end of the eighteenth century. Roger L. Emerson comments that "[t]here was no field of modern learning which was missing, although the collection tended to have a literary slant".[254] For students, there

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[250] 'University Minutes', v. 2, p. 204 in UYLY590 *Library Bulletin of the University of St Andrews*, v. 1, p. 281
[251] Sangster, p. 947
[252] Sangster, p. 953
[253] 'University Minutes', v. 8, p. 194 in UYLY590 *Library Bulletin of the University of St Andrews*, v. 2, pp. 409-10
[254] Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 483-4

was a charge for making use of the University of St Andrews' library with the specific amount changing across the period. In 1753, students had to pay an annual fee between 2 and 4 shillings, depending on their own status. By 1798 this has been changed to a deposit of between 5 and 10 shillings, to be paid the first time students borrowed a book. Depending on the size of the book, students were allowed to have books for between eight and thirty days in 1753. By 1778, the length of time had increased to between three weeks and two months, with a late fee of a sixpence. In contrast, as noted on page 122, pupils at the Royal High School paid a subscription to the school library to give them access. This system was later replaced by the purchasing of matriculation tickets in 1828, which directly funded the purchase of volumes for the library.

Despite a relaxation of the library regulations across the period, anxieties surrounding the St Andrews students' use of the library are apparent in the meetings about the library which parallel those at the Royal High School, suggesting that library use by young readers in general was a cause for concern. In 1734, the library regulations state that students are not allowed to remove the books from the shelves themselves but must ask for it from the librarian. Students also required a note from a professor to borrow any particular title and, as discussed in chapter three, there were incidences of students stealing or destroying books and anxieties surrounding inappropriate use of the library are evident throughout the *Senate Minutes*.

At Edinburgh, a working library was in place in the seventeenth century: "from 1682 a steady number of undergraduate students was admitted to the Library each year" but that "[t]hese undergraduates were a minority; some were young noblemen but others were obviously particularly promising scholars"[255]. Many of the pupils at the Royal High School went on to attend Edinburgh University, and so their reading lives may have continued there. Glasgow University students had much more free access to their university library than many of their counterparts in other areas. Jardine states that:

> The University Library, to which all the students have easy access, is a large and
> valuable collection of books, among which are many now become very scarce[256].

As at the Royal High School, all university libraries, whatever their financial situation, benefitted from bequests of books from benefactors which diversified and enlarged the

[255] Jonquil Bevan, 'Seventeenth-Century Students and their Books', *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983,* ed. Gordon Donaldson, (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1983), p. 17

[256] George Jardine, 'Statistical Account of the Universities of Scotland: Number I. University of Glasgow', *University of Glasgow*, OSA, Vol. XXI, 1799, p. 47

collections available to pupils, students, teachers, and professors.

The university libraries in Aberdeen perhaps most clearly exemplify the range of collections, financial support and access at universities across Scotland at this time. It is noted in the *Statistical Account* that King's College had a well-established library:

> The library to which all the students have ready access is a valuable collection of books in the various departments of literature. By means of the Stationers' Hall Act, and the application of a considerable annual revenue, it is well supplied with modern publications. It is particularly well stocked with old and valuable works of science; having been enriched by the libraries of the founder, the Scougalls, father and son, and various other eminent literary characters.[257]

The Copyright Act therefore brought a range of works to the libraries who were financially able to take full advantage of it.[258]

The New *Statistical Account* goes into a great deal more detail about the library facilities available at each institution and this perhaps reflects a change in attitude towards the university library, with a growing recognition of its important role in the education of students which coincided with a similar recognition of the importance of school libraries and of reading in school. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the universities no longer received books directly from Stationers' Hall but instead were given an allowance each year to purchase books. However, there is still evidence of the impact that the Copyright Act had on the collections of those universities which were entitled (all except Marischal College), as well as the private donations which supported the library collections and hint at the wider importance of the university's social networks in shaping the collections students and professors had access to. At the Universities of Glasgow and St Andrews, for example, the library collections were by this time extensive, as shown by this description of "the *University Library*, whose apartments were completely filled with a store of books, amounting to upwards of 30,000".[259] The following discussion elaborates:

> The University Library was founded in the fifteenth century. It contains an

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[257] *Statistical Account 1791-1799*, University and King's College of Aberdeen, OSA, vol. XXI, 1799, p. 88

[258] The university had to have access to a regular, stable income to employ someone (usually London-based) to ensure Stationers' Hall was sending everything the library was entitled to and someone to sort through the books sent to determine what should be kept for the library. There were also issues of space and the funding necessary to expand the library sufficiently for the growing collections. Finally, the books arrived unbound and uncut and funds were therefore required for a bookseller to cut the pages and bind the editions so that they could be used in the library.

[259] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, St Andrews, Count of Fife, NSA, vol. IX, 1845, p. 492

extensive and valuable collection of books, amongst which are many beautiful editions of the classics. It is always increasing by donations of copies of every new work published in this country, as well as by books purchased by the fees received at matriculation, assisted by fees received from graduates, and by an annual payment from all students, who are entitled to the use of the library under certain limitations.[260]

The benefits of the Copyright Act, however, can be most clearly seen in Aberdeen, where King's College was entitled to claim books from Stationers' Hall, and later entitled to the allowance which replaced this right, while Marischal College was not:

The library of King's College is very extensive and valuable, but sadly cooped for want of space. As of one of the four universities of Scotland, King's College enjoyed, till lately, the Stationer's Hall privilege, and now receives, by Act of Parliament, the compensation granted in lieu of that privilege… the Marischal College has long been entitled to the use of the books derived from Stationer's Hall. But the custody of these books, as well as the choice of those to be purchased with the compensation fund, remain with the University of King's College.[261]

It can therefore be seen that King's College had extensive collections and, like St Andrews, often ran short of space to hold the high number of books. It also benefitted from further financial support "…partly derived from bequests, partly from matriculation, and other fees paid by students".[262] Marischal College, however, did have a library by this time, but the *Statistical Account* suggests that it struggled for want of funds:

The library, which will this year be transferred to the fine apartment destined for it in the new buildings, consists, for the greater part, of old books, which have been, on the whole, well preserved.[263]

It is greatly to be wished that the funds of this library were increased… The college has never enjoyed the full benefit arising from the books entered in Stationers' Hall; for only one copy being sent to Aberdeen, the right of keeping was given, by the Court of Session in 1737, to the older establishment, but, as the decision bears, "for the use of both colleges." The late alteration, by which an annual payment is given to King's College in lieu of these books, has not

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[260] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Glasgow, County of Lanark, NSA, vol. VI, 1845, p. 175
[261] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, 'Appendix to the County of Aberdeen', NSA, vol. XII, 1845, p. 1160
[262] Ibid, p. 1160
[263] Ibid, p. 1184

remedied the unequal circumstances in which Marischal College is placed, and which the Royal Commissioners have represented in their reports.[264]

Students at both Marischal and King's Colleges had access to library collections for the payment of a fee, a common feature of university libraries at that time. At King's College, "[t]he students attending College had the use of the books on deposit of L. 1 for each volume, to be returned when the book is restored".[265] At Marischal College, "[t]he collection is accessible to all under graduates [sic], and to masters of arts, on condition of a single payment of 7s. 8d., and a deposit of money, which is returned when required".[266] A small theological library was also available for students of Divinity at Marischal College.[267] Iain Beavan notes the strict rules which undergraduates were subject to in their use of the university library.

It was, however, entirely accepted that the reading of Marischal *undergraduates* ought be steered by their having to produce a note of approval signed by their professor before they could borrow any book.[268]

This further emphasises the mistrust placed in students, particularly those who were a comparable age to the pupils at the Royal High School.[269]

As noted in chapter four, the university library at St Andrews played an important function in the community. This seems to be somewhat unique in Scotland, a result of the relatively isolated location of this university in comparison with the other urban institutions.

Locals who had connections to the university through the professors or by donating books or items to the library, were given access to the collections and their own space in the borrowers' register. The *Statistical Account* of 1845 notes that a parochial library had only just been established and that "[t]he publications which have been introduced into it, are almost exclusively of a religious character".[270] It goes on to state that:

About fifteen years ago, a number of gentlemen residing in the city and neighbourhood entered into an association for the purpose of establishing a library which might embrace the most popular productions connected with general

[264] Ibid, pp. 1184-5
[265] Ibid, p. 1160
[266] Ibid, p. 1184
[267] Ibid, p. 1185
[268] Beavan, p. 3
[269] The average age for undergraduates beginning their studies at Marischal College was twelve (Beavan, p. 4).
[270] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, St Andrews, Count of Fife, NSA, vol. IX, 1845, p. 493

literature. They have now a library of considerable volume, and which is annually on the increase.[271]

The only other library available in the town was a Mechanics Library which had "of late… not prospered".[272] There was "no school of arts, nor any scientific, literary, or antiquarian society" and so the university library played an important role in giving access to a wide range of books to people in the town, both men and women.[273] In comparison to Aberdeen for example where there were several subscription libraries, the university libraries played less of an important role in giving access to books, with these subscription libraries containing between 10,000 and 12,000 volumes "chiefly in the lighter departments of literature".[274]. Practice at St Andrews, therefore, was largely due to the lack of wider access to books in town and highlights the diverse role that the university library played in the early nineteenth century, as discussed in chapter four. University libraries therefore had a similar community reach to that of the Royal High School, reflecting the importance of institutional libraries in granting access to books which would not have been otherwise accessed by members of the public. As discussed on page 154, the community access to the Royal High School library was more restricted than at St Andrews University, and arguably further restricted to the social networks of the schoolteachers. Some of the trends in the recognition of the importance of university libraries and their role in students' education are reflected in the Royal High School, particularly the movement from focusing purely on classical works to works of entertaining literature in English. This suggests that both of these were indicative of changing attitudes towards young readers. Moreover, some of the anxieties surrounding young readers and their use of libraries are also reflected in both records surrounding university libraries and the Royal High School. Financial considerations of the libraries were also key factors in shaping the collections and informed the way in which libraries managed access to their collections, both at the universities and at the Royal High School.

This chapter has provided an overview of how children and young people encountered education and reading materials across Lowland Scotland and the North East, challenging some of the claims, and supporting others, which have been made with regards to the narrative of progression in the historiography of this period. Examining the

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[271] Ibid, p. 493
[272] Ibid, p. 493
[273] Ibid, p. 493
[274] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Aberdeen, Count of Aberdeen, NSA, vol. XII, 1845, p. 101

different curricula of the Scottish universities and comparing these to the traditional education of the eighteenth-century institutions highlights some of the key changes in the makeup of these institutions and their changing role in an increasingly industrialised society. These changes are also reflected in the changing curricula of schools, in both the burgh schools and the parish schools of Lowland Scotland. These point to a wider change in Scottish society in the first half of the nineteenth century; a growing focus on public rather than domestic education; a reform of educational practice for children of all social classes; an increasing focus on occupations in educational practice, specifically those which were needed in an increasingly industrialised and global society; and a growing need for school libraries developing in line with the increased importance of libraries in general. Specifically, for the type of children attending the Royal High School this meant a broadening of education to include more practical and useful subjects rather than a focus just on Latin. The overviews of typical reading practices for both school and university students, specifically the level of access which these young people had to books in a public context, provides a point of comparison for the discussion of the Royal High School library later in the thesis, which allows for an evaluation of how typical, or not, the reading practices taking place were. In giving a broad overview of historical educational and reading practices, this also provides a useful counterpoint for the discussion of ideal reading practices in the next chapter.

Chapter Two: The Representation of Reading and Education, 1750-1850

This chapter will explore various texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which deal with boys' education and ideal reading habits.[275] Through these texts, an ideal representation of education for boys was disseminated. In the earlier part of the period, education for those who were destined to be gentlemen, later in the period, those who formed a burgeoning middle class, were discussed in these texts. This ideal encapsulates notions of politeness, including a polite literature; debates surrounding public and private (domestic) education; Enlightenment ideas about useful knowledge, and the need for a useful education for boys in an increasingly industrialised society.[276] As fiction, conduct books and essays can never be representative of real, lived experience, but they do offer a useful counterpoint to the experience of reading and education in the contexts of the educational institutions discussed in chapters one and three of this thesis. Many of the works in this chapter were included in acquisitions for the library at the Royal High School and an exploration of these texts provides an insight into the kinds of ideas with which professors and students were engaging.

The main argument of this chapter is that the ideal education and reading habits represented by these writers encapsulated the needs of a growing middle class whose public role grew in importance in a modernising society. As Roy Vickers and Jacky Eden write in their introduction to *Conduct Literature for Women, 1830-1900* (2006):

> Much of the conduct literature of the period supported the social organisation of the middle classes along the cultural and political lines that demarcated realms of accepted social and political influence by women and men.[277]

Many of the concerns surrounding women's education which preoccupied writers of conduct literature are also present in writing about boys' education. However, there is a clear gendered divide in the roles of men and women both in terms of the public and private education debate and advice about the roles that parents take in the education of their children. As public education increasingly became the norm for the sons of

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[275] Although this thesis has a distinct Scottish focus, the texts discussed in this chapter are drawn from across the British Isles. As the Royal High School borrowers' register shows, young Scots did not only read Scottish texts and the teachers at this school had access to a wide range of educational works from which to draw ideas about reading and education.

[276] Again here, I use the term *useful education* in the sense of an education that prepared boys practically for various professions and full participation in the public and political life of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[277] Roy Vickers and Jacky Eden, *Conduct Literature for Women 1830-1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006), pp. x-xi

gentlemen, we see a shift in the imagery used to describe education, from botanical (such as John Locke's references to "weeds" and "Roots" discussed below) to economical (Hannah More's word choice of "profit" and "impoverished") and an emphasis on productivity and professions in the writing of Vicesimus Knox, Thomas Campbell, Thomas Dale and others, suggesting that boys' education was no longer merely a domestic concern but also a public, political one. With the growth of the periodical press, the space in which writing of this nature appears moves towards periodicals rather than conduct books, and this can also be seen in newspaper writing about real institutions, such the Royal High School and Edinburgh Academy discussed in chapters one and three, as well as more theoretical writings discussed here. The aim of this chapter is to offer a close reading of the type of language which was used to engage with educational debates. The imagery employed in these discussions of education and reading habits provided writers with an accepted and common discourse which they drew upon across the whole period. This use of botanical and horticultural metaphors to describe an ideal education supports Mitzi Myers' notion of a "common pool of educational ideas" and highlights the extent to which writers used this common language to engage with others' ideas surrounding education.[278]

I will begin with a discussion of John Locke's representation of an ideal education for gentlemen before moving on to deal with the debates surrounding public and private education which proliferated in texts across the period. I will then consider ideas surrounding supervised and unsupervised reading practices and how these link to ideas about unregulated childhood education; and the perceived increased importance of leisure reading which we see emphasised more frequently towards the end of the eighteenth century as access to literature grows. Here, the dangers of voracious reading practices and the importance of well-chosen books will also be discussed. This leads into an exploration of the idea of a polite literature for polite society, concluding with ideas surrounding a useful education for the middle classes.

In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Locke uses botanical and horticultural imagery to reflect on the importance of early education for children, and this type of imagery is repeated throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, providing a common discourse for the discussion of childhood education. As Pam Morris

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[278] Mitzi Myers, 'Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Books', *Children's Literature* 14 (1986), p. 35

argues in *Conduct Literature for Women, 1720-1770* (2004), "conduct books have always tended to be intertextual in form, shamelessly paraphrasing and incorporating the content of earlier works" and so many of the tropes and anxieties evident in eighteenth-century writing on education can also be seen in much earlier works.[279] Furthermore, Richard Barney argues that both educational writing and novels used a common set of metaphorical discourses; including empiricist, medical and botanical imagery, in discussing pedagogical concerns. This is reflected in the conduct literature of the late seventeenth century as well as fictional representations of education and reading throughout the long eighteenth century[280]. Although not the only texts drawing attention to childhood education at the end of the seventeenth century, Locke's works were particularly influential on writing on education in the eighteenth century.[281] Barney provides evidence for the widespread circulation of Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*:

> [b]y 1800, the *Education* has appeared in more than twenty-five English editions, and during the first decades of the 1700s, it was translated into French, German, Italian, and Dutch.[282]

The increasing value placed upon childhood education is not only reflected in the educational writing of the period but also, as Dubois argues (albeit in the context of French society) in the growing number of schools and institutions in the seventeenth century.[283] However, it is within the educational writing of the period that we begin to see the use of a specific group of images to engage in educational debates, in this case, botanical imagery:

> Thus one by one, as they [faults of conduct or morality] appear'd, they might all be weeded out, without any Signs or Memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their Faults (by Indulging and Humouring our little Ones) grow up, till they are Sturdy and Numerous, and the Deformity of them makes us asham'd and

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[279] Pam Morris, 'General Introduction', *Conduct Literature for Women, 1720-1770* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), p. x

[280] See Richard Barney 'Lockean Education, Narrative Metaphor, and the Inflections of Gender', *Plots of Enlightenment: Education and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 37-80

[281] A recognition of the necessity of early education for boys was brought to the fore in mid-seventeenth-century works such as John Amos Comenius' The Great Didactic (1632) and John Milton's Of Education (1644).

[282] Barney, p. 23

[283] Elfrieda T. Dubois, 'The Education of Women in Seventeenth-Century France', *French Studies* 32.1 (January 1978), p. 2

uneasie, we are fain to come to the Plough and the Harrow, the Spade and the Pick-ax, must go deep to come at the Roots; and all the Force, Skill and Diligence we can use, is scarce enough to cleanse the vitiated Seed-Plat [sic] over-grown with Weeds, and restore us the hopes of Fruits, to reward our Pains in its season.[284]

In this description, the faults which appear in the child are seen as weeds which it is necessary to remove before they "grow up" and become too "Sturdy and Numerous" and before the task of rectifying these faults becomes too difficult. The "Force, Skill, and Diligence" required by the parent to remedy the faults of a poor early education is reflected in the type of strong garden tools; "the Harrow, the Spade and the Pick-ax" which Locke refers to. The contrast between "Weeds" and the "hopes of Fruits" emphasise the rewards for parents who take a great deal of personal care and attention in their child's education, and the dangers of an improper early education, either at the hands of parents who are guilty of "Indulging and Humouring" their children or the "unnatural" environment and practices of the public school.

This type of language is used throughout the period to discuss children's education and the dangers, particularly of an early unregulated education. For example, in the opening sentences of *Loose Hints Upon Education* (1782), Lord Kames writes:

The mind of man is a rich soil, productive equally of flowers and weeds. Good passions and impressions are flowers which ought carefully to be cultivated: bad passions and impressions are weeds which ought to be suppressed, if they cannot be totally rooted out.[285]

Kames here draws both upon Locke's ideas and his use of botanical and horticultural imagery in order to represent ideas surrounding boys' education in the late eighteenth century. Kames repeats the image of "weeds" here, mirroring Locke's use of the phrase "weeded out" and the idea of "faults" or "bad passions and impressions" as weeds to be "rooted out" is evident in both passages. This shows the impact and proliferation of Locke's ideas and the use of a shared vocabulary and imagery to discuss these ideas, which allows writers to refer to others' ideas without explicitly stating so. This type of imagery is also prevalent in works about women's education and is an important means of expressing anxieties about the education of vulnerable groups in society, such as women and children.

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[284] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 145
[285] Lord Kames, *Loose Hints Upon Education* (Dublin: T. Henshall, 1782), pp. 1-2

In his outline of an ideal education for boys destined to become young gentlemen, Locke deals with a number of issues which were intensely debated at the end of the seventeenth century, including the purpose of education and curriculum design. He places a great deal of emphasis on moral education and the cultivation of a virtuous and polite temperament in young men. He sees this as a particularly important element of early education, stating that "Vertue [sic] is harder to be got, than a Knowledge of the World; and if lost in a Young Man is seldom recovered".[286] Although Locke acknowledges that each child is born with a certain temperament, or "the peculiar Physiognomy of the Mind",[287] he also famously argues that children are "as white Paper, or Wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases".[288] This emphasises the importance of positive early influences in order for the young boy to grow into a moral and virtuous man. With this recognition of the importance of education came a corresponding desire to shift the place of learning from a domestic sphere to a public one. However, Locke's insistence on the importance of the home as the primary setting for the education of young men suggests that, at least in terms of a moral education, he still viewed childhood education as a domestic matter. Locke outlines a basic curriculum which he suggests is appropriate for a "Gentleman" rather than "a profess'd Scholar".[289] Locke's curriculum is designed not to make scholars out of young men but to make gentlemen who conduct themselves morally and knowledgeably in polite society. It is for this reason, Locke argues, that Greek is omitted from his curriculum. Acknowledging this absence, he states:

> But I am not here considering of the Education of a profess'd Scholar, but of a Gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the World now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a Man, if he has a mind to carry his Studies farther, and look into the Greek Learning, he will then easily get that Tongue himself: And if he has not that Inclination, his learning of it under a Tutor will be but lost Labour, and much of his Time and Pains spent in that, which will be neglected and thrown away, as soon as he is at Liberty.[290]

This attitude is certainly reflected in the debates about Greek education between the Royal High School, Edinburgh town council and Edinburgh University, and the subsequent patchiness in Greek provision in the curriculum of the Royal High School

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[286] Locke, p. 129
[287] Ibid, p. 163
[288] Ibid, p. 265
[289] Ibid, p. 249
[290] Ibid, p. 249

throughout the eighteenth century, discussed further in chapters one and three.

The debate surrounding the appropriateness of public or private, domestic education in this period proliferates in a number of the texts discussed here. As Michèle Cohen argues, this debate appeared in texts prior to Locke's but his "articulation of the debate was a major point of reference for educationalists throughout the eighteenth century.[291]" This debate also extends into the nineteenth century with the question not of whether a public or private education was more appropriate for boys of the burgeoning middle class, but of when this public education should begin and how parents could best prepare their children for school. A key aspect of these debates is the role of mothers and fathers in the education of their children, particularly when this education was to take place in the domestic environment. The increased recognition of the importance of the mother as an educator of her children in this period is a common theme in conduct works for women and reflects a changing attitude towards the importance of women's roles in eighteenth-century society.[292]

With Locke's focus on virtue and morality comes a rejection of public education, at least for boys of the upper ranks of society, and a refocus on parents, and particularly fathers, as pedagogical authorities. As Kathryn J. Ready argues, "Locke sees men and women as both heavily involved in the process of education."[293] Locke viewed schools to be failing on delivering academic learning in a way that benefitted children. He later argued that, by ignoring children's inclinations to learn certain subjects at certain times and being forced to punish children into learning certain things, they come to hate some subjects and not others; "[t]here is something strange, unnatural, and disagreeable to that Age, in the Things requir'd in Grammar-Schools, or in the methods used there."[294] The word choice particularly of "unnatural" contrasts with the botanical imagery Locke uses to describe the moral education delivered by parents, which suggests that Locke sees the home as the natural and preferred setting for childhood education.

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[291] Michele Cohen, 'Gender and the Private/Public Debate on Education in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Public or Private Education?: Lessons from History* ed. Richard Aldrich (London: Woburn Press, 2004), p. 16

[292] See Mitzi Myers, 'Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Books', *Children's Literature* 14 (1986) 31-59, Katie Halsey, 'The home education of girls in the eighteenth-century novel: "the pernicious effects of an improper education", *Oxford Review of Education* 41.4 (2015) and Rebecca Davies, *Written Maternal Authority and Eighteenth-Century Education in Britain: Educating by the Book* (London: Ashgate, 2014)

[293] Kathryn J. Ready, 'Damaris Cudworth Masham, Catharine Trotter Cockburn, and the Feminist Legacy of Locke's Theory of Personal Identity', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35.4 (2002), p. 568

[294] Locke, p. 146

The significance of the role of the parent in a child's education can also be seen in Alexander Monro's letters to his daughter, discussed briefly in the previous chapter, which he titles *An Essay on Female Conduct* (1747). These letters were a means for him to communicate his wishes to his daughter but constituted also a practical didactic exercise for her, as she was directed to transcribe the letters a number of times, adding her own thoughts and receiving feedback from her father, who then added corrections. The *Essay* is composed of a series of letters written between 1739 and 1746.[295] It is particularly useful here as, although it discusses female education, through its comparison with Margaret's brothers' education we can also gain an insight into ideals for the education of boys of the middle-upper ranks of Scottish society. Monro took a hands-on approach to the education of his own children, ensuring that he followed up on the education given by their 'Masters' in the evening:

> Besides being the Sole Instructor of his Children in Arithmetick [sic] Geography and some other parts of Education, A.M. [Alexander Monro] was Assistant to every one of their Masters by examining their Performances and putting the Children to Trials of Skill at Home. To accustome [sic] the Boys to the speaking of Latin, which he thought then was too much neglected, he formed a Society of his Sons, his Apprentices and some Friends Children, among whom he was Praeses,[296] who met every Night in his House to converse for an Hour in Latin, and each in his Turn read a Discourse in that Language one day of the week, which often being corrected by a Committee was transcribed into a Book for the Purpose.[297]

The Monro children's education took place in a domestic setting but had a decidedly public aspect to it. It was not conducted solely under the charge of a parent but involved the hiring of tutors. Furthermore, Alexander Monro formed a sort of society of his apprentices and the children of friends who were also educated in this setting; a small public school of sorts. However, it is clear from the description above that Alexander Monro took a key role in the education of his sons, as well as his daughter. His ability to teach a wide range of subjects and the time evidently devoted to teaching and testing not

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[295] P.A.G. Monro, who edits the original Essay, argues that references to the Jacobite Rising of 1745 within the letters can be used to date them to these years. Margaret would have been between the ages of twelve and nineteen.

[296] The chair or head of a society.

[297] Monro, p. 3

only his own children but others as well, shows that a domestic education, overseen by a parent with appropriate skills could be detailed and wide-ranging. (The Edgeworths' concerns about domestic education, undertaken by parents without time or skills, and discussed further below, is not evident here.) It is important to note the self-conscious and public nature of Monro's writing, referring to himself in the third person for example, which suggests that he may have had an agenda for publicly representing the ideal domestic education which took place in his home, under his guidance. It is also important to note here that the academic education of their children is undertaken solely by the children's father and not their mother, a theme which reappears in Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Emile, or, On Education* (1762).

Rousseau's *Emile* demonstrates a marked change in attitudes towards childhood which fed into many of the Romantics poets' ideas about childhood and the importance of early education in determining adult character.[298] The debate surrounding public and private education is also evident here, particularly in relation to the parents' role in early education. Like other educational writers, Rousseau makes use of a common rhetoric of botanical and horticultural metaphors. In describing the importance of early education, for example, he states:

> Nature there would be like a shrub that chance had caused to be born in the middle of a path and that passers-by soon cause to perish by bumping into it from all sides and bending it in every direction. It is to you that I address myself, tender and foresighted mother, who are capable of keeping the nascent shrub away from the highway and securing it from the impact of human opinions! Cultivate and water the young plant before it dies. Its fruits will one day be your delights. Form an enclosure around your child's soul at an early date. Someone else can draw its circumference, but you alone must build the fence.[299]

Here the child is represented as passive plant-life which the parent is expected to nurture, "water" and "cultivate", and around which they "must build the fence".[300] Here, it is the

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[298] See Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1852* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), Philippe Ariès *Centuries of Childhood* trans. by Robert Baldick (London: Random House, 1996) and for a discussion of the impact of Rousseau on Romantic attitudes towards childhood as represented in nineteenth-century children's literature, see Monika M. Elbert and Lesley Ginsberg, *Romantic Education in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (London: Routledge, 2015)

[299] Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile; or, On Education*, trans. by Allan Bloom (London: Basic Books, 1979), pp. 37-38

[300] This image is reminiscent of later examples in Mary Brunton's novels.

mother who is represented as "the skilful gardener"[301] because as Rousseau argues "this first education belongs incontestably to women; if the Author of nature had wanted it to belong to men, He would have given them milk with which to nurse the children".[302] In *Emile*, there is an argument for women's active involvement in rearing and educating children and their role as agents in the metaphorical gardening process. Samantha George highlights a distinction in Rousseau's writing between the role of the mother and the father in educating their children. She argues that Rousseau assigns the task of cultivation to women and the task of education to men, stating that:

> The task of early nurturing, of tending natural growth, belongs to the mother while the father is assigned the role of educator: 'The real nurse is the mother and the real teacher is the father.' Rousseau declares that 'Plants are fashioned by cultivation, man by education'.[303]

There is a gender divide in the roles which Rousseau expected each parent to take in the private education of their child. The metaphorical role of gardener is seen as a natural extension of the role of the mother and there is an anxiety surrounding which parent should educate their children, and which should nurture them. However, the implication is that with the increasing importance of education,[304] the vital act of teaching is still reserved for the father and, like Locke, Rousseau sees the education of a child as a domestic matter, not a public one.

Rousseau argues that formal instruction of children should not begin before the age of twelve[305] and this specific recommendation is emphasised and discussed in educational writing later in the period, with writers agreeing and disagreeing with him. Lord Kames writes that:

> Rousseau advances a strange opinion, that children are incapable of instruction before the age of twelve. This opinion, confined to the understanding, is perhaps not far from truth. But was it his opinion, that children before twelve are incapable of being instructed in matters of right and wrong, of love and hatred, or of other feelings that have an original seat in the heart?[306]

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[301] Richardson, p. 259
[302] Rousseau, p. 38
[303] Samantha George, 'The Cultivation of the Female Mind: Enlightened Growth, Luxuriant Decay and Botanical Analogy in Eighteenth-Century Texts', *History of European Ideas* 32.2 (2005), p. 6
[304] Rousseau argues against early formal education for children, instead emphasising the importance of 'nurturing' the young child, a role suited for the mother rather than the father.
[305] Rousseau, p. 57
[306] Kames, p. 4

While Catharine Macaulay, whose work is discussed below, draws on Rousseau's ideas to argue that children should not be publicly educated before the age of twelve, here Kames draws a distinction between the appropriate time to begin moral education and an appropriate time to begin academic education by questioning Rousseau's assertion that "children are incapable of instruction before the age of twelve" and intimating that children are not "incapable of being instructed in matters of right and wrong". The use of botanical imagery to discuss early education tends, up until the 1780s, to focus more on the moral dangers of an improper or poorly regulated domestic education, rather than a fault in the academic education of young children. Though this was still a theme in the literature of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, there was an increasing focus on the importance of a properly regulated classical education and, in particular, on the importance of supervised reading, discussed in more detail later below.

In *Liberal Education: Or, A Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning* (1781), Vicesimus Knox draws on the botanical imagery usually used to stress the importance of a good, early domestic education to defend the importance of public education for boys of the growing middle classes. As a public schoolmaster, Knox was especially well qualified to enter this debate and his *Liberal Education* was seen as a "professional handbook for fellow schoolmasters".[307] *Liberal Education* was included in the 1839 catalogue of the Royal High School library. In his discussion of boys whose health makes it impossible for them to attend public school, Knox writes:

> Boys in these circumstances should be treated like those tender plants, which, unable to bear the weather, are placed under glasses, and in the shelter of the greenhouse. The oak will flourish left in an open exposure.[308]

The use here of the image of a greenhouse or hothouse is a relatively positive one, with the conditions deemed appropriate for certain boys in certain situations. This contrasts with later uses of this image in, for example, Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817) and Mary Brunton's *Discipline* (1814), where both writers use the image of a greenhouse to critique certain types of improvement and education.[309] However, the use of the

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[307] Philip Carter and S. J. Skedd, 'Vicesimus Knox 1752-1821', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [accessed online 29 Sep 2021]

[308] Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education: Or, A Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning* (London: Printed for C. Dilly, 1783), p. 36

[309] In Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, General Tilney's hot-houses are portrayed as a lavish and not entirely effective part of his estate: "the utmost care could not always secure the most valuable fruits" (Austen, *Northanger Abbey,* p. 145). There is also an underlying criticism of the ignorance of the natural

greenhouse imagery here does contrast with the shorter statement that "[t]he oak will flourish left in an open exposure", with the idea that an already strong plant which is left relatively uncultivated will benefit much more from an "open" or public environment, than a small, private one. Knox explicitly writes in favour of public education, stating that:

> The school-boy has the best chance of acquiring that confidence and spirit which is necessary to display valuable attainments. Excessive diffidence, bashfulness, and indolence, retard the acquisition of knowledge, and destroy its due effect when acquired.[310]

Knox suggests that in late eighteenth-century society, where it is increasingly important for boys of the middling sort to take a role in public life, that public school is the most appropriate education for them, rather than the domestic education which was so prevalent earlier in the period.[311]

We see the movement from private to public education, more broadly, played out in Hannah More's educational writing, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799). More discusses the role of teachers in the education of children:

> Hired teachers are also under a disadvantage resembling tenants at rack-rent; it is their interest to bring in an immediate revenue of praise and profit, and, for the sake of a present rich crop, those who are not strictly conscientious, do not care how much the ground is impoverished for future produce. But parents, who are

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cultivation of a garden and its social and spiritual benefits. While in Brunton's *Discipline*, Ellen Price forces one of the gardeners to work overnight in the hot-house in order to artificially cultivate exotic flowers for a party (Brunton, *Discipline,* p. 187). The gardener becomes ill and can no longer work, impoverishing his family. Ellen is devastated when she discovers this later and does what she can to help the family, whom she has financially ruined through her earlier shallow and selfish behaviour. This is an important moment in her spiritual and social salvation and it is Ellen's lack of appreciation for the natural cultivation of flowers which leads to these disastrous consequences. For more on this see Judith W. Page and Elise L. Smith, *Women, Literature and the Domesticated Landscape: Disciples of Flora, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Alistair Duckworth, *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (Maryland: John Hopkins Press University Press, 1994) and Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1983).

[310] Knox, *Liberal Education,* p. 32

[311] Austen also visits this debate in *Sense and Sensibility* through Robert Ferrars' comments on his brother's education: "Why they *were* different, Robert exclaimed to her himself in the course of a quarter of an hour's conversation; for, talking of his brother, and lamenting the extreme *gaucherie* which he really believed kept him from mixing in proper society, he candidly and generously attributed it much less to any natural deficiency, than to the misfortune of a private education; while he himself, though probably without any particular, any material superiority by nature, merely from the advantage of a public school, was as well fitted to mix in the world as any other man." (Austen, *Sense and Sensibility,* p. 188)

the lords of the soil, must look to permanent value, and to continued fruitfulness.[312]

More explores the dangers here of using teachers who are not invested in the futures of their charges and emphasises the importance of the parents taking an active role in the education of their children as they are more interested in their long-term development. She engages with the gardening metaphors which have pervaded the educational and didactic writing of the eighteenth century through her use of "crop", "soil" and "fruitfulness". However, there is a further layer to More's use of metaphor which draws on an economical discourse in order to stress the importance of a proper education in providing the parents with "permanent value" rather than "immediate revenue" and "profit". There is an implicit assumption here that her readership is of the landed gentry classes, or aspiring middle classes, and an assumption that the education of their children would also have an economic dimension. The emphasis on the permanence of the effects of education, in light of More's evangelical background, can be read as a critique of the short-term benefits of a shallow education, based on accomplishments, in contrast to a well-planned moral and spiritual education which would result in "permanent value" in the form of salvation. What must be stressed, however, is that unlike in Rousseau's *Emile*, More places the responsibility for education on both parents, as "lords of the soil". Though the children to be educated are still represented as passive objects rather than agents, there is a shift towards a more equal view of the role of educator in More's writing. The debate surrounding public and domestic education, by the end of the eighteenth century is less focused on morality and more focused on economics, reflecting the growing need for a productive population in an increasingly industrialised society, and the costs involved in educating a greater number of boys and young men for these roles. More's writing, therefore, although explicitly focussing on the education of girls, also reveals broader societal concerns relating to productivity and economics.

Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth similarly emphasise the need for an education to suit a new range of public and professional roles in *Practical Education* (1798). They argue that:

Persons of narrow fortune, or persons who have acquired wealth in business, are

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[312] Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (London: T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1799) pp. 91-2

often desirous of breeding up their sons to the liberal professions; and they are conscious that the company, the language, and the style of life, which their children would be accustomed to at home, are beneath what would be suited to their future professions.[313]

The Edgeworths' views mark a change in attitude towards public education, particularly for the growing middle classes at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This reflects Knox's earlier argument that boys of this class would do best in schools, rather than in a domestic setting. However, the Edgeworths have a second dimension to their argument for the use of schools in this context. In an increasingly professional class, parents have less time to attend to the education of their children, and in a rapidly changing society, the skills required for the next generation were not necessarily those in which parents could tutor their sons:

> How are vast numbers who are occupied themselves in public or professional pursuits, how are men in business or in trade, artists or manufacturers, to educate their families, when they have not time to attend to them; when they may not think themselves perfectly prepared to undertake the classical instruction, and entire education of several boys; and when perhaps, they may not be in circumstances to engage the assistance of such a preceptor as they could approve?… It would therefore be impolitic and cruel to disgust those with public schools, who have no other resource for the education of their families.[314]

The Edgeworths' support of public schools is not straightforwardly positive. They do argue in favour of a domestic education, if the father has the "time, talents, and temper" and that a father in this position is "the best possible preceptor, and his reward will be the highest degree of domestic felicity".[315] They also argue in favour of specialised schools for military occupations, stressing the need for a wide range of different educational practice for different circumstances:

> We must here distinctly point out, that young men designed for the army or the navy should not be educated in private families. The domestic habits, the learned leisure of private education, are unsuited to them; it would be absurd to waste

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[313] Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education* vol. 1 (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1798) [accessed via Historic Texts] p. 502
[314] Ibid, pp. 501-2
[315] Ibid, p. 517

many years in teaching them the elegance of classic literature, which can be probably of no essential use to them… Military academies, where the sciences practically essential to the professions are taught, must be the best situations for all young sailors and soldiers; strict institution for them is the best education… We may safely recommend it to parents, never to trust a young man designed for a soldier, to the care of a philosopher, even if it were possible to find one who would undertake the charge.[316]

The Edgeworths then do not view a wholly classical education as appropriate for boys destined for the army or navy. As discussed in chapter one, the Scottish Naval and Military Academy was established in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century with "the purpose of affording education to pupils destined to serve in the army or navy, or East India Company's service."[317] Though its curriculum was based on a classical education, it also included the "the sciences practically essential to the professions".[318] The call for this type of school by writers like the Edgeworths and the establishment of these institutions in the nineteenth century may also account for a growing desire for a more practical type of education better suited to the range of employment opportunities open to boys of a growing middle class. The particular focus here on military and naval careers is also reflected in childhood reading practices, not only in the Edgeworths' own suggestions for appropriate reading material (discussed later in this chapter) but also in the popularity of these works at both the Royal High School and the University of St Andrews, discussed in chapter three.

Throughout the period, even writers who were generally in favour of public education argue that it is important that young children are educated at home, and that this education is overseen by parents. The programme that the Edgeworths outline in *Practical Education* is designed with children under the age of eight or nine in mind, with the idea that this would prepare them for school.[319] As mentioned previously, Catharine Macaulay directly quotes Rousseau's advice that "we should not tamper with the mind till it has acquired all its faculties"[320] while arguing against formal teaching before the age of twelve years in her *Letters on Education* (1790). She goes on to outline a

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[316] Ibid, p. 516
[317] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, Count of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 684
[318] Ibid, p. 684
[319] Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, p. 499
[320] Catharine Macaulay, *Letters on Education: With Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects* (Dublin: Printed for H. Chamberlaine and Rice, 1790), p. 80

curriculum which argues for children to begin learning to read at the age of ten "with the most celebrated fables in English, Latin and French Languages"[321] before proceeding to a largely classical education; English Grammar at twelve, Latin and History at fourteen, Greek at sixteen and once they have made progress in these areas, ancient geography, astronomy, experimental philosophy and natural history are to be taught. At the age of eighteen, logic and Aristotle are to be studied, followed by politics, ancient mythology, ancient metaphysics, ecclesiastical history and finally mathematics at the age of nineteen.[322] Macaulay's curriculum, in content at least, closely matches the 1826 curricular reforms at The Royal High School, discussed further in chapter three.

By the nineteenth century, and the publication of William Barrow's *Essay on Education* (1802), Michèle Cohen argues that "a crucial shift appears to have taken place with regard to the perception of public schools. Their narrow focus, so long an object of criticism, had been turned into a unique virtue".[323] This is mirrored, not only in the changing curricula of the Royal High School and the new Edinburgh Academy but also in the criticisms coming from the universities of the quality of education in the grammar schools, discussed in chapter one. This shift is also evident in Harriet Martineau's conduct work, *Household Education* (1849). Martineau strongly advocates for public education for middle-class children:

> I think that no children, in any rank of life, can acquire so much book-knowledge at home as at a good school, or have their intellectual faculties so well roused and trained. I have never seen an instance of such high attainment in languages, mathematics, history, or philosophy in young people taught at home, - even by the best masters, - as those who have been in a good school.[324]

With the growing number of public schools in the nineteenth century there was less anxiety surrounding their appropriateness and an increased focus on the benefits of such broad-ranging education which would have been difficult for most parents to provide in a domestic setting. Martineau does however still reiterate the importance of a domestic early education for infants, reflecting eighteenth-century concerns about early education. Drawing on similar language to Rousseau, Martineau argues for the home education of infants:

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[321] Ibid, pp. 80-1
[322] Ibid, p. 81
[323] Cohen, 'Gender and the Private/Public Debate on Education in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 26
[324] Harriet Martineau *Household Education* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1861) p. 172

> In truth, school is no place of education for any children whatever till their minds are well put in action. This is the work which has to be done at home, and which may be done in all homes where the mother is a sensible woman.[325]

Martineau argues that the home can provide a decent education "where there is any value for the human intellect, and any intention to educate the children. It is difficult to say what more could be done in the school-room of a palace… it depends simply on the quality of the parents whether the children of the palace or of the cottage are the better educated".[326] Her comments here reflect the growing number of infant schools in the mid-nineteenth century, with a greater number of younger children being educated publicly. The argument surrounding public and domestic education had shifted over the course of the eighteenth century, to focus not just on whether a public-school setting was appropriate but rather when boys should begin their education there; whether girls should also be educated publicly, and increasingly on what this public education should look like with specialised institutions for different occupations.

Many of the texts discussed thus far also deal with the perceived dangers of unsupervised reading practices for children in this period. With growing literacy rates and increasingly accessible books of a wide range of types, concerns about what children were reading also grew throughout the period, resulting both in discussions of the dangers of unregulated reading practices and very specific recommendations of appropriate reading materials. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a growing recognition of the need for children to read for entertainment and recreation, rather than just for educational or moral purposes. This was reflected not only in the writing discussed in this chapter but also in the changing nature of the library collections and borrowers' registers at the Royal High School. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, reading practices in institutional spaces were by default supervised reading practice. However, the increased perceived importance of a space, and materials, to encourage leisure reading in educational institutions discussed in chapter one reflects the growing importance of reading for non-academic purposes, and indeed for other forms of improvement, in this period.[327]

The importance of reading for enjoyment in leisure time increasingly became a

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[325] Ibid, pp. 197-8
[326] Ibid, p. 211
[327] See also Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'School Libraries in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', *Edinburgh History of Reading* eds. Mary Hammond and Jonathan Rose (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020)

concern towards the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century as the middle class grew and industrialised society allowed working men to have more leisure time.[328] This, coupled with a growing print culture and literacy rates meant that, as Edward Copleston wrote for the *Quarterly Review* in 1825, "[w]e are become a nation of readers" and that reading "forms the recreation of many of them [tradesmen] in large towns". [329] The idea of leisure reading was, by the early nineteenth century, very much embedded in the culture of the middle classes. The importance of leisure time which could be used for recreational reading was a vital part of the lifestyle of the middle classes and preparing for this became a key part of the education of boys of this class. Vicesimus Knox argues for the importance of leisure reading in 1781:

> At the age then of twelve or thirteen, let a few English books be put into his hands. They should be entertaining, or they will not, at first excite his attention. They should at the same time be classical, or have some connection with real and valuable knowledge, or they will only dissipate his ideas and impede his progress in the more essential pursuits.[330]

For Knox the importance of reading English and Classical works was vital within the context of a liberal education, an idea which feeds into the debate surrounding useful education discussed below. He also iterates the importance of reading "good books" in leisure time in *Hints to those who are Designed for a Mercantile Life* (1784).[331] As Richard de Ritter argues, these warnings anticipate similar arguments for women readers in Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindications of the Rights of Women* (1792) and Richard Lovell Edgeworth's *Letters for Literary Ladies* (1795).[332] Preparation for this type of reading became a key part of the liberal education of the middle classes towards the end of the eighteenth century and leisure reading had a moral purpose, as well as an academic or improving one. Martineau explicitly states it to be a vital part of the education of the middle classes, stating that "[a] wise parent will indulge the love of reading, not only from kindness… but because what is read with enjoyment has intense effect upon the

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[328] See Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge, 1978) and John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)

[329] Edward Copleston, 'Review of Thomas Campbell's Plans for a College in London' in Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) p. 28

[330] Knox, *Liberal Education,* p. 228

[331] Vicesimus Knox, 'Hints to those who are Designed for a Mercantile Life', *Essays Moral and Literary* (Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1786), p. 249 [accessed via Historical Texts]

[332] Richard de Ritter, *Imagining Women Readers, 1789-1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 139-40

intellect".[333] She stresses the importance of the father's role in leading by example:

> The children see what a privilege and recreation reading is to their father; and they grow up with a reverence and love for that great resource. The hope and expectation carry them through the tedious work of the alphabet and pothooks. And as they grow up, they are admitted to the magnificent privilege of fireside intercourse with the holy Milton, and the glorious Shakspere [sic], and many a sage whose best thoughts may become their ideas of every day. They thus obtain that activity and enlargement of mind which render all employments and all events educational.[334]

For Martineau, a love for reading is the responsibility of parents and an important part of preparing the child for school and more academic reading there. This is also evident in the Edgeworths' recommendations for appropriate reading materials as illustrated below.

The image of the child reading for enjoyment became a dominant and aspirational one in nineteenth-century fictional representations of child readers. Patricia Crain argues that the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of a desire not just for children to learn to read but for them to "be *seen* reading".[335] She argues for this, not only in "[t]he image of a child absorbed in a book, a genre of picture belonging to the turn of the twentieth century" but also in the representations of child readers in nineteenth-century literature.[336] For example, she states that "[t]he opening scene of *Jane Eyre* is the locus classicus for scenes of absorbed, withdrawn, window-seat reading in literature".[337] She goes on to argue that this image of "window-seat reading" is "[a]s an icon or hieroglyph… conveys a layered cultural fantasy: reading is easy, dreamy, natural, cozy, sleepy, safe, comfortable, comforting, desirable - and so are children".[338] This representation of childhood reading practice was very much linked to a domestic ideal in this period. As Crain states "this is emphatically not the schoolhouse literacy that anyone can get in a public classroom. Instead it lifts the docile body out of the schoolroom and establishes an autonomous and yet protected and domestic child-with-books as an object of nostalgic reverie".[339] What it also does, however, is shift the middle-class ideal of childhood

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[333] Martineau, p. 140
[334] Ibid, p. 44
[335] Patricia Crain, *Reading Children: Literacy, Property, and the Dilemmas of Childhood in Nineteenth–Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016) p. 1
[336] Ibid, p. 2
[337] Ibid, p. 2
[338] Ibid, p. 3
[339] Ibid, p. 3

reading away from a public type of reading towards the private.

Considered in chapter one, Walter Scott's childhood reading, as depicted in his letters, was as part of a performance within the domestic space. In *Waverley* (1814), it is Edward's unguided, private reading which is seen as harmful. Indeed, despite what Crain argues about the "aspirational" domestic idyll of the image of the child reading on the window seat,[340] Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) also reveals an anxiety about this type of independent, personal, and, therefore, unguided and promiscuous, reading practice. Martineau addresses this anxiety by stating that:

> My own opinion is that it is better to leave him to his natural tastes, - to his instincts,- when that important period of his life arrives which makes him an independent reader.[341]

Leisure reading, although deemed an important part of middle-class culture and of a liberal education for middle-class boys is not represented as being free from the risk of the dangers of voracious reading practices. By the mid-nineteenth century, a greater degree of trust is given to children in letting them choose reading materials for themselves, and this is reflected not only in Martineau's comments above but also in the growth of school libraries and the increase in the numbers and types of texts available to younger boys, as discussed in chapters one and three.

Anxieties surrounding uncontrolled and excessive reading in childhood can be extrapolated both from how prescriptive writers were in their selection of suitable texts and from overt warnings about voracious reading practices in texts. Despite Martineau's assertion that children are better left to their "natural taste" in choosing books, she also advocates for a supervised reading practice with the books accessible to children being "at the discretion of a judicious superintendant [sic]".[342] She also goes on to state that parents ought to make sure that the books available to their children are only those of quality, particularly during the time when children demonstrate a "greediness for books" which she argues "is simply a natural appetite for that provision of ideas and images which should, at this season, be laid in for the exercise of the higher faculties which have yet to come into use".[343] She argues that this selection of books is not about suggesting specific titles for children, but about carefully curating the books available to them:

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[340] Crain, p. 3
[341] Martineau, pp. 204-5
[342] Ibid, p. 230
[343] Ibid, p. 207

> The child's own mind is truer judge in this case than the parents' suppositions. Let but noble books be on the shelf, - the classics of our language,- and the child will get nothing but good.[344]

The importance of presenting children only with a selection of "good" books is a concern of all educational writers dealing with reading practices in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, Vicesimus Knox argues that:

> [F]rom the age of nine to nineteen, the pupil be not permitted to read any book whatever, except religious books, English, French, Latin, or Greek, which is not universally known and allowed to be written according to the most approved and classical taste.[345]

In 'Education of the Middle Class' (1839), F.D. Maurice argues that schoolmasters should choose English texts carefully:

> [W]hatever of our native writings answer most nearly in spirit and cleanness to those which the master of a Latin and Greek school would put into the hands of his scholars. The best that any one could do would be to provide cheap school editions of our old authors, especially the chroniclers and poets.[346]

Despite a growing recognition of the importance of leisure reading for children, throughout the period the need for adults to superintend over childhood reading practices is advocated for in various texts. This anxiety surrounding unsupervised reading practices among boys and young men appears to have both an academic and moral basis, and has its roots in discussions surrounding taste and polite literature.

All the writers who discuss childhood reading practices also emphasise the importance of carefully selecting reading materials for children. Writers often give specific examples of works which would be suitable for children to read and the purpose of this section is to trace these in the educational writing across the period. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke states that there are a limited number of suitable works for children, including Aesop's *Fables*, one of the first English texts purchased for the Royal High School in 1778, which he describes as "the only Book almost that I know

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[344] Ibid, p. 209
[345] Knox, *Liberal Education*, p. 195
[346] F.D. Maurice, 'Education of the Middle Class' (1839) in Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) pp.54- 55

fit for Children".[347] Locke also suggested *Reynard the Fox* and "some Parts of the Scripture, which may be proper to be put into the Hands of a Child, to ingage [sic] him to read; such as are the Story of Joseph, and his Brethren, of David and Goliah [sic], of David and Jonathan, &c. And others, that he should be made to read for his Instruction, as That, What you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them; and such other easy and plain moral Rules, which being fitly chosen, might often be made use of, both for Reading and Instruction together…".[348] The purpose of reading and the selection of texts for Locke are wrapped up in a distinctly moral education. However, Locke does recommend volumes of Aesop with illustrations which "will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the increase of Knowledge with it"[349] and so there is a definite encouragement of reading for pleasure within the curriculum he sets out, which corresponds to his desire to instil a love for learning in children.[350] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, like Locke, was also particularly prescriptive in his suggestion of reading material, stating that the only book suitable for children is *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)[351]. This title does not appear in the catalogues or acquisitions for the Royal High School library. However, its suggestion by Rousseau is interesting in light of the popularity of travel literature at the Royal High School in the late eighteenth century, reflecting the beginnings of a literature specifically suitable for boys both in an educational context and for leisure reading.

Knox recommends specific English texts for use in schools. He firstly recommends the *Spectator* and then Rollin's *Ancient History* and *Plutarch's Lives* (1470). However, he states that *Ancient History* "is rather too long. Select parts should be judiciously pointed out".[352] This demonstrates that not only is it the schoolmasters' duty to select specific texts and make these available to pupils, they must also act as an intermediary between the child and the text. Both *Ancient History* and *Plutarch's Lives* were frequently borrowed by Royal High School pupils. The *Spectator* is a repeated acquisition for the Royal High School and was one of the periodicals popular among the schoolboys (though not as much as *The Scots Magazine*). Knox's comment on *Plutarch's*

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[347] Locke, p. 242
[348] Locke, pp. 212-3
[349] Locke, p. 212
[350] Locke went on to produce an edition of *Aesop's Fables* in 1703 which includes parallel versions of the stories in English and Latin. This enabled children to learn Latin without the help of a teacher. See Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 41.
[351] Rousseau, p. 158
[352] Knox, *Liberal Education,* p. 229

Lives, that "such models tend to inspire the young mind with all that is generous and noble "[353] also suggests that there was a morally improving dimension to leisure reading, with texts chosen specifically to give boys models and lessons to live by, and this is a factor in the Royal High School boys' reading habits to which I return in chapter five. However, Knox does not recommend the reading of novels and this is where his recommendations depart from the reading practices at the Royal High School. On the subject of novels, he states:

> One caution is highly necessary on this subject. Novels must be prohibited. I have known boys of parts stopped at once in their career of improvement in classical knowledge, by reading novels. They considered Latin and Greek as dull, in comparison, and could never prevail on themselves to give them due attention. When a great deal of classical improvement is secured, one or two of the best romances and novels may be read, for the sake of acquainting the student with the nature of this kind of writing. But even the works of Cervantes and Fielding, must not be attended to, before a deep and strong foundation is laid for solid improvement. True history will afford little entertainment to the boy who can procure fiction. Exclude fiction, and he will be delighted with true history.[354]

It is interesting to note that Knox sees novels as things to be read only once classical literature has, to some degree, been mastered, as novels form part of the collections of the juvenile library at the Royal High School in the nineteenth century and dominated the borrowers' registers from the 1820s. This indicates a schism between attitudes towards the reading of novels by children in the 1780s, at least those espoused by Knox and other educationalists, and the nineteenth-century reading habits at the Royal High School library.

In *Practical Education*, the Edgeworths recommend a number of books for younger children and these particular books reflect the increased presence of a specific literature for children on the market. The first book recommended is Mrs Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* (1778-1779*) [355]*. For older children (seven to ten year olds) they suggest Barbauld's *Evenings at Home* (1792-1796) alongside works of natural history, "a study particularly suited to children".[356] The Edgeworths also offer a commentary on

[353] Ibid, p. 230
[354] Ibid, pp. 235-6
[355] Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, p. 317
[356] Ibid, pp. 338-9

some of the passages from Barbauld's work and Arnaud Berquin's *The Children's Friend* (1783) before arguing that other works such as Thomas Day's *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783-1789), Madame la Marquise de Genlis' *Theatre of Education* (1779-1780) and *Tales of the Castle* (1784), Madame de la Fite's *Tales and Conversations* (*Questions to be Resolved: Or, A New Method of Exercising the Attention of Young People* (1791)) and Mrs Smith's *Rural Walks* (1795), "which have considerable merit, would deserve a separate analysis, if literary criticism were our object… Our wish is to separate the small portion of what is useless from the excellent nutriment contained in the books we have mentioned"[357]. Like Knox's advice to schoolmasters to select specific extracts from Rollins' *Ancient History*, the Edgeworths here also act as intermediaries between the text and, not only the child, but also the parent educator, by selecting the most appropriate passages from certain texts. Even when books are written specifically for children, adults do still, or are at least, advised to, intercede between the child and any reading material they might encounter.

The Edgeworths also go on to advise against the voracious reading of stories for children, the dangers of which they compare to the reading of novels by women:

> [T]his species of reading cultivates what is called the heart prematurely, lowers the tone of the mind, and induces indifference for those common pleasures and occupations which, however trivial in themselves, constitute by far the greatest portion of our daily happiness.[358]

The Edgeworths recommend voyages and travels to be read with caution by boys. They argue that although these "amuse the imagination of children without acting upon their feelings":

> [T]he taste for adventure is absolutely incompatible with the sober perseverance necessary to success in any other liberal professions. To girls this species of reading cannot be as dangerous as it is to boys; girls must very soon perceive the impossibility of their rambling about the world in quest of adventures… Boys, on the contrary, from the habits of their education, are prone to admire, and to imitate, every thing [sic] like enterprise and heroism".[359]

This warning about the adverse effects of reading voyages and travels is significant in

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[357] Ibid, p. 332
[358] Ibid, pp. 332-3
[359] Ibid, pp. 335-6

light of both their popularity in the borrowers' records at the Royal High School, and the upsurge in their acquisition for the library in the 1780s and 1790s. In the context of the school these were deemed appropriate, entertaining material for boys in this period, reflecting not only ideal masculine characteristics of ingenuity and bravery but also a romanticised reflection of some of the roles these boys would go on to take in the Empire. However, for the Edgeworths such texts did not prepare boys for some of the more prosaic occupations they would have to fulfil.

Harriet Martineau regards voyages and travels and "all tales of noble adventure" as both particularly appealing to child readers and appropriate in moderate doses.[360] She argues that the "appetite for fiction" shown by children is an indicator of the development of their "conceptive faculties" or imagination.[361] Alongside these, as noted previously, Martineau recommends a wide range of texts for children to read, with the argument being that parents should only make available "good" books. She specifically recommends the Bible, Milton's *Paradise Lost* and "the reading of good fiction", including the novels of Walter Scott, which she argues serve a similar purpose for this generation in gaining an interest in history "as to many a preceding one by the Plays of Shakspere [sic]".[362] Across the period the number of texts deemed appropriate for children grows, from the single texts recommended by Locke and Rousseau, to a small selection by Knox and the Edgeworths, both of whom recommend that an adult intercedes between text and child, and finally to a wide range of various reading materials reflected not only in Martineau's recommendations in 1850 but also in the much greater variety of texts borrowed by children at the Royal High School in the first half of the nineteenth century. This reflects a growing belief that reading books, particularly those which have been carefully curated by an educator, was not unduly harmful to either the academic or moral development of children. It also reflects a growth in the production and marketing of books which were suitable for children: voyages and travels, and "good" works of fiction.

Notions of politeness are reflected in both discussions about leisure reading and in the selection of texts for boys and young men to read throughout the eighteenth century. Michèle Cohen argues that "[p]oliteness, a dominant ideal of behaviour for both sexes

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[360] Martineau, p. 236
[361] Martineau, pp. 201-2
[362] Ibid, p. 236

and the main technique of male self-fashioning in the eighteenth century, was best expressed in conversation".[363] Polite conversation was seen as both an important part of middle-class male identity and an appropriate use of leisure time, reflected in the literature surrounding leisure reading. Leisure reading was also represented as an important practice in the formation of good taste for literature, an idea that Rousseau argued for and that is reiterated throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. This can be seen, both in the selection of texts available to young readers at the Royal High School, and in the discourse surrounding polite literature in various works on education. In his introduction to his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), Hugh Blair writes about the importance both of leisure reading and polite literature:

> Life must always languish in the hands of the idle. It will frequently languish even in the hands of the busy, if they have not some employment subsidiary to that which forms their main pursuit. How then shall all these vacant spaces, those unemployed intervals, which, more or less, occur in the life of every one, be filled up? How can we contrive to dispose of them in any way that shall be more agreeable in itself, or more consonant to the dignity of the human mind, than in the entertainments of taste, and the study of polite literature? He who is so happy as to have acquired a relish for these, has always at hand an innocent and irreproachable amusement for his leisure hours, to save him from the danger of many a pernicious passion. He is not in hazard of being a burden to himself. He is not obliged to fly to low company, or to court the riot of loose pleasures, in order to cure the tediousness of existence.[364]

> The pleasures of taste refresh the mind after the toils of intellect, and the labours of abstract study; and they gradually raise it above the attachments of sense, and prepare it for the enjoyment of virtue[365].

The language used here to discuss the importance both of polite literature and the reading of it in leisure time, is filled with moral meaning. Blair's use of "innocent", "irreproachable", "dignity" and "virtue" reflects the moral impetus behind the need for the reading of polite literature. The contrast between this and the words used to describe leisure time improperly spent; "pernicious passion", "hazard", "burden", "the riot of

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[363] Michèle Cohen, cited in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (London: Longman, 1999), p. 20

[364] Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1783) in Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) p. 20

[365] Ibid, pp. 20-1

loose pleasures", highlights the perceived dangers of a portion of society with leisure time and no guidance on how best to use it. The importance of a taste for polite literature is not just an academic one but a moral one. It reflects an anxiety surrounding the appropriate use of leisure time among the members of the growing middle class and is deemed an appropriate diversion from work, for both men and boys, those in work and those attending grammar schools and universities.

These attitudes towards polite literature also reflect a changing attitude towards the reading of English literature, as well as classical literature as a vital part of a young man's education in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. In *Letters to his Son* (1748), Lord Chesterfield states that a knowledge of Greek and Latin is "absolutely necessary for everybody…the word illiterate, in its common acceptance, means a man who is ignorant of these two languages".[366] However, writing in 1782, Vicesimus Knox argues that:

> English undoubtedly ought to form a great part of an English gentleman's education… Good sense, good company, and the reading of good authors, with a knowledge of grammar in general, will commonly make a scholar completely master of his own language.[367]

This shift is reflected in not only changing curricula at the Royal High School, as evidenced in the next chapter, but also broader movements in Scottish education and university curricula discussed in chapter one. The study of Latin and English alongside each other becomes a commonly accepted practice and, as the Edgeworths argue in *Practical Education*, a desirable one:

> It would be a great advantage to the young classical scholar if his Latin and English literature were mixed; the taste for ancient authors and for modern literature ought to be cultivated at the same time, and the beauties of composition, characteristic of different languages, should be familiarised to the student. Classical knowledge and taste afford such continual and innocent sources of amusement that we should be extremely sorry that any of our pupils should not enjoy them in their fullest extent; but we do not include a talent for Latin composition amongst the necessary accomplishments of a gentleman[368].

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[366] Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to his Son* (London: Sure and Spottiswoode, 1932) vol. III, p. 1155
[367] Knox, p. 128
[368] Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, p. 409

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, reading of polite and appropriate English literature, alongside classical learning, was an essential part of a liberal education. Alan Bacon and Robert Crawford have argued that this movement set the groundwork for the broadening of subjects in universities and the formation of the new subject of English Literature in the nineteenth century.[369] This mix of classical knowledge and polite literature was not only deemed appropriate for professionals but also for those entering manufacturing. In 1825, Thomas Campbell writes in favour of the establishment of a university in London:

> As to the literature of taste and imagination, there is no reason why a merchant or manufacturer should not have as much time and leisure to addict himself to it, as the lawyer or any other professional man; and, in fact, there may be seen in that part of our community which lives by trade, a general fondness for polite literature, distinctly marked by the books which fill their libraries, and by the literary institutions which they support. The establishment of a college would promote the literary and scientific character of all that portion of the community - it would raise their respectability - it would occasion the young man, who is choosing his vocation in for life, to anticipate no illiterate companionship, if he should go from his college to a counting-house - it would dissipate many prejudices about the comparative gentility of professions.[370]

Furthermore, in his 'Introductory Lecture' at University College London (UCL) in 1828, Thomas Dale, the first Professor of English Language and Literature at UCL, stated that a good knowledge of English language and English literature was expedient for "professional education" and "essential" for "general education".[371] The reading of polite literature and the ready access of it to men of all the professional classes was, therefore, an important social marker for the growing middle class. It represents not only an increase in leisure time available to them, but also a morally and academically acceptable use of this time. The growth in availability of polite literature from libraries, schools and universities also reflects this and the inclusion of English literature in schools and

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[369] See Robert Crawford, *The Scottish Invention of English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Robert Crawford, *Launch-Site for English Studies: Three Centuries of Literary Studies at the University of St Andrews* (St Andrews: Verse, 1997) and Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998)

[370] Thomas Campbell, 'Suggestions respecting the plan of a College in London' (1825) in Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) p. 24

[371] Thomas Dale, ''Introductory Lecture' at University College London, 1828', in Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) p. 36

universities as a formal part of the curriculum reflects the need for a more modern education.

The study of English texts alongside the classics marked an important shift in attitudes towards education for gentlemen and the middle class in the second half of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. This was reflected not only in the choice of reading materials deemed suitable for boys and young men, and discussions surrounding reading habits, but also in the variety of academic subjects available for them to study. In chapter one, I argue that the growing range of academic subjects at the grammar schools and universities in Scotland, as well as the increase in specialist schools, was an indication of the increased need for a broader, and more practical, education in an increasingly industrialised society. This is also reflected in the educational writing of the period, with writers recommending a wider range of subjects to be studied, not only by gentlemen but by boys and young men of a growing middle class. The importance of preparing boys and young men for work, rather than simply for life as gentlemen is reflected in Vicesimus Knox's argument that:

> It must be remembered, that one of the most important views in education is to open the mind, and prepare it for the reception of the species and degree of knowledge required in that sphere in which it is destined to exert its activity.[372]

This reiterates the importance of an education that adequately prepares children for their roles in society. When John Locke set out his curriculum, he had future gentlemen in mind. However, towards the end of the eighteenth century, educational writing increasingly reflected the need for a useful education for newer occupations, as well as for roles in the military.

Writers who called for a broadening of educational opportunities towards the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century tended to appeal to the idea that doing so would better society. This is reflected explicitly in the Edgeworths' aims for education in *Practical Education*:

> In education we must, however, consider the actual state of manners in that world in which our pupils are to live, as well as our wishes or our hopes for its gradual improvement.[373]

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[372] Knox, p. 169
[373] Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, pp. 413-4

There was not only a call for useful education but also for one which improved children so that they could, in turn, improve society. As chapter one also illustrates, as the education for gentlemen broadened outwards from a solely classical one, the education for boys of lower ranks in society, and indeed for girls, broadened to include classical learning, resulting in a broadening of educational opportunities across Lowland Scotland by the middle of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Vicesimus Knox stated the importance of classical education for the mercantile classes, not only in terms of their professions, but so that they can play their proper role in society and "to contribute to the enjoyment of life".[374] He writes that "[a] rich man, without liberal ideas, and without some share of learning is an unfit companion for those in the rank to which he is advanced".[375] Knox also argues that "those who are intended for a genteel line of commercial life, should bestow at least as much attention on the cultivation of their minds as on mechanical attainments, or on a mere preparation for the superintendence of an accompting-house".[376] The call then for a classical education for the mercantile classes, demonstrated in practice by the curricular reforms at the hospital schools in Edinburgh discussed in chapter one, was also part of this project which focused on an education designed to form children, and therefore, young adults who could improve society.

The importance of a useful education for the growing middle class is prominent in discussions about education, particularly in the periodical press in the first half of the nineteenth century. As previously noted, in February 1825, *The Times* published an open letter from Thomas Campbell to Lord Brougham which outlined his proposal for a university in London (University College London). Campbell draws on Utilitarian principles to propose an institution which moved beyond the traditional subjects of university education; the Classics and Mathematics, in order to introduce more useful learning. In this letter, Campbell argues against the idea that opening a new institution will lead to some professions becoming 'overstocked' and that the idea of increasing the provision of a liberal education to a wider range of people would only be to the benefit of society:

> But the evil of particular professions being overstocked, is one which has a natural
> tendency to cure itself; and the more education is diffused, and the great body of

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[374] Knox, p. 135
[375] Ibid, p. 136
[376] Ibid, pp. 136-7

the people enlightened, the more readily will common sense direct men to abandon overstocked professions, and laying their pride and prejudices aside, to embrace industrious vocations where the competition is less intense.[377]

… The increase of commerce, and of the intercourse of civilised nations, must continue to give new importance every day to the mercantile character; and in proportion as manufactures flourish, the successful manufacturer will cease to be a plodding mechanical speculator, and will derive his success from scientific improvements and inventions[378].

Furthermore, Campbell also argues for the knowledge of foreign languages as an important part of a middle-class education, reflecting the need for an outward looking population who could fully engage with the work of the Empire.[379] Writing in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1826 Thomas Babington Macaulay argues that:

No man, we allow, can be said to have received a complete and liberal education, unless he have acquired a knowledge of the ancient languages. But not one gentleman in fifty can possibly receive what we should call a complete and liberal education. That term includes not only the ancient languages, but those of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. It includes mathematics, the experimental sciences, and moral philosophy. An intimate acquaintance with the profound and polite parts of English literature is indispensable.[380]

Macaulay goes on to argue that boys should learn to read and write in English first and only once they have proficiency in this and once they have reached fourteen, can they then study Latin.[381] This reversal of the importance of English over classical studies is one of the key turning points in education of boys of the middle classes in the nineteenth century. The increased focus on English and other subjects over classics, led to a criticism of the grammar schools by many of the Scottish universities in this period, as discussed in chapter one. Alan Bacon also argues that the lack of time devoted to classical learning in schools meant that many students did not have a solid grasp of the subject, even those who would go on to university.[382] It may have been that the increased focus on other

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[377] Campbell, p. 23
[378] Ibid, p. 24
[379] Ibid, p. 24
[380] Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England' (1826) in Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) pp. 32-33
[381] Ibid, p. 56
[382] Alan Bacon, *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) p. 4

subjects at the grammar schools, and the diminishing perceived importance of a classical education for gentlemen led to this decline in the quality of classical scholarship among boys in the period. However, for both gentlemen and middle-class boys, an education which encompassed both classical learning and useful subjects, which would adequately prepare them for their future professions was deemed increasingly important.

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide an overview of changing attitudes, as demonstrated by educational writers, towards the education of both young gentlemen and the boys destined for a growing range of professions which would eventually constitute a middle class. The key debates which these writers engaged with included the appropriateness of public or domestic education for these boys. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, as a public education was increasingly seen as both acceptable, and the norm, the key question changed to the age at which children should be educated publicly. The language used by writers to engage in this debate comprised a shared discourse focusing on botanical and horticultural images, which served not only to allow them to draw on and reflect on previous ideas, but also to highlight the different roles mothers and fathers should play in domestic and early education, with mothers in charge of training and moral education and fathers in charge of teaching and an academic education. It is possible that the increased acceptability of public education, as reflected in educational writing, as well as the need to educate a growing middle class influenced the growing number and variety of schools established in Lowland Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century. Finally, educational writing of the period also reflected broader trends about the best type of education for gentlemen and boys destined for professional and mercantile roles in society, as well as those destined for the army and navy. There was, in both practice, and in the representation of education in written texts, a slight levelling in the curricula of schools for different social classes. The education for gentlemen and the upper classes moved away from a solely classical focus towards the inclusion of more useful subjects. Meanwhile there was an increase in the access to classical knowledge from children from lower classes; those destined for professional or mercantile roles, for those attending hospital schools and for girls, at least of the upper classes.

Educational writing of this period also engaged with the appropriateness of different aspects of childhood reading practice. Reflecting more general anxieties surrounding reading practices, concerns about unsupervised and voracious reading

practices were represented in these works. Alongside this, a number of these writers reiterated the importance of carefully selecting, and in some cases mediating the texts which were to be read by children. The increasing number of texts deemed appropriate for children across the period suggests that there was a growing recognition of children's abilities to read a wide range of different texts, and that this was deemed morally appropriate. This is also reflected in the borrowing patterns of the boys at the Royal High School, and in the increased variety of works available for them to borrow. These discussions surrounding appropriate reading materials also fed into debates surrounding the importance of reading polite literature for a growing middle class, both in terms of its academic and its moral importance; providing a virtuous purpose for the increased leisure time enjoyed by this group. This overview of representations of ideal reading and education practice provides a background for the case study which will follow in the next chapters. It has also been useful here to highlight which of the texts recommended for reading by children appear in the library catalogues and acquisitions and which are borrowed by the boys. These will be explored in greater detail in chapter five, which provides a more analytical view of the works chosen for and borrowed by the boys at the Royal High School.

Chapter Three: The Royal High School of Edinburgh Curriculum and Library

This chapter focuses on the library of one of the largest schools in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Edinburgh, the Royal High School. Here I will present an investigation of the records relating to the school curriculum, library catalogues and acquisitions. This exploration allows us to see what role the library was deemed to have in the life of the school, alongside the more formal curriculum and the expectations and desires that the schoolteachers had for the school library and its collections. By tracing the library collections from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century it is possible to see a broadening of the purpose of the school library, from a home for a range of classical works to a means for boys to engage with reading materials for the purpose of both education and entertainment. Although some histories of the school, and some memoirs of pupils' time there, have been produced, a systematic analysis of the school library catalogues and borrowers' registers has not been attempted before. Archival records relating to the Royal High School contain a ledger recording the books purchased for the school library from 1769 to 1837. There are library catalogues for the years 1757, c. 1790, 1837 and 1848, when a juvenile section of the library is first established. There is also a note of 'odd volumes not entered into the catalogue in 1808' (though no surviving accompanying catalogue). Records relating to both library catalogues and acquisitions are examined here in order to give a sense of what kinds of books were available in the school library and the changing nature of these books across the period. An overview of curricular changes is drawn from existing archival documents and published school histories in order to determine the extent to which the school curriculum had an impact on the nature of the school library collections. These records enable us to ascertain the sorts of pedagogical concerns and values the teachers of a leading grammar school had in selecting texts for the pupils to read and study. This chapter will begin with an overview of the history of the school curriculum and educational practices in the period for which library records exist. It will then go on to discuss the changing school catalogues, from 1757 to 1848. The detailed exploration of these catalogues will be supplemented by a discussion of the acquisition records which can pin-point more accurately the purchasing priorities of the schoolteachers in any given year.

This chapter will trace the way in which the Royal High School changed its

approach to the contents of the school library, from stocking primarily classical texts to an increasing focus on English-language works including travels and voyages, histories, essays, novels, poetry, periodicals and cheaply-produced fiction, and books specifically written for children. In so doing, it is possible to see how the texts chosen for child readers, and those with which they engaged within an institutional setting, provide an insight into the changing notion of the ideal Edinburgh gentleman. Although this thesis focuses specifically on one school in Edinburgh, there is evidence to suggest that the changing curriculum reflected and responded to shifting expectations for boys' education in Edinburgh and further afield. The case of the Royal High School also offers, with the evidence of an increasing focus on literature written specifically for children, a concrete example of the recognition of children as readers, which cemented their place as an important part of the growing print culture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The contents of the school library reflected the subjects and ideas it was deemed necessary for young boys of the middling ranks of society to know in order to be successful in contemporary Edinburgh society. The move from a classical Latin education to a focus on more 'useful' knowledge enabled them to become cosmopolitan gentlemen during the Scottish Enlightenment. The nineteenth century records of the school library, specifically the founding of a juvenile library in 1848, reflect the recognition of childhood as a separate state with a need for a literature and reading experiences of its own. These changes came in the wake of Romantic ideas surrounding childhood and imagination. The juvenile catalogue for year one and two pupils, featuring works more typically associated with a child readership such as Maria Edgeworth's works for children and children's periodicals indicates the beginnings of a recognition by the school of a distinct literature for children (pupils in years one and two would have been nine or ten years old). Furthermore, as discussed in chapter four, this comes in the wake of a marked change in the reading habits of all children at the school in the 1810s and 1820s, gleaned from the borrowers' register.

History of the School

The Royal High School was the main public institution for the education of boys of the middling ranks of Edinburgh society until the founding of Edinburgh Academy in 1828. There are records of other schools in the city run by "several private teachers in Edinburgh who though the council had, according to custom, again and again prohibited them, persisted in clandestinely keeping classes in different parts of the town" in the

1660s.[383] In 1668, the town council stated that:

> …no person or persons, upon any pretension whatever, do or shall teach grammar within the said city or liberties thereof, except the schools of Leith, Canongate, and the readers' school of West Port, to the prejudice of the High School, and that no inhabitants of the said city having their children living with themselves send them to Bristo or any other places adjacent to or within the liberties of the city… and that whatsoever parents having their children at home with themselves shall send them to any adjacent place without the city or suburbs thereof to be taught Latin, shall pay quarterly to the master of the High School as much as other scholars of the like quality usually are accustomed to quarterly to pay.[384]

Records surrounding the school itself are erratic until 1846, when the first *Rector's Reports* were published. From this point onwards the history of the school was much more systematically documented. Some conclusions can be drawn about educational practices prior to this date from school histories, published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which outline the school's eighteenth-century curriculum. Drawing on town council records, Dr William Steven's *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (1849) was the first full history of the school to be produced. Ex-schoolmasters and pupils also published memoirs and recollections of the school, including Scott Dalgleish's *Memorials of the High School of Edinburgh* (1857) and James Colston's *Dr. Boyd's Fourth High School Class* (1873). Ex-schoolmaster James Pillans also produced a number of books related to education including *Letters on the Principles of Elementary Teaching* (1827), *Contributions to the Cause of Education* (1829), *Three Lectures on the Proper Objects and Methods of Instruction* (1836) and works on classical studies and geography. Twentieth-century histories of the school include James J. Trotter's *The Royal High School, Edinburgh* (1911) and William C.A. Ross' *The Royal High School* (1934). J.B. Barclay's *The Tounis Scule: The Royal High School of Edinburgh* (1974) was commissioned by the school to update Ross' history after the school became a state comprehensive in 1968. These histories make good use of archival material related to the school. Wherever possible any claims made by them have been checked using archival sources but some of these sources are now lost.

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[383] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 70
[384] Ibid, p. 72

Social Makeup of the school

Records relating to an incident at the school in 1595 reveals that some pupils at this time were "sons either of barons or landed proprietors".[385] Steven also notes that "the sons of highland chieftains, were engaged in the affray, which proves that the highland proprietors of that period could not have been so illiterate as it is generally supposed they were. By spending their early days in Edinburgh, they must have acquired at the once the best education and the best manners which those times could furnish".[386] By the eighteenth century, the situation had changed. In 1718, the then rector of the High School, George Arbuthnot, reflected that attendance at the school had been badly affected by many of the families moving to London, stating that "[t]here were then scarce any of the nobility, and very few of the gentlemen of the country residing in Edinburgh, and the youth who attended his instructions were almost altogether the children of burgesses".[387] When John Lees resigned as rector in 1765, he stated that at the beginning of his rectorship the school had only 90 pupils which he raised, with the help of his colleagues, to 220.[388] *The Statistical Account of 1791-1799* concurs with this number, stating that the school had 200 pupils in 1763 and that by 1783, the roll had grown to 500 and was "it is believed, the most numerous school in Britain".[389] It was also a much larger institution than the other Edinburgh schools named in the *Statistical Account*, as discussed in chapter one, with the majority of these being hospital schools targeted towards the education of sons and daughters of merchant burgesses who were experiencing financial difficulties.

Matriculation records reveal that by the 1820s the school had gained an international reputation with pupils coming from across the world. The first matriculation record to survive records that the school had a roll of 650 pupils in 1827-28, with boys coming to attend the school from France, the West Indies, Jamaica, India, China and North America (as well as from across Scotland and the rest of the British Isles).[390] A speech given at one of the school's prize-giving ceremonies in 1845 suggests that the school viewed itself as being open to boys from all social backgrounds:

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[385] Ibid, p. 25
[386] Ibid, p. 26
[387] Ibid, p. 93
[388] Ibid, p. 105
[389] William Creech, *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, Vol. VI, p. 591
[390] Matriculation records RHS, Edinburgh City Council Archives (SL137/5)

The citizens of Edinburgh have to rejoice in this school, not only for the eminent position which it occupies, but also on account of the peculiar nature of its constitution. Here the youth of all classes of society — every sect, — the peer and the peasant, — all join in the same form, each possessing no advantage over his neighbour. The most humble of our citizens have an opportunity of getting their children trained up on a par with the highest ranks of society, having their minds improved, their judgement enlarged and strengthened, and their taste refined, so as to be put on a level with the highest of the land. To the great institutions of England none can have access but the wealthy, and yet there is not one of them I hold which is to be placed over the High School of Edinburgh.[391]

School Location

The first iteration of the school was as a seminary school attached to the Abbey of Holyrood in 1128 before moving to a mansion house in the mid-sixteenth century and then to another site in the Cowgate (High School Wynd), in 1555.[392] According to C.A. Ross, the Royal High School was first recorded as a grammar school, rather than a seminary, in an Instrument of Sasine in 1503[393] and in 1589 it was re-founded as a 'Royal High School' by James VI.[394] However, Steven states that the "earliest mention of the Grammar School of Edinburgh occurs in the town-council records for the year 1519, when the civic authorities enjoined all parents and guardians, under pain of incurring a heavy fine, to place their youth under the master of the principal school".[395] The school has had a number of different sites across Edinburgh throughout its history. In 1578, a schoolhouse was completed "in the garden of Blackfriars' monastery",[396] where it remained until 1777.

The Statistical Account for Scotland in 1791 describes the building of a new school-house in 1777, the first to have a purpose-built library:

In 1777 - a new, elegant and commodious edifice for a Grammar-school was built by voluntary subscriptions. This school house cost L. 4000. It consists of one

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[391] Steven, *The Royal High School,* pp. 261-2
[392] Ibid, p. 5
[393] William C.A. Ross, *The Royal High School* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1934) p. 19
[394] James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London: University of London Press Ltd, 1970), p. 71
[395] Steven, *The Royal High School,* p. 3
[396] Ibid, p. 14

great hall, five teaching rooms, and a library with smaller appartments [sic].[397] However, the *Statistical Account of 1834-45* states that "in consequence of the extension of the town to the north, this situation was found to be inconvenient, and in 1825 the foundation of the present High School was laid on a spot of ground cleared out from the sloping side of the Calton Hill…There is a large hall, library, museum, and apartments for the different classes".[398] This move in 1829 coincided with a call from parents for a more centrally-located school in the New Town of Edinburgh and plans were introduced for a second high school to be constructed, which would also be under the control of the Town Council. The pressure from parents for the Royal High School to physically move to the New Town was arguably not just for greater convenience, or due to constraints of space in the overcrowded Old Town, but also because the New Town was seen as the heart of Enlightenment Edinburgh. By the nineteenth century it may have been seen as inappropriate for a school, which was the main forum for the public education of an emerging middle class, to be situated in the Old Town. However, with the construction of the new site on Calton Hill the council abandoned this plan and Edinburgh Academy was set up independently by Lord Cockburn in the New Town, the first real public alternative for the education of boys of the middling and upper classes.

The School Curriculum and Educational Practices

In order to ascertain whether the changes in the library collections were related to the overall didactic intentions of the school it is important, first of all, to trace the changes to the formal curriculum across this period. In his history of the school, C.A. Ross includes the first record of what was taught at the school in the form of a note of the subjects studied in each class when a committee was appointed in 1598 to find four schoolmasters to teach the following classes:

> Class I – The Rudiments of Dunbar; the Colloquies of Corderius; and on Sunday Palatinus.
>
> Class II – The first part of Pelisso; Cicero's Familiar Epistles; on Sunday the foresaid Chatechism lately set out in Latin, with Ovid de Tristibus.
>
> Class III – The second part of Pelisso, with the supplement of Erasmus Syntaxis;

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[397] William Creech, *Statistical Account 1791-1799,* Appendix for Edinburgh, County of Edinburgh, OSA, Vol. VI, p. 591
[398] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, Count of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 683

Terence; The Metamorphoses of Ovid, with Buchanan's Psalms on Sunday.

Class IV – The third part of Pelisso with Buchanan's Prosodia; Taleus Figures and Rhetoric Figure Constructionis Thome Linacri; Vergilius; Salustius; Ceasaris Commentaria; Florus; Ovidii Epistolae and the Heroic Psalms of Buchanan on Sunday.[399]

Steven states that this record came about from the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the school and look at areas which could be reformed. Prior to this a teacher of "penmanship" was appointed in 1593. William Murdoch had no salary but was allowed "to charge ten shillings Scots (ten pence sterling) quarterly from 'ilk writer'".[400] In 1606 a new rector of the grammar school, John Ray, revised the course of study again and, in 1614, established a fifth class, in which the boys were "taught the *rudiments* of the Greek language"[401]. The *Ordo Scholar Grammatica Edinensis* produced in 1644 contains another note of the curriculum at this time:

First or Elementary Class. — During the first six months the boys were to be taught the principles of grammar *in vernacular sermone*;[402] and the Latin names of every thing on earth and in heaven. The remainder of the year, with the exception of a month's vacation in autumn, they were to proceed with their grammar, and incidentally, to be taught particular sentences relating to life and manners.

Second Class. — The first half of the session the boys were to be regularly exercised on Despauter's grammar, and were required to translate the same into English : moreover, they were to read Cordery. During the latter part of the year they were to be taught daily the syntax of Erasmus. The business of the class was, as much as possible, to be conducted in the Latin language.

Third Class. — Through the whole of this session the pupils were to repeat daily a portion of etymology and syntax; to read, *clara voce*,[403] Cicero de Senectute and de Amicitia, Terence, Ovid, and Buchanan's Psalms.

Fourth Class. — For the first month, in this session, the boys were to revise what they had previously acquired; and be taught Despauter's Select Rules, Buchanan's Epigrams and other poetry, paying strict attention to prosody. During

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[399] Ross, p. 40
[400] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 22
[401] Ibid, p. 48
[402] in vernacular language
[403] aloud

the remaining months they were to be exercised in the composition of Latin verses, and constantly in applying the grammatical rules; in reading Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Horace, Terence, Buchanan's Psalms. The beauties of these writers were to be pointed out and explained to the scholars.

Fifth Class. — This year the boys were carefully to study the whole of the Rhetoric of Cassander, Cicero's Orations, the speeches of Sallust, Virgil, and Lucan. Care was to be taken that they read distinctly and audibly; and that they were statedly exercised in declaiming.

The junior scholars were to be regularly taught the Catechism in the vernacular tongue, and the senior boys through the medium of the Latin language.[404]

The main shifts then in curriculum between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a slight broadening in the subjects covered, most notably the inclusion of the Catechism, suggesting that the school began to take a greater role in the holistic education of its pupils, including an interest in their spiritual education. In 1696, the council stated that David Wedderburn's Rudiments should replace the Latin Rudiments in use for the youngest scholars due to it being "difficult, and hard for beginners, and that Wedderburn's Rudiments are more plain and easy learned".[405] There was therefore a growing recognition of the need for the grammar school curriculum to be accessible to the boys. Despite Greek being included here, it is clear that this did not continue into the eighteenth century, certainly not as a formal part of the curriculum, as Alexander Adam records in a letter relating to the publication of his Latin Grammar, that: "I had taken up a private class to teach some of my boys the elements of Greek".[406] However, in 1772 the rector was asked by the faculty of the University of Edinburgh to stop teaching this class as:

In this, as well as all other Universities of Scotland, the Greek Class is elementary… By this innovation of the Rector's, it is evident that an encroachment is made on the province of the University, and he deprives the Professor of Greek of students, who, according to the accustomed course of education, should have attended his class. We have inspected two sets of regulations concerning the course of education in the High School, framed by the Professors of the University, at the desire of the magistrates, and

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[404] Steven, *The Royal High School*, pp. 57-8
[405] Ibid, p. 76
[406] Ibid, p. 119

confirmed by acts of council, the one in A.D. 1644, the other A.D. 1710; and by both of these the High School is considered only as a Latin school, nor have any of the present Rector's predecessors thought themselves entitled to teach Greek.[407]

As discussed in chapter one, there were both links between the curriculum at the Royal High School and the curricula at the universities, and an element of competition. On the one hand, pupils at the school were being prepared for a university education and so there came to be an increasing amount of overlap in the subjects covered and style of teaching. However, into the nineteenth century, universities increasingly criticised the grammar school for not preparing pupils with a solid knowledge of Latin.

There is further evidence of a broader curriculum at the beginning of the eighteenth century involving the purchase of maps. Steven argues that: "[t]he first time that Geography is noticed as forming a part of the course of study, occurs in the minutes of the town-council in September 1715, when the city treasurer was directed to buy geographical maps for the scholars in the High School, not to exceed twenty pounds Scots".[408] The broadening of curriculum is also reflected in the purchasing of books for the school library discussed below.

The Latin education received by the school pupils became increasingly accessible; focused on the skill of translating into English throughout the eighteenth century. The importance of the boys understanding what they learned, rather than learning by rote is apparent even in the eighteenth century, though it was not formalised until the curriculum overhauls in the nineteenth century. Steven's history includes an account of Henry Mackenzie's time at the Royal High School from 1752 to 1757, written by the author in the unpublished *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Edinburgh in former times*. Therein he states:

> The scholars went through the four classes taught by the under-masters, reading the usual elementary Latin books — for at that time no Greek was taught at the High School — and so up to Virgil and Horace, Sallust, and parts of Cicero. They were then removed to the rector's class, where they read portions of Livy, along with the other classics above mentioned. In the highest class some of the scholars remained two years. The hours of attendance were from seven to nine A.M., and

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[407] William Robertson, unknown document cited in Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 120
[408] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 88

after an interval of an hour for breakfast, from ten to twelve; then after another interval of two hours (latterly I think in my time three hours) for dinner, returned for two hours in the afternoon. The scholars wrote versions, translations from Latin into English; and, at the annual examination in August, recited *speeches* as they were called, being extracts of remarkable passages from some of the Roman poets.[409]

Furthermore in 1772, Alexander Adam, rector at the Royal High School, published a Latin Grammar, to be used instead of Ruddiman's. Adam states that:

Perceiving the hurtful effects of teaching boys Latin rules which they could not understand, by the advice of Principal Robertson and Dr Blair, I tried to compile a new grammar; which, after much labour, I in a few years completed. I submitted my work to the inspection of some of the best judges about Edinburgh, all of whom approved it. Among the rest, Professor George Stuart, who afterwards became so inimical, had it in his hands for more than a fortnight.[410]

Though the grammar never did take the place of Ruddiman's, which was the one in use at the school at the time,[411] it is clear that it was deemed important by the headmaster and the school that the pupils were able to have a full and genuine understanding of the Latin that they were taught. A more detailed analysis of the variety of Latin grammars present in the school library follows in the discussion of the 1757 catalogue below.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, there is some evidence to suggest that the Royal High School had connections with public schools in England, both in terms of the curriculum and in correspondence between schoolmasters and the transfer of pupils between institutions. A letter from Dean Vincent to Alexander Adam in 1791 states that:

I receive Murray and Belches from your hands at this meeting of the school; and though they are both in the same class, I can place Murray a year higher, from his having been taught Greek by private tuition. I know how next to impossible it is to make any alteration in modes; but if the High School could admit of beginning Greek earlier, it would be of great service to such as may hereafter be sent up to Westminster. We have had many of late years, and I always receive them with pleasure, as they are very well taught, and seem always to have been brought up

[409] Henry Mackenzie, *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Edinburgh in former times,* cited in Steven, *The Royal High School*, pp. 103-4
[410] Alexander Adam, unknown document, cited in Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 116
[411] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 121

much better domestically than the generality of our countrymen; and good examples at home are the best security for good morals in a public education.[412] Adam also remarks in a letter to his brother in 1791, about practices at Eton College in relation to the scholars writing their own verses[413] suggesting another area where the large schools of England and Scotland were looking to each other for elements of shared and best practice. Among the existing archival records for the school is a collection of Dr Alexander Adam's papers. One particular letter also indicates that there was an element of shared practice between leading schools across the British Isles. This letter, from John Sinclair to Alexander Adam includes an analysis of the curriculum of Harrow School, *Analysis of the System of Education at Harrow for a Boy in the Remove* in 1802, with a cover letter stating that he would support a recommendation for beginning the study of Greek Grammar in the boys' fourth year at the Royal High School, stating that his son "… has only just reached his twelfth year and yet is thoroughly master of the Greek Grammar, and reads Homer, and other Greek authors, with perfect ease". This document details the weekly plan for a classical education and sets the days out as follows:

1. Monday

Morning - Greek Testament

at Eleven –Horace or Virgil to construe

at Three – Scriptores Graeci or Homer to construe

at Five – Scriptores Romanici

2. Tuesday

A whole Holiday depending on the Saints' days.

3. Wednesday

Morning – Homer by heart

at Eleven – Horace or Virgil to construe

at Three – Scriptores Graeci or Homer to construe

at Five – Scriptores Romanici

4. Thursday

Morning – Horace or Virgil to repeat

at Eleven – Scriptores Graeci

Remainder – Half Holiday

[412] Dean W. Vincent, unknown letter, cited in Steven, *The Royal High School,* p. 136
[413] Alexander Adam, unknown letter, cited in ibid, p. 152

5. Friday

Morning – Virgil to repeat

at Eleven – Celarius

at Three – Greek Grammar

at Five – Horace to construe

6. Saturday

Morning – Horace to repeat

at Eleven – Grotius to construe

Remainder – a half Holiday

7. Sunday

at Eleven – Go to church

at One – Dine

at Four – Go to church[.][414]

The level of detail in this letter suggests that the Royal High School was looking elsewhere in an effort to overhaul its curriculum and school day. A letter from Alexander Adam to his brother in 1797, cited by William Steven, also gives an indication of the educational practice of the school by the end of the eighteenth century:

The number of boys attending each of the classes depends on the character of the Master, and sometimes on other circumstances. The number of most of the inferior classes at present is from 70 to 90 — I have above a hundred. These are composed of the boys who formed the fourth class last year, of those who attend me for a second year, and of such as have come from different schools — some from England and other parts… Though I have nominally but one class, I am obliged in fact to teach several, and have to accommodate myself to them all from the highest to the lowest. The method which I follow, and my predecessors followed, of teaching boys of different progress in the same class, is this, — I always read different books this year, from what were read in the preceding session, so that a boy must remain two years at the class to go through the course. Besides, at a separate hour, I teach the best scholars the principles of Greek and Geography, in which the rest do not join…. Besides the fixed school hours, I devote a separate hour for teaching Geography and the elements of Greek; for

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414 Dr Adam's Papers. 1802 Analysis of the educational system at Harrow by Jn Sinclair, Edinburgh City Council Archives, SL137/4/19, 2 items

> which those who attend pay a separate fee. There is nothing in the plan of education in this country more absurd than sending boys too early to college. They should never be taken from school and sent to university till they can at least read plain Latin authors by themselves, and understand the principles of Greek.[415]

Here Adam makes recommendations for a broadening of the school curriculum which would encourage parents to keep their sons at school for longer and better prepare them for university. He suggests that the school should "connect with the study of Latin, such branches of knowledge as are requisite to make boys understand what they read. During the first years, the study of English should be joined with that of Latin; and afterwards Geography, Mythology, Antiquities, and History, together with the principles of Natural Philosophy; and for such as choose it, the French language. In all these branches, besides Writing and Accounts, a boy should be initiated and tolerably instructed before going to college".[416] This letter also reveals that Adam did not see the purpose of the education at the Royal High School to be a Christian moral one, seeing this as more of a responsibility for the parent. He states that:

> I think the same reasons which induce your patrons to devolve on parents the care of instructing their children in the principles of religion, should have led them to leave your scholars to the charge of their relations likewise on Sunday. It is hard that your attendance in a particular place should always be exacted on that day, and that you should not have it in your power to attend what church, and hear what clergyman you think proper. Our masters have no charge of their pupils on Sunday. We do indeed usually prescribe to those boys who are sufficiently advanced a lesson to be learnt on Sunday, and said on Monday morning, either Castalio's Sacred Dialogues, or in Buchanan's Psalms; and we also occasionally exercise them on the principles of religion, but we have no absolute regulations requiring it.[417]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the curriculum was under more systematic review. The nineteenth century brought about formal modernisation of the school curriculum, with the introduction of a teacher of Writing and Arithmetic.[418] In 1802, Alexander Christison, a Royal High School teacher, published a pamphlet which

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[415] Alexander Adam, unknown letter, cited in Steven, *The Royal High School*, pp. 146-8
[416] Ibid, p. 149
[417] Ibid, p. 151
[418] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 154

advocated for the teaching of Greek[419] and introduced the study of Greek into the fourth class.[420] When in 1827 a new "plan of additions to the course of study"[421] was introduced, it is clear that although classical learning still featured heavily in the school day at the Royal High School, there was a shift to also include a wider variety of more modern subjects such as modern languages, "general knowledge" and modern geography:

First Year

Latin

* General Knowledge Class: English Grammar; Roman History to the close of the Republic; Outline of Modern Geography.

*French

Second Year

Latin

*General Knowledge Class: English Grammar; Roman History to the close of the Empire; Outline of Ancient Geography.

*French

Third Year

Latin; Greek; Mythology.

*General Knowledge Class: English Composition; History of Greece to the end of the Peloponnesian War; Particular Geography of Europe and Asia.

*French

Fourth Year

Latin; Greek; Roman Antiquities

*General Knowledge Class: English Literature and Composition; History of Greece till it became a Roman Province; Particular Geography of Africa and America.

*French

Fifth and Sixth Years

"The same course as at present," embracing the Higher Greek and Roman Classics with Antiquities, Geography and Composition in Prose and Verse.[422]

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[419] See Alexander Christison, *A General Diffusion of Knowledge: One Great Cause of Prosperity of North Britain* (Edinburgh: Printed for Peter Hill, 1802). This work included an appendix *containing a proposal for improving the present mode of teaching the Greek language*.

[420] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 163

[421] Ross, p. 54

[422] Ross, p. 55

*Optional Subjects

Edinburgh Town Council also published an explanation for the change in the curriculum, stating that:

> …To introduce into this ancient and celebrated seminary, such additional branches, as, without interfering in the slightest degree with the leading department of study — CLASSICAL LITERATURE— should serve, still farther, to expand the mind, refine the taste, and extend the knowledge of the pupil… The classes for General Knowledge, embracing English Literature, History, and Geography, conducted by the classical masters, and extended over a space of four years, cannot fail to prove of the most essential benefit to the intellectual improvement of the pupil, and serve agreeably to diversify, without sensibly augmenting, the labour of his classical studies. The same remark is applicable to the French. By introducing that language at an early stage, and devoting to it a small portion of time during a series of years, the pupil will be enabled to obtain, at a trifling expense, a very important acquisition, which might not otherwise have been placed within his reach.[423]

There was a clear desire within the school to update the curriculum with the times and with the changing educational and 'intellectual' needs of the pupils while still keeping a strong focus on the classics. The justification above serves to highlight the main priorities of the school in educating the young gentlemen of Edinburgh: "to expand the mind, refine the taste, and extend the knowledge of the pupil". The *Statistical Account* also records the curriculum of the school at this time. It states that:

> The junior class enters with one of the classical masters who carries it on for four years, where they are grounded in the elements of Latin, Greek, and ancient and modern geography. In the fifth year the class is then handed over to the rector, when the same course of study is further extended for one or two years. In the intervals of the hours for classical instruction the other masters are attended for writing, arithmetic, &c.[424]

There was therefore still a strong focus on classical education at the Royal High School and these new classes, as with the writing, arithmetic, geography and, in previous years, Greek classes, were optional extras to the main classical education.[425] The *Statistical*

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[423] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 226
[424] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, Count of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, pp. 683-4
[425] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 227

Account of 1834-45 states that the school employed "a rector and four classical masters, a teacher of French, one of arithmetic, one of mathematics, and a writing master and assistants"[426] and goes on to state that attendance in French, mathematics, arithmetic and writing were all optional.[427] This suggests that by this point the course of "General Knowledge" introduced in 1827 was incorporated as part of the main and formal curriculum in the school to be undertaken by all boys. On 2 September 1834, an official announcement was made by the council that:

> By means of an alteration in the arrangement of the hours, additional time has been obtained for the writing, arithmetical, and mathematical departments, which will greatly facilitate the classification of the pupils, and thus contribute to the greater efficiency of those important branches of education.
>
> The introduction into the *General Knowledge Class* of several additional subjects of great interest and practical utility, must prove highly conducive to the mental development of the pupils, and call forth, in a more prominent manner than heretofore, their peculiar talents and diversified tastes.
>
> These, and other improvements which it is unnecessary to specify, will, it is hoped, receive the approval of an enlightened public, and tend to advance the prosperity of an institution, which justly ranks as one of the most valuable of the educational establishments of Scotland.[428]

It can therefore be seen that there was not just the addition of extra subjects, as outlined in the curriculum review of 1827, but by 1834 it was also deemed important that these subjects were given enough time in the school day. As discussed in chapter four, changes to the school curriculum often came after shifts in the borrowing records which show boys engaging with particular subjects. Here the increased emphasis on mathematics is reflected in the borrowers' records of 1823-1826, when for the first time works about mathematics and arithmetic were accessed by pupils. It would appear then that the boys were aware of the subjects and learning which appealed to an "enlightened public" in the years before the school curriculum officially included these. The focus here on calling forward the pupils' "peculiar talents and diversified tastes" reflects a key change in the education of the boys in the nineteenth century compared with that of the eighteenth. As discussed further in chapter four, the records from the beginning of the nineteenth century

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[426] *Statistical Account 1834-45*, Edinburgh, Count of Edinburgh, NSA, vol. I, 1845, p. 683
[427] Ibid, p. 684
[428] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 250-1

also saw a greater sense of individual tastes and interests reflected in the works the pupils borrowed, and it is clear that by the 1830s this was something actively promoted by the school through its curriculum.

There is further evidence of the school's desire to reflect a useful education, a phrase they themselves used to describe changes to the curriculum in the nineteenth century. A small example is the addition of German to the curriculum in 1845, which was announced as part of a prize-giving ceremony for the school:

> The patrons are anxious that every thing of a useful tendency should be found in the institution, and accordingly they have resolved to add a German class at the opening of next session.[429]

Most notable is the school's use of language when announcing changes to its curriculum. By making use of words such as "useful", "practical" and "enlightened" it can be seen that the school was responding to changing ideals surrounding education in the wake of the Scottish Enlightenment, and specifically, changing notions surrounding the type of knowledge that it was deemed important for young men to acquire.

In 1845, the school began to publish annual reports which recorded the current courses of study, the performance of pupils and the uptake of any additional subjects, such as French and German. The 1845 report also stressed the importance of the study of mathematics for the students' professional careers. There was also a steady growth in the number of students taking modern languages (German and French).[430] The introduction of these reports coincides with the employment of a new rector, Leonhard Schmitz, who was born and educated in Germany. In his induction speech, Schmitz states that he hoped his appointment would be "the means of strengthening and increasing the intellectual sympathy which has so long existed between this country and Germany".[431] In 1849, the town council agreed that natural history and chemistry should be introduced as optional parts of the curriculum, to be taught on Saturdays.[432] Steven concludes the formal part of his history of the school with a list of teachers from 1848.[433] This list includes teachers for each of the main classes plus teachers of French, German, writing and book-keeping, arithmetic and mathematics, natural history, chemistry, and fencing

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[429] Unknown document cited in Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 262
[430] Annual Reports of the Royal High School, Edinburgh City Council Archives (SL137/26/1)
[431] John Murray, *A History of the Royal High School* (Edinburgh: Royal High School, 1997) p. 50
[432] Steven, *The Royal High School,* p. 270
[433] Steven previously states that Natural History and Chemistry were introduced in 1849 but lists teachers for these subjects in this 1848 list.

and gymnastics.[434]

The movement towards a more modern curriculum, with an increasing focus on learning in English, modern languages, history and geography was not only reflected in the day-to-day running of the school but also in the types of texts available to pupils in the school library. The borrowing of texts reflecting this more modern and useful curriculum significantly predates the formal curricular changes seen in the nineteenth century and suggests that the school library was a site for access to an informal curriculum fulfilling the pedagogical needs of the boys in advance of systemic change. The increasing focus on modern science and the acquisition of useful and practical knowledge is indicative of the legacy of the Scottish Enlightenment and its impact on school curricula in Edinburgh, as well as the changing needs of an industrialised society in the nineteenth century.

Library Catalogues

The school library was established by order of the Town Council in 1658. In the Town Council Minutes of 6 January of that year, it is stated:

> The Provost, Bailies and Council taking to their serious consideration the good and commendable motion of Master John Muir, Master of the Grammar School of this Burgh, representing to the Council how convenient and expedient it will be for the good of the Grammar School both masters and scholars that shall be hereafter, to erect a Library in the said school for all sort of books that may concern humanity and the knowledge of languages and desiring the Council's authority as Patrons and Superiors to be granted for the foundation of the same.[435]

Steven adds that:

> This useful and highly prized appendage of the seminary was founded by donations of books from the teachers, and voluntary contributions from the citizens and the pupils of the school.[436]

He includes a list of the first donors of books to the library (though does not mention where this list comes from), and these include the rector, John Muir, and the other masters; "William Thomson, principal clerk of Edinburgh; John Scougall, William Hog,

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[434] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 272

[435] J.B. Barclay, *The Tounis Scule* (Edinburgh: The Royal High School Club, 1974) p. 40

[436] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 64

William Nimmo, William Douglas, and Robert Burnet, lawyers; John Lord Swinton; Patrick Scott of Thirlestane; Mr Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh; William Tweedie, professor of philosophy in the University".[437] This list not only reveals the type of societal connections which the school held at this time but also explains the eclectic nature of the first surviving catalogue of 1757. The founding of a library at this time suggests that from the relatively early days of the school, it was deemed important that both teachers and pupils, at least of the senior classes, should have access to a school library.

As noted above, when the school moved in 1777, a purpose-built library space was included in the plans of the new schoolhouse. When the school moved again in 1829, the plans show that the library was the second largest room in the building, matching the rector's classroom but smaller than the public hall in the centre of the building:
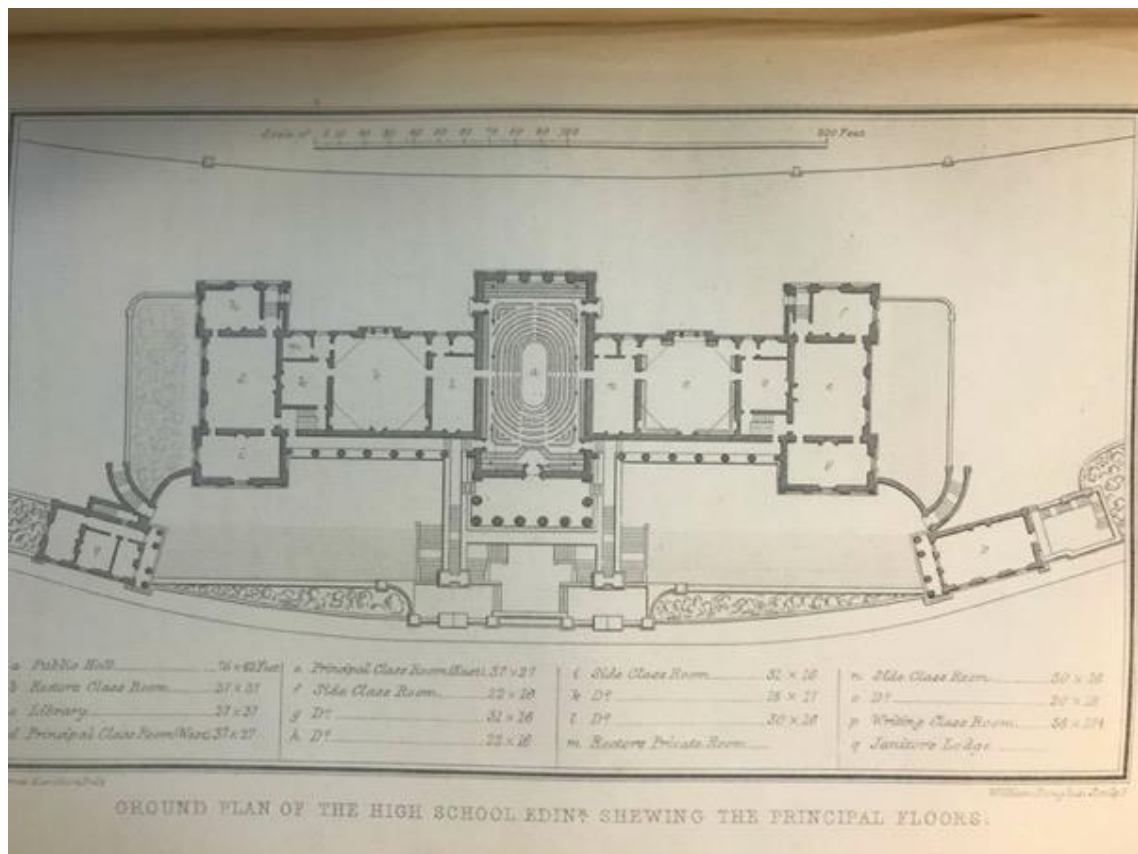

Figure 1: 'Ground Plan of the High School Edinburgh Shewing the Principal Floors', plate from William D.D. Steven, The History of the High School of Edinburgh (Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart, 1849)

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[437] Ibid, pp. 64-5

From what we know of other school libraries in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were relatively basic in comparison,[438] this record suggests that the Royal High School library was extensive in its collections. This is further supported by it being noted that it contained "all sorts of books", which "concern humanity and the knowledge of languages" suggesting that the collection was large and, for the most part, in Latin and Greek and concerned classical learning. This is certainly reflected in the earliest surviving catalogue. Very little about the school library survives until the 1840s, when the surviving minute books of the Royal High School begin to record meetings about the school library. These minutes show that books were purchased for the school library by the librarian and selected by the committee, and that matters relating to the running of the library were discussed by the schoolmasters at these meetings, including both financial considerations and matters pertaining to the regulations for the use of the school library. With the minute of meetings on the 25 of July 1846, a list of 'Regulations for the use of the Library on the part of the Masters and others' was included. Unfortunately, the regulations for the boys were included in a printed catalogue for the library produced in the same year, no copies of which remain.

William Steven notes that in 1849, the

[l]ibrary… supported by the appropriation of one half the Matriculation Fund to its use, consists of about 6400 volumes, and includes the best Greek and Latin Lexicons, the best editions of the classics, several Encyclopaedias, and a valuable collection of antiquarian, historical, and geographical authors. The benefits of the Library have hitherto been confined to the masters, and pupils of the more advanced classes; but while we write, a variety of works adapted to more youthful capacities have been purchased, an enlarged catalogue incorporating the supplements of previous years has been printed; and it has been determined that henceforth the Library shall be accessible to all the *alumni* of the Institution. The Rector and Masters, with the assistance of a Janitor, discharge in rotation the duties of librarian.[439]

This shows that the 1840s saw a substantial growth in the school library. As noted on page 155, the 1839 catalogue contained 2937 titles. Though it is difficult to compare this

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[438] See Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'School Libraries in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', *Edinburgh History of Reading* eds. Mary Hammond and Jonathan Rose (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020)

[439] Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 65

count of titles to Steven's count of volumes, it is clear that the number of books available to pupils in the 1840s grew, reflecting a broader recognition of the importance of the school library in this period, as discussed in chapter one.

There are five existing volumes of library catalogues in the Edinburgh City Council Archives (SL137/13/1-5). These consist of a large volume which has been dated by the archives to c. 1790 (SL137/13/1), a catalogue dated to c. 1839 (SL137/13/2) , a catalogue dated to c. 1837 (SL137/13/3), *Catalogue of High School Library for First and Second Classes 1848* (SL137/13/4) and a printed *Catalogue of the Library of the Royal High School Edinburgh* (1907) (SL137/13/5), which has not been included here as it falls outside the scope of this thesis, though it has been briefly referred to in the discussion of "destroyed" volumes from the 1839 catalogue. The first volume (c. 1790) contains three separate partial catalogues; a catalogue from c. 1790 (probably 1783),[440] a list of odd volumes not entered into a catalogue in 1808 (there is no other evidence of an existing catalogue for this year), and a partial catalogue from 1757. The catalogues dated to c. 1837 and c. 1839 (SL137/13/2 and SL137/13/3) are in fact the first and second volume of the same catalogue and so will hereafter be referred to together as catalogue 1839. For clarity the library catalogues will be referred to by their years of 1757, 1783, 1839 and 1848. These catalogues offer us a snapshot of the works available both to schoolmasters and pupils. Alongside the acquisition records, which reveal a little more about the specific priorities of the school in any given year, the catalogues can give a sense of what role the school library had in the education of the boys who attended the Royal High School. As discussed in the overall introduction to this thesis, these ought to be used with caution, as they can only ever reveal the specific books that were in the library rather than revealing what was read by the pupils. However, they can provide an insight into the pedagogical concerns and priorities of the schoolmasters who were responsible for purchasing and acquiring works for the library.

Augmenting these catalogues are records of the financial transactions relating to the school library, including a note of which books were purchased from 1769 until 1868. There are some gaps in these records in certain school years, namely 1830/31 and from 1837/38 until 1843/44 when a separate volume (from the library accounts) was allocated to the record of books purchased. There is a further gap in records between 1846 and 1868. In these missing years, there is a record simply of how much was spent on new

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[440] There is a heading on one of the pages of this catalogue which states that it is from 1783.

books for the library but no record of specifically what was purchased. These accounts are useful, not only in determining exactly which titles were deliberately acquired for the school library in any given year, and therefore giving an insight into the trends and priorities in book acquisition for the school library, but also in revealing which booksellers the school purchased from[441]. They also show how the library was financed and give us a small insight into how the library was run, in the absence of more complete records surrounding its day-to-day operations. For example, the records reveal that in the school year 1817-18, a sub-librarian was employed for the first time (or at least, was on the pay roll for the first time), but that otherwise individual teachers were in charge as librarian on rotation each year. As well as books for the library, other expenditure across the period included carts (or tons) of coal and porterage; quills and ink; paper books; bookbinding; furniture such as tables; salaries for the sub-librarian and janitors (these roles were sometimes filled by the same person, with separate salaries paid for each role); the printing of catalogues and, from 1828, matriculation tickets. These records also reveal a change in how the use of the library was charged to the pupils in 1828, from a system which involved the teachers collecting subscriptions from their class to the printing and sale of matriculation tickets to individual pupils. In 1825 these funds were augmented by the printing and sale of catalogues (presumably to pupils, though there is no record to state to whom these were sold) at 6d each. Most pertinent to this chapter, however, are the records of the specific books purchased for the school library across these years (1769 to 1845/46). The records which detail the works purchased for the school library by various schoolteachers offer a useful insight into the changing priorities of the schoolmasters in any given year. More than the school's library catalogues which, due to the high number of Latin texts already present in the library, take a number of years to reveal a shifting focus to books in English, the records of acquisitions reveal the specific concerns of the teachers in that year. The acquisition records begin in 1769 and the majority of texts purchased in this year were in Latin, reflecting the nature of the library collection at this time.[442] The acquisition records are also important in that they represent

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[441] An analysis of this is outside the scope of this thesis but looking at these in more detail, alongside existing archival records of booksellers in Edinburgh, such as those of Bell & Bradfute at Edinburgh City Archives, would provide further insight into how the school library interacted with the wider print culture of the city and beyond.

[442] Only three English-language titles and one French title were purchased; James Macpherson's *Ossian*, Gilbert Burnett's *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* and Nathaniel Hooke's *Roman History* and Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*

a deliberate decision to acquire the works in question. The school records show that personal libraries or collections of books were often donated to the library.[443] These titles therefore appear in the catalogues but do not necessarily reflect the specific pedagogical needs and priorities of the school.

Languages Represented in the Library Catalogues
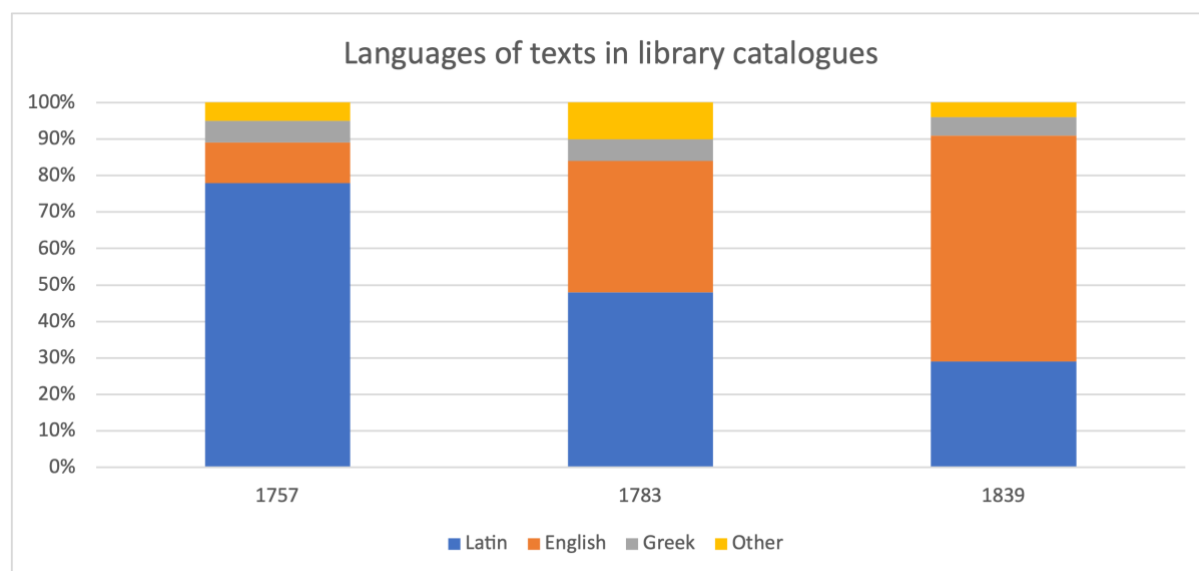
Figure 2: Bar chart of languages represented in each library catalogue

The chart above shows the breakdown of the languages of texts in each of the first three catalogues. The juvenile catalogue is not included here as all works in this catalogue are in English. This shows that in the 1757 catalogue, 320 of the titles in this early catalogue are in Latin (78%), while just 24 contain Greek (6%) and 11% are in English (45 titles). It should be noted again that the 1757 catalogue is incomplete and therefore any comparisons between this and the other catalogues ought to be considered carefully. However, as shown in the chart below in the 1783 catalogue, the percentage of Latin titles fell from 78% to 46% and the percentage of English texts rose from 11% to 36%, suggesting a much greater balance between Classical titles and vernacular ones. There was a clear shift in the balance of the school catalogue between Classical Latin and

[443] For example in 1833-34, at the foot of the page of books purchased for the school library, there is a record that 'Dr Prout presented his work to the library. J.B.' (SL137/12/1) and in 1844-45, there is a list of books given to the library by named individuals and organisations including 'Minutes of Committee' for 1839 to 1843 from the Committee of the Privy Council on Education and a selection of his own works from Professor Dunbar, and a number of maps and works from a Mr Gunn (SL137/12/2). One of the major bequests to the school library was from George Grindlay in 1801. An Edinburgh merchant and former pupil of the school left his library of 475 volumes. These are marked separately in the 1839 catalogue and so it is possible to see specifically which volumes were originally part of Grindlay's library.

vernacular English texts. This is also reflected in the priorities for acquisition in these years, as discussed in this chapter. The works purchased for the school library in the 1780s, after the school's move to a new location with dedicated library space reveal a greater balance between classical and contemporary works in English. This is further reflected in the balance between English and Latin works in the 1783 catalogue and then even more so in the 1839 catalogue. The fact that these become an increasingly large part of the school's acquisitions show that this was a deliberate move for the school library. It is possible that here the schoolmasters were responding to the needs and desires of the pupils with the vast majority of them borrowing only works in English. What is most striking about the 1839 iteration of the library catalogue is again the shift in the proportion of Latin to English works. As discussed above, the 1783 catalogue saw a decrease of the proportion of Latin texts in the overall collection from 78% in the 1757 catalogue to 46%. Here we see that decreased again to just 29%, while the English works (including translations) increased from 11% in the 1757 catalogue to 36% in 1783 and in 1839 to take up the majority of the collection at 62%.

Books containing Greek stayed roughly the same; remaining at 6% between 1757 and 1783 and dropping to 5% in 1839. This suggests that books in Greek retained an element of importance in the school library but still did not make up a significant proportion of the library catalogue. Comments about the teaching of Greek in grammar schools made in the 1799 *Statistical Account* suggest that "…it is well known that the Greek language is little taught at our grammar schools in this country."[444] The representation of Greek in the catalogues and in the surviving evidence of the school's curriculum suggest that it was a small, but significant, area of study at the end of the eighteenth century. It is not represented in the borrowings of school pupils, as will be discussed in chapter four, and this may suggest that the level of skill in reading Greek, and the desire to do so was not high among the pupils at the Royal High School. When the pupils did read Greek works, they read these in English translations. As noted in the table of top ten titles in chapter four, the schoolboys read Greek authors but only in English translation, moving from an overall preference for Plutarch in the eighteenth century to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the nineteenth.

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[444] 'Historical Account and Present State of Marischal College and University of Aberdeen', *Statistical Account* vol. XXI, 1799, p. 117

The proportion of modern language texts (making up the majority of those denoted as 'other' in the chart above) stayed roughly the same across all three catalogues. However, in the 1839 catalogue, the number of modern language texts in French, German and Italian grew in proportion to the size of the overall collection, suggesting that they retained a level of importance in terms of the library space devoted to them but did not significantly increase in importance. By 1826/27, when the overhaul of the school curriculum took place, there were still only a few French and German texts available to pupils, but the German texts purchased in this year were all grammars and exercises, indicating that the acquisition of these modern languages was focused on a linguistic understanding of the language, rather than a literary one. The high number of English texts purchased in this year, with a significant proportion of these translations of classical Latin and Greek works, suggests that a significant change in the school curriculum, the style of teaching, and the expectations of pupils to read in Latin in the classroom had taken place. The level at which each language is represented in the catalogues appears to coincide with the language in which the boys borrow. Whether the makeup of the catalogue reflects their borrowing patterns or their borrowing patterns respond to a growing range of English-language texts available to them is an open question but it certainly correlates.

1757 Catalogue

The 1757 catalogue shows 92 books in quarto format, which appear at the front of the volume and approximately 413 in octavo format,[445] which appear in the middle of the volume. Actual titles are missing for volumes 266 to 360 as the pages have been cut out and so it is important to keep in mind that this early catalogue is only partially complete. The partial nature of this catalogue ought to be considered in its discussion. Though it cannot be ascertained for certain which volumes are missing from the surviving catalogue, we can presume that there were also folio and smaller formats of texts in the collection alongside the quarto and octavo formats discussed here. We therefore have a note of a total of 316 octavo titles (408 titles in total). Alongside the short-form titles, and, in some cases, the author, this catalogue also contains limited bibliographical information for the majority of the titles, specifically year and place of publication. In

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[445] These titles are numbered to 413, however number 190 is missing and there may of course have been titles missed in the catalogue pages which have been cut out.

comparison with later catalogues, particularly that of 1848, in which it is clear that certain publishers dominate the school's purchasing of books, there is a wide range of places of publication and publishers, suggesting that the collection may have been donated to the school or that their acquisitions occurred in a much more piecemeal fashion up until the mid-eighteenth century in comparison to the nineteenth century collections. This is also reflected in the dates of publication listed for the titles, with a number of seventeenth century works in the collection, and a small number of sixteenth century works. Despite these omissions, this catalogue does reveal some important information about the school library in the mid-eighteenth century.

Due to the small number of them it is possible to give an overview of the English titles in the 1757 catalogue, giving a better indication of how the library collections changed between the mid-eighteenth century and the nineteenth. The English titles in quarto in the 1757 catalogue were John Wemyss' *The Christian Synagogue* (1623), *The Bishop of Norwich's Twenty-Five Sermons* (1663), Samuel Colvill's *The Grand Imposture discovered , an historicall Dispute of the Papacy and Popish Religion, demonstrating the Success of both* (1673), a work titled *A Pattern of True Prayer*, which does not include any bibliographical details, and Samuel Parker's *Censura Temporum* (1608-1610), a monthly periodical reviewing contemporary works. The presence of these specific works suggests that even by the mid-eighteenth century the religious works in the school library were dominated by High Anglican writers. However, this library does also contain an octavo edition of John Calvin's *Commentaries on St Paul's Epistles* (1576), which feeds into a more presbyterian tradition. Of the octavo titles, there are 38 English titles. The majority of these are related to Classical studies, such as Charles Rollin's *Roman History* (1739) and *Ancient History* (1738), Francis Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients* (1609), and Luke Millbourne's *Notes on Dryden's Virgil* (1698). There are also a number of eighteenth-century English translations of Latin and Greek works including *Terence's Comedies* (1694), Nicholas Rowe's *Lucan* (1722), Joseph Trapp's *Virgil* (1731) and Alexander Pope's *Iliad* (1715-20) and *Odyssey* (1725). This suggests that by the mid-eighteenth century, some of the teaching of classics at the school was taking place in English, or at least, that the boys were encouraged to engage with these works in the vernacular. This supposition is however complicated by the types of grammar books available in the library in the 1757 catalogue. As discussed above, this catalogue is a partial one and so the list of grammars below is not to be taken as

exhaustive. However, it can reveal a little more about how teaching may have been conducted. James Kirkwood dominates the selection with three separate copies of his grammar in this version of the catalogue. There were also two copies of Despauter's *Grammar* (1662)*,* which Kirkwood famously criticised in his *Grammatica Facilis* (1674).[446] Both of these texts "are remarkably free of vernacular intrusion, translation into Scots being used only for individual Latin words".[447] This suggests that in the mid-eighteenth century, the teaching of Latin, at least in terms of the materials used, was conducted in Latin. Other grammars include those by James Bayne (1714), John Hunter (1711), Samuel Prat (1722), and *A Short Introduction to Grammar* (1692) by an unnamed author.[448]

Overall, though this is a partial catalogue, some cautious wider conclusions can be drawn out. The 1757 catalogue of the school library shows that by the mid-eighteenth century the purpose of the school library had not shifted a great deal from its origins as a place for "all sort of books that may concern humanity and the knowledge of languages".[449] With the exception of a few English works which chiefly focus on classical learning, the library is focused largely on Latin titles. Unsurprisingly for this period, this partial catalogue suggests that there were no English novels or poetry available to the students or the masters through the school library at this time. The only periodical available was Samuel Parker's *Censura Temporum,* as mentioned above. The works presented in this catalogue not only reflect the general purpose of the school library, and, as discussed in chapter one, grammar school education more broadly, in this period but are also mainly products of the print culture of the first half of the eighteenth century.

1783 Catalogue

The 1783 catalogue appears to be complete (in that there are no pages missing as with the 1757 catalogue). This 1783 catalogue only lists short-form titles and, in some cases, the author for the books with no details of publication year or place. When looking in detail at some of these titles, it seems that this catalogue was added to over a number of years and therefore does not necessarily offer a snapshot of the library collection as it was in 1783. This is particularly evident in the inclusion of works of travel literature

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[446] Christopher Upton, 'Studies in Scottish Latin' (PhD thesis, St Andrews, 1986), p. 85
[447] Ibid, p. 103
[448] This could be a copy of David Wedderburn's *A Short Introduction to Grammar*.
[449] Barclay, p. 40

which are included in the catalogue. Some of these works, despite their inclusion in the catalogue were not published until after 1783. When cross-checked with the acquisition records it is possible to see that these works were purchased in later years.[450] Furthermore, borrowers' records from 1776 onwards sporadically detail the same numbering system as the 1783 catalogue, but not as the 1757 catalogue, suggesting that there was either an earlier catalogue in use at this time which made use of the same numbering system, or that the 1783 catalogue was started earlier than this date. Despite this, the 1783 catalogue nonetheless offers an insight into the texts included in the library towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[451] When cross-referenced with the acquisition records, it is possible to ascertain exactly when the changes described below may have taken place. Where a book is in multiple volumes, this seems to be noted. The catalogue first lists 109 titles, which seem to be of various sizes.[452] This is followed by a list of 268 titles, labelled as quarto, and a list of 901 which are titled variably as "octavo" or "octavo and infra" (though it does not state specifically which titles are in which format). There is therefore, unsurprisingly, not a great deal of difference in the selection of format of books in the library between 1757 and 1783.

As well as a higher proportion of English titles discussed earlier, the range of genres had also increased by the 1780s. Of the 469 English titles, 110 are translations of Latin and Greek works (with 81 translations of Latin works and 29 translations of Greek works), suggesting that there was an increased importance placed on translations of Classical works in the school. Other genres which are well represented in the library in English are histories, both modern and ancient. This is a significant shift in the makeup of the library catalogues between 1757 and 1783, with just three titles related to ancient history and none related to modern history in the 1757 catalogue. In the 1783 catalogue, there were 26 titles (5.5% of all English titles) relating to ancient history, including Robertson's *History of Greece* (1778); John Gillies' *History of Greece* (1786); Temple Stanyan's *Graecian History* (1707); Charles Rollins' *Ancient History* (1730-8); Edward Gibbon's *On the Roman Empire* (1776-89); Adam Ferguson's *Roman History* (1783) and

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[450] For example, a 20-volume edition of William Fordyce Mavor's *Travells* is included in this catalogue. This work was published in 1796 and purchased for the library in 1797. Similarly Mungo Park's *Travels in Africa* was published in 1799 and was first acquired in 1800, with the octavo format (the format listed in this catalogue) purchased in 1809.

[451] For clarity and in order to remain aligned with the record title at Edinburgh City Archives, this catalogue will be referred to as the "1783 catalogue".

[452] A cross-section of these titles have been checked in the ESTC and there appears to be no uniformity in formats.

nine copies of Oliver Goldsmith's *Roman History* (1769), the only title which appears in such a high number in the 1783 catalogue, suggesting that this work was intended to be borrowed by multiple pupils concurrently. In terms of modern history, there were 34 titles (7% of all English titles) in the catalogue, including William Robertson's *History of Scotland* (1759) and *History of the reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769); David Hume's *History of England;* Robert Henry's *The History of Great Britain* (1771)*;* William Guthrie's *A General History of Scotland* (1767); Malcolm Laing's *History of Scotland* (1800)[453]; John Pinkerton's *History of Scotland* (1797); William Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* (1753); Arnot's *History of Edinburgh* purchased in 1779; and Oliver Goldsmith's *An History of England* (1764)*.* There were also two works related to the study of history itself: Rawlinson's *New Method of Studying History* (1730) and a French title, *Méthode pour l'étude de l'histoire,*[454] suggesting that the schoolmasters were beginning to think about how the teaching of history in the school should take place.[455]

The balance of works relating to Scotland and to England or Britain suggests that neither of these was of a greater or lesser priority for acquisitions in the library, while the larger collection of Goldsmith's *Roman History* is consistent with the popularity of this work among the borrowers, and arguably the status of this work as one specifically written for children, and therefore a priority for acquisition. Though making up a much smaller selection of the histories available, there were also some works relating to history outside of Scotland, England and Britain as a whole, including two copies of William Robertson's *History of America* (1777) and *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge Which the Ancients Had of India* (1791)*;* a copy of William Lothian's *The History of the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (1780); and a copy *History of the Turks.*[456] Acquisition records also show the priority for acquiring these histories in the years between the 1757 and 1783 catalogues, with repeated purchases of Goldsmith's works in particular in 1772, 1774, 1775, 1777 and 1778. Following the acquisition of these, Goldsmith became one of the most frequently borrowed authors in the 1780s, as discussed in chapter four. Guthrie's *History of Scotland* was purchased in 1773 and

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[453] The fact that titles with a later publication date than 1783 were included in this catalogue suggests that it was added to beyond 1783.

[454] No bibliographical details were included for this title in the catalogue but likely referring to Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy's *Méthode pour étudier l'histoire* (1714).

[455] History was taught as part of the optional "General Knowledge" class which was introduced in 1827 and made a separate subject in 1909 (Ross, p. 70).

[456] No bibliographical details are included for this title in the catalogue; it could be referring to any number of titles including David D. Jones' *A compleat history of the Turks* (1701) or John Shirley's *The history of the Turks* (1683).

became one of the most popular works in the 1780s, reflecting the growing interest in Scottish and British histories noted above in their increased representation in the 1783 library catalogue. In other years, the histories which were already popular among pupils were purchased for the school library. For example, Nathaniel Hooke's *Roman History* (1738-71) and Rollin's *Ancient History,* both of which were frequently borrowed in the 1770s, were purchased in 1786 by Mr French. Rollin's *Ancient History* was purchased again in 1807, reflecting its enduring popularity in the school library into the nineteenth century. Alongside the works relating to travel and geography discussed below, this emphasises the importance placed by the schoolmasters on pupils learning and reading about modern cultures, with the use of the school library filling a gap in the pupils' education. The fact that these works were also a priority for acquisition alongside works related to ancient history suggests that this was an intended use of the school library as well as an actual use by the pupils.

The proportion of English texts which were made up of travels and voyages (30, or 6%) was similar to that of history. As discussed below, these also formed a key priority for acquisitions for the school library from 1773 onwards, and are well represented in the borrowing records among the school pupils, as shown in chapter four.[457] This genre is non-existent in the 1757 catalogue and therefore its representation in the 1783 catalogue suggests a change in the way in which the library was viewed by schoolteachers and how it was used by pupils. As discussed in chapters one and two, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, schools were increasingly aware of the roles that their pupils would play in British society and its wider imperial projects. It is therefore not surprising that the collections of the school library began to reflect these values and priorities towards the end of the eighteenth century. The works purchased for the Royal High School from the 1770s onwards also reflect an increasing desire to look towards the outside world; globes, maps and atlases are purchased in high numbers in the 1770s and an increasing volume of travel literature and naval history is purchased from 1773 going into the nineteenth century. With the introduction of the study of geography in 1742, there was also clearly a need for pedagogical materials. As Linda Colley argues, Britons "came to

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[457] There was, in general, a sharp rise in the number of books purchased for the school occurring in 1777/1778, coinciding with the introduction of a purpose-built library in the new school. The fact that the school was seeking a new site in the years leading up to 1777, when it moved into a new building complete with dedicated library, may account for the lower number of titles purchased in these years, due to a lack of space to house the collections.

define themselves as a single people not because of any political or cultural consensus at home, but rather in reaction to the other beyond their shores",[458] and as Matthew Simpson argues in relation to the University of St Andrews Library, the popularity of travel writing, particularly that which has a strong British interest, reflects this development.[459] The inclusion of these also shows that the library was increasingly seen as a source of texts for leisure reading as well as learning.

Titles represented in the library in this catalogue included George Anson's *A Voyage round the World* (1748) and collections of Captain Cook's *Voyages* (1771-81). This concurs with Matthew Simpson's findings on the use of the University of St Andrews' library in the same period. In the absence of other detailed school library records for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the University of St Andrews library offers a useful point of comparison with the Royal High School, due to the relatively young age of some of the university students in the period and a similar set of priorities and concerns about the use of these libraries by young men. Simpson states that Anson's *Voyage* is the "single most often-borrowed book" over his five sample periods between 1748 and 1782.[460] He goes on to argue that this particular title "had a peculiarly close thematic connection with the imperial British properties of the St Andrews library" and that "the student readers who made this title their favourite reading were amenable to the background argument of the book's home".[461] Though this particular title is not overwhelmingly representative of the pupils' use of the library at the Royal High School, as the analysis in chapter four shows, the popularity of travels and voyages, and their representation in the library towards the end of the eighteenth century certainly suggests a strong interest in cosmopolitanism and the wider world, into which a broader interest in British imperialism would have fed.

As well as the voyages, tours and travels purchased, a number of works dealing with other cultures and world histories were purchased, including geographical dictionaries and works such as Claude-Étienne Savary's *Letters on Egypt* (1786), purchased in 1786, William Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (1791), purchased in 1791, William

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[458] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 5
[459] Simpson, p. 40
[460] Matthew Simpson, 'St Andrews University Library in the Eighteenth Century: Scottish Education and Print Culture' (PhD thesis, St Andrews, 1999), p. 37
[461] Ibid, p. 41

Tennant's *Thoughts on India*,[462] purchased in 1809, Bryan Edward's *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1793) purchased in 1811, a work titled *History of Brazil* purchased in 1812/1813 and James Mill's *History of British India* (1817) purchased in 1828/1829. Although it can be ascertained from the volume of works on geography purchased for the school library, as well as the presence of a number of globes and maps, that the teaching of geography stretches back into the mid eighteenth century, the purchasing of the *Eton Geography* and *Eton Comparative Atlas* (1828) in 1831/1832 suggests that the Royal High School was looking towards other schools for resources and best practices in teaching this subject. The sheer volume of travel writing available to readers in the school library points to its general popularity as a genre in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It also suggests, as with the purchasing of juvenile works and an increasing number of novels in the 1820s and 1830s that the library was moving towards being a place of recreational reading. Finally, the didactic potential of these works ought not to be overlooked; their prominence in the school library suggests that they were deemed suitable reading material for young men, in preparing them to become "citizens of the world"[463] and contribute to Imperial projects abroad.

A notable change in the makeup of the school library between 1757 and 1783 was the appearance of works of English literature and poetry including volumes of William Shakespeare's *Works*, Edmund Spenser's *Faery Queen* [sic], Milton's *Poetical Works*, and Ossian's Works, which was purchased at the height of the Ossian controversy in 1769. Works of poetry by Mark Akenside, Robert Dodsley, John Dryden, William Cowper, William Hayley, Thomas Blacklock, John Gay, and James Beattie also all appear in the catalogue of 1783. Collected works by Joseph Addison and James Thomson were also available. In terms of novels there were very few present in the 1783 catalogue, with the exception of an eight-volume edition of Jonathan Swift's works. This is notable given the later emphasis on novels in the library catalogues and acquisitions records, particularly in the early nineteenth century, though unsurprising given the often radical nature of the novels written in the late eighteenth century, as well as the "unsavory reputation" of the novel in this period.[464] Alongside these works of English literature, there were also copies of Thomas Warton's *The History of English Poetry* (1777), James

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[462] It is likely this refers to William Tennant's *Indian Recreations* (1804).

[463] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 25

[464] J. Paul Hunter, 'The novel and social/cultural history' in John Richetti, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 22

Beattie's *Essay on Poetry and Music* (1798). and Jean-Baptiste Du Bos's *Reflexions on Poetry* (1733) suggesting that the study of English Literature was beginning to be seen as part of the overall education of these young Edinburgh men, preceding the introduction of English as a formal subject, as part of the course of general knowledge, at the school in 1827.

Another key change in the 1783 catalogue, reflecting a shift in print culture more generally, was the inclusion of English dictionaries and grammars. Thomas Sheridan's dictionary, written specifically for school use, was included alongside two copies of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary and numerous others. Lindley Murray's *Key to English Grammar* (1795) and *Exercises on English Grammar* (1797) were also included in the 1783 catalogue. Though this reflects broader changes in eighteenth-century print culture, and an increased interest in lexicography and categorisation, it also suggests that there was an increased focus on English literacy in the school, aligning with calls for a more useful, modern education discussed in chapter two. Other genres among the English works, which did not appear in the previous catalogue, include a number of works on natural history such as those by Oliver Goldsmith, Georges-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon, Samuel Ward, Bernadin de Saint-Pierre's *Studies of Nature* (1796) and William Smellie's *On the Philosophy of Natural History* (1790). As highlighted in chapter four, natural history was one of the most popular subjects borrowed by the school pupils, and the inclusion of an increasing number of works of this genre suggests that the schoolmasters were responding to the interests of the pupils in their selection of texts for the school library, as well as the fact that this was deemed an important and suitable subject of study for schoolboys in this period. This also marks the beginnings of a greater variety of subjects included in the school library, suggesting a broadening of the informal curriculum of the school.

Key writers of the Scottish Enlightenment were also represented in the library collections at this time, including David Hume, with volumes of his *Essays* (1741-42) and *History of England*. Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers of the Human Mind* (1788), Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Ferguson's *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), and John Playfair's *Illustration of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth* (1802) are all listed in the 1783 catalogue.[465] There was no real increase in

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[465] The dates of some of these Enlightenment works are further proof that the 1783 catalogue was added

the number of religious works in the catalogue, suggesting that these were not a priority for acquisition in this period. Sarah Trimmer's *Sacred History* (1785) is one of the first works written specifically for children which appears in the school library (excluding those histories and grammars written for use in school). Other religious works include a handful of sermons, works on church history, some Hebrew works, including psalms, and editions of the New Testament in Greek, and a copy of Humphrey Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Testament Completed* (1741).[466] However, notably absent from the school library throughout the period examined here, were catechisms and other religious works typically used for the moral education of schoolchildren. This suggests that the school did not place much emphasis on the moral education of the boys through the reading of catechisms and religious texts as many of the other schools in Scotland did, focusing instead primarily on a classical education, and later on a broader, but still largely academic, education. The regulations for the conduct of boys outside the school and references to brawls with sailors and other undesirable behaviour by pupils in the letters relating to school matters all suggest that the proper conduct and behaviour of the boys was a concern for the school, but that it did not choose to tackle this through a moralistic education or through prescribed reading practices[467]. As discussed in chapter one of this thesis, this is in contrast to the other schools for which we have evidence in this period, though it is important to note the distinction of social class between pupils at the Royal High School, and the charity and pauper schools in Edinburgh, which would have seen the moral education of the poor as one of their main objectives.

What can therefore be seen from the 1783 catalogue is that there was a marked change in the nature of the school library collections in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Although this is the first complete catalogue available, the comparisons made between this and the partial 1757 catalogue reveal a change in the composition of the school library collections, both in subject and language. While the 1757 catalogue focused on Latin texts, the 1783 catalogue reveals a broadening of the types of works

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to up until the early nineteenth century.

[466] Though not taught at the Royal High School, Hebrew was part of school curricula elsewhere in Scotland; at the Grammar School in Aberdeen where boys were encouraged to "speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Gaelic, never in the vernacular tongue" (Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 32) and at a school in Prestonpans "for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew" (Steven, *The Royal High* School, p. 42). This suggests that even though it was not part of the formal curriculum at the Royal High School, the presence of Hebrew works in the library and school curricula elsewhere suggest that it was part of a broader classical education.

[467] Specific references could not be obtained due to Covid-19 restrictions but the letters detailing these matters are part of the SL137 Royal High School collections at Edinburgh City Archives.

available to pupils and an introduction of materials which could be read for both information and entertainment, suggesting a change in the way in which the library was used and the role the teachers viewed the library to have within the wider culture of the school. Furthermore, the introduction of some conduct-book approved works of literature, as discussed in chapter two, suggests an increased recognition of vernacular works within the traditional Grammar school curriculum, predating the formal introduction of English Literature as a subject. The lack of novels in the catalogue at this time is not surprising given the radical nature of many late eighteenth-century novels, and the dubious reputation of the genre in the period. However, as will be discussed below, the novel would soon constitute a much greater part of the library's collections during the nineteenth century.

1839 Catalogue

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a marked change in the types of books acquired, with an increase in the number of novels, periodicals and volumes of poetry purchased for the library. Alongside the works on history, education and religion which were still purchased, in 1804, volumes of Robert Burns' *Works* and William Cowper's *Poems* were both acquired. Periodicals became a recurring acquisition in the 1780s onwards with Alexander Adam purchasing 48 volumes of *The Scots Magazine* in 1787 as well as recent editions of *Monthly Review* and the *Annual Register*. This was then followed by Luke Fraser purchasing the 1787 publications of these periodicals in 1788. There was also a concerted effort to bring in back copies of specific periodicals in this year: *The Scots Magazine* 1799-1803 editions were purchased alongside multiple volumes of the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Monthly Review* and the *Annual Register* from 1798 to 1801.

In the 1810s, the number and type of novels purchased for the school library markedly increases. Beginning with Frances Burney's *Cecilia* and *Evelina* (1778), Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808), Maria Edgeworth's *Tales of Fashionable Life* (1809)*, Popular Tales,* and *Moral Tales for Young People* (1805) were all purchased in the school year 1812-13 (Edgeworth's educational treatise *Practical Education* was also purchased in 1810). These novels were all popular among the students, particularly Burney's novels, as shown in the borrowers' register. Edgeworth's

works were also included in the juvenile library catalogue of 1848 but their purchase at this earlier date indicates that the school library was beginning to cater for its younger readers, recognising both the importance of a specific literature for children and facilitating the reading of novels and shorter fictional tales among the school pupils. The inclusion of novels in the school library in the 1810s and their popularity among the boys of the Royal High School not only indicates that novels had a wide male readership but also that many of them were deemed suitable for boys and young men. The library continued to add to its collection of novels in 1817-1818 with Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington* (1817) and *Ormond* (1817). A number of Scottish texts were also purchased around this time. Sir Walter Scott's *Rob Roy* (1817) was the first of Scott's novels to be added to the library in 1817-1818, though his poetic works; *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-1803)*, Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805)*, Marmion* (1808) and *Lady of the Lake* (1810) were all purchased in 1812-13. *Tales of the Crusaders* (1825) was purchased in 1825/26. A number of James Hogg's poetic works: *Pilgrims of the Sun* (1815), *The Forest Minstrel* (1810), *Mador of the Moor* (1816) and *The Queen's Wake* (1813) were also added in 1817-18 and his novel *The Brownie of Bodsbecks* (1818) was purchased in 1818-1819.

The inclusion of novels in the library catalogue continued into the early 1820s, with Mary Brunton's unfinished *Emmeline* (1820) and Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820) purchased in 1819-1820, Scott's *The Monastery* (1820), a second copy of *Ivanhoe* and *The Abbot* (1820), and Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764) all purchased in 1820-1821. The inclusion of gothic fiction by James Hogg and Horace Walpole, as well as more didactic works such as those by Maria Edgeworth and Mary Brunton indicate that these novels were purchased for entertainment as well as educational purposes. However, as discussed in chapter four, pupils overwhelmingly engaged with the works of Sir Walter Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Mary Brunton and Frances Burney, with only some borrowing Hogg's works and none borrowing Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*. This suggests that the role of the library was shifting towards providing children with access to books which they could read for pleasure and entertainment.

The 1839 catalogue is a full new catalogue, created sometime between 1837 and 1839, including additions, often on separate slips of paper of works published and added later. The catalogue is, in many ways, more detailed than the two previous catalogues recording titles, authors and, for the first time, shelf marks, and included 2937 volumes. It also records where an item was donated as part of the Grindlay collection. As noted

previously, the Grindlay collection was a major bequest of books to the school library from a former pupil, George Grindlay in 1801. This bequest significantly expanded the types of works available in the school library. These included works on female education such as Hannah More's *Strictures on the Present System of Female Education* and Erasmus Darwin's *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education* (1797) and works aimed at a female readership such as Mrs Martha Bradley's *The Compleat Housewife or the Cook, Housekeeper and Gardiner's Companion* and *Housekeeper's Assistant*.[468] There were also indications of what home education may have looked like in the Grindlay household with works such as James Elphinstone's *Propriety Ascertained* (1786), William Scott's *An Introduction to Reading and Spelling* (1796) and *Lessons in Elocution* (1784). The presence of this type of work in the 1839 catalogue is only due to the donation of the Grindlay collection, and highlights some of the differences between home education and the public education which took place at the Royal High School towards the end of the eighteenth century. Books on recreational activities such as Chess and Backgammon were also part of Grindlay's bequest; including Edmund Hoyle's *Games of Whist, Quadrill, Picquet, Chess and Back Gammon* (1775) and F.D. Philodor's *Analysis of the Game of Chess* (1777). Works of practical religion were also a key part of the Grindlay collection including Giles Fermin's *The Real Christian or a treatise on Effectual Believing* (1670).[469] Though the Grindlay collection did not predominate in the borrowers' records the boys did engage with some works, including those by Tobias Smollett which were borrowed three times in the 1820s. The Grindlay collection therefore did not form a large part of the boys' borrowing patterns but when it did, it widened their reading of texts beyond those which were chosen by the teachers. The nature of the Grindlay collection also provides a small example of the ways in which a private library differed from an institutional library such as that at the Royal High School, with the inclusion of works related to recreation and those aimed at women in the household. Grindlay was also a former pupil of the school and so his collection also reveals a little about what a pupil went on to read outside the school library environment[470].

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[468] It is likely this entry is referring to Martha Bradley's *The British Housewife* published in c. 1760.

[469] Unlike the first two categories, however, books on practical theology were also included in the library that did not come from the Grindlay collection.

[470] Unfortunately, there is no record of George Grindlay's use of the school library in the borrowers' registers.

English-language works of literature which, as discussed in chapter two were increasingly seen as a vital part of a gentleman's education, were also evident in the 1839 catalogue. This was a continuation from the appearance of this type of work in the 1783 catalogue, reflecting the shift towards reading material reflecting a more modern and useful curriculum in advance of formal changes at the school. Examples of these in the 1839 catalogue include four copies of William Shakespeare's *Works*,[471] and John Milton's *Prose Works*, *Poetical Works* and *Paradise Lost*.[472] Three of the works of Shakespeare and Milton's *Poetical Works* were part of the Grindlay collection but the others were not, suggesting that the inclusion of these works in the catalogue was a deliberate one. Works of poetry were also represented in the 1839 catalogue with four copies of the works of Robert Burns, which was popular among pupils in the nineteenth century, two copies of William Cowper's poems, and five copies of works by James Thomson. The 1839 catalogue also includes one copy of William Wordsworth's *Poetical Works*, with the edition published in 1836, postdating the borrowers' records discussed in chapter four. In total 110 works of poetry were included in the 1839 catalogue, accounting for 3.74% of the collection. Due to the sustained acquisition of novels in the 1810s and '20s, novels represented a much larger part of the school library than previously. The discussion around novels and their popularity among the boys in chapter four also reflects the growing recognition of the school library as a place to access works of fiction in the nineteenth century.

Travels and voyages still made up a sizeable proportion of the books in the library. In the 1783 catalogue, 63 of the 1293 titles recorded come under the category of travel, topography, maps and navigation manuals, making up 4.86% of the total collection. In 1839, 230 works out of 2937 titles fall under this category, making up 7.85% of the total collection. This shows that these works remained an important part of the school library's collections, with their representation in the school library doubling. However, these numbers are perhaps surprisingly low when compared with the high frequency with which these works were borrowed by the school pupils. In fact, by looking at the number

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[471] The editions in the 1839 catalogue were listed as 'Shakespeare (Wm) *His Works* 8 vols 12mo Ed 1753' and the Grindlay collections were listed as: "*His Works* 8 vols 12mo Ed 1792", "*His Works* vol 9th 12mp Lon 1714" and "His Works and others a Volume of plays 18mo Lon 1758". The first two also include notes stating that volumes were missing with the first stating that it "wants 1, 3, 7" and the second that it "wants 7".

[472] The editions in the 1839 catalogue were listed as "Milton (John) *His prose Works* 2 vols for Lon 1738", "Milton (John) *His Poetical Works* 2 vols 12mo Ed 1772" and "*Paradise Lost or Works* 2 vols 12mo Ed 1755 (wants vol 2)"

of unique titles borrowed in the 1820s (758) in relation to the number of titles in the 1839 catalogue, pupils borrowed just 25.8% of the books available.[473]

The reformed curriculum of 1827 and onwards is further reflected in the contents of the 1839 catalogue, suggesting that the school library remained a site for the supplementation and enriching of the boys' learning. This catalogue shows a much higher presence of works related to the new subjects on the curriculum, specifically mathematics, arithmetic; natural philosophy; and natural history. This follows on from the growing popularity of works on natural history as shown in the borrowers' records of the 1780s, discussed further in chapters four and five. There was also an inclusion of works which point to the broader education of the boys, where they were interested in developing skills or accomplishments such as fencing and drawing, including Sir William Hope's *New Method of Fencing* (1707) and John McArthur's *The Army and Navy Gentleman's Companion or a New and Complete Treatise on the Theory and practice of Fencing* (1780) (borrowed by one pupil in the 1820s); *Art of Drawing* (borrowed by one pupil in the 1820s) and *Art of Speaking* (also borrowed by one pupil in the 1820s).[474] This shows that in a limited way some pupils were using the school library to access works to help them attain a broader, informal education focused on the accomplishments that they wanted to acquire, as well as those specific to future careers, as discussed below.

More English grammars were included in the 1839 catalogue, mostly those of Lindley Murray including three copies of his *English Grammar adapted to the different Classes of Learners* (1802) and two copies of *English Exercises adapted to his Grammar* (1799 and 1802), only one of which came from the Grindlay bequest. The presence of these works in multiple copies suggests that the study of English language and the acquisition of skills in written English was increasingly seen as a priority in the school at the beginning of the nineteenth century. More accessible Latin and Greek grammars were also included in the 1839 catalogue, with more copies of translated grammars such as Zumpt's *Latin Grammar* (1829) translated by Kenwick and Scheller's *Latin Grammar* (1825) translated by Walker. As discussed previously, the presence of these works reflects the changing curriculum in the first half of the nineteenth century with an

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[473] This is not a perfect comparison due to the lack of a catalogue available for the 1820s and the lack of access to the 1830s borrowers' records but does give an indication of the extent to which the pupils accessed the whole contents of the school library.

[474] These single borrowers were all unique pupils.

increased focus from the late eighteenth century in the school on children gaining a full understanding of classical language; the move away from rote learning towards understanding, and an increased focus on written skills in English.

Not on does the catalogue show that the school was moving in a markedly new direction, it also shows the works and writers to which the school was referring in this movement. An increasing number of works on education were included in the 1839 catalogue including some of those discussed in chapter two: Vicesimus Knox's *Liberal Education or a practical treatise on the method of acquiring useful and polite learning*, and other educational treatises such as *Essays on the manner of studying and teaching in Scotland* (1823), David Fordyce's *Dialogues concerning Education* and *Plan of Education for a limited number of young gentlemen* (1797), Lord Kames' *Loose Hints upon Education chiefly concerning the Culture of the Heart*, George Chapman's *A Treatise on Education* (1773) and Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education.* The inclusion of a work titled *Public Education as practiced at Hazlewood School*; Hazlewood School being a school in Birmingham which had adopted a "progressive" system of education[475] suggests that the teachers were not only looking at debates in Scotland but also further afield, as discussed above in relation to the curriculum. As noted previously, Knox's *Liberal Education* was seen as a practical guide for schoolmasters, while George Chapman, schoolmaster in Dumfries "was intent upon collecting and presenting his ideas and experiences as a teacher".[476] Furthermore, Fordye's *Dialogues* "expressed the essential values of the Enlightenment on education".[477] The Royal High School schoolmasters' engagement with these progressive works, written by fellow educators, demonstrates a willingness to adopt new ideas surrounding education and reveal some of the external influences on the Royal High School's curriculum. Altogether, there were 21 works with the word 'education' in the title in the catalogue, all relating to more general theories of education which sat alongside specific works on the teaching of specific subjects such mathematics, arithmetic, and belles lettres with 17 works on mathematics and 30 works on arithmetic, three copies of Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783) and two copies of Charles Rollin's *Method of*

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[475] See P.W.J. Bartrip '"A Thoroughly Good School": An Examination of the Hazelwood Experiment in Progressive Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 28.1 (1980) 46-59

[476] Richard S. Tompson, 'George Chapman 1723-1806', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [accessed online 29 Sep 2021]

[477] Alan Ruston, 'David Fordyce 1711-1751', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [accessed online 29 Sep 2021]

Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres (1737).[478] This suggests that there was an active and conscious engagement with contemporary written debates surrounding education by the education practitioners at the Royal High School, including those, such as the Hazelwood School which were unusual for the period, and therefore indicates a willingness to engage in more progressive theories of education.

In the 1839 catalogue, there were still a high number of histories, both of the ancient, classical world and more modern histories. Other than works by classical authors where there are often multiple editions and translations, which as discussed in chapter four, were borrowed primarily by the teachers, multiple copies of the most popular histories are included in the catalogue. For example, there were three copies of Nathaniel Hooke's *Roman,* six copies of David Hume's *History of England*, six copies of each of Oliver Goldsmith's *Grecian History* (1774) and *Roman History*, and six copies of Charles Rollin's *Ancient History.* This is reflective both of the popularity of these among the pupils (Rollin's *Ancient History* appears in the top ten most borrowed titles in every decade between the 1770s and 1810s), and of the acceptance of these works by the school as appropriate reading material. Despite the popularity of certain novels in the 1820s, the 1839 catalogue only includes one or two copies of each of these. Further, despite these being read to the point where they fall apart were not a priority for re-acquisition for the school. As discussed below, the types of histories purchased for the school shifts from those represented in higher numbers here to ones which were aimed more specifically at a child readership in the nineteenth century. There was clearly a continued focus on the importance of reading histories throughout this whole period, aligning with recommendations in educational writing discussed in chapter two. The types of historical works acquired by the school did change across the period. The implications of pupils' engagement with histories is discussed in more detail in chapter five.

Another addition to this catalogue were works related to practical and useful knowledge. The number of works in this category grew, largely due to the inclusion of the Grindlay collection which provided all but one of these titles. In the 1839 catalogue, there were 31 titles on practical subjects and a further 26 related specifically to commerce, trade and tax, representing together almost 2% of the total collection and 3.5% of the

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[478] Works related to natural philosophy were also included in the 1839 catalogue but these were part of the Grindlay collection and so do not represent a deliberate choice by the schoolteachers.

English-language works. The fact that these came from the Grindlay bequest shows an unintended use of the school library by the pupils, namely to acquire the useful and practical knowledge that the school curriculum at this time did not wholly provide. Examples of these cover a range of topics from gardening, agriculture and husbandry to book-keeping, commerce, and sailing.[479] As well as these, works related to specific careers, most notably the army, were also included, and these were often deliberate acquisitions. Some of these related to rules and regulations in various armies, others focused more on practical knowledge or advice to prepare those entering into the army such as *Advice to Officers of the Army* (1777) and *The Soldier's Friend, or the means of preserving the health of military men* (1798). This suggests that leadership positions in the army would also have been deemed appropriate careers for these boys. A broader general interest in the military was also reflected in the inclusion of and borrowing of works such as *Journal of a Soldier*[480] of which there were two copies in the 1839 catalogue and which was borrowed 35 times in the 1820s, and John Campbell's *Lives of the British Admirals* (1785) which, as discussed in chapter four, was frequently borrowed by pupils from the 1790s onwards. The use of these works of practical and useful knowledge reflects the broader shift from a purely classical education in the eighteenth century to one which focused increasingly on practical or vocational knowledge in the nineteenth century, represented both in the official school curriculum and, crucially earlier in the period, in the use of the school library.

Finally, within the 1839 catalogue, 21 works are marked as having been 'destroyed', all by Mary Brunton, Frances Burney, Maria Edgeworth, Walter Scott and Tobias Smollett. Brunton's *Self Control* (1811) was marked as destroyed while the only copy of *Discipline* and the two copies of *Emmeline and other pieces with a memoir of the author* (1819) were scored through. Single copies of Frances Burney's *Camilla* (1796) and *Evelina* were both destroyed. The other copies of *Evelina* present in the catalogue appear above the 'destroyed' copy of *Evelina* but are scored through rather than marked as destroyed. This would suggest that the fate of 'destroyed' works was

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[479] Examples of these which were not part of the Grindlay bequest include Cullyer's *Gentleman and Farmer's Assistant.*

[480] No bibliographical details are included for this work in the 1839 catalogue though it is likely to refer to *A Soldier's Journal, Containing a particular description of the several descents on the coast of France last war; with an entertaining account of the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, &c. and also of the isles of Wight and Jersey. To which are annexed, observations on th present state of the army of Great Britain* (London: E and C Dilly, 1770).

different to those which were simply scored through, though this could just be a different style of marking the same thing by two different people.[481] Maria Edgeworth's *Patronage* (1814)*, Moral Tales, Fashionable Tales* (1809)*, Harrington and Ormond, Comic Dramas* (1817) and two copies of *Popular Tales* are all marked as 'destroyed'. *Practical Education* is the only title by Edgeworth which is not marked as 'destroyed'. Walter Scott's works are well represented among the "destroyed" titles with two copies of *The Abbott,* and one each of *Antiquary* (1816)*, Bride of Lammermoor* (1819)*, The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822)*, Guy Mannering* (1815)*, Ivanhoe, Kenilworth* (1821)*, Peveril of the Peak* (1822)*, The Pirate* (1822)*, Redgauntlet* (1824)*, Rob Roy* and *Waverley* all marked as 'destroyed'. Walter Scott's *Black Dwarf* (1816)*, Lady of the Lake* (1810)*, Legend of Montrose* (1819)*, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-3)*, Monastery, Old Mortality* (1816)*, Marmion* (1808)*,* a copy of *Lay of the Last Minstrel, Lord of the Isles* (1815)*,* two copies of *St Ronan's Well* (1823)*, Tales of My Landlord* (1816)*, Tales of a Grandfather* (1828-30)*,* and *Tales of the Crusaders* (1825) are all crossed out in the catalogue. A second copy of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* is neither marked as 'destroyed' nor scored through. Tobias Smollett's *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* (1760) is also marked as 'destroyed', while *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751) is crossed out. Tobias Smollett's *Journey Through France and Italy* (1766) and a volume of *His Works* are neither crossed out nor marked as 'destroyed' in the catalogue.[482] It is worth noting that entries could have been crossed out for many reasons, and, unlike the "destroyed" works which are all works of fiction by four authors, the crossed out works in the catalogue have no discernible pattern in the catalogue itself. The only title marked as destroyed in this catalogue which reappears in the 1848 juvenile catalogue is Maria Edgeworth's *Moral Tales*, and there are no other surviving catalogues available until 1907. These titles also do not appear in the acquisition records which cover the period up to 1846, suggesting that the majority of these texts were not priorities for re-acquisition. However, as discussed below, there was also a shift in the 1830s and 40s towards purchasing cheaper reprints and series rather than the popular novels of the 1810s and so this may account for why these novels were not re-acquisitioned.

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[481] There are also incidences, mentioned where relevant in footnotes in chapter four, of the total count of the volumes of a work being crossed through and replaced with numbered volumes indicating a missing volume, for example "4 vols" crossed through to be replaced by "2, 3 & 4". This could indicate that a particular volume has been lost. Incidences of this are higher among the more popular works.
[482] Smollett's works were part of the Grindlay collection.
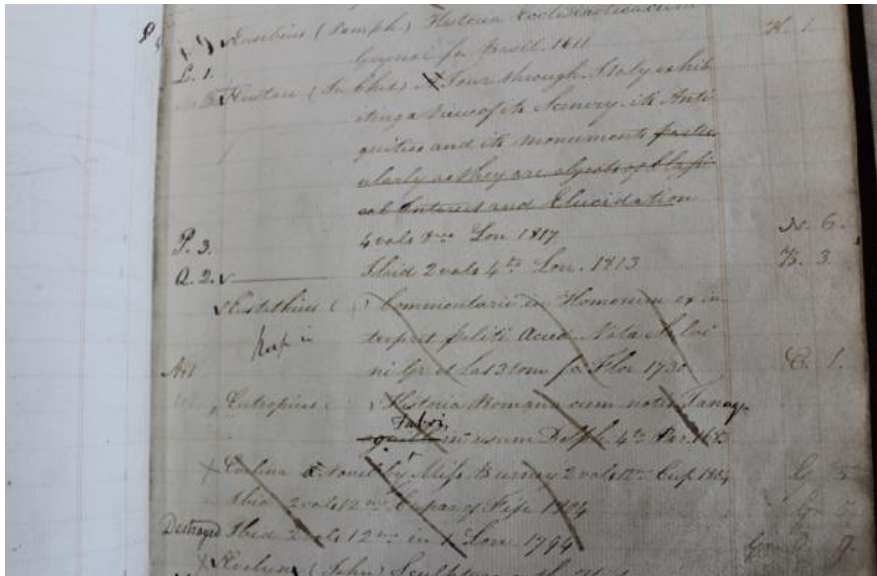
Figure 3: Example of Frances Burney's novels in the catalogue
showing books marked as "destroyed" and scored through.

A degree of caution ought to be used here as there are no surviving records relating to this catalogue which could reveal the impetus behind the destruction of a large part of the school library. This may not have been for pedagogical reasons, but more an indication of the heavy use of these editions; they may have been destroyed deliberately by borrowers or may have fallen apart through constant use. This is indicated by the fact that not every work by specific authors was destroyed and would also correspond with the type of language used in minutes relating to the University of St Andrews library when discussing the mistreatment and use of the books by the students. For example, in the *Library Bulletin* for 4 May 1780, a student is recorded to have "much injured" a volume of Hume's *History*.[483] One similar example was found in the Royal High School records:

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[483] UYLY590 *Library Bulletin of the University of St Andrews*, p. 448

Figure 4: Example of borrower returning book in "bad condition".

In 1782, P. Maxwell returns volume one of Clarendon's *History* "in bad condition, some leaves and plates being loose. The boy had gone to the country". There is no note of repercussions for this but there is also no record of him borrowing other volumes from the library after this event.

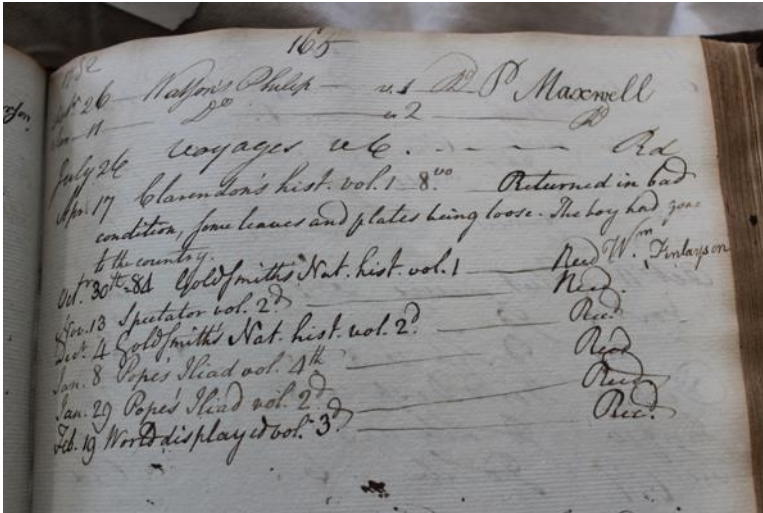Finally, there is a list of missing books recorded at the back of the record SL137/12/1 (Accounts of Books Purchased for School Library 1784-1868), however the 'destroyed' works do not correlate to this list, suggesting that this was not language used to describe books which had simply been lost. The destroyed works do all, however, feature heavily in the borrowers' records of the 1820s, as discussed in chapter four. It would seem, then, that these particular books fell apart and were "destroyed" through heavy use.[484]

1848 Juvenile Catalogue

The introduction of a specific juvenile library further pinpoints a shift in the way that the child readers were viewed in the school. A meeting on 18 July 1846, recorded in the minute books of the Royal High School, includes a proposal for the boys of the first and second classes of the school to have use of the school library[485]. On 25 July 1846, it was agreed that this proposal should be taken forward but "that a separate set of books should be provided for their sole use, to be called, 'The Juvenile Library'". The first surviving catalogue of the juvenile library dates from 1848 and includes a list of 193 titles. The size of this collection matches much more closely with what is known about the size of other contemporary school libraries across Scotland,[486] suggesting that this

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[484] I also checked the shelf marks of the 'destroyed' works in the catalogue in order to ascertain whether these were in a particular section of the library which may have been flooded or subject to some other event which destroyed the books but the shelf marks for these works are all disparate.

[485] Minute Books of the Royal High School 1844-1847, Edinburgh City Council Archives, SL137/14/1/1

[486] See Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell, 'The School Library and Childhood Reading in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1850', *Edinburgh History of Reading Volume 2* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press,

sub-section of the wider library collection was more in keeping with other school libraries introduced in the nineteenth century. The collection here gives an insight into the type of knowledge that the school wished its youngest pupils to acquire, and the works deemed most suitable for them to read. What is particularly telling is the complete lack of works in languages other than English, including Latin and Greek. This suggests that the younger boys were, in their use of the school library, encouraged to engage with works in English rather than as a means to practice their reading in Classical languages. This corresponds with the suggestions discussed in chapter two by writers such as Maria Edgeworth and Harriet Martineau that children were to be encouraged to read suitable works for enjoyment and recreation as well as for useful knowledge. This recognition of the children as readers, requiring a distinct literature occurs at a much earlier point than in other Edinburgh schools. For example, as discussed in chapter one, by 1850, it was seen as "of great importance" for the children of Donaldson's Hospital to have access to "suitable works…in their leisure hours"[487] while William Steven, the author of the *History of George Heriot's Hospital*, emphasises the purpose of a school library as helping to "form a gradual taste of reading" and as a place to be "enjoyed" by the pupils.[488] However, both of these schools did not place a great emphasis on their libraries as places for recreational reading until at least the 1850s, while this shift appears to happen much earlier at the Royal High School with the introduction of travel writing in the eighteenth century, novels in the 1810s, and juvenile works throughout, but particularly from the 1820s and 30s. The juvenile library however, is the most significant marker of this change and coincides with the wider recognition of the importance of school libraries across Scotland, as discussed in chapter one.

Prior to this, there were of course some works marketed at a child readership which had been included in the library from the eighteenth century, with some of these borrowed extensively by pupils, as discussed in chapter four. Alongside Maria Edgeworth's and Oliver Goldsmith's works, and Sarah Trimmer's *Sacred History*, two copies of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) (alongside *The Holy War* (1682) and *Grace abounding to the chief of Sinners* (1666)) were included in the 1839 catalogue. Collections such as *The Edinburgh Cabinet Library* (1830-44), *Family Library* (1829-

2020)

[487] Donaldson's Hospital, *Minute of Meeting of the Education Committee of the Governance of Donaldson Hospital, 29 November 1850* (National Library of Scotland, ACC1896/33)

[488] Steven, *George Heriot's Hospital*, p. 221

34) and the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* (1829-38) were all also included in the 1839 catalogue and there is a noticeable turning point in the works purchased in the 1820s and 1830s with the introduction of juvenile works. The repeated purchasing of editions of the *Family Library* from 1829 onwards hints towards an engagement with cheaper books in the school library. The *Family Library* was a collection of five shilling editions of works published by John Murray, which included histories, biographies, natural history, and adventure tales such as Barrow's *The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of HMS Bounty* (1831). [489] Alongside further editions of Murray's *Family Library*, a *Juvenile Cyclopaedia* and the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library,* Oliver and Boyd's five-shilling collection of histories, biographies and travels, were also purchased in 1831-32. These collections were all added to in 1832-33 and volume 37 of *The Library of Entertaining Knowledge,* the penny magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was also included in this school year. John Murray's *Home and Colonial Library* (1843-1849) was also purchased for the school library in 1843-1844 and 1844-1845. This series consisted of cheap reprints and original works, slanted towards travel literature in a general sense.[490]

Alongside these serial collections which would have provided the school with a bulk of material for a relatively cheap price, individual works of children's literature were also purchased. A collection of Mary Howitt's works and a copy of the *Boys Own Book* (1828) were also purchased in 1844/1845, further marking an inclusion of children's literature in the school library. While the *Boys Own Book* is included in the juvenile catalogue, Mary Howitt's works are not, which suggests that these were purchased for the use of older children. Although these works by no means make up the bulk of the purchases for the school library in this period, their inclusion at all marks a significant shift in the way that the library provided for its young readers.

Turning to those titles included in the juvenile library what is immediately striking is the large number of contemporary works included, with very few works originally published before the 1830s — exceptions include John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress,* works by Sir Francis Bacon and Edmund Spenser (simply named as 'Philosophy' and

[489] Scott Bennett, 'John Murray's Family Library and the Cheapening of Books in Early Nineteenth Century Britain', *Studies in Bibliography* 29 (1976), p. 140
[490] Innes M. Keighren, Charles W.J. Withers and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 204

'Poetry' respectively in the catalogue), Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver Travels* (1726), Samuel Johnson's *The Rambler* (1750-1752) and *Lives of the English Poets* (1779-1781), James Cook's *Voyages* (1773)*,* George Anson's *Voyages* (1748), Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales of Shakespeare* (1807) and Maria Edgeworth's *Early Lessons* (1801), *Moral Tales* and *Parent's Assistant* (1796), and Elizabeth Hamilton's *Cottagers of Glenburnie*. Many of these titles were also reproduced as cheap editions by publishers such as Charles Knight and as part of Chambers' *People's Editions*, and although it is tempting to argue that these works chosen for the juvenile library constitute the beginnings of a canon of children's literature of sorts, it is important to note that due to the predominance of works from specific publishers, particularly those which were part of a cheaper series, the school may not have been judiciously selecting reading material but were rather purchasing large volumes of readily-available and cheap titles. The works in the juvenile library do therefore tend to reflect the lists of a select number of publishers, with Charles Knight's publications predominating.

The works included in the juvenile collection tend towards the didactic, with many of the novels popular in the borrowers registers of the 1820s excluded and works of travels and voyages, which as the borrowers' records show were among the most popular works for boys at the school, were limited in the juvenile library to those of George Anson and James Cook. The remaining fictional works of the juvenile library collection tended to have an overtly didactic element, with the works of Harriet Martineau predominating. Children's periodicals, such as the *Children's Friend* (1824-60) were also included alongside other works written specifically for children such as the *Boy's Own Book* (forerunner to the serial publication of the same name); and Grace Kennedy's *The Decision* (1821). Many of the works written specifically for children have a moral purpose and this aspect of children's reading is also reflected in the inclusion of overtly religious works in the juvenile library such as Barth's *Bible Stories* (1832) and in the inclusion of works relating to the Crusades such as Henry Stebbing's *Chivalry & Crusades* (1830). A large number of biographies were also available for pupils to read and it would seem that, following on from recommendations by educational writers discussed in chapter five, their reading of historical events was through the lens of biographies of key historical figures.

Serial publications such as Martineau's *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832) and Charles Knight's *Monthly Publications* and *Penny Magazine* (1832-45) made up a

large proportion of the juvenile library. These works were cheap to purchase and may have been an inexpensive way to provide the younger children of the Royal High School with a large number of texts on a budget, rather than more expensive editions. Other series include Chambers' *Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts* (1846-47), Thomas Nelson's *British Library* (c. 1840) and Miss Corner's *Historical Library* (c. 1840) which was produced specifically for children. The inclusion of these series reflects both a need to purchase large quantities of material at a low price, as discussed above, and a broader interest in the categorisation and availability of general knowledge characteristic of this period. This desire for cheaper reading material is also reflected in the format and size of the works available in the juvenile library with very few quarto and octavo editions included in comparison to the other catalogues, and the cheaper and smaller formats the most common. In the catalogue, of the 193 titles listed, 116 include a note of the format or size of the edition. Of these, five are octavo (8vo) and none are quarto (4to), forty-nine titles were duodecimo (12mo), fifty-three were octodecimo (18mo), three were vicesimo-quarto (24mo) and five were trigesimo-secundo (32mo).[491] In comparison with the 1757 and 1783 catalogues which only contained folio, quarto and octavo works, this suggests a movement towards the purchasing of cheaper formats for the use of pupils. This reflects not only broader changes in print culture which made these formats more common[492] but also the financial considerations at play in the acquisition priorities of the school library.

The records available from the Royal High School of Edinburgh therefore reveal not only the changing educational priorities of a leading grammar school in this period but also reveal a changing approach to the school library. From the acquisition records and existing library catalogues, it is possible to see a movement away from classical texts to an increasing focus on English-language works, including a few by key figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, poetry, novels and eventually to books specifically written for children. The inclusion and borrowing of these works in the eighteenth century reveals how the school library fulfilled the need for a more modern curriculum in advance of formal school reform in the nineteenth century. Before the formal changes in the

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[491] Only 116 of the 193 titles list the format of the text. In the catalogue, these notes appear next to works in groups suggesting that one or more people were involved in the cataloguing of the works and that there was a variety in the level of detail each of these cataloguers recorded. The catalogue is listed generally in alphabetical order by title, suggesting that the shelves were laid out in this manner with some errors.

[492] St Clair, pp. 32-3

curriculum caught up with the changing needs of young people in an increasingly industrialised and globalised society, the collections at the school library filled a gap in the boys' education.

With the increasing focus on literature written specifically for children, this is a concrete example of the recognition of children as readers, which cemented their place as an important part of the growing print culture of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries. The recognition of childhood as a separate state in which it was necessary to nurture imagination, and which therefore required a specific literature and reading experience of its own, in the wake of Romantic-period ideas surrounding childhood, is revealed in the nineteenth-century records of the school library. The contents of the school library also reflect the subjects and ideas it was deemed necessary for young boys of the middling ranks of society to engage with in order to be successful in contemporary Edinburgh society. The broadening of books available to the readers of the Royal High School, perhaps unsurprisingly, was accompanied by a broadening in the types of works borrowed by the pupils, as will be discussed in the following chapter. The collections and the boys' engagement with these collections reflected an interest in an increasingly broad range of topics, an aspirational reading practice, and a thirst for more books which could educate and entertain. By mapping the history of the school library on to the history of the curriculum at the Royal High School this chapter has shown where the two align and where they diverge in their role in the overall education of schoolboys in a period when expectations about what they should aspire to and how they should achieve success transformed.

Chapter Four: The Borrowers' Records of the Royal High School

This chapter will take as its focus the lending records for the Royal High School library between the 1770s and the 1850s. Records of the books borrowed by school pupils exist for the period 1770 until 1960, though these are not complete for the whole period, with a notable gap between 1812 and 1823 and another between 1832 and 1848. These offer a detailed insight into reading habits across the period and crucially an insight into the borrowing habits around the time of all three complete catalogues discussed in chapter three.[493] By comparing these to the catalogues and acquisition records discussed in the previous chapter, it is possible to see how the library was used by the pupils, and which books were chosen to be borrowed by the pupils from the extensive collections available to them. There was a great deal of variety in the way in which pupils approached the school library, with some apparently reading voraciously through several diverse titles and others borrowing just one book in the school year, or none at all, with the page remaining blank beneath their name at the top of the register. An analysis of these registers across the whole period allows for an insight not only into the educational reading practices of schoolboys but also allows us to see the emergence of a particular type of reading practice among schoolchildren towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries as more and more of the library users engaged with a wider range of texts, including travel writing, fiction and works written specifically for children. It is also possible then to see how the pupils responded to the changing nature of the library collection and conversely, how the library may have responded to the changing reading habits of the pupils. My approach is to identify the most popular texts across ten-year periods in order to determine broad trends in borrowing practices augmented with specific examples of borrowers in order to show the differences in how pupils made use of the library[494]. For the purposes of statistical analysis, I have counted

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[493] The records which are pertinent for this thesis relate to sessions 1773/74 to 1777/78 (SL137/14/1), sessions 1781/82-1811/12 (SL137/14/2), sessions 1777/78-May 1788 (SL137/14/3), sessions 1788/89-1810/11 (SL137/14/4), sessions 1809/10-1811/12 (SL137/14/5), sessions 1823/24-1825/26 (SL137/14/6). As with the catalogues some archival errors mean that the dates covered are slightly different than what the titles of these records suggest. SL137/14/1 actually gives borrowers records for teachers and pupils between 1770 and 1781. SL137/14/2 is a borrowers record just for the teachers. Where the year of borrowing is unclear, I have transcribed this as unknown and only included it in the analysis of each decade if it is clear that those entries belong to that decade. Records are also available for the following years: sessions 1827/28 (SL137/14/7), sessions 1828/29 (SL137/14/8), sessions 1831/32 (SL137/14/9) and sessions 1848/49 (SL137/14/10). However, due to Covid-19 restrictions it was not possible to access these to include them in this thesis. These records would be an important addition to future research on the nineteenth-century use of the school library.

[494] It is important to note that this approach means that books with multiple volumes are more likely to

each volume borrowed by a pupil as an engagement with that text. This means, of course, that works with multiple volumes are more represented in the frequency lists than single-volume works, and thus the lists may skew towards those works with a large number of volumes. However, where this is the case I have noted the discrepancy. In each decade I have also taken the two most prolific borrowers and looked at their use of the library in more detail.

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, borrowers' registers ought to be treated with caution when used as evidence of reading practices. With school libraries, these provide evidence of supervised reading practices with titles chosen and purchased by the teachers and, in some cases, the borrowers' records of pupils were countersigned by a teacher, Luke Fraser,[495] indicating a level of control the schoolmasters had over the pupils' reading choices (this particular example of supervision is discussed in more detail below). However, these records do offer an insight into the pedagogical priorities of the school and the reading practices the schoolmasters valued. When looking at pupils who did not use the library (but were included in the records because they, or their parents, had paid a subscription), or who seldom used the library, it is important to note that these pupils who might be identified as 'non-readers' may have been accessing books at home. The nature of the social makeup of the school would suggest that many of the pupils had access to extensive private libraries. For example, as discussed in chapter one, Sir Walter Scott borrowed very little over his time at the school, presumably because he had access to a wide range of reading material elsewhere.[496] There are also limited examples of children making use of community libraries in other parts of Scotland, such as Innerpeffray and Haddington, noted in the introduction to this thesis. Students at the University of St Andrews supplemented their reading by borrowing from Innerpeffray Library during breaks in the academic year.[497] This shows that school children and university students supplemented their reading by borrowing from a wide variety of

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appear in the top-ten lists than books with fewer volume. Where this is the case, I have noted this in the analysis.

[495] Luke Fraser was teacher of the second class, taking over the position from Mr Gilchrist who died in 1766 (Steven, *The Royal High School,* p. 108). He retired in 1806 (Steven, *The Royal High School,* p. 160).

[496] In 1782/83 Walter Scott borrowed volumes of *Sully's Memoirs,* Goldsmith's *History of England*, Ray's *Travels*, and *Plutarch's Lives.* He entered the Royal High School in 1779 and so would have been 11/12 when borrowing these titles. (SL137/14/3)

[497] Using the Innerpeffray borrowers' registers and Robert Noyes Smart's *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews*, I traced several students of Divinity who made use of Innerpeffray Library. Though these students were often older this is an example of where students made use of both an institutional and a provincial library to access books.

sources, including local libraries, either during breaks in the academic year or to extend their studies beyond what their institutional library could make available. It is important therefore not to take the borrowers' registers as representative of these pupils' entire reading lives, both in terms of their academic and recreational reading practices. It is also important not to ignore the use of the school library by the schoolteachers as this would certainly have influenced the purchasing decisions discussed in chapter three. By far the most prolific user of the library in its history was Dr Alexander Adam, the school rector between 1763 and 1809.

Alexander Adam was born in 1741 in Moray and began studies at the University of Edinburgh in 1758. He lost his father in the same year and so began teaching a private pupil to earn enough money to stay in Edinburgh. In 1760, he took the head-mastership of George Watson's Hospital. After two years as the private tutor to Alexander Kincaid, he took over Alexander Matheson's class at the Royal High School and was appointed as rector in 1768.[498] Adam visited the library many times between 1771 and 1809, suggesting that he treated this almost as his own personal collection. This can be seen in the differences in how his borrowing was recorded compared with both the pupils and the other teachers, often with no specific dates recorded next to the books he selects but rather just a long list of various titles.

The borrowers' register volume relating to the 1770s is archived as comprising borrowers' records for 1773-1778, however there are records dating as far back as 1771 and as far ahead as 1782 in this volume.[499] This volume contains both pupil and teacher borrowings and it is useful to compare these to ascertain the various purposes the library had in the life of the school. There was, as would be expected, a difference in the borrowing habits of teachers compared to the pupils with the teachers borrowing far more Classical works and works relating to Latin grammar than the pupils. The teachers tended to borrow extensively from the school library during the time that they taught there, suggesting that it was a valuable resource for them. Alexander Adam, Luke Fraser, and William Cruickshank[500] were the most prolific borrowers among the schoolteachers in the 1770s, with Adam borrowing 271 titles, Fraser borrowing 117 and Cruickshank

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[498] Steven, *The Royal High School*, pp. 110-4

[499] Books borrowed from the school library by masters and boys: Sessions 1773/74 - 1777/78, SL137/14/1, Edinburgh City Archives

[500] William Cruickshank took over Robert Farquhar's first class in 1772. He had previously been rector at the Canongate grammar school (Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 122). He died in March 1795 and was succeeded by James Cririe, formerly rector of the High School of Leith (Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 144).

borrowing 101 titles over the period 1771 to 1778. William Nicol[501] and James French[502], by contrast, borrowed fewer titles, just 29 and 37 titles respectively, between 1771 and 1778. As mentioned above, despite the more prolific nature of Adam's borrowing, Adam also does not provide as much detail as the other teachers in the borrowers' record, the majority of whom record the precise date of borrowing each title. Adam's borrowing only records the precise date in a handful of incidences and often even the year of borrowing is left unrecorded. This suggests that the rector's relationship with the library was perhaps more casual than that of the other schoolteachers, or that the nature of recording the teachers' use of the school library was influenced by questions of hierarchy and rank in the school.

Each teacher borrowed a wide range of titles, largely classical in nature. They often borrowed different editions and translations of the same Latin author either at the same time or in close succession, suggesting that they were comparing these. They also borrowed titles in English. Alexander Matheson,[503] William Cruickshank, and James French all borrowed Hooke's *Roman History,* a popular choice among school pupils at the time and other works of history by Charles Rollin, William Robertson, Oliver Goldsmith and David Hume were borrowed by both teachers and pupils. Furthermore, William Cruickshank borrows a volume of Swift's works, one of the most popular non-history titles among school pupils in the 1770s. There were also occasions of borrowing on behalf of members of the public, presumably friends or acquaintances, by the teachers. For example, on 5 February 1775, Alexander Adam borrowed Arnold Drakenborch's edition of Silius Italicus on behalf of Sir Alexander Dick, 3rd Baronet of Prestonfield and former president of the Royal College of Physicians. William Cruickshank, one of the other teachers, sends a copy of Gottliev Kortte's edition of Sallust to Professor Stuart .These examples give an insight into two details about the school's relationship with the wider community: First, that Alexander Adam, at least, was well connected to high society in Edinburgh, and that the other teachers were connected to professors at the

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[501] William Nicol took over Alexander Bartlet's third class in 1774 (Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 122). He was dismissed from the school in 1795 after announcing that the was going to set up a private class to prevent pupils transferring to Alexander Adam's class (Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 144). He was replaced by William Ritchie.

[502] James French was appointed as a teacher at the high school in 1759 and retired in 1786. He had previously been a schoolmaster at Temple in Midlothian. His son, Rev. James French was a private tutor to Walter Scott (Steven, *The Royal High School*, p. 92)

[503] Alexander Matheson was rector from 7 February 1759 until June 1768 when he was appointed Joint-Rector with Alexander Adam (Steven, *The Royal High School,* p. 55)

university, and secondly that the school library contained works which were perhaps rare enough for even those who presumably had access to extensive private libraries, or university libraries, to have need of. The library thus had a limited reach to the outside community. This was not in the same way as those Sabbath school libraries, which had the idea of educating parents and the wider community built into their founding principles,[504] but was more selective, shedding light on some of the personal connections held by the schoolmasters at the Royal High School. Some schoolmasters also seemed to have had access to the library after retirement. Alexander Matheson, for example, who retired from his rectorship in 1768 and was succeeded by Adam, continued to borrow books from the library throughout the 1770s, and there are some instances of other teachers borrowing on his behalf. Furthermore, there is evidence of old school pupils borrowing from the library. In 1788, it was recorded that "[a] Mr Robert Buchanan, who said he was bred at the High School in 1753 & under Mr Gilchrist applied for Kames' Sketches which I gave him - Returned - and took out the 2 first voll. Of Modern Univ. Hist. Retd".[505] At the end of the 1777-1788 borrowers' register there is a list of four borrowers who were presumably from the wider community rather than the school as they are referred to by title, for example 'Mr. Moffat'. These show that there was some limited community borrowing from the school library. This list also includes one woman borrower, Miss C. Irvine, who borrowed William Mickle's translation of *The Lusiad* in the 1780s.[506] These examples are small, early illustrations of the community reach of the institutional library in the eighteenth century. This is similar to the societal role played by the University of St Andrews library in the nineteenth century, discussed earlier though the Royal High School's role was more limited and reflected more closely the social networks of the schoolteachers.

Alongside the community function of the library, the borrowing patterns of the teachers in the 1770s suggest that they saw the school library as a repository for books that could be used by them in the classroom, to inform their teaching or as a means of accessing rarer materials from the earlier collections at the library. Pupils on the other hand, rarely borrowed works of classical literature, despite the extensive nature of the

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[504] Branagh-Miscampbell, 'The School Library', p. 66

[505] SL137/14/3 'Borrowed' register sessions 1788/89-1810/11

[506] Although limited, there are a handful of other examples which may relate to community borrowers through the years, for example Justus Lipsius's edition of Tacitus for Andrew Hunter on 27 April 1789, signed off by Joseph Beaton.

collection of these works at this time. As shown in figure 2, even by 1783 when the composition of the school library had shifted more towards vernacular works, 47.5% of the titles in the catalogue were in Latin. There are some exceptions to this, with three pupils, J. Henderson, John Jonston and Robert Thomas borrowing works in Latin between 1770 and 1773. Popular classical works included Plutarch's *Lives* borrowed by 32 pupils, 43% of the pupil borrowers in the 1770s, and Alexander Pope's translations of Homer's *Odyssey* borrowed by 5 pupils (7%) and *Iliad*, 9 pupils (12%*),* as well as the works about classical history discussed below. It is however worth noting that the English-language works were mainly borrowed by pupils rather than schoolmasters, suggesting that the school purchased these specifically for pupil-use. This therefore reveals a little more about the type of education valued by the school towards the end of the eighteenth century (albeit a more informal one delivered by the individual reading of books in the school library), with a focus both on classical learning and on modern subjects; natural history, modern histories, travels and voyages, modern military and naval history, poetry and some fiction. By the 1780s, the teachers' borrowing became very similar to what the schoolboys had been borrowing for the preceding 10-20 years; namely Rollin's *Ancient History* and works by Oliver Goldsmith, perhaps in response to the popularity of these works among the pupils. This would suggest that the teachers were beginning to see the school library in a different way and could certainly account for the changes in acquisition habits discussed in chapter three towards the end of the eighteenth century, which saw the school respond more to the interests and needs of the school pupils, in terms of a wider, more modern, informal curriculum than as a repository for classical works which were read almost exclusively by the teachers.

Where teachers could borrow multiple volumes of the same work and multiple titles at any time, many pupils appear to have often been restricted to borrowing one volume at a time. There were some exceptions to this, perhaps due to student age. For example, Alexander Ewing borrowed single volumes from the library at each of his 22 visits to the library in 1771 and 1772, then borrowed all four volumes of Hume's *History* and volume three of *Modern Universal History*[507] in a single visit to the library on 18 May 1776. The dates of his borrowing would suggest that by 1776, he was one of the

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[507] An eighteen-volume work titled *History, The Modern part of an universal History from the Earliest Account of time first 18 vols* (8vo Lon 1759) is included in the 1839 catalogue which this record in the borrower's register may be referring to. The entry is marked as '(wants 5)' suggesting that volume five was missing when the catalogue was compiled.

more senior pupils at the school and was therefore likely to have been trusted with the privilege of borrowing more than one volume at a time. This privilege may also have been awarded to students whose borrowing was under the supervision of a teacher. W.
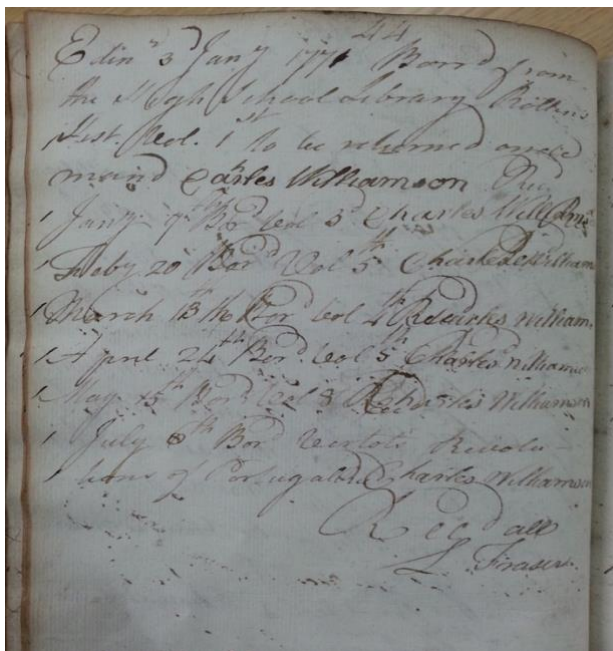

Figure 5: Example of Luke Fraser's countersignature on borrower's record

Davidson for example borrowed volumes one and two of Plutarch's *Lives* on the 11th of March 1771, with this instance of borrowing being one of those signed off by Luke Fraser. Luke Fraser countersigned a number of instances of pupil borrowing. From the pupils' own signatures, it would appear that the majority of these may have been younger pupils in the school with evidently more juvenile handwriting than some of the other borrowers and some cases where letters of their own names have been missed out or transposed. John Wilson, for example, one of the more prolific pupil borrowers in the 1770s (he borrowed twelve unique titles and visited the library 29 times between 28 January 1771 and 24 April 1773) has his record countersigned by Fraser in 1771 but not in subsequent years.

The impact of restriction placed on students of borrowing just one volume per visit can be seen in the example of a borrowers' record for the pupil named Charles Cranstoun, who borrowed three volumes of Hooke's *Roman History* between 26 April and 15 June 1770, returning each volume before borrowing the next. He then went on to borrow all eight volumes of Charles Rollins' *Ancient History* between 27 June and 30 November.[508] Pupils also appear to have been given a stricter time-frame for returns, with a note stating that they should return items borrowed "at the end of one month or on demand". In general, their visits however seem to have no set pattern in terms of how far apart they occurred.[509] Charles Cranstoun for example visited the library once in April and May, but twice in June and July, and then not at all until November when he borrowed

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[508] SL137/14/1 Books borrowed from the school library by masters and boys, sessions 1773/74 - 1777/78
[509] The exception to this are the pupils whose borrowing was countersigned by Luke Fraser, discussed above, who tend to borrow on the same day.

books three times. As discussed in chapter five, Rollin's *Ancient History* was deemed, even by himself, to be too long to be covered in a school year and this is certainly reflected in Charles Cranstoun's borrowing. However, other students make their way through this work at greater speed. Thomas Wilson for example borrowed volumes three to eleven of *Ancient History* between 26 December 1770 and 8 March 1771, taking less than three months to read nine volumes compared to Cranstoun, who took five months to read eight volumes. Wilson's borrowing includes an intensive period in January when he borrowed five volumes over the course of the month. Despite his quicker reading habits, this still limited Wilson to borrowing just three titles over the course of a year (Rollin's *Ancient History*, Plutarch's *Lives* and *Tour Thro' Great Britain*). This was a common borrowing pattern among students and as a result they tended to read very few titles each year. It was also recorded when students held on to items for a longer period than expected. For example, in 1771 Thomas Inglis borrowed volumes one and two of Alexander Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad* on 25 May and 8 June respectively. These were the only two volumes he borrowed and beneath the record, is written '9 months Recd all', countersigned by L Fraser. This suggests that the pupil took an inordinately long time to return the items.

Going forward, pupils read less intensively and more extensively across the library collections. There were still clearly popular titles which were borrowed by many pupils. The table below shows the top ten titles in each decade:

Rank	1770s	1780s	1790s	1800s	1810s	1820s
1	Rollin's Ancient History [510]	World Displayed [511]	World Displayed	Mavor[512]	Voyages & Travels[513]	Novels & Tales[514]
2	Plutarch's Lives[515]	Rollin's Ancient History	Rollin's Ancient History	World Displayed	Cook's Voyages[516]	Scott's The Abbot[517]

[510] The 1757 catalogue contained one copy of Charles Rollin's *Ancient History,* a 10-volume octavo edition published in London in 1738. The 1783 catalogue contained three copies, two 10-volume octavo editions and one 7-volume octavo edition, recorded as "Antient History".

[511] The 1783 catalogue contained three 20-volume copies of *World Displayed*, including one which is "bound in tin" [sic].

[512] It is difficult to determine whether "Mavor", "Mavor's Travels" and "Mavor's Voyages and Travels" all refer to the same text. The 1783 catalogue lists an octavo edition of Mavor's *Travells* in 20 volumes. There are three works (four copies) by Mavor listed in the 1839 catalogue. One is listed as "Mavor's Voyages etc. very imperfect 28 vols wants 9 vols 1, 3, 2, 4, 25". This entry is also scored through. The other edition is listed as "Mavor (Wm.) *An Historical Account of the most celebrated voyages, Travels and Discoveries from the [?] of Columbus to the present time* 28 vols 18mo Lon. 1801 & 1797". The third is listed as "*Voyages and Travels* vide Mavor 23 vols 12mo Lon 1810". (The other work by Mavor is "Mavor's *Eton Latin Grammar* 12mo Lond: 1822" which given the publication date is unlikely to be any of the texts referred to in these borrowers' registers.) It is therefore possible that the "Mavor's Travels" referred to in the 1790s and 1800s borrowers' registers is the 20-volume edition listed in the 1783 catalogue and that "Mavor's Voyages" in the 1810s borrowers' register is referring to the 28-volume edition listed in the 1839 catalogue. It is still unclear what work the entry "Mavor" is referring to. The fact that by the 1839 catalogue the work has been damaged with several volumes missing suggests that it was frequently borrowed. The ESTC lists only one collection of voyages with William Mavor as the author/editor; *Historical account of the most celebrated voyages, travels, and discoveries, from the time of Colombus to the present period*. This was a 20-volume octavo collection published by Newbery in 1796 with a further five volumes published in 1801. It is possible that the 1783 and 1839 catalogues are referring to the same publication with the addition of volumes in the nineteenth century. (See chapter four for explanation of the 1783/c. 1790 catalogue to explain the inclusion of works with later publication dates.)

[513] It is difficult to determine bibliographical details for this text. The 1839 catalogue lists a work recorded as "Voyages and Travels vide Mavor" but as noted in footnote 502, elsewhere records "Mavor's Voyages" and "Mavor's *Historical Account of the Most Celebrated Voyages, Travels and Discoveries*". This catalogue also includes two other works with similar titles, "Voyages, Modern, and Travels", though it is likely that this refers to a different title (see footnote 510), and "Travels and Voyages Europe, Asia and Africa for nineteen years" by William Lithgow.

[514] Recorded as "Novels and Tales by the author of Waverley 12 vols 1819 Edinburgh" in the 1839 catalogue. This is one of the works marked as "destroyed" in this catalogue.

[515] One copy of *Plutarch's Lives* is recorded in the 1783 catalogue. An eight-volume edition recorded in the "Octavo & Infra" section of the catalogue.

[516] Three editions of works which could be referred to as "Cook's Voyages" are included in the 1783 catalogue. "Cook's 2nd Voyage written by himself 2 voll" and "Cook & King's Voyages 3 vols", both quarto editions. An octavo edition of "Capt. Cook's 3 Voyages 6v" was also recorded in the 1783 catalogue but is scored through.

[517] Recorded as "Abbot, by the Author of Waverley 3 vols Edinburgh 1820 2 copies" in the 1839 catalogue. This entry is marked as "destroyed".

3	World Displayed	Voyages[518]	Voyages	Mavor's Travels[519]	Modern Voyages & Travels[520]	Voyages & Travels
4	Hook's Roman History[521]	Goldsmith's Natural History[522]	Mavor's Travels	Cook's Voyages	Beauties of Scotland[523]	Burney's Cecilia[524]
5	Rollin's Roman History[525]	Goldsmith's England[526]	Buffon's Natural History[527]	Campbell's Admirals[528]	Scot's Magazine[529]	Scott's Ivanhoe[530]

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[518] It is unclear whether this is a single collection of voyages or whether the entry "voyages" refers to various collections. It can therefore only be taken as an indication of the popularity of this genre in general rather than any one specific work.

[519] See footnote 502.

[520] This is likely to be referring to the work recorded as "Voyages, Modern, and Travels 5 vols [scored through] 4 & 5 8vo Lon. 1805" in the 1839 catalogue.

[521] Three copies are listed separately in the 1839 catalogue, with one scored through. These are listed as: "Hooke (N.) *The Roman History from the building of Rome to the view of the Commonwealth* 11 vols 8vo. Lon 1766". A note has been added to this, which states "(wants 3 & 5)" suggesting that volumes three and five were missing; "Hooke (N.) *The Roman History from the building of Rome to the view of the Commonwealth* 4 vols Lon 1757"; and "Hooke (N.) *The Roman History from the building of Rome to the view of the Commonwealth* 4 vols 4to Lon 1774" (this is the entry which has been scored through).

[522] This is how the title is recorded in the borrowers' records. It is listed in the 1839 catalogue by its full title: "Goldsmith, Oliv. *The History of the Earth & Animated Nature* 8 vols 8vo Lon. 1774". A note has been added which states: "(wants 1. 3. 4.)" suggesting that these volumes were lost.

[523] Two copies listed in the 1839 catalogue as "Forsyth, (Rob) *The Beauties of Scotland* 5 vols 8vo Ed. 1806 (wants vol 2)" and "*Scotland, Beauties of* vide Forsyth".

[524] Listed in the 1839 catalogue as: "*Cecilia: a Novel* by Miss Burney 4 vols 8vo Lon 1809" and "*Cecilia: A Novel* by Miss Burney 5 vols 12mo Lon. 1796" (both crossed out).

[525] One copy of Rollin's *Roman History* is recorded in the 1783 catalogue. A 16-volume octavo edition.

[526] Two copies of this work were listed in the 1839 catalogue, both four-volume 8vo London 1771 editions.

[527] Comte de Buffon's *Natural History*. The 1839 catalogue includes two translations of this work. A four-volume duodecimo translation by John Wright (no publication details noted) and William Smellie's translation, which is a nine-volume octavo edition published in Edinburgh in 1780 with additional copies of volumes one and five of Smellie's translation.

[528] The first listing for John Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals* in the ESTC was printed in 1742-44 by John Applebee for J. and H. Pemberton and T. Waller, London. The editions listed in the 1839 catalogue are a four-volume octavo edition printed in London in 1785 (showing that volume one was removed from the catalogue; an eight-volume octavo edition printed in London in 1812; a four-volume octavo edition published in London in 1750 (with volume two removed), and a four-volume octavo edition, printed in London in 1750, also with volume 2 removed.

[529] Listed in the 1783 catalogue as "*Scot's Magazine* from 1739 64 vols" and in the 1839 catalogue as "*Scot's Magazine* from 1741 Ed wants 63-4, 70".

[530] Two copies of *Ivanhoe* are listed in the 1839 catalogue. One as "*Ivanhoe. A Romance by the Author of Waverley* Ed. 1820" and the other as "*Idem*". These are scored through and marked as "Destroyed".

6	Voyages[531]	Guthrie's Scotland[532]	Knox's Voyages [533]	Plutarch[534]	Rollin's Ancient History	Cook's Voyages
7	Universal History [535]	Plutarch	Cook's Voyages [536]	Rollin's Ancient History	Campbell's Admirals	Kerr's Voyages[537]
8	Tour through Britain [538]	Rollin's Roman History	Campbell's Admirals	Hume's England[539]	Mavor's Voyages	Scott's Monastery [540]

[531] It is difficult to know which work this is referring to. The borrowers' registers record it simply as "Voyages". The 1783 catalogue contains five works titled "Voyages" with each noting an author: Hawkesworth, Cook & King, Anson, Knox, and Sparman. There is also an entry for 'Collection of Voyages' in 7 volumes. However, the records show pupils borrowing up to v. 10 of this work and none of these works are recorded as having that many volumes, though no volumes are recorded for Anson's *Voyages* and there were numerous editions and volumes of this work.

[532] Recorded in the 1783 catalogue as a 10-volume octavo edition of "Guthrie's Scotland" and in the 1839 catalogue as "Guthrie (Wm.) *A General History of Scotland from the earliest accounts to the present time* 10 vols 8vo Lon 1767".

[533] The 1783 catalogue lists an octavo edition of Knox's Voyages (7 vols). The 1839 catalogue lists just volume 3 of "Knox (John) *Voyages*" with no other publication details.

[534] It is unclear which book this entry in the borrowers' registers refers to. Looking at the 1783 catalogue it could refer to either Langhorne's *Plutarch* which is listed as six-volume octavo edition or an eleven-volume octavo edition of *British Plutarch*. *British Plutarch* is listed as a 12-volume duodecimo edition in the 1839 catalogue, printed in London in 1762 and missing volumes 1-3, 5 and 7. The only other possible edition in the 1839 catalogue which could be being referred to here is Dacier's translation of "*Plutarch* (8vo Lond. 1727)" which lists only volumes 4, 6 and 7.

[535] A work titled "*History, An Universal History from the earliest accounts of time with maps cuts and notes* (21 vols 8vo Lon 1747)" is included in the 1839 catalogue which this record in the borrower's register may be referring to. The entry is marked as "(wants 2 & 20)" suggesting that volumes two and twenty were missing when the catalogue was compiled.

[536] There were numerous texts which could have related to the entry "Cook's Voyages" in the 1839 catalogue including two copies of *Voyages*; a four-volume octavo edition published in London in 1786 and four-volume duodecimo edition published in London in 1805. Both entries in the catalogue show that these later became incomplete with only volumes two and three listed for the first and only volume four listed for the second. There were also two other works listed by "Cook (Capt James) and King": "*A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean for making discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* (3 vols 4to Lon 1785)", with a separate volume of plates and "*Voyage round the World* (2 vols 4to Lon 1784)".

[537] Listed in the 1839 catalogue as "Kerr (Rob.) *General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* 17 vols 8vo Ed. 1811 (wants vol 6)".

[538] This title is listed in the 1783 catalogue as "Tour thro Brit 4v" and in the 1839 catalogue as "*Tour through Great Britain* 4 vols 12mo Lon 1748". Given its publication year, it is likely that this record refers to an edition of Daniel Defoe's *A Tour Thro' the whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of Whatever is Curious and worth Observation.* The work was stated as being "By a Gentleman" for its first six editions which would explain the lack of author recorded for the work in both the 1783 and 1839 catalogues.

[539] See footnote number 535 in relation to the entry 'Hume's History' for the editions included in the 1839 catalogue. This was recorded in these later borrowers' registers as 'Hume's England'.

[540] Listed in the 1839 catalogue as "*Monastery* by the author of *Waverley* 3 vols oct. Edinburgh 1810 2 copies". This entry is scored through.

9	Pope's Iliad[541]	History of the World[542]	Ward's Natural History[543]	Knox's Voyages	Hume's England	Rollin[544]
10	Hume's History [545]	Ward's Natural History	Knights of Malta[546]	Buffon's Natural History	Bingley's Animal Biography [547]	Brooke's Fool of Quality[548]

Figure 6: Table of top ten titles borrowed in each decade.

The variety of titles borrowed by pupils noticeably increased between the 1770s and 1780s. There is little change in the most popular titles, with both Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* and *World Displayed* frequently borrowed (37.3% of borrowers read *Ancient History* and 57.4% of borrowers read *World Displayed* across the two decades). However, in the 1780s the breadth of subjects represented in the top ten most popular titles increased. Many pupils moved away from the intensive reading of one text over several months, as demonstrated in Charles Cranstoun's borrowing habits detailed above, towards borrowing individual volumes of different texts each time. For example, in

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[541] Listed in the 1783 catalogue as a six-volume octavo edition and in the 1839 catalogue as "Pope (Alex.) *Translation of Homer's Iliad* 12mo Ed 1793".

[542] There is a listing in the 1783 catalogue of a 12-volume octavo edition of *History of the World.* There are three books listed in the 1839 catalogue which could be being referred to here. "William Guthrie's *General History of the World from the Creation to the present time* (12 vols 8vo Lon 1764)", an abridgement of Sir Walter Raleigh's "*History of the World* (8vo Lon 1703)" and Samuel Shuckford's "*The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected* (3 vols 8vo Lon 1731)". Due to the borrowers' registers listing borrowings of up to volume 12 of this work, it is likely that these entries refer to William Guthrie's *History of the World.*

[543] Samuel Ward's *Natural History* is recorded in the 1783 catalogue as an octavo edition, "Ward's Nat. hist. 12 voll", and in the 1839 catalogue as "Ward (Sam.), *Modern System of Natural History* 18mo Lon 1776". The 1839 catalogue shows that this was a 12-volume edition but that only volumes 4, 9, 11 and 12 survived.

[544] The 1820s borrowers' register does not differentiate between Rollin's works, identifying these simply as "Rollin".

[545] Recorded in the 1770s borrowers' register simply as "Hume's History". Multiple copies of Hume's *History of England* are recorded in the 1839 catalogue including two which were printed in 1767 and 1770 and so could therefore be the work borrowed by pupils in the 1770s. The copies in the 1839 catalogue are listed as: "Hume, (David) *History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* 8 vols 4to Lon 1770"; "*Ibid* 8 vols 8vo Lon 1767" (wants vols 1 & 2); "*Ibid* 8 vols 8vo Lon 1782" (wants vol 4); "*Ibid continued by Smollett* 16 vols 8vo Ed 1792"; and "*Ibid cont. by Smollett* 21 vols 18mo Lon 1793". There was also a copy of [John] Hume's *The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* 2 vols 12mo Ed. 1742 but as the 1770s pupils borrowed a range of volumes from one to eight, it is most probable that they were borrowing Hume's *History of England* rather than David Hume of Godcroft's *History of the House and Race of Douglas* (and the general relative renown and popularity of each of these works would support this).

[546] Listed in the 1783 catalogue as a five-volume octavo edition, titled simply "Knights of Malta". It was listed in the 1839 catalogue as "Vertot (Abbe de) *History of the Knights of Malta* 12mo".

[547] Listed in the 1839 catalogue as "Bingley (W) *Animal Biography or Authentic Anecdotes of the lives, manners and economy of the Animal creation* 3 vols 8vo Lon 1804". "3 vols" has been scored through and "1,2" inserted suggesting that volume 3 was missing.

[548] Listed as *"Fool of Quality a novel* 5 vols 12mo Lon 1777" in the 1839 catalogue. This entry is scored through and does not list an author. This work was then checked in the ESTC to determine that the author was Henry Brooke.

1787/88, J. Marshall visited the library twelve times between 20 October 1787 and 17 May 1788. He borrowed in that time (in chronological order), volumes two, three, four, and five of Charles Rollin's *Ancient History*, volume one of *Voyages,*[549] followed by volume three of *World Displayed* and volume three of *Voyages*, he then borrowed volume two of Thomas Salmon's *Modern History* (1739) on two occasions, followed by volumes five, four, and six. This is a typical borrowing pattern for this time and may very well have been a necessary response to the increase in numbers of pupils accessing the library with no subsequent increase in the quantity of the most popular texts purchased for the library, leading the pupils to borrow the volumes of a work which were available rather than reading them in order. However, the pupils in the 1770s tended to respond to this by borrowing volumes out of sequence or interrupting their reading of one title by borrowing another and then returning to the first, and so it may not be the only explanation for this borrowing pattern. Thomas Dickson's reading habits were even more varied. Visiting the library between 2 December 1786 and 5 April 1787, he borrowed singular volumes (though not always the first volume; he borrowed volume eight of *World Displayed* but no others) of a variety of texts; *World Displayed*, Oliver Goldsmith's *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature* (1774), Patrick Brydon's *Tour through Sicily and Malta* (1774), Ward's *Natural History,* volumes one and three of *Voyages* (though not sequentially), and Patrick Abercromby's *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation* (1711-5). Thomas Dickson's borrowing habits point to the growing diversity in the children's interests, moving from reading only histories and the occasional work of travels and voyages in the 1770s to include an engagement with natural histories. However, some pupils did still engage in reading through one title intensively, as much as the availability of titles allows. For example, between 28 October 1786 and 23 June 1787, J. Corvan borrowed volume one of Robertson's *History of Scotland*, followed by volumes two through ten of Rollin's *Ancient History* and volumes one and four of Plutarch's *Lives*. Though not quite as methodical as Charles Cranstoun's borrowing in the 1770s, this still represents an attempt to read intensively. However, the variation in reading habits suggest that this was not a universal pattern among the pupils of the Royal High School. J. Corvan's borrowing habits suggest that, for some pupils, there was still

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[549] This is a title which is borrowed frequently by pupils in the 1780s, however it is unclear whose *Voyages* it refers to. The 1783 catalogue lists a number of works of Voyages including a 7 volume *Collection of Voyages* in octavo format. Given that other titles are referred to using the author or explorer's name, this may be the collection to which the borrowers record refers.

an attempt to read intensively, which was perhaps restricted by the availability of all volumes of a work in the school library. Nonetheless, there was certainly a clear movement towards reading more widely among many of the pupils in the 1780s and beyond.

The more extensive reading habits of the school pupils may have been a product of the significant increase in acquisition for the school library in the period after the school's move in 1777. However, it could also be argued that the increased acquisition of histories, travels and voyages was a direct response to the popularity of these titles. As discussed further in chapter five, the popularity of these titles constitutes a sort of informal curriculum in the school and the increasing perceived importance of these genres could also be a factor in their acquisition. Certainly, the increase in popularity of travels and voyages as a genre, and the widening of the pupils' interests in a number of historians, not just of the classical world, but modern too, is reflected in the borrowing habits of pupils in the 1780s. The table above goes some way towards showing the changing nature of the reading habits of these school children, but it is only really in individual cases where the variety of books read by the pupils can be seen. It is important not to take any one pupil as representative of the group, as some of these pupils, particularly towards the end of the eighteenth century have unique reading habits in comparison to the majority of their peers, such as the case of one reader, Edgar Hunter who engages with collections of essays by David Hume and Adam Ferguson in 1787. Nonetheless, the following examples give a flavour of the types of reading habits demonstrated by the pupils at the Royal High School in the wake of the new school library and a period of sustained acquisition.

As mentioned previously with the growth in the number of students accessing the school library in the 1780s there comes a greater variation in the borrowing practices of those students. As much as it can be seen that pupils were borrowing a greater variety of titles, some pupils used the library frequently while many borrowed just one title. The most prolific student borrowers in the 1780s were Alexander Cleghorn and James Buchan, both of whom borrowed 32 volumes over the years 1782-1784.[550] Both students' borrowing is fairly typical of the popular genres borrowed in that period with history, including Robertson's, Goldsmith's and Guthrie's works, and travels and voyages both

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[550] Both pupils' records include instances where the year of borrowing is unrecorded. However, 1784 was recorded for Alexander Cleghorn and 1782 and 1783 for James Buchan.

well represented. They both also borrowed works of classical literature and biographies, with Buchan borrowing a work titled "Life of Cicero" and Cleghorn borrowing Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets* (1779-81). It is only in the second half of the 1780s that works of natural history became popular and this is evident here too with neither pupil borrowing works of natural history. They both, however, borrowed a greater variety of titles than their counterparts in the 1770s and, indeed, visit the library more often, though this may very well be due to the increased variety of books available to the pupils.

Seventy pupils borrowed just single volumes of single titles between 1783 and 1788. This group of borrowers are not atypical in their choices of books for this period. Between them they borrowed 19 unique titles, with the most popular, by far, being *World Displayed* with 12 boys borrowing this work. Other works which were borrowed multiple times by this group were Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* (three times), Goldsmith's *Natural History* (three times), Georges-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon's *Natural History* (1749-1788) (three times), Ward's *Natural History* (three times) and Plutarch's *Lives* (twice). These choices are therefore representative of the wider borrowing patterns of the schoolboys at the Royal High School in this period. Many of these pupils visited the library on the same day.[551] For example, on 15 November 1788, John Forbes, Kenneth Mackenzie, John Jeffrey, and D. Watson all made their only trip to the school library. John Jeffrey and D. Watson both borrowed different volumes of Buffon's *Natural History* while John Forbes borrowed volume 12 of *World Displayed* and Kenneth Mackenzie borrowed volume two of Oliver Goldsmith's *History of England.* This happens on other occasions with this particular group of borrowers, usually with two borrowers visiting the library on that date. However, on 25 March of an unknown year, three pupils visited the library; John Fell, who borrowed an edition of Alexander Pope's *Works* and John Parley and David Ramsay, both of whom borrowed volumes of Ward's *Natural History.* More regular borrowers do visit the library on these days too but it is useful to note that those pupils who only borrowed from the library once, often did so on dates when a number of other pupils also made use of the school library. The fact that some of these pupils borrowed the same titles on the same day is also indicative of the collective reading experience in school libraries, as argued for by Matthew Grenby and

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[551] It is difficult to specify an accurate year of borrowing for eighteen of these borrowers as just the day and month was recorded next to their borrower's record. This is a more common problem with these particular borrowers than it is for those who visit the library multiple times.

Catherine Sloan, and discussed in more detail in the introduction to this thesis. By the 1820s, the number of pupils who only visited the library once has markedly decreased, with just 15 of such borrowers in the 1820s. This is reflective of the growing importance of the school library with more pupils engaging with it by borrowing multiple volumes and of the practice of pupils borrowing comparatively a much wider range of works in the 1820s than in the 1770s and 80s.

A key change in borrowing habits in the second half of the 1780s is the introduction of works of natural history; Oliver Goldsmith's *Natural History,* Ward's *Natural History* and Buffon's *Natural History*. This is one of the first clear indications that the library was used to supplement the boys' education and fill the gaps in the classical curriculum at this time, with these introduced as formal subjects much later into the nineteenth century. Natural history, for example, was introduced into the curriculum in the school year 1848/49. Yet here we see a substantial number of the library users borrowing three key works of natural history. The other indication of this was the growing popularity of modern histories, as opposed to those dealing with the classical world, filling a gap in knowledge left by the purely classical curriculum of this time. The steady popularity of travel writing, however, suggests a second function of the school library, as a source of entertainment and a means of inspiration for these boys as outward-looking and cosmopolitan gentlemen. Travel writing remained popular in the school library into the nineteenth century.

The most popular works in the 1790s show a continued dominance of *World Displayed* with 587 volumes of this work borrowed over the course of the decade. The next most popular title was Rollin's *Ancient History* with 245 volumes of this work borrowed. It is important to enter a caveat here since both of these works are divided into multiple volumes, with 20 volumes of *World Displayed* and 12 volumes of *Ancient History.* The most borrowed works in the 1790s also showed the continued popularity of works of natural history and travel writing. There was also evidence of an increased interest in naval and military history with John Campbell's *Lives of the British Admirals* in the top ten most borrowed works for the decade, with 99 volumes borrowed. The most prolific borrowers in this decade reveal a new trend in borrowing habits, with an increase in the diversity of titles borrowed by each pupil and across the group of pupils. John Cameron borrowed the most volumes in the 1790s and visited the library 46 times between 1790 and 1795. The range in dates for Cameron's visits suggest that he visited

the library throughout his school career and give an insight into how reading interests changed for pupils as they grew older. Cameron borrowed some titles more than once suggesting a rereading of certain works. For example, Cameron borrowed Buffon's *Natural History* in 1791, 1792 and then again in 1794. Moreover, he borrowed volumes 6 and 7 of this work twice. Otherwise, Cameron borrowed works representative of the most popular genres of the decade: histories, including both Scottish and world histories, and histories of the ancient world; voyages and travels; works on natural history, classical works, and Campbell's *Admirals.* The second most prolific borrower, Thomas Dickson, visited the library 34 times between 1791 and 1793. He was therefore one of the most frequent borrowers and often visited the library two or three times in a month during term-time. His borrowing also suggests a diversification of the titles borrowed by pupils, though he certainly also borrowed multiple volumes of the same title; borrowing four volumes of *World Displayed* and eight volumes of William Guthrie's *History of the World* (1764-7). Dickson's borrowing is less diverse than Cameron's, with a strong preference shown towards histories and voyages and travels. Alongside these works which remained popular in the 1790s, an increasing variety of works of poetry appeared in the borrowers' records. Pupils had borrowed works by Pope, both his own poetical works and his translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Gay's *Fables* (1738) since the 1770s and these remained represented in the borrowers' records into the 1790s. However, in the 1790s a broader range of poets were represented in the borrowers' records, albeit in a limited sense. Works by Mark Akenside, Robert Dodsley and James Thomson were all represented with three pupils borrowing Akenside's works, one borrowing Dodsley's, and one borrowing Thomson's works.

The works borrowed in the 1800s are a great deal more diverse than previous years. This can be seen from the percentage of overall titles borrowed which the top ten account for. In the 1770s the top ten most popular titles account for 64.74% of all titles borrowed in that decade, and this steadily decreases until the 1820s, when the top ten titles account for just 20.3% of the overall titles borrowed. This shows that the pupils borrowed a much more diverse range of titles in the nineteenth century compared with the beginning of the borrowers' records in the 1770s. Though this could solely be down to the increase in works available to the pupils, it also suggests that their reading habits and interests became increasingly diverse. This is also evident in the works borrowed by the most prolific borrowers discussed below. In terms of the most popular titles in the

1800s, Mavor's *Travels* appeared in the top ten for the first time and was borrowed 177 times, while a work which was recorded as "Mavor" was borrowed 251 times (it is unclear from the register whether these entries are referring to the same work). Otherwise, there was little change to the titles represented in the top ten between the 1790s and 1800s, though *World Displayed* was borrowed significantly fewer times in the 1800s than in the 1790s (226 times in the 1800s compared with 587 times in the 1790s), despite still being one of the most borrowed works.

The most prolific borrower in the 1800s was Henry Juror who visited the library 29 times between 1800 and 1801. Most of the works borrowed by Juror were travels and voyages, though he also borrowed *Knights of Malta*. The second most prolific borrowers in the 1800s were John Patison and Joseph Grant, both of whom visited the library 28 times. Patison between 1800 and 1802, and Grant between 1803 and 1805. These three pupils all borrowed a diverse range of titles and what is evident here is an increased sense of the pupils' own interests in their borrowing habits. As mentioned above, Juror borrows mostly travels and voyages, while Patison borrowed many histories, including those by Rollin, Goldsmith and Hume. He also borrowed both Campbell's *Lives of Admirals* suggesting an interest in naval history. Grant borrowed a much wider range of genres, including volumes of poetry by Robert Burns and John Gay, James Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785) and Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully's *Memoirs* (1757).

In the 1800s, works by Robert Burns and John Milton both appeared in the borrowers' records for the first time.[552] Works by Robert Burns were borrowed 27 times by 21 pupils and Milton's works were borrowed six times by five pupils. Works by Cowper were also borrowed ten times by ten different pupils and works by Shakespeare were borrowed seven times by six pupils. Though these are relatively small numbers compared to the number of times works such as Mavor's *Travels, World Displayed* and Rollin's *Ancient History* were borrowed, they do point to a shift in the content of the school library, and how it was used by pupils. Pupils were no longer only interested in

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[552] The 1839 catalogue includes three copies of Robert Burns' *His Works* and one copy of *Poems*; volumes one, two and three of a 4 volume octavo edition published in London in 1802, a 4 volume octavo edition published in Liverpool in 1800, and a three volume duodecimo edition published in London in 1804. The edition of his poems was in octavo and published in Edinburgh in 1787. The duodecimo edition and volume four of the 1802 edition are both scored through, which as discussed in chapter three, indicates that they were destroyed through heavy use.

histories and travels and voyages but also works of English literature. This preceded the formal study of English Literature, which was introduced at the school during the curricular reform of 1827, discussed in chapter three. This change is also mirrored at the University of St Andrews, where the introduction, and popularity, of works of English Literature in the university library preceded the introduction of the formal study of English Literature in 1858, as discussed in chapter one.

The introduction of works in English, particularly works of poetry and drama, at the school library and the increased representation of these works in the borrowers' records suggests that not only did the schoolteachers value these works enough to acquire them for the library but that the pupils also deemed them important or interesting enough to borrow them. The diversity of the works represented in the pupils' borrowers records also suggests that the choice of these works by some pupils was not wholly influenced by the schoolteachers, which the widespread borrowing of, for example Rollin's *Ancient History* in the eighteenth century might indicate. As well as being a precursor to more formal changes in the curriculum, in the same way that the popularity of natural history in the borrowers records towards the end of the eighteenth century preceded the introduction of it as a formal subject in the nineteenth century, the increased popularity of literary works in English mirrors the growing consensus in literature in the second half of the eighteenth century, that the reading of these works was an important part of a gentleman's education, as discussed in the writing of Hugh Blair, Lord Chesterfield and others in chapter two. There was also an element of the boys' borrowing which increasingly points towards a desire to read for entertainment and leisure purposes, as well as to augment the mainly classical focus of the school curriculum. This is a shift which becomes increasingly apparent in the 1810s.

There are only two years represented in the existing borrowers' records for this decade but these show that 296 pupils borrowed 1641 items over these two years. The top ten most popular texts show a marked change in the borrowing habits of the pupils, with a growing shift towards reading for entertainment and more individualised reading habits, with the boys borrowing a much wider range of texts in comparison with previous decades. Voyages and travels are still well-represented in the most popular texts in these years, with the top three texts falling into this genre. Although *World Displayed* disappeared from the most popular works borrowed and, was in fact, borrowed only 11 times compared with the 226 of the previous decade, another heavily-illustrated work

appears in the top ten for the 1810s; *Beauties of Scotland.* Rollin's *Ancient History,* Mavor's *Voyages*, also published by Newbery, and therefore aimed specifically at a child readership, and Campbell's *Admirals* all remained popular. A notable addition to the works most frequently borrowed in this decade was the *Scots Magazine.*

The two most prolific borrowers in the 1810s were Andrew Johnston and James Pitcairn, with Johnston borrowing 29 volumes and Pitcairn 23. Both boys borrowed a variety of works. However, Pitcairn borrowed mostly travels and voyages such as Cook's *Voyages* and *Voyages & Travels*, and works about the ancient world such as William Rutherford's *A View of Ancient History* (1788), Pausanias's *Greece* and Jean-Baptise Bourguignon d'Anville's *Ancient Geography* (1769). He also borrowed a volume of Robert Burns' poems and *Beauties of Scotland*. Johnston's borrowing included some novels and works of fiction, specifically Maria Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*[553] and Frances Burney's *Evelina*[554], though the vast majority of his borrowing was made up of voyages and travels. Despite the introduction of works of fiction and novels into the borrowers' records in this decade, it is clear that voyages and travels were enduringly popular among the schoolboys, represented both in the top ten most popular works and making up the bulk of the works borrowed by individual pupils.

Because of the gap in records between 1812 and 1823, the marked change in the borrowing habits of the schoolboys at the Royal High School between the 1810s and 1820s is perhaps even more striking. Although as mentioned above the borrowing habits of the schoolboys were increasingly diverse, reflected a broad range of interests and included a number of entertaining works by 1812, the striking difference is the number of works of fiction, particularly novels, which were borrowed in the 1820s. This follows, as discussed in chapter three, a sustained period of acquisition of novels and fiction in the 1810s. Unfortunately, due the absence of borrowers' records for the bulk of the 1810s, it is impossible to see whether this was in response to pupils' borrowing habits or as a means to expand their interests beyond the travels and voyages which had been so popular. The period between 1823 and 1826 saw a change in how the borrowers' records dealt with returned volumes, scoring these through rather than marking them as

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[553] Two copies are listed in the 1839 catalogue as "Edgworth [sic], Maria *Popular Tales* 8vo Lon 1807". Both scored out and marked as 'destroyed'.
[554] There were three copies of '*Evelina a Novel* by Miss Burney' listed in the 1839 catalogue. All were two-volume duodecimo editions; one a London 1794 edition and two were 1804 Cupar of Fife editions. All were scored through and 'Destroyed' noted in the margin beside the three copies.

"returned", which does make interpretation more difficult and, due to the absence of an existing catalogue for this period, it is impossible to check titles against what the library actually contained. However, the majority of titles can still be discerned from the records. Each pupil also had a dedicated page in what is now called 'The Day Book of the High School Library', and so, for the first time, non-borrowers can be traced in the library records. In the years 1823-24 there were seventeen such pupils, eleven in 1825-26 and three where the year is unclear. Two of these pupils appear as non-borrowers in both the 1823-24 and the 1825-26 lists; William Wallace Cleghorn and Thomas Riddell. It is important not to equate these non-borrowers to non-readers; as the case of Walter Scott discussed earlier shows, the pupils' access to books in the school library was by no means representative of their whole reading lives. Some of these pupils share surnames which could indicate that they were related. For example, Fitzroy MacLean is listed as a non-borrower, while Archibald MacLean and Andrew MacLean only borrow one title each. If we presume that these were brothers, it seems that though their parents had wanted them to access the school library, paying the fees for them to do so, they themselves either had sufficient access to books outside of school or no real interest in reading the school library books at all. Other examples of groups of non-borrowers like this include Benjamin James Bell, Benjamin Robert Bell and Bengamen [sic] William Bell, and David and Alexander Pearson.[555]

Turning to those who did borrow works, there were pupils who borrowed regularly and pupils who only borrowed one title. Another significant change is that pupils appear to have more regularly been able to borrow multiple volumes at the same time. This reflects the changing nature of the books available in the library, with a greater number of novels and narrative works where borrowing multiple volumes at once would have made more practical sense. This is a marked change in the use of the library from the 1770s and 80s where pupils often read one title over the course of a year; returning one volume before borrowing the next. The pupils of the 1820s borrowed multiple volumes of a diverse range of titles often in quick succession with just days or weeks separating visits to the library.

The top ten most borrowed works in the 1820s show a very distinctive change in the nature of the borrowing habits of Royal High School pupils with six of the ten being novels or fiction. Walter Scott's works dominate both the top ten and, indeed, the

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[555] SL137/14/6 Books borrowed from the school library by masters and boys, sessions 1823/24-1825/26

majority of the most popular works borrowed in these years. 233 volumes of Scott's *Novels and Tales* were borrowed by pupils in these years and *Tales of my Landlord* borrowed 46 times.[556] *The Abbot*, *Ivanhoe*, and *The Monastery* all make it into the top ten being borrowed 160, 155 and 92 times respectively. Other works by Scott which were borrowed frequently (in order of popularity) were *Rob Roy, The Fortunes of Nigel, Guy Mannering, Waverley, The Pirate, Kenilworth, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, The Antiquary,* and *Peveril of the Peak. Redgauntlet, The Bride of Lammermoor* and *A Legend of Montrose* were also borrowed, though much less frequently than the others above. It was not just Scott's novels which dominated the most frequently borrowed works, volumes of Frances Burney's *Cecilia* were borrowed 156 times and *Evelina* was borrowed 82 times. Mary Brunton's *Self Control* and *Discipline*[557] were also popular, borrowed 74 and 70 times respectively (putting these numbers into context alongside Scott's works, *Waverley* was borrowed 71 times). Maria Edgeworth's works were also popular, particularly *Popular Tales* which was borrowed 87 times. Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*, a sentimental novel of 1776, is one of the most popular works in these years and highlights that the boys were not just attracted to the most recent works of fiction released.

There is a striking increase in the number of volumes that individual pupils borrowed in these years. In the 1810s the two most prolific borrowers borrowed 29 and 23 volumes each, in the 1820s 56 pupils borrowed 30 or more volumes, and the two most prolific borrowers, George Lorimer and John Humphrey, borrowed 77 and 65 volumes each. The majority of the works borrowed by these two pupils were novels, particularly Scott's, reflecting the wider patterns of borrowing in these years. As well as the majority of Scott's works available, Lorimer also borrowed Burney's *Evelina,* Edgeworth's *Harrington* and *Ormond*[558] and Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766).[559] Voyages and travels make up the majority of the rest of Lorimer's borrowing but he also borrowed two volumes of Lord Byron's works and Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (1779-81). Similarly, novels make up the majority of John Humphrey's record, with a large number of Scott's works, Burney's *Cecilia* and *Evelina,* Brunton's *Discipline* and Edgeworth's

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[556] It is possible that these were referring to the same work, recorded in different ways in the borrowers' record.

[557] Listed in the 1839 catalogue as: *Discipline a Novel* 3 vols 8vo Ed. 1815. The entry is scored through.

[558] Listed in the 1839 catalogue as one text: 'Edgeworth, Maria *Harrington and Ormond 2 tales* 3 vol 8vo Lon. 1817'. Scored through and marked as 'Destroyed'.

[559] Two copies of this work were listed in the 1839 catalogue as '*The Vicar of Wakefield a Novel* 12mo Ed 1806' and '*Ibid* 12mo Lon. 1792'.

Popular Tales. Humphrey also borrowed works by Shakespeare, Burns and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590). Travels and voyages do not make up a large proportion of Humphrey's borrowing, highlighting a shift away from this genre as the main source of entertaining works for the boys, suggested also by the greater proportion of novels in the top ten titles discussed above. However, a work titled *Shipwrecks*[560] does appear in Humphrey's record three times. As the pupils borrowed a greater variety of titles and genres it is possible to begin to see a clearer insight into the individual tastes of pupils. For example, a pupil, John Dalzel, borrowed a number of works related to the military including *Journal of a Soldier* and *Art of Defence on Foot* (1798) alongside Scott's novels and Buffon's *Natural History*.

Changes in the number of pupils using the library are also evident across the decades:

	Pupil Borrowers	Volumes Borrowed	Unique Titles Borrowed
1770s	75	734	75
1780s	467	3087	143
1790s	526	3449	195
1800s	621	3632	321
1810s[561]	296	1641	308
1820s	395	6748	758

Figure 7: Table of numbers of pupils, volumes and titles in each decade

There is an important caveat to include here which is that with the missing volumes of borrowing records, it is impossible to define these as true trends in the number of borrowers. For example, alongside the more substantive gaps described in the introduction to this chapter, there are missing volumes of borrowing records, where pages have clearly been cut out. There are also some gaps in the second half of the 1770s, though these may very well be attributed to the move of the school premises and the subsequent construction of a new library space. However, what can be seen is a clear, steady increase in both the number of pupils visiting the library and the range of texts borrowed by the pupils.

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[560] A work titled *The Shipwrecks* (8vo Lon 1792) by William Falconer is listed in the 1839 catalogue and is scored through.

[561] The records for the 1810s and 20s are incomplete and so every pupil visiting the library will not be recorded here.

In conclusion, there were two key shifts in the types of books borrowed by the schoolboys. The first of these occurred around the 1780s to 1790s with the introduction of a greater range of genres, notably natural history with the popularity of Ward's, Buffon's and Goldsmith's works suggesting that the schoolboys used the library as a means to access information and knowledge which the classical curriculum at the time did not provide. As the curriculum modernised at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a second shift in the use of the school library is also apparent, with firstly, a growing focus on voyages and travels and then a marked increase in novels and works of fiction being borrowed. Though voyages and travels had always been a popular genre in the school library, they make up an increasingly large proportion of the most popular works by the end of the eighteenth century. The most marked change in the borrowing habits of the school pupils was however the shift towards novels and fiction as the most borrowed works, overtaking both the historical works and travel writing which had always been popular. The borrowers' records reveal a change in the way in which the boys accessed the books in the school library which would point to a shift in reading experiences, from reading one work intensively over the course of a year to the more voracious and extensive reading experiences represented in the borrowers' records of the early nineteenth century. The borrowers' records also show a growing trend within the school for more individualised reading habits by the 1820s, reflecting the pupils' distinct interests and a growing recognition of the importance of reading, more broadly, for entertainment as well as instruction. Alongside this there was a broadening of the subject matter of the books engaged with at the beginning of the nineteenth century which reflected different interests of the individual borrowers in, for example, naval history, geography, or natural history. The records of the Royal High School's library and its readers offer a valuable insight into the individual pupils' engagement with the books that were chosen for them to read. By analysing both broad trends in borrowing patterns, focusing on the most popular works borrowed in each decade and looking more specifically at individual cases it is possible to see the way in which use of the school library by the pupils, and the reading experiences of these pupils, changes across the period.

Chapter Five: Books and their Readers at the Royal High School Library

This chapter will explore in more detail the books available to and, most significantly, borrowed by, the pupils at the Royal High School library between the 1770s and the 1820s and compare these with the expectations from educational writers, as discussed in chapter two. By looking more closely at the texts which are chosen for, and chosen by, the schoolboys at the Royal High School, greater insight can be gained into the expectations and priorities of these schoolchildren and their teachers in their education, formal and informal. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the number of books in the Royal High School library alongside the presence of borrowing records provide a unique insight into childhood reading habits, in a specific context, and provide a useful counter to any conclusions which could be drawn from library catalogues or acquisition records alone. As illustrated in chapter three, it is important not to assume that books were chosen because they were deemed the most suitable but that financial considerations, and the vagaries of chance in the shape of bequests, were also at play. Due to the imprecise nature of the acquisition records, it is difficult to ascertain whether books were purchased in response to the popularity of particular genres among the pupils or whether the popularity of such works was due to their presence in the library, or indeed, unrecorded pressures and suggestions from the schoolteachers as to what was most suitable for the boys to read.

However, in the case of travels and voyages, it does seem that as this genre increased in popularity among the boys in the 1780s more and more titles were purchased and subsequently the boys' reading habits expanded to include a much wider variety of titles within this genre. By analysing the books which were borrowed by the pupils, and not simply the ones which were chosen for the school library, a truer sense of what was popular among these school children can be gained, in contrast to the expectations of schools for their pupils' reading habits, as discussed in chapters one and three. A more in-depth analysis of the borrowing trends explored in chapter four supplements existing research on childhood reading practices in this period. This chapter will draw out some of the differences and similarities with other research completed on this subject. More specifically, this chapter gives a greater insight into what children read in the run up to the 'Golden Age' of children's literature in the second half of the nineteenth century and whether books written for children were read in a school context in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In his essay, 'The English grammar school curriculum in

the eighteenth century: a reappraisal', Richard S. Thompson argues that the grammar school curriculum relied entirely on books that were not properly part of children's literature.[562] Though this may very well be true of certain grammar schools in this period and of the schoolbooks used in the classroom, the case of the Royal High School reveals that children were reading books written specifically for them, most notably those published by Newbery such as *World Displayed* in a school context, even if not in the classroom itself. These works formed an important part of the informal curriculum at work at the Royal High School.

The main argument of this chapter is that in the eighteenth century, boys were supplementing their classical education through an informal curriculum, either in response to teacher expectations or as an autodidactic response to the still somewhat narrow focus of the formal curriculum. This was due to the boys' need for a broader education than the classics for the modern world. The variation in reading habits among the boys, as discussed in chapter four, would suggest that some pupils were more eager to explore subjects outside their formal education than others. However, this may also reflect a simple variation in the books that children had access to at home, as discussed in chapter one. When the curriculum was reformed in the early nineteenth century, the borrowing habits and acquisitions of the school library shifted to allow for a greater focus on recreational reading of novels, suggesting that the former need for a more general education in such areas as geography, history and natural history was being fulfilled by the broader curriculum available to the pupils, allowing them to explore more specific interests and reading for enjoyment or entertainment. This coincides with some of the changing expectations surrounding childhood reading practices towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, as discussed in chapter two, as well as the call for a more useful, modern education for the schoolboys.

This chapter will look in greater detail at what works were most popular between the 1770s and 1820s and set these within a broader context of the history of children's literature and childhood reading practices. It will begin by exploring the popularity of the specific works of history in the 1770s and the implications of what does seem to be a marked movement from reading intensively to reading extensively. Beginning with the slightly limited pupil borrowing records in the 1770s, this chapter will first of all focus

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[562] Richard S. Thompson, 'The English grammar school curriculum in the eighteenth century: a reappraisal', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 19 (1971) 32-9

on the histories which were read by pupils in the second half of the eighteenth century, from the almost universal popularity of Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* to the wider reading of histories by Oliver Goldsmith, and a move towards reading both modern and classical histories in the 1780s. This chapter will then go on to discuss the rising popularity of travels and voyages, from the occasional borrowing of Jonathan Swift's *Works* in the 1770s to a wider engagement with travel literature in the 1780s, with *World Displayed* replacing Rollin's *Ancient History* as the most borrowed work. The enduring popularity of travel writing will be considered as well as the specific works that appeared in the top ten most borrowed works in each decade. Next, I will explore the acquisition, and borrowing of, works of Natural History in the 1780s and 1790s before the formal introduction of the subject as a key example of how the school library filled a gap in the children's formal education. Additionally, this chapter will look at reading for entertainment and recreational reading, firstly through the popularity of periodicals, specifically the *Scots Magazine,* and then finally, the popularity of novels in the school library in the 1820s discussing the ubiquity of Scott and conduct-book approved fiction.

The borrowing records of the 1770s reveal two key practices among the boys making use of the school library at this time. First, the caveat that there are far fewer boys making use of the library in the early 1770s than in the 1780s ought to be mentioned. There were 74 unique young borrowers in the period between 1770 and 1779 and 438 between 1783 and 1788. This may very well have been a product of the lack of a specific library space in the school before 1777, with the borrowing of books limited to a handful of pupils, though the loss of borrowers' records also should not be ruled out. Certainly, the extensive use of the school library by teachers across that whole decade would suggest that the library books were accessible but were perhaps not set up for large numbers of pupil borrowers. However, what can be ascertained from the pupil borrowing records of the 1770s is that pupils read works intensively. The apparent restriction of borrowing only one volume at a time meant that a work such as Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* could take a pupil many months to complete. Restrictions limiting pupils to borrowing just one volume at a time were in place until the 1820s, when an exception seems to have been made for certain novels, and so this borrowing pattern, where pupils worked their way steadily through a single text is indicative of an intensive reading experience particular to this time. This was replaced by more voracious and wide-ranging patterns in borrowing practice later in the period. The fact that this is coupled with a borrowing of histories suggests that this could be an example of the type of intensive reading practice

identified by Mark Towsey, where students were encouraged to take extensive notes while reading histories, a practice which fell out of fashion by the nineteenth century.[563]

As illustrated in figure 7, the number of different books borrowed by students was also limited, with these 74 borrowers reading 74 unique titles between them, compared with the 1780s, where 438 pupils borrowed 205 unique titles. Pupils in the 1780s also seemed happier to flit from one title to another in the borrowing patterns, choosing a particular volume of one book followed by a different volume of another title and then returning to the previous title. Whether this was through choice or due to availability of volumes in the library is unclear, but it was certainly a much more common way of borrowing in the 1780s than it had been in the 1770s. Specific examples of these borrowing practices are explored in greater detail in chapter four.

As mentioned previously, the most popular work in the 1770s was Charles Rollin's *Ancient History,* with his *Roman History* also routinely borrowed by school pupils. The first volume of Rollin's *Ancient History* appeared in 1730 and the last in 1738. The work was translated into English in 1738 and Rollin's *Roman History* was published in 1741.[564] In *Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*, a work which was not only present in the school library but was also borrowed by school teachers William Cruickshank, Alexander Adam and Alexander Bartlet, Rollin "advocated a larger role for both the vernacular and history in teaching practices".[565] It is clear therefore that the school teachers were thinking about the didactic potential of histories before the introduction of history as a formal subject. Mark Towsey argues that "[h]istorical knowledge was throughout this period acquired at home through reading, rather than through learning in the classroom".[566] The evidence here supports this assertion, with the school library doing duty for 'the home'. The example of the Royal High School further reiterates the perceived importance of historical reading in the education of children at this time.

As discussed in chapter two, classical histories such as Rollin's *Ancient History* and works which focused on the lives of historical individuals such as Plutarch's *Lives*

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[563] Towsey, *Reading History*, p. 22
[564] Giovanna Ceserani, 'Modern histories of ancient Greece: Genealogies, contexts and eighteenth-century narrative historiography', *The Western Time of Ancient History: Historiographical Encounters with the Greek and Roman Pasts* ed. Alexandra Lianeri (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 138-155
[565] Ibid, p. 146
[566] Mark Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America, c. 1750-c.1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 2

were recommended reading for school children. Vicesimus Knox said of Plutarch's *Lives* that "such models tend to inspire the young mind with all that is generous and noble".[567] In his 'Essay on History and Romance' (1797), William Godwin also recommended this type of reading stating that "while we admire the poet and the hero, and sympathize with his generous ambition or his ardent exertions, we insensibly imbibe the same spirit, and burn with kindred fires".[568] Quoting Godwin, Noelle Gallagher argues that "…thus sutured into the historical narrative, the sentimental reader is inspired to virtuous conduct himself, Godwin contends, as he reads about the high 'moral and intellectual character' of great historical figures".[569] In his *Letters,* which were borrowed by pupils at the Royal High School, Lord Bolingbroke advocated for the importance of history as the study which was "the most proper to train us up to private and public virtue".[570]. Also quoting Bolingbroke's letters, Jackie C. Horne argues that "eighteenth-century readers… typically learned 'public and private virtue' by reading histories that featured stories of exemplary men of the past, men whose virtuous behavior they themselves could emulate, or whose vicious behavior they could shun".[571] These historical biographies were therefore seen as appropriate and desirable reading material for children in the eighteenth century. With the rest of their education focusing on the classical world it follows that they engaged with biographies of classical historical figures. However, as the focus of their education became increasingly modern, the biographies and memoirs read by the Royal High School pupils also shifted to more modern figures and focused increasingly on the men whom they would emulate in their future careers.

It is difficult to ascertain the reasons for both the purchasing of histories for the school library, discussed in chapter three and the frequent borrowing of these works, analysed in chapter four and below. Whether the purpose of these was specifically within the framework of a moral education as argued for above, or whether it was deemed important as part of a rounded education, which the purely classical language focus of the school was not providing in the second half of the eighteenth century is not entirely clear. Though the records of the school library suggest that histories were valued and

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[567] Knox, p. 230

[568] William Godwin 'Essay of History and Romance', *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin: Vol 5 Educational and Literary Writings* ed. Pamela Clemit (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993), p. 301

[569] Noelle Gallagher, 'Don Quixote and the Sentimental Reader of History', *Historical Writing in Britain 1688-1830* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 168

[570] Henry St. John Bolingbroke, *Letters on the Study and Use of History* p. 9

[571] Jackie C. Horne, *History and the Construction of the Child in Early British Children's Literature* (London: Routledge, 2016) pp. 1-2

reading these was deemed a useful employment by both pupils and schoolmasters, the way in which Rollin's work is accessed by the school pupils shows that Knox's advice for teachers to select specific passages from Rollin is ignored by the Royal High School. The recommendations (discussed in chapter two) made both by Knox and Maria Edgeworth that educators (teachers and parents) should select specific passages for school pupils to read due to the length of works like *Ancient History* and *Plutarch's Lives* are not corroborated by the actual practices of reading and borrowing works at the Royal High School. Pupils seem unfazed by the length of these texts in their borrowing habits, though it is of course impossible to ascertain whether they read these works as intensively as the borrowers' records suggest. The teachers were therefore not acting as the direct intermediaries between text and pupil as the educational writing of the period suggests that they were or should have been. That is not to say that the teachers were unaware of what was being read. They not only chose the works present in the library, but their own borrowing records reveal that alongside Classical works, they were also almost all borrowing the most popular historical works. The didactic potential of these works was also recognised by the historians themselves and written intentionally into the texts.

> In his *Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres,* Rollin writes that:
> History is of a great advantage, to lay down useful lessons to them all, and present them with a faithful mirror of their duties and obligations, by an unsuspected hand… History shews by a thousand examples, that are more availing than all reasonings whatsoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity.[572]

In an essay, which focuses specifically on the illustrations of Rollin's work, but also provides a useful argument for the didactic potential of *Ancient History* and other works of historical writing, Peter S. Walch argues that "many pages of Rollin's narrative… deal with personages of little importance in modern historical writing: the death of Virginia, for example, occupies Rollin for a full seven pages, yet receives scarcely a mention in twentieth century histories of Rome".[573] Giovanna Cesarani agrees, arguing that "In Rollin beyond the providential reading put forward in the preface, what prevailed was a concern for moral issues".[574] She argues that this work and Temple Stanyan's *Graecian*

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[572] Charles Rollin, *The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres* (Dublin: M. Rhames, 1737) vol III, p. 5
[573] Peter S. Walch, 'Charles Rollin and Early Neoclassicism, *The Art Bulletin* 49.2 (1967), p. 125
[574] Cesarani, p. 148

History; (also borrowed by Royal High School pupils, albeit in smaller numbers than Rollin's) were both "judged as didactic and derivative, with Rollin in particular also being deemed politically conservative".[575] Cesarani goes on to argue that "Rollins' projects did not fare as he hoped. His education proposal, despite being inspirational for late eighteenth-century school reform, was not taken up at the time. The *Ancient History* also did not turn out as expected. It grew well beyond the originally planned five volumes to be completed in a school year".[576] Although Cesarani's argument that "Rollin had set out to write for schools but failed as his work became too unwieldy" may be true for the use of his work in the classroom in the years following its publication, the evidence of its popularity at the Royal High School suggests that not only was it deemed a particularly suitable work for schoolboys to supplement their classical education, but that its length did not deter schoolchildren as much as she would suggest.[577] Cesarani does acknowledge that these works were eventually adopted by schools which "seems to lie behind many of their nineteenth-century editions, as the heavily annotated copies in college libraries suggest"[578] but the evidence at the Royal High School shows that the acceptance of these texts in the context of learning and teaching in educational institutions, albeit outside the classroom, occurred earlier.

Other popular historical works in the 1770s largely focus on the classical world, suggesting that, at this time, the reading of history was still very much related to the boys' classical education at the school,[579] though works such as Oliver Goldsmith's *History of England,* Guthrie's *Scotland* and Robertson's *History of Scotland* were borrowed. During the 1780s, the pupils' reading of historical works broadened to include a number of works related to modern history as well as an exploration both of Scottish and English histories and a greater focus on the modern histories of foreign lands. In the 1780s, the popularity of works by Guthrie, Goldsmith and Robertson grew while more and more modern histories were borrowed, such as Salmon's *Modern History,* alongside those focusing on the Classical world. The inclusion of a greater number of works focused on foreign lands, with William Robertson's *History of America* the most popular, lends weight to the

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[575] Ibid, p. 145

[576] Ibid, p. 148. In support of this Cesarani cites J Morange and J.F-. Chassaing's *Mouvement de réforme de l'enseignement en France 1760-1798* (1974) and J. Lombard's 'Introduction', in *Discours préliminaire du traité des études* (1998).

[577] Ibid, p. 151

[578] Ibid, p. 151

[579] Other works borrowed included Hooke's *Roman History* and Mayan's *Graecian History.* Hume's *History of England* was popular throughout the period and will be discussed in more detail below.

argument that pupils were increasingly focused on an international context, as discussed in greater detail in chapter three with reference to the presence of works of travels and voyages.

The pupils' independent study of history was also still centred on the reading of historical biographies. As discussed above, the importance of reading biographies was recognized by educational writers at the time. Alongside the historical works discussed above, Plutarch's *Lives* remained popular; borrowed 80 times in the 1770s; 47 times in the 1780s; 52 times in the 1790s; 24 times in the 1800s; 22 times in the 1810s and 14 times in the 1820s.[580] Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* was also borrowed 13 times in the 1780s, suggesting that there was a general interest in biographies as early as the 1780s. Other popular biographical works in this period included François Baron de Tott's *Memoirs* (1785) and Sully's *Memoirs*, with Sully's *Memoirs* borrowed 50 times in the 1780s, 48 times in the 1790s and 30 times in the 1800s; and de Tott's *Memoirs* borrowed 15 times in the 1790s and 29 times in the 1800s.

Contemporary writers' own reflections on the value of historical writing and the didactic potential of their works are useful, particularly when considering why these works were chosen for the school library but also why they were so popular among the schoolboys. Philip Warton, for example, writes that "no Study is as useful to Mankind as History, where, as in a Glass, Men may see the Virtues and Vices of Great Persons in former Ages, and be taught to pursue the one and avoid the other".[581] John Dalrymple writes that "[I]t is said by some, that History ought to relate events, but not to make observations upon them… To me it appears, that, to write history without drawing moral or political rules of conduct from it, is little better than writing a romance".[582] This reveals why the style of historical writing which focuses on the biographies of "Great Persons" and draws "moral or political rules of conduct" from history was deemed a particularly useful supplement for boys' education in this period. The didactic potential of these histories was evident not just in the writing about them by educational writers such as Knox, but also embedded in the texts themselves in the form of prefaces.

Biographies remained popular into the nineteenth century and these historical biographies discussed above were joined in the most popular works in the school library

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[580] The gaps in the later records means that these numbers should be treated with caution but, apart from Rollin's *Ancient History,* no other publication remains as high up the frequency lists in every decade
[581] Philip Warton, *The True Briton,* No. 29, Sept 9, 1723, 244 cited in Peter S. Walch 'Charles Rollin and Early Neoclassicism', *The Art Bulletin* 49.2 (1967) 123-126 (p. 125)
[582] Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: 1788), v. 2, p. 177

by works such as Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals* discussed below, and though less frequently borrowed, contemporary biographical works such as Mavor's *British Nepos* which made use of "famous and patriotic Britons" and "was designed to address what the author perceived to be a particular deficiency in the range of educational materials available to schools".[583] Mavor stated that "character of those who have acted on a distant theater, and are long retired from the scene, are much less calculated to make an impression, than such as have risen nearer our own times, and are connected with us by the ties of country, religion, and manners".[584] This, Dawson argues, was a deliberate, patriotic action on Mavor's part[585] and the boys' interest in these and other biographies of British heroes, particularly those in the military, suggests that these also held an appeal to the young men at the Royal High School. The educational value of biographical texts of modern men, particularly those in the military, was recognized by the school. The popular work, *Journal of a Soldier*, was acquired four times, with two copies purchased in 1822-23 and a further two in 1831-32. The *Critical Review* writes that "[t]his publication bears strong evidences of it being written by a common soldier, who by his great merit and services abroad and at home, had the honour of being raised to the degree of a corporal... In short that part of his performance is extremely well-adapted to the perusal of every common soldier, who to speak in serjeant Kite's language, hopes some time or other to purchase by his services a general's baton".[586]This suggests that by the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, biographies in general were seen as both an entertaining and useful addition to the boys' education following on from the use of histories as exemplars discussed above.

Into the 1790s, Rollin's *Ancient History* remained the second most popular work borrowed by pupils, suggesting that at this time, there remained a need for the schoolboys to augment their classical learning with the reading of classical histories. Overall, the proportion of histories among the most popular works borrowed in this decade decreased, with Rollin's *Ancient History* being the only history represented in the top ten in the 1790s, with travels and voyages, and works of natural history dominating the rest of the list. However, outside this top ten, histories were still well-represented in the borrowing

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[583] Janis Dawson, 'Writing for the Young in the Age of Revolution and Reaction: William Fordyce Mavor and "The Young Gentleman's" and "Lady's Magazine" (1799-1800)', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34.1 (2001), p. 20

[584] William Fordyce Mavor, *The British Nepos* (London: Richard Philips, 1798), p. vi-vii

[585] Dawson, p. 21

[586] 'The Monthly Catalogue', *The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature* vol. 29 (London: A. Hamilton, 1770), pp. 153-4

habits of pupils with Goldsmith's *Roman History*, Hooke's *Roman History* and Rollin's *Roman History* all borrowed more than 50 times each. Robertson's *America,* as discussed above, was also frequently borrowed. The focus, therefore, was still very much on classical histories, crowded out only by the increased interest in other subjects and works which may have been read for more entertaining purposes such as Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals* and *Knights of Malta*. Both of these works also had an historical quality, suggesting that even when students were not reading formal, didactic histories they were engaging with historical events and people through other forms of writing. John Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals* feeds into a number of the boys' interests which emerge through the course of the borrowing records; military and naval stories and history, voyages and travels, and biography. The *History of the Knights of Malta,* a French work written by René-Aubert de Vertot and originally published in 1726, was commissioned by the Order of St. John as a history of the Order. It was censored due to anti-papist sentiments in the text and entered into the Vatican's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.[587] Arguably, it was this notoriety that led to the work's commercial success in the eighteenth century though it is unclear whether this contributed to the boys' interest in the text, or whether the content itself held appeal. It was certainly consistent with the boys' borrowing of various histories discussed above, and military and naval history as indicated by their borrowing of other specific works such as *Lives of the British Admirals.*

Rollin's *Ancient History* still appeared in the top ten works borrowed in the 1800s albeit further down the list and Goldsmith's *Roman History* was borrowed 52 times. Works which were borrowed more frequently include the various voyages and travels discussed below, and the volumes of *Plutarch* discussed on page 213. David Hume's *History of England* also appears in the 1800s most borrowed works and remained one of the more popular histories in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Having been present in the most popular works in the eighteenth-century borrowers' records, this work, alongside Rollin's *Ancient History*, endured throughout the period as one of the most popular histories among the schoolboys. This correlates with findings from other Scottish libraries of the period, being "…the most widely distributed title of any work by a Scottish author [which] performed consistently well at every library for which borrowing records survive".[588] With the boys' interest in novels; sentimental novels such

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[587] Robert Thake, *A Publishing History of a Prohibited Best-Seller* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2016), p. 14

[588] Mark Towsey, '"Patron of Infidelity": Scottish Readers Respond to David Hume, c. 1750-c.1820'

as *Fool of Quality* and works by women authors, discussed below, it may well have been that the historical works that endured into the nineteenth century at the Royal High School were those that were written in a way that appealed to this readership. As Ben Dew and Fiona Price note:

> Hume's *History of England* (1754-62), meanwhile, as a number of recent commentators have noted, was able to combine a masculine, classical-style narrative with the more feminine techniques of the literature of sensibility, as he encouraged his readers to join him in shedding a tear over the deaths of Strafford and Charles I.[589]

Hume's *England* and Rollin's *Ancient History* were both in the top ten most borrowed texts in the 1810s. With the increased spread of popular titles and only two years represented in the 1810s there are fewer titles borrowed more than 50 times but also appearing in the top 20 are Robertson's *America* and a collection of Robertson's *Works*. By the 1820s, the only historical work in the top ten most borrowed titles was simply recorded as 'Rollin', which could have referred to any of his works (though with the enduring popularity of his *Ancient History* it might be assumed to be this title.). The top twenty most borrowed works was dominated by novels, as discussed below, with Scott's novels accounting for a large proportion of these. Hume's *History of England* and Robertson's *America* were borrowed 43 and 30 times respectively in the years for which we have borrowers' records in this decade. However, to put these numbers into context this places them in 41st and 55th position. The historical works which were borrowed were consistent in terms of titles from the 1770s and the 1820s but their dominance in the top ten reduces in the 1790s and by the 1820s is completely overtaken by novels. As the boys borrow a wider variety of titles, histories account for less of their borrowing. This is in contrast to the 1770s, where history completely dominates both in terms of numbers borrowed and in the borrowing lives of the children (in that it is often an intensive reading of one historical text which accounts for their whole borrowing). The popularity of the historical novel coupled with the decline in popularity of the various histories which had occupied the top spots of the most borrowed works in the late eighteenth century would seem to correlate with Towsey's conclusions that with history "increasingly incorporated into school curriculums from the 1820s onwards… there was an ever-decreasing need for

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Book History, II (2008), p. 90

[589] Ben Dew and Fiona Price, 'Introduction', *Historical Writing in Britain 1688-1830* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 5

readers to accumulate historical information in their own time through private reading and study" and that "fiction could potentially be a more malleable vehicle than non-fiction for inculcating moral and political lessons about the past and the present".[590]

Natural History was also a subject that boys borrowed a number of works about from the school library before its more formal introduction to the school curriculum. Oliver Goldsmith's *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature* and Samuel Ward's *A Modern System of Natural History* were both represented in the top ten most borrowed titles in the 1780s and Buffon's *Natural History* was in the top ten most borrowed titles in the 1790s along with Ward's work in eighth place and Goldsmith's in eleventh place. In the 1800s, Buffon's *Natural History* was still frequently borrowed, sitting in tenth place among the most popular works and Goldsmith's was borrowed 40 times, Ward's work 39 times and William Bingley's *Animal Biography* (1802) was borrowed 37 times. A work recorded just as *Nature Displayed* was also borrowed 50 times. The interest in natural history therefore peaks in the 1800s borrowers' records with a variety of titles frequently borrowed by students. The 1810s saw Bingley's *Animal Biography* reach the top ten most borrowed works with the other works of natural history much less frequently borrowed. As above with histories, novels crowded out these works in the 1820s. This also coincided with the formal introduction of the subject of natural history at the Royal High School. Buffon's *Natural History* was borrowed 83 times in the 1820s, as the 14th most popular work in the years that borrowers' records exist for this decade. Like the popular histories discussed above, the presence of these works in the school library is not surprising and links to a wider interest in natural history at this time. Buffon's *Natural History* was "the second most frequently owned item in private libraries in France at that time".[591]

At this point Natural History was not a formal subject of study at universities, and it was not seen as a formal profession or occupation, and so the boys' interest in the subject was not one that was about preparing them for future careers and study, but rather evidence of a broadening of their reading interests.[592] It is difficult to say what specifically it was about natural history that grabbed these readers' attentions. It may have related to their interest in travels and voyages, and the world elsewhere, given the

[590] Towsey, *Reading History*, p. 263
[591] Paul Lawrence Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E.O. Wilson* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), p. 2
[592] Ibid, p. 6

popularity of this genre in the library. As Farber argues "[n]atural history occupied an important place in European imperialism. Domination of markets, natives, and nature all went hand in hand",[593] suggesting that this interest was part of the broader engagement with the Empire and imperialism suggested by the works included in, and borrowed from, the school library at this time. It may also have tapped into a wider interest in classification and scientific thought and discovery. The fact that these works were popular among readers in general suggests that broad trends in what the boys were reading were mirroring the reading interests at other lending libraries, despite being somewhat anomalous among the limited records available for other school libraries at this time.[594] Later in the period, natural history became one of the key subjects disseminated using serial publications and much like the works of practical knowledge which were discussed in chapter three, it may have been that, in the nineteenth century, pupils were able to gain the same knowledge in a more accessible and entertaining way because of the acquisition of these types of publications.

Therefore, before there was a complete overhaul of the education system which could more obviously set out and reveal the type of men these boys were being prepared to become, as discussed in chapters one and two, there seemed to be a recognition that a purely classical education which focused only on the reading and writing of Latin (and to a limited extent Greek) was insufficient in preparing boys for life in the eighteenth century. The school library allowed school children to expand upon and extend their education, both in their understanding of the classical world though historical writing in English and in the borrowing of English translations of Latin and Greek works. The reading habits of the school pupils, revealed in the works that they chose, particularly those focusing on "Great Persons" reveal an aspirational aspect to the reading habits of children. This is clearly communicated in Oliver Goldsmith's preface to *An History of England in a Series of Letters to His Son,* in which he writes that "those who are rising up to manhood, should be treated as men, and no works put into their hands, but such as are capable of exercising their capacity, and of which the most mature judgement should approve".[595] These histories then would certainly have appealed both to the teachers and the pupils; with teachers drawn to the didactic potential of works which would be

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[593] Ibid, p. 37

[594] Buffon's *Natural History* was the most frequently borrowed title at Innerpeffray Library between 1747 and 1855. It was borrowed there 124 times (Dye, p. 135).

[595] Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of England in a Series of Letters to His Son* (London: Printed for T. Carnan and F. Newbery, 1772), p. ii

"capable of exercising… capacity" and schoolboys drawn to the idea of "rising to manhood" and being "treated as men". On both sides, there is a solid sense of aspiration in the popular works at the Royal High School in the eighteenth century, something that extends to the growing popularity of travel literature.

As discussed in chapter three, the interest in travels and voyages at the Royal High School grows towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The 1757 catalogue includes just a handful of travels and voyages, and the borrowing records of the 1770s reveal that only Jonathan Swift's *Works, World Displayed,* René-Aubert de Vertot's *Revolutions of Sweden* (1695) and *Revolutions of Portugal* (1711), *Tour Thro' Great Britain* and an anonymous collection of *Voyages* were borrowed by school pupils with works of history, particularly classical history, far more widely read. It is clear therefore that in the 1770s pupils read histories and works of travel literature, but very little else in a school context, whether by choice, due to the restrictions of availability at the library, or under the direction of schoolteachers. The sudden expansion of titles available at the school library, as documented both by acquisition records from the late 1770s onwards, and the comparative sizes of the 1757 and 1783 catalogues, detailed in chapter three, would suggest that the teachers intended pupils to read widely, and this is indeed reflected in their borrowing habits from the 1780s onwards, as illustrated in chapter four of this thesis. In the 1770s, the teachers themselves do seem to take advantage of the large size of the library to read extensively but this takes slightly longer to filter down to the pupils, whose borrowing records from the 1770s show an intensive reading experience compared with the more extensive reading practices from the 1780s onwards. Though it is difficult to say for sure, there may also have been a growing recognition of the need to respond to this informal curriculum at play in the school library by purchasing more titles which were in line with pupils' borrowing habits. This would certainly account for both the increase in availability of histories, travels and voyages and the expansion in the number of unique works in these genres borrowed by the pupils. It would, in fact, be fair to argue that the purchasing of travels and voyages could be an indication of the school's response to pupils' interests. Seventy-nine works which could be classified as tours, travels and voyages were purchased for the school library between 1773 and 1837. The enthusiastic acquisition of this genre, coupled with its popularity in the borrowers' records, is the first real indication at the school both of an acceptance of this genre as particularly suitable for schoolchildren and a recognition of them, amongst the teachers, as readers with a distinct need for a literature of their own.

As Matthew Grenby argues, "[t]o impose a hard and fast distinction between children's and adults' books would, in any case, be anachronistic"[596] and it is difficult to separate these works out. However, the children's reading of works by Rollin and Goldsmith, and titles produced by Newbery marketed to a child readership, suggest that the children had this recognition of themselves as a distinct group of readers. The acquisition of travel writing and other works marketed specifically to children in the eighteenth century is a signal that the teachers were beginning also to recognise the boys as such, laying the ground for the acquisition of children's books in the 1830s and '40s, and the subsequent establishment of the juvenile library at the school. The relatively early acceptance of children's works into the school library certainly augments our understanding of what children read during the eighteenth century and points to a much earlier recognition of children as a distinct group of readers than evidence elsewhere suggests.

Returning more specifically to the reading of travel literature, the borrowers' records of the 1780s certainly saw an increase in both the popularity of travels and voyages, and the variety of these works borrowed by pupils, with a marked increase in the variety of titles borrowed from 1786 onwards.[597] *World Displayed* continued to be borrowed in this decade and replaced Rollin's *Ancient History* as the most popular title. Indeed, it became the work that best represented those pupils who used the library only once suggesting that this was the driving factor in these pupils visiting and using the school library. As with Rollin's *Ancient History* and Buffon's *Natural History*, the large number of volumes that make up *World Displayed* accounts for some of its dominance among the most popular books. However, many pupils who only visit the library once borrowed just one volume of *World Displayed* suggesting that it was not just because of its numerous volumes that it was borrowed so frequently by pupils, and indeed that it appealed to those pupils who were not regular visitors to the school library. *World Displayed* was a runaway success in the school library, particularly in the 1780s when it was borrowed 622 times compared to Rollin's *Ancient History,* in second place, borrowed 243 times. Likewise, in the 1790s, it was borrowed 587 times compared to Rollin's *Ancient History* borrowed 245 times. It remained popular in the 1800s but was only borrowed eleven times in the 1810s and not at all in the 1820s, suggesting that it fell out of fashion slightly before the decline in popularity of travels and voyages at the library

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[596] Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 97
[597] Works borrowed included *Chinese Traveller,* Addison's *Travels,* Anson's *Voyages*, Ray's *Travels,* and Knox's *Voyages.*

in general. However, *World Displayed*'s entry in the 1839 catalogue suggests that only volume seven, of twenty volumes, survived by the time that catalogue was compiled and this may account for its less frequent borrowing in the nineteenth century. Only volumes six, seven and eleven were borrowed in the 1810s compared with a wide variety of volumes in the 1790s, suggesting that as well as being less read, it may have been that many of the volumes of the work had not survived the high level of use by school pupils.

World Displayed was a 20-volume collection of voyages and travels compiled by Christopher Smart, Oliver Goldsmith and Samuel Johnson with the introduction written by Johnson. Unlike Hume's *History of England,* Swift's *Travels* and Buffon's *Natural History,* the popularity of *World Displayed* is not replicated in any of the other lending libraries for which records have been discovered and very little has been written about the work. Barbara Schaff discusses Johnson's introduction to the work briefly in her *Handbook of British Travel Writing*, stating that "[o]n the surface an extensive survey of the history of navigation, this introduction to the otherwise plainly commercial publication of famous travel accounts offers some of the most outspoken and powerful eighteenth-century commentaries on colonialist violence that came with European exploration".[598] However, it was undoubtedly a "plainly commercial" publication; its high number of volumes and the introduction by Johnson arguably were designed to magnify its salability, and it tapped into an interest in the genre which was already there among young readers. When relying on borrowers' records alone it is difficult to ascertain what readers thought of any particular work but the voracious way that this work was consumed by the children at the Royal High School suggests that it was indeed read as it was intended by the publishers, as a popular, entertaining and commercially successful work of children's literature, rather than as the political commentary that Schaff identifies. The work was published by John Newbery in 1759 and, alongside Goldsmith's works, was one of the earliest works of literature aimed specifically at a child readership in the school library. Its popularity among the pupils suggests that they were drawn to works which were published with them in mind, as early as the 1770s. The interest in travels and voyages more generally also accounts for a large part of the other most popular works in the eighteenth-century records.

As discussed in chapter three, the interest in travels and voyages in the latter part of the eighteenth century extends beyond the Royal High School library. As Matthew

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[598] Barbara Schaff, *Handbook of British Travel Writing* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), p. 183

Simpson noted this genre was popular with young men at St Andrews (some as young as those attending the Royal High School).[599] These works were not as frequently borrowed at the University of Glasgow and this could be due to either differences in the nature of the collections or differences in the age of the young men attending each of these institutions, suggesting that this particular genre was more popular among younger readers. A more thorough comparison of the frequency lists of these institutions is merited but is outside the scope of this thesis. The interest in this genre is sustained into the nineteenth century with volumes of travel literature and naval history purchased and borrowed into the 1820s and these works account for the majority of the most popular works borrowed up to the 1810s, before novel borrowing begins to displace this genre from the most borrowed works. In the 1770s, *World Displayed,* Daniel Defoe's *Tour through Great Britain* (1724) and a work recorded as '*Voyages'* were all in the top ten. In the 1780s, *World Displayed* and *Voyages* again appear in the top ten but the popularity of travels and voyages peaks in the 1790s with *World Displayed* and *Voyages* again in the first and third positions but Mavor's *Travels,* Knox's *Voyages* and Cook's *Voyages* are also in the top ten. Cook's *Voyages* remained in the top ten even into the 1820s. Two works titled *Voyages and Travels* and *Modern Voyages and Travels* also appear in the top ten in the 1810s. *Voyages and Travels* appeared again in the 1820s and Kerr's *Voyages* also appeared in the 1820s. As noted in chapter four, it is often difficult to define the specific editions that these works refer to. It is probable that Mavor's *Voyages* and Mavor's *Travels* both refer to William Mavor's *Historical account of the most celebrated voyages, travels, and discoveries, from the time of Columbus to the present period* (1796). This was a 20-volume octavo collection published by Newbery with five further volumes published in 1801. It therefore shares a number of print similarities to *World Displayed*, including a high number of volumes which gave it the opportunity to be borrowed by many children at once, and, being published by Newbery, marketed to and printed for children specifically. As with *World Displayed,* Mavor's *Travels* has not received a great deal of critical attention, particularly in comparison to now better-known collections of travels and voyages. William Fordyce Mavor wrote and edited a huge number of works for children which had an educational slant.[600]

Captain Cook's *Voyages* were also enduringly popular from the 1790s, sitting in

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[599] Simpson, p. 40
[600] Dawson, p. 18

the top ten most borrowed works into the 1820s, alongside John Knox's *New Collection of Voyages* (1767) in the 1790s and Robert Kerr's *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1824) in the 1820s. As noted in the discussion of acquisitions in chapter three, the steady popularity of travel writing indicates an interest in life abroad and the part that these boys aspired to, and would take, in the growing British Empire. This strong interest in the Empire, and their part in it, aligns both with the Royal High School pupils' aspirational reading of histories discussed previously and the move towards a more modern education at the school. It also aligns with a broader movement in the nineteenth century with curricular changes at schools and universities, and with the establishment of specialist schools discussed in chapter one. The presence of works relating to professions such as the military and the popularity of works such Campbell's *Lives of the British Admirals* and *Journal of a Soldier* also serve to highlight that by the nineteenth century these schoolboys were no longer just being prepared for an academic life at university but also for the professions deemed most suitable for them, and deemed most useful for Britain's role in the Empire. The popularity of, and increased acquisition of, travel writing also suggests that the place of the school library was changing towards the end of the eighteenth century. Though the pupils' reading of histories could very well have been as much for enjoyment and entertainment as for the didactic potential and aspirational aspects of this type of writing, their reading of travels and voyages was unquestionably for entertainment and enjoyment purposes. These works were of course deemed a suitable part of a boy's more general education but their popularity also suggests that the school library was increasingly seen as a place for recreational reading, as well as a vital supplement to the boys' education.

Before discussing the massive rise in popularity of novels in the 1820s which arguably demonstrates the move to recreational reading most clearly, the popularity of the *Scots Magazine* in the 1810s records should be discussed. Fergus's study of the Rugby School (discussed in more detail below) notes that the school library at Rugby largely focused around periodicals. This is also true of the library at George Heriots, slightly later in the period and discussed in chapter one. The Royal High School's acquisition records show that there was a sustained purchasing of periodicals from the 1780s onwards, beginning with the *Monthly Review,* the *Annual Register* and then the *Scots Magazine* (this also included back copies of the *Annual Register* and the *Scots Magazine*). Acquisition of the *Edinburgh Review* began in 1804. There was an even greater acquisition of periodicals into the nineteenth century beginning with one copy of the

Delections from Gentleman's Magazine, a subscription to the *Courier* newspaper in 1815-1816, the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* and the *Classical Journal* (a precursor to modern academic journals) in 1817-1818; the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* in 1819-1820; and the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* in 1826-1827. At this point the acquisition records were simplified to provide a list of the books purchased and the amounts paid to each booksellers' accounts but presumably the subscriptions to the publications above continued. From the 1780s, once the school began acquiring a certain publication it tended to continue. The boys borrowed these works occasionally. For example, William Tennent borrowed the *Monthly Review* for 1781 on 4 July 1784; David Orm and James Muir Kier borrowed volume one of the *Scots Magazine* in 1795 and May 1805 respectively; and, Robert Hill borrowed volume one of the *Spectator* on 2 December 1809. The *Annual Register* was a popular choice among pupils in the 1790s with copies borrowed 35 times, but this was not repeated with any other periodical until the 1810s when the *Scots Magazine* was borrowed 45 times, placing it in fourth place in the frequency lists for that decade.[601] Given that the acquisitions of periodicals continued each year, they were presumably largely for the teachers' benefit, but occasionally as with the *Annual Register* and *Scots Magazine,* they also became popular among pupils.

The move to recreational reading can be most clearly seen in the rise in the popularity of novels, particularly in the 1820s when fiction accounts for 14 of the top twenty most borrowed works in these years. Walter Scott's novels dominated with his *Novels and Tales* at the top of the list and *Abbot, Ivanhoe, Monastery, Rob Roy, Fortunes of Nigel, Guy Mannering* and *Waverley* also in the top twenty. Frances Burney's *Cecilia* was jointly the third most borrowed work in the 1820s and *Evelina* was also in the top twenty. Maria Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*, Mary Brunton's *Discipline* and *Self-Control* and Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality* were also popular.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, some writers made use of the novel form to transmit serious messages to their readers. Lisa Wood argues that the domestic novel was particularly effective in targeting those readers who were deemed most at risk of the pernicious effects of novel reading.[602]Mary Brunton's first novel, *Self-Control*, was published in 1811 and her second, *Discipline*, followed in 1814. Brunton died in 1818

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[601] In the 1810s other borrowings of periodicals were as follows: three pupils borrowed *Spectator,* two borrowed *Gentleman's Magazine*, one borrowed two volumes of *Edinburgh Review* and one borrowed *Monthly Review*.

[602] Lisa Wood, *Modes of Discipline: Women, Conservatism and the Novel after the French Revolution* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), p. 15

before she could complete her third novel, *Emmeline*. Alexander Brunton published the fragments of *Emmeline* alongside a selection of her letters, extracts from her travel journal and a memoir, written by him, in 1819. Brunton wished her writing to have a strong moral message and a heroine whom readers could admire and emulate. The standard conventions of the novel of sensibility in the opening pages and indeed throughout *Self-Control*, are deliberately deployed to enable Brunton's moral aim, which she describes in a letter to Joanna Baillie in March, 1811 as being:

> ...to shew the power of the religious principle in bestowing self-command; and to bear testimony against a maxim as immoral as indelicate, that a reformed rake makes the best husband.[603]

Despite the sensationalist nature of the plot, it is clear that Brunton believed that the novel was an appropriate means for communicating important moral messages. In her preface to *Self-Control*, addressed again to Baillie, Brunton writes:

> If my book is read, its uses to the author are obvious. Nor is a work of fiction necessarily unprofitable to the readers. When the vitiated appetite refuses its proper food, the alternative may be administered in a sweetmeat. It may be imprudent to confess the presence of the medicine, lest the sickly palate, thus warned, turn from it with loathing. But I rely in this instance on the word of the philosopher, who avers that 'young ladies never read prefaces;' and I am not without hope, that with you, and with all who form exceptions to his rule, the avowal of a useful purpose may be an inducement to tolerate what otherwise might be thought unworthy of regard[604].

Brunton's works, like many of the others which are most popular at the Royal High School, were commercially successful and though the boys may have been receiving some didactic benefit from the works, it is likely that the novels' sensationalist plots appealed. Brunton's preface to *Discipline* acknowledges the important role the novel has in reaching, and educating, a certain kind of readership. She argues that there is little point in confining these valuable lessons to media which the intended audience will not read:

> The appetite for fiction is indeed universal, and has unfortunately been made the occasion of conveying poison of every description into the youthful mind. Why

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[603] Mary Brunton, 'Memoir', *Emmeline* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. xlii
[604] Mary Brunton, *Self-Control* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 2-3

must the antidote be confined to such forms as are sure to be rejected by those who need it most?[605]

Andrew O'Malley argues that moral fiction was designed to impose middle class values over aristocratic excess.[606] This is perhaps also something that resonated as an important lesson for Royal High School pupils who were increasingly heading towards professions; boys who constituted a growing middle class but were also from a wealthy background and therefore more at risk of "aristocratic excess" than their peers at the other educational institutions in Edinburgh. Joyce Hemlow argues that "[e]ighteenth-century courtesy material emerged more often from the professional classes, and it is the commentary of the middle classes on morals and manners which is largely found in them. Often, indeed, the moral emphasis suggested an implicit criticism of the upper classes"[607] and she identifies Frances Burney's novels as "a variation of both novel and courtesy book which might be called the courtesy novel".[608] Burney's *Cecilia* and *Evelina* were among the first novels purchased specifically for the school library by the teachers in 1812-1813 alongside Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* and *Citizen of the* World, Elizabeth Hamilton's *Cottagers of Glenburnie* and Maria Edgeworth's fictional works. It is clear then that the Royal High School's first steps into the world of novels were cautious, focusing specifically on those texts which were marked by conduct literature as being appropriate for children, with Sir Walter Scott's works predominating. Burney's works, though not as numerous as Scott's, were also popular among the schoolboys, particularly *Cecilia,* which was borrowed 156 times between 1823 and 1826.

In her study on the reading habits of the boys at Rugby School in England, using records of Samuel Clay's circulating library, Jan Fergus also found that Burney's *Cecilia* was popular when it was made available in 1784, with "[n]o other novel… demanded so insistently at Rugby".[609] She argues that the Rugby schoolboys found women-authored texts, and female characters, appealing as a foil to the "hostile, painful world" and that "[t]he boys' eagerness to import female perspectives and experiences in their all-male enclave is striking. Perhaps public schoolboys' frequent rebellions imply that they saw themselves as unfairly disempowered, thus to some extent feminized – placed in a

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[605] Mary Brunton, *Discipline* (Edinburgh: George Ramsay & Co, 1814), vol. 1, p. v
[606] Andrew O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child: Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 45
[607] Joyce Hemlow, 'Fanny Burney and the Courtesy Books', *PMLA* 65.5 (1950), p. 733
[608] Ibid, p. 757
[609] Fergus, p. 120

subordinate position comparable to that of women".[610] Furthermore, Fergus identifies *Cecilia* as one of the more acceptable novels that the boys at Rugby read. She identifies a tendency for the boys to pay in cash for certain novels, with the result that the novels would not appear in their ledger accounts which were "copied for presentation to housemasters and eventually to parents".[611] Other novels were discovered in the day books but not in the ledgers, implying a sort of secret or invisible reading of certain novels. Though this concurs with the reading of *Cecilia* at the Royal High School, three of the titles which Fergus highlights as being less acceptable were available, and some were borrowed by Royal High School boys. For example, Tobias Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* was included in the 1839 catalogue as part of the Grindlay bequest. However, there is no record of pupils borrowing this work. Fergus also identifies that some volumes of Henry Brooke's *Fool of Quality* were read secretly at Rugby, though the same pupil in Fergus' analysis later records a whole reading of the work in the ledger.[612] *Fool of Quality* was one of the most popular books in the 1820s at the Royal High School with 89 pupils borrowing it between 1823 and 1826. The novel was abridged by John Wesley under the title *History of Henry the Earl of Moreland* and, as Mary Peace argues, "neither Wesley nor his critics seriously suggest that there was any moral or spiritual impropriety to clear up" in the abridgement, though it "frequently endorses a morality that is more pious than polite".[613] As noted in chapter four, the edition borrowed by pupils at the Royal High School was likely that which was recorded in the 1839 catalogue as "*Fool of Quality a novel* 5 vols 12mo Lon 1777" and was also part of the Grindlay bequest. Therefore, it was not a novel that was placed deliberately in the hands of the pupils. However, neither was it one that was withheld from them and it does seem that it was one that was well-received among the boys. It is probable that by the 1820s the reading of all novels was more acceptable for children and so these specific titles were not deemed as necessitating the secrecy with which the Rugby schoolboys treated them 50 years earlier. Indeed, at the time that the Rugby schoolboys were borrowing, purchasing and reading novels in the 1770s and 1780s, their counterparts at the Royal High School were borrowing only histories, travels and voyages, works of natural history, works related to their classical learning and, very occasionally, poetry and collections of essays from their school

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[610] Ibid, p. 137 and p. 151

[611] Ibid, p. 184

[612] Ibid, p. 187

[613] Mary Peace, 'Sentimentality in the Service of Methodism: John Wesley's Abridgement of Henry Brooke's *Fool of Quality* (1765-1770), *Religion in the Age of Enlightenment* 4 (2012), p. 296 and p. 299

library.[614] Though the records do not represent the whole reading lives of the Royal High School boys, novel reading certainly was not enabled by the school library until the nineteenth century.

It is clear that by the 1820s novels were hugely popular among the boys at the Royal High School and the sustained acquisition of novels from the 1810s, as illustrated in chapter three, suggests that these were deemed acceptable reading materials for the schoolboys. The other popular novels in the 1820s were not as straightforwardly didactic as Brunton's evangelical works, though the historical works of Walter Scott had a didactic element which may have been valued by the schoolmasters and certainly it appears that his works replaced the reading of histories which had previously been a consistent use of the school library. As he was a Royal High School alumnus, a sense of pride may have also contributed to the availability and borrowing of Scott's works but it is also likely that the popularity of Scott's novels reflected the commercial success of these works. William St Clair states that "[d]uring the Romantic period, the 'Author of Waverley' sold more novels than all other novelists of the time put together"[615] and, further notes their particular popularity among book societies, stating that "among the books which were bought, the national bestsellers were borrowed more frequently than the others" and that "[m]embers began to demand every novel by 'the author of Waverley' as soon as it appeared, and were willing to do without other books in order to have them".[616] There is no evidence of such exchanges related to acquisitions between the schoolmasters at the Royal High School and pupils but the acquisition and borrowers' records reveal that all of Scott's works were bought for their use and were then borrowed by the schoolboys, mirroring the ubiquity of his work at other lending libraries in the period.

The popularity of Maria Edgeworth's *Popular Tales* during this period also points to a continued interest in works written specifically for children. Following on from the success in the school library of Goldsmith's works and other titles printed by Newbery in the eighteenth century, the 1830s and 40s in the history of the school library shows a real move towards embracing children's literature as this becomes increasingly available

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[614] Fergus's study of the boys at Rugby school in the late eighteenth century reveals the general popularity of fiction among the schoolchildren that she identifies in Samuel Clay's records, at an earlier point than at the Royal High School, stating that "[f]iction was favoured, amounting to 30 percent of their total acquisitions apart from school texts and little books" (Fergus, p. 166).

[615] St Clair, p. 221

[616] Ibid, p. 254

and affordable. Matthew Grenby argues that "[t]he moral tales (Edgeworth specifically) seem designed to encourage and enable social and economic advancement rather than any more abstract moral improvement… Overall, the principal drive was to inculcate thrift, honesty, diligence and prudence - what might be termed 'commercial virtues' - and to give a strong sense of the value of things".[617] Much like those novels discussed above then there was a moral didactic element to some of the children's literature in the library and particularly the works borrowed by the pupils.

As discussed in chapter three, there was a noticeable turning point in the works purchased in the 1820s and 1830s with the introduction of juvenile works, foreshadowing the introduction of a specific juvenile library in 1848. Although these works by no means make up the bulk of the purchases for the school library in this period, their inclusion at all marks a significant shift in the way that the library provides for its young readers. There is a growing recognition of the children as readers, requiring a distinct literature at a much earlier point than happens in other Edinburgh schools. For example, as discussed in chapter one, by 1850, it was seen as "of great importance" for the children of Donaldson's Hospital to have access to "suitable works…in their leisure hours".[618] Futhermore, William Steven, the author of the *History of George Heriot's Hospital*, highlighted the purpose of a school library to "form a gradual taste of reading" and be "enjoyed" by schoolchildren.[619] However, both of these schools did not place a great emphasis on their libraries as places for recreational reading until the Victorian period, while this shift appears to happen much earlier at the Royal High School with the introduction of travel writing, novels, and juvenile works. The evidence at the Royal High School casts doubt on some of the received meta-narratives surrounding both the development of children's literature and children's responses to this literature (in terms of what they actually read versus what was published for them) including those of a straightforward movement from "books of instruction to books that delighted",[620] or a golden age of children's literature, as argued for by Humphrey Carter.[621] Carter acknowledges the market for children's literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but largely dismisses anything published prior to the 1840s. He states that

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[617] Grenby, *Children's Literature*, p. 71
[618] Donaldson's Hospital*, Minute of Meeting of the Education Committee of the Governance of Donaldson Hospital, 29 November 1850* (National Library of Scotland, ACC1896/33)
[619] Steven, *George Heriot's Hospital*, p. 221
[620] Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p. 1
[621] Carter, p. ix

"Round about 1810, it seemed as if something out of the ordinary was happening in English writing for children" with "jolly little hand-coloured books which were intended simply to amuse young readers, and did not draw only on the old chapbook stories or the traditional fairy tales" being produced.[622] This suggests that earlier in the period a distinct form of children's literature entered the market but that these did not make up the bulk of the library's acquisitions for another twenty years. The addition of popular juvenile library collections throughout the 1830s until the end of the records of books purchased in 1837, as detailed in chapter three also marks a significant shift in what the library provides for its young readers. There is a growing recognition of the children as readers, requiring a distinct literature at a much earlier point than happens in other Edinburgh schools.

As noted in figure 7, with more books available to the readers of the Royal High School a greater variety of works were borrowed by the pupils. Matthew Grenby argues that "[i]n the conservative imagination, the Sunday school taught the illiterate to read; the circulating library enabled them to do so affordably; and the novel enticed into the habit those who had previously been unwilling".[623] At the Royal High School it seems clear that the novel also enticed many of its pupils to read; the 1820s borrowers' registers which cover the years 1823 to 1824 records 394 pupils borrowing from the school library compared to the 75 pupils who made use of the library in the 1770s. The increased number of pupils using the library, and the fact that these users read a much wider variety of books than those who visited the library in the 1770s means that it is possible to get a sense of the individual interests emerging among the schoolboys. As covered in chapter three, the Grindlay bequest widened the books available to the schoolboys beyond those which were purposefully acquired by the schoolmasters. This is clear in the borrowing of *Fool of Quality* and some of the military works discussed in chapter three, but also in the borrowing of works by individual pupils which reveal something of their own interests such as *The Art of Drawing* and *The Art of Fencing.*[624]

As discussed in previous chapters, the use of the school library by the children of the Royal High School shifts and changes from the 1770s into the nineteenth century. The records of the 1770s show an in-depth engagement with historical writing, perhaps

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[622] Ibid, p. 5
[623] Matthew Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 13
[624] No bibliographical details are included for these works in the 1839 catalogue.

indicative of the type of notetaking and transcription which was espoused by educational writers at the time. As more works became available to the children, their use of the school library became more about filling gaps in their education in the late eighteenth century and elements of recreational reading in the form of travels and voyages, and periodicals can begin to be seen. As the school formally fills these educational gaps, the children's attentions turned to reading for entertainment and this is most apparent in the way that novels dislodged all other genres from the most popularly borrowed works in the 1820s. The school's acquisition patterns supported this use of the school library, beginning with the acquisition of conduct-book approved fiction by Burney, Edgeworth, Goldsmith, and Brunton. The popularity of Scott's works, and their acquisition for the school library may have been partly related to his status as a Royal High School alumnus, but also mirrors his place in other lending libraries at the time. The foundation of a juvenile library and the acquisition of children's literature show a turning point when the school realizes the children as a distinct readership and reinforce this with a financial outlay. As well as a recognition of the needs of the library's younger readers, it can be argued that the inclusion of a much wider range of works such as poetry, novels, naval history and travels, natural history and biographies alongside the longstanding collections of classic authors in Latin and Greek and a wide range of histories (both ancient and modern) at the beginning of the nineteenth century is due to changing expectations surrounding what it meant to be a young gentleman in polite Edinburgh society at this time. By the early nineteenth century, these changes were formalised with the creation of a new, revised curriculum incorporating all the elements of a modern education. By the nineteenth century, as well as being trained to be enlightened polite young men, the boys of the Royal High School were also destined to be active participants in various imperial projects. In the wake of the enlargement of the British Empire, it was becoming increasingly important for young men to be "citizens of the world"[625] and this particular expectation is reflected more and more in the growing collections of the Royal High School library towards the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century. Finally, a movement away from Latin and Greek authors to modern works on a broad range of subjects, including but not limited to, geography, modern history, dictionaries, modern languages and travel reflect a growing interest in useful knowledge; works designed to

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[625] Hancock, p. 25

help the boys of the Royal High School as they grow up to play their part in an increasingly globalised and industrialised society towards the middle of the nineteenth century. The collections of the school library, as reflected in the deliberate acquisitions by the school teachers, can therefore reveal not only the changing expectations surrounding ideal masculine identity in the wake of the Scottish Enlightenment but also the beginnings of a recognition of younger children as a distinct, and important, part of the growing print culture of the early nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The main research findings of this thesis can be split into two broad areas: education and childhood reading practice. Findings in both of these areas separately refute and confirm some of the received narratives in the history of childhood, though as will be outlined below there are many places where the two areas overlap, with the progress in educational practice aligning with developments in reading practice evidenced at the Royal High School library. It is important to note that progress in both of these areas did not occur simultaneously, but that the school library often fulfilled the didactic needs and desires of the pupils well in advance of the formal curriculum; with borrowing from the library constituting a sort of informal curriculum that responded to broader societal changes. As the school began to fulfil the needs of a modern education for the boys on a formal level, the school library became a place for recreational reading, in many ways like that of other lending libraries in the period, but in other ways recognizing its users as a distinct group of readers with the need for a literature of their own.

The work in this thesis on the history of the Royal High School offers a new overview of the history of the school up until the mid-nineteenth century, augmenting our understanding from previous histories (the most recent of these being from 1974) and adding additional archival findings. The focus here has been on tracing curricular changes at the school in this period. The curriculum changes at the Royal High School were set against an overall background of educational changes towards providing a useful education for all in Lowland Scotland, at both school and university level. This meant that boys from the social background of those that attended the Royal High School were being prepared for a much wider range of professions in the early nineteenth century than they had in the eighteenth, both at school and university. From both the curriculum and the reading experiences of these children, it is clear that they were being prepared for life in an increasingly industrial and global society. A great deal of the evidence of borrowing practices points towards aspirational reading practices taking place at the school; with the specific aspirations changing as the period goes on.

The move towards a broader useful education also comes out in the educational and conduct writing of the period, giving an example of where theory and practice align in children's lives, their experience of education and their reading practices. The conduct literature produced in the period was also purchased by the Royal High School, and read by the schoolmasters, and in some cases by pupils too. The ideas surrounding education

espoused here, and the language used to describe these practices, was part of the fabric of the institution itself. However, it is notable that the ideals surrounding a moral education, often the subject of this conduct and educational literature, did not seem to be part of the priorities of the Royal High School, both in its formal curriculum and the informal one engaged with through the school library. This suggests that boys of the classes who attended the school were not seen as being in moral danger as children of lower social ranks were. Writing about boys' education in the eighteenth century increasingly emphasised the importance of a public education, rather than a domestic one. The Royal High School was the main institution providing public education to boys of the upper ranks of Edinburgh society until the foundation of the Edinburgh Academy in 1827. The increased importance placed on the role of public education for these boys also accounts for the curricular changes towards a more modern education, with school being the main place which prepared boys to become productive and useful members of an increasingly industrialised, cosmopolitan society. Meanwhile boys of the burgess and merchant classes were given increasing opportunities to access a classical education which would allow them to attend university, offering real life evidence of the contested 'Lad o' Pairts' archetype, discussed in chapter one. Arguably, the reading practices at the Royal High School, which formed a sort of informal curriculum, are also evidence of this type of autodidactic practice. As well as the democratization of education in the early nineteenth century, there is also evidence of more examples of shared practice between institutions, both in Scotland and between Scotland and England than has previously been recognized. This was supplemented by the inclusion of a number of educational works in the school library, including those which advocated for progressive systems unusual for the time. This runs counter to the received narrative that the Scottish education system was unique in Europe in the period, suggesting that, in practice, there was more of an overlap between Scotland and practices elsewhere than has previously been acknowledged. It also suggests that it is difficult, at a time when educational practice varied so much across the country, to make broad conclusions about the nature of education in Scotland in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It varied from place to place and, even in Edinburgh itself, the different types of schools and how they approached education for different groups of children was immensely diverse. More in-depth studies of individual schools, where the records exist, are required in order to augment our understanding of education across Scotland at this time.

At the Royal High School in particular, there is evidence of the changes in

curriculum happening in response to those at university level, including in response to direct criticism and a sense of competition between the grammar school, Edinburgh University and, by the 1820s, increased competition from the Edinburgh Academy. Indeed, the main curriculum changes in 1827 coincided with the founding of the Edinburgh Academy, the first institution to threaten the dominance of the Royal High School in educating a growing middle class in the city. The term useful education was not just an apt one to describe these changes in the way that I have set out above but also became something of a buzzword used by the school itself to describe these changes, suggesting that this tapped into a wider societal need. Furthermore, when discussing these the school made use of phrases such as "enlightened public" which suggests that they were aware of a need for educational practice which aligned with modern ideals.[626] The school also made reference to the boys' "peculiar talents and diversified tastes".[627] This, along with the broadening of their reading habits in the 1810s and '20s with a far greater variety of texts borrowed and more texts related to specific interests, shows that not only were the boys embracing their individual tastes and interests in their reading habits but that the school recognized this on a formal level, and adapted the curriculum and school day accordingly.

The evidence across institutions, including anecdotal evidence of childhood reading practices at school and at home, suggests that there was a fundamental difference between reading at home and reading at school. This was due both to the range and nature of the works available to children in these two settings, and to the nature of collective reading experiences which created an environment where specific texts such as *World Displayed* became exceptionally popular among the boys at the school. It is important also to note the supervised nature of the reading experiences in a school library and nowhere is this more apparent in the records than with the countersignature of one of the teachers, Luke Fraser, discussed in chapter four.

The borrowers' records also reveal the different ways that the schoolboys approached the library. Broad trends have been pulled out, and the most popular texts have been identified, which gives a sense of what the collective reading experience was like in the library. The stories of individual borrowers in chapter four provides an insight into how unique each of these children were, their varied tastes and interests, the ways in

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[626] Steven, p. 250
[627] Ibid, p. 250

which they engaged with the books in the library and whether this was typical for their own time at the school. Ideas surrounding ideal reading practices for young people explored in conduct literature in chapter two feed into some of the reading practices at the school library. Many of these texts were purchased for the school library and borrowed by schoolmasters and, occasionally by pupils. The lack of a focus on an explicitly moral education at the school is supported by the notable absence of catechisms and works of practical Christianity (with the exception of those introduced by the Grindlay bequest) at the school library. Nonetheless, it is clear that the schoolmasters were still cautious with regards to the student's moral development, specifically with regards to novel-reading, both in their acquisition of novels and, later, in the level of access that younger pupils had to these works.

In the eighteenth century, there are many areas where the borrowing practices of pupils point towards reading for educational and recreational purposes. This is apparent in the reading of classical histories at the beginning of the records. In the 1770s and '80s the boys' formal education focused on reading and writing in Latin, and to a limited extent, Greek, and so their use of the school library suggests that their reading outside the classroom augmented their understanding of the classical world, with works of classical history and English translations of Latin and Greek works. As there was a growing societal need for the boys to gain knowledge of a wider range of subjects, in response to changes at the universities and in the professions they were being prepared for, the reading habits of the boys evidence these. The marked increase in acquisition of English books - poetry, periodicals, geography, modern histories, dictionaries and encyclopedias - reflects a growing focus on useful knowledge, and a changing perception of what was required for these boys to grow into young gentlemen in polite society. This predates a more formal recognition of this element of the boys' education by the school in 1827, with the curriculum reform.

The marked increase in popularity in natural history, predating the formal inclusion of this in the school curriculum suggests that the boys were making use of the school library to fill some of the gaps in their education towards the end of the eighteenth century. When the curriculum changed in 1827, the boys' reading habits then tended towards novels and reading for enjoyment, though the reading of travels and voyages in the eighteenth century suggests that the library had a dual purpose of reading for education and entertainment earlier than this.

There is evidence of aspirational reading practices at the school from the 1770s

until the 1820s, which shift in line with changing expectations of the role that these young men would go on to play in society. In the 1770s their intensive reading of histories of the ancient world acts as an augmentation to their classical studies, preparing them for further classical education at university. The introduction of a broader range of histories, including historical biographies, into the school library and subsequently into the hands of the pupils, was designed to offer the boys subjects they could emulate. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, their reading interests broadened and point to a more cosmopolitan, international outlook, suggesting that some of the boys were beginning to look further afield for their future careers. This is enriched further by the reading of modern biographies and military and naval histories, as well as travel writing, suggesting that the boys were keen to emulate those who pursued more modern careers. The popularity of travels and voyages throughout is also another example of the interest in British imperialism identified at the University of St Andrews by Matthew Simpson, and discussed in chapter three.

The analysis of the library records also offers an insight into a concrete example of an institution which was beginning to recognize children as a distinct group with a need for a literature and reading experience of their own. From the late eighteenth century the school included works written for children in the school library, and these were exceptionally popular. A response to the borrowing habits of the boys can also be seen in the increased purchase of travels and voyages in the 1780s and as more of these were purchased, a greater variety of works within this genre were borrowed. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century it is clear that the school library was becoming increasingly aware of the different needs of children and accommodated these in the types of texts purchased for the library and in the organization of the library itself, with the establishment of a juvenile library for the younger boys. The movement here at the Royal High School is a microcosmic example of a broader shift in the recognition of children as a distinct group, as childhood as a distinct state, and as child readers as an increasingly important target audience in a growing and developing print culture.

As iterated throughout, the Royal High School is somewhat anomalous, both in terms of the range of archive materials which still exist and in terms of the size and scale of the school library for the period. As shown in chapter one and in my chapter in the *Edinburgh History of Reading*, there was a growing recognition of the importance and need for school libraries in Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Royal High School predates other evidence of this movement. Although the school, rather

unusually, had a large and established library in the eighteenth century, the development of this and the increasing use of the library by the pupils in the nineteenth century is indicative of the same movement which saw other schools introduce libraries for the first time. Other trends at the school also suggest that reading patterns here were sometimes out of sync with those that have been discovered elsewhere, both among children and the wider reading public.

Some of the reading practices at the Royal High School differed from the expectations and suggestions laid out in contemporary conduct literature. For example, the intensive reading of long histories in the 1770s revealed by the borrowers' records runs contrary to suggestions that extracts ought to be taken from these works and students guided through these. The reading of specific works of poetry was also encouraged in conduct and educational literature, and though works of poetry were borrowed by the Royal High School pupils, these were not accessed as frequently as at other libraries in the period. The works of Robert Burns were the most frequently borrowed, more frequently than those of Milton, Cowper and Shakespeare. Burns was most certainly not the writer advocated for by conduct book writers of the period; despite his acknowledged poetic genius, his "known irregularities" made him a dangerous model for the young.[628]

Reading practices at the Royal High School also sometimes diverged from those at other lending libraries in the period. It is particularly surprising that periodicals were popular at the Royal High School library before other libraries, with a sustained acquisition of various periodicals from the 1780s onwards and then some of these becoming very popular among the child readers at the Royal High School in the 1790s and the 1810s. Although periodicals were of course popular elsewhere well before the 1820s, as Richard Cronin points out, the 1820s are generally seen as the period when periodicals "became the dominant genre of the period", and lending library records tend to reflect this trend.[629] The early availability of works written for children also influenced borrowing practices in unique ways. With a lack of comparable records for school libraries in the eighteenth century, it is difficult to say whether this was unique to the Royal High School or a characteristic specific to school libraries of this nature, but it certainly demonstrates a difference between these child readers and adult readers in the

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[628] Jane Austen, *Sanditon* in *Later Manuscripts*, ed. Janet Todd and Linda Bree (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 175-6

[629] Richard Cronin, *Paper Pellets: British Literary Culture after Waterloo* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2010), p. 16

period. Some of the most popular works in the school library, such as *World Displayed,* John Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals,* René-Aubert de Vertot's *The Knights of Malta* and William Fordyce Mavor's works have received very little critical attention, though many of these were commercially successful in the period. Findings such as this suggest again that histories of reading give a greater reflection of the works that historical readers engaged with and valued, rather than those to which critics have paid more attention. The case of the Royal High School thus provides yet more evidence (were more evidence to be needed) that the received literary canon does not necessarily reflect the works that were actually the most influential in the past.

A detailed look at the most frequently borrowed novels shows that Walter Scott's works dominated. This is unsurprising given both the ubiquity of Scott's works in lending libraries in the period (and more generally throughout the world of print), and his status as Royal High School alumnus. However, some of the other popular works were more surprising and point to reading practices which may have been more typical of children at a school library than of adult-library users, with the borrowing of Maria Edgeworth's works for children, such as *Popular Tales* for example, and the huge popularity of Frances Burney's *Cecilia* in the 1820s. The choice of these particular works is reflective also of the cautious approach to novel acquisition demonstrated at the school which took into account recommendations of conduct writers and wider societal concerns about the dangers of novel reading among young people. Conduct-book approved fiction was certainly more widely read than other novels at the Royal High School library.

Other elements of practice are more in line with what we would expect. The changes in the character of the school library between the 1750s and the 1780s demonstrated in the two catalogues and acquisition records of this period represent a shift away from Latin texts and classical works towards a much wider variety of texts available, many in English. The introduction of certain genres such as travel and voyages suggests a shift in the way the library was to be used, away from a place for purely educational reading towards more reading for enjoyment. This reflects both a changing print culture and changes at other contemporary libraries. It is difficult to say whether these changes were in response to how the library was used by pupils but the changes made often correlated with the borrowing habits of the boys. Travels and voyages point towards the beginning of the library being used more for reading for enjoyment but also towards an interest in cosmopolitanism and the wider world, into which a broader interest in British imperialism fed. This has also been identified at the University of St Andrews

and is one example of where practice at these two institutional libraries aligned. Works with an international focus were purchased for the school library well into the nineteenth century, suggesting that this continued to be an important aspect of the aspirational reading practices identified here.

The changes in the school library between the 1780s and 1830s are further examples of how the school adapted in line with a changing print culture, with the distribution of works in smaller formats and works in English accounting for the majority of the collection. The increase in size of the collection is also an example of the increased affordability of books, and the destruction of a number of novels, as discussed in chapter three, points to the heavy use of the school library by the pupils, and perhaps to the physical durability of novels in this period.[630]

Like many other libraries in the period, the reading of histories was an important use of the library at the Royal High School from the beginning of the borrowers' records until the 1810s. The way in which the boys engaged with histories changed across this period. One particular element of this is a demonstration of the children moving from an intensive, immersive reading experience of histories demonstrated in the 1770s borrowers' records, towards more diverse, wide-ranging reading experiences shown later. These shifts in the reading practice of histories align with what can be seen at other Scottish libraries in the period, as well as potentially being in response to the changing nature of the library collections. Interest in other genres and subjects such as travels and voyages, and natural history are also mirrored in the borrowers' registers of other contemporary libraries. This shows that although there were some atypical practices at the Royal High School, specific to its place as a school library, the large size of its collection allowed the boys to engage with the library in much the same way as adults engaged with other lending libraries in the period.

There was a general progression in reading for enjoyment and entertainment towards the 1820s when the reading of novels drowned out all other genres. The way in which novels were read in the 1820s is similar to how history was read earlier in the period. This is apparent both in anecdotal evidence of childhood reading experiences

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[630] The acquisition records show that the school paid to have books bound throughout the period discussed here. Until the 1780s the binding of particular books is recorded separately, however after this period a note is simply made that accounts were paid for bookbinding and so it is not possible to always see which particular titles were bound separately, though it is clear that the school paid for some periodicals, the *Monthly Review* and *Scots Magazine* to be bound. As William St Clair states "[e]xpensive bindings are to be found on books of philosophy, travel, antiquities, sermons, poetry, and conduct, but only occasionally on novels" (St. Clair, p. 193).

discussed in chapter one and in the borrowing trends at the Royal High School. The shift that made the school library increasingly a place for recreational reading aligns with suggestions by contemporary educational writers such as Maria Edgeworth and Harriet Martineau, who advocated for the importance of recreational reading for children. Further, prior to the introduction of the juvenile catalogue for younger readers in 1848, there was a noticeable turning point in the acquisition priorities of the school library towards works written for children, some of which were included in the juvenile catalogue and some which were evidently meant for the older pupils at the school, suggesting that as well as acknowledging that the youngest boys needed a distinct literature, older children were also being recognised as a distinct group. The juvenile catalogue featured a huge number of contemporary works, with only a select few eighteenth-century works chosen for this collection. The collection also tends to reflect the lists of particular publishers, with Charles Knight's list predominating. This points to a broader conclusion about the financial and commercial factors which affected the collections at the Royal High School. It is noticeable that cheaper and more readily available titles, and commercially successful works, dominate the lists of most frequently borrowed titles. It is perhaps unsurprising that the school library reflected patterns in print culture at large and that commercial and financial concerns were at play, but it is important to note that the books children had access to in this environment were not always chosen with their educational improvement as the sole priority and that teachers were not acting as the sole intermediary between the children and the books; publishers also had a key role to play.

As outlined above, the evidence unearthed both at the Royal High School and elsewhere challenges and confirms some of the received narratives related both to childhood reading practices and reading practices in libraries more broadly. Virtually nothing has been written about the history of the Royal High School in recent years, and this is the first time that the library records have been analyzed to this extent. The approach of mapping the use of a library against the curriculum of an institution is also a new one and this has led to some important findings regarding the use of a school library in the broader context of both a particular school and wider changes in education in the period. The place of children in libraries has also been under-researched and so, here, the Royal High School case study and even the small examples beyond the work at the Royal High School which have been included, contribute to building a greater understanding of child readers in this period.

The restrictions imposed by Covid-19 has meant that some of the archival work which was originally part of this thesis was not able to be carried out, specifically an analysis of the borrowers' records of the 1830s and 1840s. The work carried out so far has pinpointed a significant change in the use of the school library at the time when a complete overhaul of the school curriculum also took place, meaning that the formal curriculum at the Royal High School satisfied the didactic needs of the schoolboys and the school library could become much more focused on reading for entertainment. Future research will take these borrowers' records into account in order to ascertain how use of the school library developed at a time when the acquisition records show that there was a much greater emphasis placed on writing for children, and with the introduction of the juvenile library also suggesting that there was a recognition of the schoolboys as child readers, as a distinct group with a need for a literature of their own. Borrowers' records from this period would reveal how the children responded to this shift and whether their reading habits then diverged further from adult readers at other libraries in the period.

It is hoped that current work being done to unearth and provide access to borrowers' records at other institutions will allow for further comparison between the readers at the Royal High School and those at other libraries in Scotland, particularly the universities as a comparison of readers at educational institutions. It may also be that further evidence of child readers at various libraries will also be unearthed which will allow for more comparisons to ascertain the extent to which the childhood reading practices at the Royal High School were unique or typical for the time. This thesis looked briefly at the borrowing habits of the schoolteachers in order to ascertain the extent to which these differed from the pupils and whether this had an impact on acquisition priorities. However, the records of teacher borrowing are extensive and this would be another fruitful avenue of investigation. I would also like to look in more detail at the Grindlay bequest and how this personal collection helped to shape the nineteenth century library collection and influenced the borrowing habits of the schoolboys. This is explored in chapter three but the discussion could benefit from more space. It is an intriguing example of the interplay between a private collection and a public one and merits further attention.

The richness of the records at the Royal High School meant that this thesis left little room for a detailed investigation into other institutional records, and my searches in Scottish archives did not turn up any other comparable school records. However, I would like my own future research to take a broader geographical focus, in the hope that more

comparable records could be found across the British Isles to build up a more detailed picture of the experiences of child readers between 1750 and 1850, a crucial time when education and reading practices were changing in line with shifting societal needs and expectations.

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