

“For the Benefit of All”

A study of the Innerpeffray Library and its place in the history of
the Scottish Enlightenment

by

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To the volunteers at the Innerpeffray Library

Your kindness and passion bring the books of the Innerpeffray to life

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Abstract

This thesis will explore an eighteenth-century Borrower's Register from a provincial Scottish library as a case study investigating the dissemination of Enlightenment culture. The Innerpeffray Library in Perthshire, Scotland is unique in that it has preserved several ledgers containing the records of its past borrowers, the books they borrowed, and some of the borrowers' personal information. By examining these records in their own right, as well as through the lenses of the ideology of the Scottish Enlightenment and its historical context, a more accurate understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment period can be achieved. Although the main thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, collectively referred to as the literati, lived in main Scottish cities such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, my thesis will explore the dissemination of Enlightenment thought and literature through provincial areas of Scotland, where working-class citizens lived. I would like to answer the question: How did provincial members of Scottish society, such as the eighteenth-century patrons of the Innerpeffray Library, culturally participate Scottish Enlightenment period?

In the introduction to my thesis, I will present the historical context of the Scottish Enlightenment, a context that is absolutely necessary to my investigation. My first chapter will introduce the history of the Innerpeffray Library, and discuss some general borrowing trends present among the eighteenth-century Innerpeffray borrowers. Through the lens of a reading historian, my second chapter will fully immerse the reader in the eighteenth-century Innerpeffray borrowing records, dissecting the records of several specific borrowers as a means of drawing conclusions about the eighteenth-century borrowing experience as a whole. In my third chapter, I will confront the dilemma of the popularity of religious texts during the Innerpeffray's eighteenth-century borrowing period, whereas nationally, the eighteenth-century was overwhelmed by the rational and scientific texts of the Scottish Enlightenment. My conclusion will discuss the general importance of borrowing records as windows into the past and objects available for preservation.

The Scottish Enlightenment was a nationalistic cultural event persisting throughout the eighteenth-century. Within the borders of Scotland, philosophical, mathematical, scientific, and historical thought exploded, a revolution that resulted in the birth of a significant literary canon. However, the Scottish Enlightenment stood on the shoulders of the Protestant Reformation, and much of the eighteenth-century movement included a reconfiguring of the superstitious religious beliefs and strict religious practices that permeated the Calvinism of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Therefore, an accurate understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment period involves an appreciation of the goals of the Scottish Enlightenment, its historical context, and the true dissemination of Scottish Enlightenment ideology throughout Scotland.

CONTENTS

Figures.....	i
Introduction: The literate and the literati.....	1
Chapter One: Inside the Innerpeffray Library.....	14
Chapter Two: The borrowers of the Innerpeffray Library.....	28
Chapter Three: The Innerpeffray Library and an examination of rational versus traditional Protestantism.....	40
Conclusion.....	52
Works Cited and Works Consulted.....	60

Figures

- Figure 1: Page from the borrowers' ledger (November 19, 1755), 13
- Figure 2: The original chapel and the Innerpeffray Library, 16
- Figure 3: Average number of book borrowed per month (Innerpeffray, 1747-1805), 22
- Figure 4: Count of books in each genre; Innerpeffray Library 18th century borrowing record, 25
- Figure 5: Page from the borrowers' ledger (March 6, 1764), 27
- Figure 6: Page from the borrowers' ledger (April 12, 1806), 39
- Figure 7: Title and author of most frequently borrowed books from the Innerpeffray Library, 1747-1805, 41
- Figure 8: Display case holding the Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register, 51

INTRODUCTION

The literate and the literati

When the intellectual and cultural movement known as the Enlightenment swept through eighteenth-century Europe, Scotland became one of its richest cultural centers. The effect of the Enlightenment in Scotland was so distinctive that today this period in history has its own title: simply, the Scottish Enlightenment. Scotland's elite philosophers, thinkers, and writers, known as the literati, spent their days creating new and exciting fields of knowledge that would shape the way the world saw science, democracy, even revolution. The goal of the literati was to transition their nation from intellectual darkness, out from under the rule of a strict and irrational Protestant church (the Scottish word for "church" was "kirk", a term I will use later) and into a new age that relied on logic and reason. Despite its global influence, eventually affecting the ideals motivating the American Revolution, the Scottish Enlightenment was nationalistic in character, concerned with bringing Scottish authors to a Scottish reading public. Through Scottish publishers, works by members of the literati such as Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid were disseminated to one of the most literate publics in Europe. The relationship between the literati and its readers created a trickle down effect, where, firstly, the literati based mainly in Scotland's big cities including Edinburgh and Glasgow, created a canon of works which inspired a new set of values specific to the Scottish Enlightenment, such as curiosity, tolerance, and universal education. Then, libraries and booksellers across the country stocked these works on their shelves, where they could be accessed and read by almost every Scottish citizen, even those who were socio-economically and geographically distant from elite authors. As I began to study the history of Scottish Enlightenment, I discovered a cultural phenomenon in which information spread quickly across the nation, as well as the evolution of

the country's moral and intellectual values, as effected by the words of the literati. To me, the most fascinating part of this phenomenon was the way in which it affected those outside of Scotland's cultural epicenters. I was drawn to the question: what were the cultural results of provincial readers, outside of centers of major Enlightenment thinking, reading books from the Enlightenment canon?

The answer to this question extends prior to the beginning of the Enlightenment, and even past the boundaries of the eighteenth-century. Enlightenment had been brewing in Scotland long before Smith or Hume picked up their pens. John Knox, one of the central preachers and movers of Scotland's seventeenth-century Protestant Reformation, helped to write *The First Book of Discipline*, which was initially published in 1560 and contained instruction as to the policy of a new Protestant Kirk. The principles which Knox and his colleagues applied in order to best direct the Protestant church were ideals that would remain in Scotland for centuries; most importantly, their emphasis on the value of education. In a section titled *The necessity of Schools*, Knox writes:

Seeing that God hath determined that his kirk here in earth, shall be taught not by angels but by men, and seeing that men are born ignorant of God and of all godliness, and seeing also he ceases to illuminate men miraculously...of necessity it is that your honours be most careful for the virtuous education, and godly up-bringing of the youth of this realm...so as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus ...Of necessity therefore we judge it, that every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach

grammar and the Latin tongue...to instruct [the children] in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechism. (Knox, 498)

Knox insists that God does not directly instill knowledge of holiness into his followers, making it the duty of parents to educate their children in the ways of the Protestant church so that each generation will understand the customs and ethics of the Kirk in the same way. Knox goes even further to say: “we think it expedient, that in every notable town...there be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters” (498). Knox’s writings demonstrate that not only was education valued in Scotland before the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, but it was also considered essential to the proper functioning of the new Protestant Kirk.

In studying the Scottish Enlightenment as connected to the former Protestant Revolution, it is significant to see an essentially similar interest in broad education appearing both during the seventeenth-century Protestant Reformation and the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment. After all, a few decades after Knox’s *First Book* came the Scottish Parliament’s “Act for Settling Schools” in 1696, which required each parish to host a schoolroom and a schoolteacher. Because of this act, every child from the city to the farm had the opportunity to become literate, as well as to attend university to receive an advanced education. Scotland’s high literacy rate, in other words, was both the product of an act of Parliament, and also of a national religious and moral ethic inspired at least partly by Knox’s ideals. Although Knox’s goal for a literate Scotland was essentially about instruction “in the principles of the Christian religion, without the knowledge whereof ought none to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus...” (512), Scottish efforts to educate citizens remained active throughout the centuries, providing the literati of the Scottish

Enlightenment with a reading public that was already literate and concerned with improving their minds.

With the Enlightenment, Scotland experienced a major social transition during the eighteenth-century, one that drew many Scots away from the overwhelming authority of its Kirk and into the hands of their most capable thinkers and writers. During this transition, partly because of Scotland's high national literacy, Scotland libraries flourished, as self-education became more popular. It is not simply the general importance of libraries during this period that is noteworthy for contemporary scholars who study the Scottish Enlightenment. Knowing the reading practices of the common people across Scotland provides a way of looking closely at the cultural tides that moved through Scotland during the eighteenth-century, and how Scottish society was changed. By studying libraries and reading practices, we can understand the cultural history of the Scottish Enlightenment at the level of ordinary individuals, as opposed to limiting study to the perspective of the literati.

In order to appreciate an accurate cultural history of the Scottish Enlightenment, it is necessary to begin to redefine the way present day scholars understand the Scottish Enlightenment period. The literati defined the period during which they lived and worked as a time of empirical and logical thought, alive with innovation and literature concerning the sciences and arts. I'd like to modify the historical boundaries of the Scottish Enlightenment. Instead of viewing the Scottish Enlightenment period as a separate, phenomenal event in Scotland's history, I'd like to re-envision the Scottish Enlightenment as an episode successive to Scotland's earlier Protestant Reformation. In this way, I want to explore the Scottish Enlightenment as an extension of Scotland's exploration of national religion and national values,

as it moved from an intense reliance on religious authority to an enthusiastic appreciation of autodidacticism and rational thinking.

Understanding the borrower's ledger

The Innerpeffray library, the oldest public lending library in Scotland, has preserved its borrowers' ledgers. These handwritten volumes were signed by the patrons and used each day library was open for the Keeper of the Books to record which patron checked out which library book. Collectively, the library refers to these ledgers as its Borrowers' Register. The ledgers date back to 1747, when the library first opened its doors in the midst of the Scottish Enlightenment period. The first ledger, which records borrowings from 1747 through 1805, provides fascinating evidence of the reading habits of hundreds of individuals who lived, worked, and read during the prime years of the Enlightenment. The ledger provides hundreds of records of books being borrowed from the Innerpeffray library, allowing for meaningful statistics to be created in order to analyze borrowing practices. The records also allow for borrowers to be examined on a case-by-case basis, and reading narratives can be constructed for the borrowers in order to understand their experiences as readers during the Scottish Enlightenment. I will use reading narratives, or a hypothesized description of a reader's social situation and interests based on records of books they borrowed from the library, later in this project in an attempt to understand the experience of Innerpeffray patrons during the Scottish Enlightenment. With this strategy, my thesis will use the eighteenth-century Innerpeffray library borrowing records as a lens into how one group of readers intellectually experienced the Scottish Enlightenment, and what the implications of their experiences mean for present day scholars of the period.

Paul Kaufman's essay "Innerpeffray: Reading for all the People" presents perhaps one of scholarship's most specific analysis of the Innerpeffray borrowing registers. Kaufman savors the "crabbed and fading records" of the Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register as a "priceless witness to the actual movement of books in human hands... the only one of its kind in all Scotland" (Kaufman, 160). However, his empirical descriptions don't provide the same cultural analyses that present day scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment like R.M. Towsey or Anand Chitnis supply. Kaufman's survey of the library and its records is interesting, but limiting in that he doesn't answer questions as to the library's place in the history of the Scottish Enlightenment, or the experiences of the Innerpeffray Library borrowers. As I join the line of scholars who have attempted to breathe air and meaning into the Innerpeffray borrowing records, there are several ways in which my analysis will be different from earlier researchers such as Kaufman, as well as Towsey.

As the first physical borrowers' ledger displays dates from 1747 to 1805, my analysis will include of all these original dates. In contrast, Towsey and Kaufman used only the dates 1747 to 1800 in their analyses, presumably an attempt to define the borrowing periods more clearly. In 1800, the borrowing records in the ledger changed from a narrative to a tabular format, a format also used in the consecutive ledgers. Towsey and Kaufman have defined their periods in a way that expels records written in this tabular format. In my analysis, I choose to include these final five years (1801-1805) because of my assertion that the boundaries of the Scottish Enlightenment period were flexible and lithe. I reason that the dissemination of the Scottish Enlightenment was not immediate, and was in fact still diffusing through Scotland at the turn of the century. I also include these years because they record interesting changes in the operation of the Innerpeffray Library. From 1800 to the last recording of the first ledger, 300

books were borrowed, as compared to the 113 books borrowed in the first five years of the library's being open (1747-1752). The difference in borrowing rates of the first five years of borrowing and last provides a remarkable opportunity for analysis. As opposed to studying the Scottish Enlightenment as an event with strict historical boundaries, allowing my research to extend into the early nineteenth-century demonstrates that the cultural effects of the Scottish Enlightenment did not begin and end in the eighteenth-century. The borders of turning centuries did not bind the experiences and attitudes of readers.

My research methodology also differs from past scholars of the Innerpefferay, in that technology and contemporary research projects stemming from the Innerpefferay Library itself have provided me with the chance to view the borrowing records in a new way. My database is a transcription of the borrowing records, compiled by Kate Buchanan, an American PhD student at the University of Stirling. Working with a digital transcription allows me to analyze the borrowing records quickly and thoroughly. Digital functions allow me to organize my data by year, borrower surname, or book title, as well as make graphs and tables that will offer me a clearer view of borrowing trends. These operations simply would not be possible when performing a manual analysis of the ledgers. My modern research methodology allows me to break away from the knowledge of present day scholars, and to come to new conclusions about the Innerpefferay Library and its place in Scottish Enlightenment history.

In my first chapter, I will explore the history of the Innerpefferay Library, and perform a general analysis of the borrowing practices as demonstrated in the 1747-1805 Innerpefferay borrowing ledger. This ledger includes the records of 438 borrowers, and I will statistically examine their borrowing practices in order to answer such questions as: What was the most popular month during which patrons borrowed books? What was the most popular genre

borrowed by patrons?¹ Although the digital transcription of the ledgers is simple to read and analyze, the document does not provide a full data set; important information such as the occupations and hometowns of many borrowers are often not included, and human error at the hands of past patrons or Keepers of the Books must be accounted for, meaning that names or dates may not always be accurate. Scholars will continue to correct the digital transcriptions of the ledgers for some time; eventually, an “official” transcription may be created that is different from the transcription of the ledgers I use for my research. This is the nature of researching into the past. Researchers must be flexible in that when new information arises, old theories may be subject to change. Another issue which permeates my work, and the work of other scholars who study readers and their narrators, is described by archeologist Sarah Tarlow:

Even in well-documented historical periods...it is hard to assess what people really think, feel, hope or dread...What people believe cannot be directly inferred from what they do or say. There is a gap between interior understanding and its social expression through discourse or practice. People lie. They dissemble. They conform outwardly while inwardly concealing resentments, reservations or other secret ideas and emotions. Nevertheless, we cannot omit emotion, psychology and experience from the past.

(Tarlow, 15)

In spite of the gaps, errors, and silences in the Innerpeffray ledgers, my interpretation of these documents will become a stepping-stone to a true understanding of what happened in the history of the Innerpeffray Library. As I work with the Innerpeffray borrower records, I will use the

¹ I use the word “genre” with this definition from the Oxford English Dictionary in mind: “A particular style or category of works of art; esp. a type of literary work characterized by a particular form, style, or purpose.” Therefore, by with “genres” such as Mathematics or Natural Science, the reader should assume that books with these labels have the express purpose of instructing on the topic of which it is labeled.

specific historical context of the Scottish Enlightenment and the historical and cultural information surrounding this event, to help me answer questions presented by the records, and to fill in the gaps that the records leave empty.

My second chapter will be an examination of the records in the eighteenth-century borrowers' ledgers, and an analysis of several borrowers narratives compiled from the records. This means I will use historical and social context to answer questions about why one borrower may have been attracted to a certain book or literary genre. I will also explore historian Richard Darnton's goals for the history of reading, in an attempt to answer the questions: Why are reading histories important? How do they help us to understand cultural movements, or shifts in societal attitudes? Understanding the narratives of certain Innerpeffray borrowers can help in redefining the culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, one of my goals for my thesis. I posit that the Innerpeffray borrowers were still members of the Scottish Enlightenment reading community, though their borrowing habits did not conform to what present day scholars may expect to be Enlightenment-era reading practices. Exploring the Innerpeffray borrowers' reading practices is a first step to investigating how Scottish citizens outside of the literati, and outside of major Enlightenment hubs such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, experienced the Scottish Enlightenment.

My third chapter will use the narratives of the Innerpeffray borrowers as a means to explore Scotland's transition from the Protestant Reformation to the Scottish Enlightenment. I will use the reading materials found in and borrowed from the Innerpeffray library to examine the beliefs and ideas that existed in Scotland in the centuries before the Scottish Enlightenment. By tracking the popularity of books such as religious and historical texts, and then marking their persistent popularity before and during the Scottish Enlightenment period, I will consider how

cultural attitudes disseminate across a society, and how these attitudes can be seen to shift and change according to changes in literary culture.

Scotland has an especially complicated and often violent religious history. After the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation in Scotland, the success of which many scholars attribute to preacher and writer John Knox, Scotland was overwhelmingly Protestant. Knox's Protestantism was a radical and strict theology, believing in the holiness of the Trinity; eschatology and its connection to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus; and the necessity of prayer. The Scottish Protestants of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries raised themselves against several reigning catholic monarchs, including Mary Queen of Scots and Charles I, who, after trying to introduce an Anglican prayer book to Scottish church services, inspired the creation of the National Covenant, a document resistant to the king's religious changes. This document, signed by thousands of Scots, and the attitude it represented was the occasion for multiple bloody civil wars that broke out in the seventeenth-century.

The Innerpeffray Library was founded mere decades after the religious strife of Scotland's mid-seventeenth-century, and a century later religion was still a key issue for its patrons. As Scotland moved into its Enlightenment period, eighteenth-century philosophical innovation was accompanied by transition away from religious authority, specifically, the authority Knox had taught the Kirk to exercise over its patrons. Religious members of the literati, such as Francis Hutcheson, changed the way they approached religion by making their religious experiences logical and methodical, attempting to answer their own religious queries empirically or academically. Francis Hutcheson even created several mathematical equations meant for calculating whether a certain action was moral or immoral (*An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, 1725). Yet in the midst of this age of reason, the Innerpeffray library

patrons read religious texts that were not written by thinkers of the Enlightenment. The patrons instead were attracted to bibles, sermons, and other didactic religious texts. My third chapter will attempt to answer the question: what are the implications of a high volume of religious texts being borrowed from the Innerpeffray during a time period emphatically founded on rational and logical thinking?

Finally, in the conclusion to my thesis I will examine the emotional connection that present day researchers and readers have to reading and borrowing records of the past. I conclude with my assessment of the present day culture of preservation, and the place of preserved documents in modern and future societies.

I have several goals for this thesis. First, I hope to expose a unique and exciting piece of Scotland's history, the Innerpeffray Library's Borrowers' Register. I will refer to the accounts I construct from Innerpeffray patrons borrowing records as reading narratives, or borrower narratives, as the word "narrative" implies the fictive element that will be necessary in hypothesizing the experiences of borrowers whose lives are mostly in shadow. Second, I hope to redefine the boundaries of the Scottish Enlightenment period, looking at this intellectual revolution not necessarily as a distinct event in Scotland's history, but as a fluid extension of the Protestant Reformation and Scotland's relationship with learning and religious belief. My premise is that the eighteenth-century Innerpeffray borrower ledger works as evidence that Scotland's formation of Protestant ideals did not end in the seventeenth century; instead, I posit that Scots used the environment of the Scottish Enlightenment to continue the process of forming their religious beliefs and orientations, as opposed to abandoning the church altogether. My reevaluation of the Scottish Enlightenment with the help of the Innerpeffray eighteenth century borrowers' records is both a next step and a first step: I'm following in the footsteps of many

scholars who studied library and reading history during the Scottish Enlightenment, such as R.M. Towsey, K.A. Manley, and Alexander Broadie. Yet I hope scholars will come after me to investigate the Innerpefferay Library, and the significance of this library, its readers, and others like it during the Scottish Enlightenment period.

CHAPTER ONE

Inside the Innerpefferay Library

Reading during the Scottish Enlightenment

Education as an ideal of the Scottish Enlightenment was widely appreciated: all the people of Scotland wanted to read, and they wanted to read intelligently. From big cities to small mining towns, the number of libraries in Scotland rose exponentially through the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, and the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment, the literati, strongly encouraged provincial readers to educate themselves. R.M. Towsey, a present-day scholar who focuses on Scottish Enlightenment-era libraries and readers, quotes poet Robert Burns as saying: “To store the minds of the lower classes with useful knowledge, is certainly of very large consequence, both to them as individuals, and to society at large” (Burns qtd. in Towsey, 70). This attitude was widespread, as exemplified by the regulations of the 1821 Glasgow Gas Workmen’s Library: “Ignorance is the greatest source of all the crimes and all the misery with which human nature is disgraced” (qtd. in Manley, 83). Many workers’ libraries cropped up in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, such as the Leadhills’ library for miners, established in 1741; the library of Airdie, established in 1792 and catering to “weavers, wrights, two innkeepers, a shoemaker, a distiller, an excise officer, a surgeon, and several farmers”; and the Dalkeith Subscription Library, which was established in 1798 and “only charged one shilling for its shares and one penny a week” (Manley, 69-73).

Part of the blossoming reading culture came from the virtue of tolerance that was born with the beginning of the Scottish Enlightenment. After living under the strict word of the Kirk, an institution that punished dissenters, the literati and much of the Scottish public welcomed the

eighteenth century as an age during which “people [were] able to put their ideas into the public domain without fear of retribution from political, religious or other such authorities that have the power to punish those whose ideas they disapprove of” (Broadie, *The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, 2). Scholar of Scottish thought Alexander Broadie considers the virtue of tolerance to be so central to the Scottish Enlightenment that he considers it to be one of “two essential features of Enlightenment,” the other being a need for empirical thought (Broadie, *The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, 1). This value of tolerance can be attributed to the broad variety of thought that appeared during the Scottish Enlightenment, as well as to the encouragement the literati offered lower class citizens in terms of education and literacy.

On the same subject, R.M. Towsey posits that, “[o]n the face of it...the Innerpeffray library borrowing registers suggest that Enlightenment made little progress in this particular corner of provincial Scotland,” while “a closer analysis of the 1,483 loans from this first period [1747-1800] suggests that enlightened literature did not pass Innerpeffray readers by entirely—quite the contrary, in fact” (Towsey, 138-139). Towsey asserts that because of the nature of borrowing at the Innerpeffray Library, where texts by Enlightenment authors were not overwhelmingly popular, an undiscerning eye would claim that the Innerpeffray borrowers had no experience with “enlightened literature.” I assert that although it is true that the Innerpeffray borrowers may not have been immersed in the Scottish Enlightenment canon, they were still a part of the Scottish Enlightenment. In order to prove such a claim, it is necessary to stretch the bounds of what the Scottish Enlightenment and its culture truly signified. To say it was a time when Scottish society turned away from religious authority in the interest of broadly exploring the arts and sciences would be true, but grossly oversimplified. It is the *attitude* of the Scottish

Enlightenment that truly affected the patrons and their borrowing practices, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The beginnings of the Innerpeffray

Luckily, a detailed history of the Innerpeffray Library was written in 2009 by the historian George Chamier, so guesswork concerning the details of the history of the library is unnecessary. Although the Innerpeffray Library began lending books to its community in the eighteenth-century, the library itself began in the seventeenth century, much earlier than the beginnings of other Enlightenment-era libraries. The library began as the private collection of the Drummond family. In the seventeenth century, the library building as it is today did not exist: the private collection of books was kept in the Drummond family chapel. A separate building for a library was built in 1680 after David Drummond, titled 3rd Lord of Madertie, wrote in his will for the library to be maintained, and “provided for new books to be purchased and for a keeper or librarian to be employed, as well as stipulating that a schoolhouse be built and that books be available to all” (Chamier, 23). The schoolhouse and library building were built near the original chapel over several decades. Madertie donated his



Figure 2

The original chapel (left) and the Innerpeffray Library (right) as seen from the walkway leading to the library. Photo credit Eliana Fenyés, 2013.

own collection of books to the library, which “at the time seems to have amounted to about 400 volumes” (Chamier, 23).

Madertie seems to have had a complicated relationship with the violent religious quarrels going on in his day. In 1644, while under the reign of King Charles I, “[t]he Master of Madertie was...still nominally a Covenanter,” but when meeting again with a childhood friend named James Graham, the Marquis of Montrose, who was fighting for the Catholic king, Madertie “agreed to join him” (Chamier, 15). Even during the reign of Charles II, while Covenanters were pursued and slaughtered, Chamier infers “that Madertie’s sympathies were still firmly with the king” (23). It is interesting that Madertie had a strong affiliation to the religious struggles of the time, and that many of his books were also related to religion. However, Madertie’s religious ties did not obstruct his efforts to provide his neighbors with easy access to knowledge, whatever their religion or class. Madertie not only wished for his books to be made available to the public; his building of a schoolhouse ensured that generations of his neighbors would have the literacy to read books from his library. As a final stroke of goodwill, Madertie decided that patrons could borrow for free, creating no class barrier among Innerpeffray borrowers. Regardless of his own social and religious associations, Madertie anticipated a national way of thinking when he decided his tolerant intentions for the Innerpeffray Library. In the eighteenth-century, the library catered to borrowers from every background, and especially to working readers. The eighteenth-century Innerpeffray borrowers worked in varied occupations, from ministers, schoolmasters, and students to wrights, weavers, shoemakers, dyers, and brewers. In fact, the rural library sat next to the River Pow, Kinkell Bridge, and four roads, meaning that many workers would have had easy access to the library on their way to market (Chamier, 1-2). From its birth, the library’s

operations were consistent with a national principle of tolerance and education by providing books to readers of all backgrounds.

Innerpeffray books and their readers

By the eighteenth-century, the Innerpeffray Library owned several books from the Scottish Enlightenment canon, and these books were borrowed at a significant rate. Although I have not found in my research any explanation for why the Innerpeffray staff found these books necessary to purchase, it is important for this thesis to know that alongside didactic religious texts, Innerpeffray patrons were also interested in books written by the Scottish literati. The library's most frequently borrowed book was *The history of the reign of Charles V*, a text written by literati member William Robertson. In an analysis of popular titles appearing in eighteenth-century Scottish libraries (those with available records), R.M. Towsey reveals that Robertson's text was available in 55% in libraries. To put this in context, the most popular book in Towsey's analysis, David Hume's *History of England*, was available in 67% of libraries (Towsey, 35). Towsey's statistic shows that in terms of popular works, the Innerpeffray Library was relatively on par with national standards. Nevertheless, in the decades between 1747 and 1805, the Innerpeffray Library didn't own many texts by written by the scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment. The library held two histories by Robertson, some works by Hume, several lectures and essays by the astronomer James Ferguson, and only one volume by the scholar of morality Adam Ferguson. With these small numbers, it is difficult to say how many Innerpeffray readers had contact with works of the Scottish Enlightenment, simply because it appears that many of these works were unavailable to the readers. Works by Hume were borrowed eleven times, works by James Ferguson were borrowed 18 times, works by Adam Ferguson were

borrowed twice, and works by Robertson was borrowed 81 times. Robertson's overwhelming popularity, and the attraction that history held for the Innerpefferay borrowers, will be discussed in the next chapter.

The fact that Innerpefferay patrons borrowed books from the Enlightenment canon is significant both because it shows that their interests were broad, and also provides evidence that the patrons had the ability and the intent of reading in a way distinctive to the Scottish Enlightenment period. In analyzing reading habits, Towsey notes: "[T]he Scottish Enlightenment advocated a particular type of reading, with the emphasis put on critical judgment and good taste by writers as varied as David Hume, Adam Smith, Francis Hutcheson, George Campbell and James Beattie" (17). Even the Glasgow Gas Workmen's Library recognized the necessity for erudite reading habits, writing in their regulations: "if ignorance is thus productive of evil, assuredly knowledge, crude or ill digested, or a love of it ill directed, is equally so" (Manley, 83). During the Scottish Enlightenment, reading communities expected academic texts to rely on reason and logic, even in works from the fields in the humanities, such as religious or historical texts. The foundation of rationality in these writings was in part an attempt to move society away from the superstition associated with strict Protestantism and the Kirk, since "[intellectual] progress appears not to be possible except in an intellectual climate in which people are not overly respectful of authorities" (Broadie, *The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, 18). In order to "[emerge] from darkness" (16), books founded on rationality were highly valued for their use of modern systematic reasoning, while distasteful reading included texts with an absence of logic, such as imaginative fiction, or older didactic religious texts. Libraries carefully selected "tasteful"—that is, rational and academic—works in subjects such as history, philosophy, and voyages and travel. The Innerpefferay Library's only selection of imaginative

writing included a small number of volumes of Shakespeare plays and books of poetry.

Nevertheless, the most popular and available genres in the Innerpeffray Library were religious in nature. Sermons, bibles, and other didactic religious works covered many of the shelves of the Innerpeffray, and some even dated back to the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries

Overwhelmingly, readers preferred religious texts above all other genres, as indicated in Figure 4. The Drummonds, as seen by their history, were a religious family, so perhaps a borrower interest in religious texts was in part due to the abundance of the genre, as donated or bought by the Drummond family and the keepers of their library. Nevertheless, there are complicated answers explaining the average Innerpeffray patron's attraction to reading religious work during the age of reason. These issues will be unpacked in the Chapter Three. The reading practice considered most typical of the Scottish Enlightenment was the academic reading of rational texts, but studying a deviation from this proposed norm, in this case, the immense popularity of religious texts with the eighteenth-century Innerpeffray borrowers, will help to illustrate the cultural phenomenon in more accurate terms.

The Innerpeffray borrowers

Walking the dark wooden floors of the Innerpeffray Library today is quite similar to the experience of the original borrowers; all texts are accessible to visitors, although the collection is no longer circulating, and the library presents themed exhibitions, where selected historical texts are displayed in glass cases. With its lovingly preserved materials and interactive nature, the Innerpeffray Library's present day visitors encounter the enthusiasm and care that past borrowers and librarians have had for the library since its birth. Also available to visitors are the borrowing ledgers that I use in my own research, kept on the Innerpeffray's ground floor. When opening the

eighteenth-century borrowers' ledger, the viewer observes that borrowers had to sign their name at the bottom of a sort of contract, handwritten into the ledger by the librarian. An example of such a contract follows, and other contracts rarely deviate from this form (except, of course, in terms of the title and author of borrowed books): "I, Ebenezer Clement Dyer Aprentice [sic] with Alex Porteous in Crieff grant me to have borrowed forth of the Library as above Howel's History of the World." Above this contract, the date would be listed (July 2nd 1756, in this case) and below it the signature. The borrowers were required to return the book after a certain amount of time, such as after one month, six weeks, or three months, and the librarian would indicate the returned books by drawing a line through the borrower's entry in the ledger. The ledger seldom includes marks indicating that books were returned late or not returned at all, showing that borrowers respected the library system enough to comply with its system. In the nineteenth-century, the library changed their record organization to a tabular format, a simpler table with few columns into which was inserted the date of borrowing, the books being borrowed, and then the borrower and borrower's information. Each librarian's care for the Innerpeffray books is clear in their detailed account of which borrower was in possession of which book, and during what time period. Borrowers were willing to sign their name to a contract in order to have access to the Innerpeffray's books, which the Innerpeffray entrusted to borrowers of every sort. These ledgers and the records they hold are all the evidence that remains of the experience borrowers had in the library, as they did not hold meetings with minutes taken or pay dues to the library. This fact makes the records all the more unique and priceless to the staff and friends of the library, as pieces of Innerpeffray history are preserved between the ledger pages.

When did the Innerpeffray patrons borrow books?

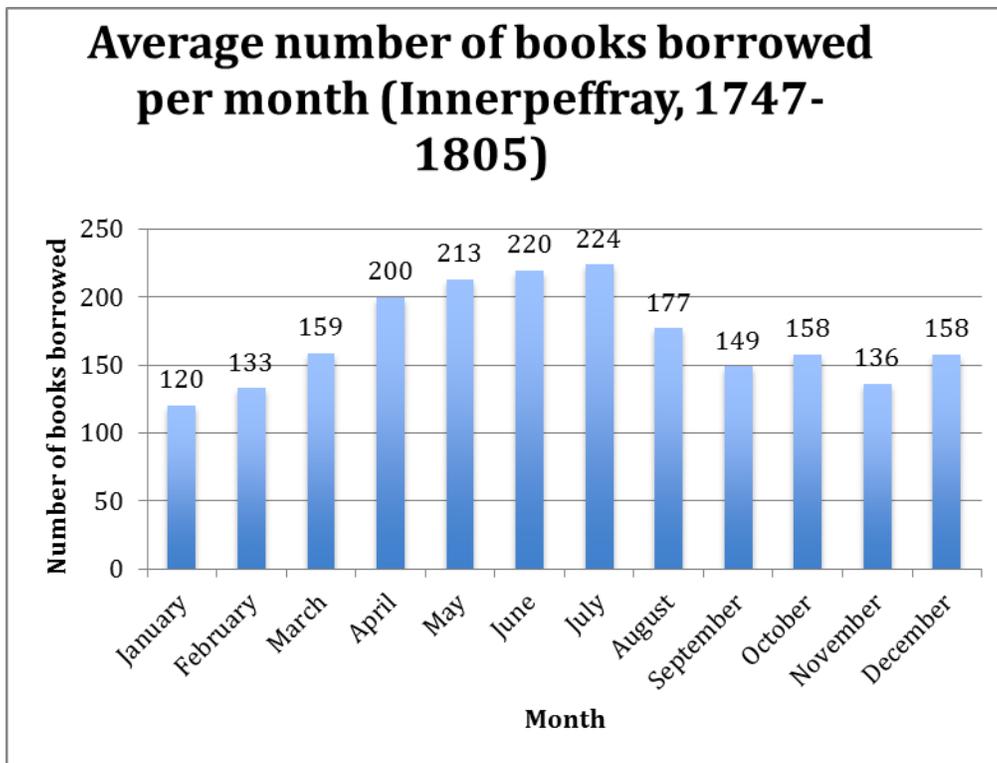


Figure 3

Patrons borrowed books consistently throughout the years, and the similar interests of patrons often created borrower trends, which will be discussed later. However, borrowing consistency was sporadically interrupted. George Chamier's history of the Innerpeffray Library includes a timeline, which highlights disruptions in the library's lending history. Chamier's timeline shows that the library didn't begin circulation of its books until June of 1747, complicating the statistical significance of that year since many of its months are missing from the data. From approximately 1757 to 1763, the library was closed for building work, creating a significant gap in the records. The first patron to borrow a book after this pause was Mr. James Scot, who appears in the records on the date November 16, 1763. Although these interruptions in the data obstruct a precise statistical study of Innerpeffray Library borrowing trends, it is still possible to glean borrowing trends from the records. For instance, it appears that the most

popular borrowing months at the Innerpeffray from 1747 to 1805 were April, May, June, and July, or the summer and late spring.

Although it is impossible to know exactly what it was about these months and seasons that gave borrowers the opportunity or the inclination to borrow more, hypotheses can be made based on an understanding of historical context. In the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, borrowers could either walk to the library, or ride horse-driven carts. The journey to and from the library was perhaps easier during warmer months, after snow had melted and the weather was less cruel. It is also important to the weight of the books that the borrowers could take from the library; the heaviness of books such as *An universal history* would add to this physical exertion. Concerning opportunity, it is possible that the spring and summer months allotted borrowers more time for reading, as the sun would set early during winter months. With longer daylight, borrowers had additional light with which to read, meaning that even after a hard day of work they could sit for hours reading to themselves or to family members. Although Innerpeffray patrons, especially farmers, probably worked less during winter months and more during summer months, it does appear that it was perhaps more practical for readers to borrow and read books during the summer months.

What books did the Innerpeffray patrons borrow?

A major theme of this study is the intriguing relationship between the eighteenth-century patrons of the Innerpeffray Library and the religious texts that they borrowed with such frequency. Yet the borrowers had many supplementary interests, as displayed by Figure 4. The second most frequently borrowed genre from the Innerpeffray library was historical texts, and nearing popularity were works that have been deemed “Other Unspecified” by researcher Kate

Buchanan. This category includes books that are either unfamiliar to present day researchers or that don't seem to fit in other categories, such as *Observations on the means of exciting a spirit of national industry*, by James Anderson. This category is not to be confused with "Other Specified," which includes genres such as medicine and mathematics. Books from these genres were certainly read, but so irregularly that it is difficult to compare these genres to the greatly popular genres of religion and history. Books on philosophy and politics, and especially books on natural history and science, were borrowed in significantly smaller proportion to religious and historical works. While researchers may expect books on these more rational subjects to be borrowed most often in a Scottish Enlightenment-era library, the difference between interest in such subjects and the subjects of religion or history demonstrates the difference between the expectations of rationality during the Scottish Enlightenment and the reality its reading history presents.

Despite the importance of science and philosophy to the intellectuals of the Scottish Enlightenment, the borrowers of the Innerpeffray Library represent a community that was concerned more with religion and history than with other subjects. In my third chapter, I will explain why this interest does not exclude the Innerpeffray borrowers from the culture of the Scottish Enlightenment. The broad range of interests presented by the Innerpeffray borrowers, who read books on topics from bibliography to land management, is one example of how this reading community connected to their century. Such a broad selection of materials reveals the importance of education to the borrowers, as they attempted to learn about the world around them through books. This type of curiosity was certainly a value of the Scottish literati, and exhibits the willingness of the Innerpeffray borrowers to investigate and explore as opposed to rely on a voice of authority.

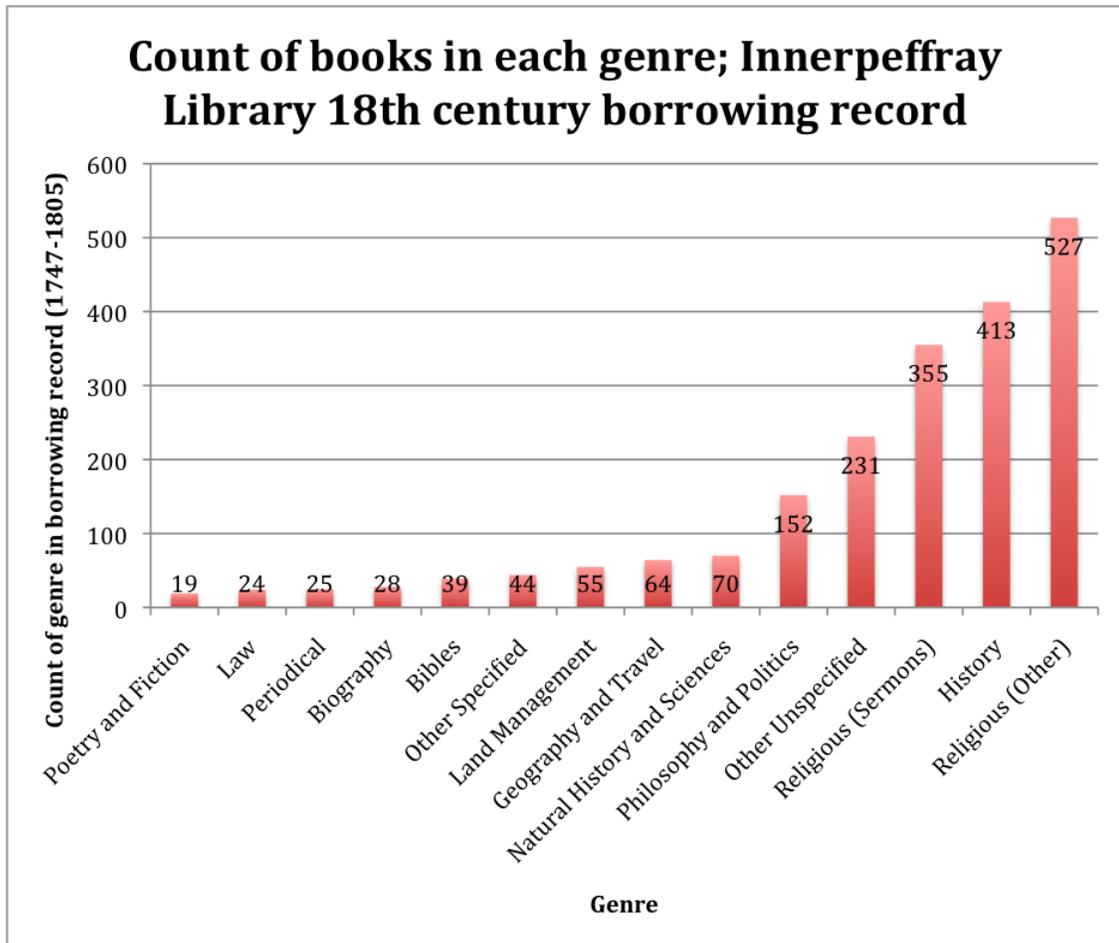


Figure 4

The Innerpeffray Library is an important resource for reading historians who study the Scottish Enlightenment. The Innerpeffray's rich history provides an opportunity to study the library independently, to truly understand its community of patrons as well as the function of the Innerpeffray as a resource to this community. The individuality of this library, and its differences from other Scottish libraries, also provides an occasion to contemplate the diversity of Scotland's eighteenth-century libraries, and Scotland's modern library and reading history. An understanding of library and reading experiences in eighteenth-century Scotland enhances a present day comprehension of the reception of books from the Scottish Enlightenment canon. Contemplating specific experiences of readers during the Scottish Enlightenment period will

ultimately lead to a better understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment period as a historical era and cultural revolution.



Figure 5

A page from the first ledger of the Innerpefferay Borrower's Register. The first date on this page appears to be March 6, 1764. David Porteous signs the second entry on the page. This image of the Innerpefferay Library borrower's ledger appears with the permission of the Governors of the Innerpefferay Mortification.

CHAPTER TWO

The borrowers of the Innerpeffray Library

Why reading history?

The history of reading is essential not only to understanding the evolution of societies but also to accurately assessing the effects of certain authors or textual canons on reading communities. Reading historians such as Robert Darnton understand that the study of reader response is a main element in the road to understanding an entire literary movement. On this subject, Darnton states that, “critics have increasingly treated literature as an activity rather than an established body of texts. They insist that a book’s meaning is not fixed on its pages; it is construed by its readers. So reader response has become the key point around which the literary analysis turns” (Darnton, 173). My goal for this chapter is to focus on the readers, analyzing the records of individual borrowers as found in the eighteenth century Innerpeffray borrowers’ ledger. My work with the Innerpeffray Library borrowers’ records will feature what Darnton calls micro-analysis, or attention to “excessive detail” (162). While macro-analysis would involve looking at country-wide reading trends and their adjustment throughout the centuries, micro-analysis studies the catalogues of private libraries, subscription lists, and, as in my own research, the records of lending libraries (162-164). I hope to integrate the conclusions drawn from a micro-analysis into a “macro” context—that is, I will be applying inferences drawn from specific borrowers’ records to a general societal and historical context. The combination of these two types of analyses, “micro” and “macro” will produce, an accurate perception of the reading experiences of the Innerpeffray Library borrowers, a perception that will clarify the impact of the Scottish Enlightenment on provincial Scottish readers and on Scotland’s culture as a whole. Reader’s attention to works inside or outside of the Scottish Enlightenment canon can illuminate

for researchers the ways in which Scottish Enlightenment ideology was disseminated through reading materials during the eighteenth-century.

The importance of reading history is coupled with inherent complications. Difficulties arise from missing or destroyed documents, as well as the impossibility of gaining precise and objective analyses of human lives from only records in a book. Darnton understands these limitations, and writes:

In short, it should be possible to develop a history as well as a theory of reader response. Possible, but not easy; for the documents rarely show readers at work, fashioning meanings for texts, and the documents are texts themselves, which also require interpretation. . . . But historians of the book have already turned up a great deal of information about the external history of reading. Having studied it as a social phenomenon, they can answer the ‘who,’ the ‘what,’ the ‘where,’ and the ‘when’ questions, which can be of great help in attacking the more difficult ‘whys’ and hows.’ (Darnton, 159)

The difference Darnton draws between the *external* and *internal* histories of reading—histories based on general reading trends versus primary reactions to reading—helps to make clear the limitations that records such as the Innerpeffray’s enforce. No diaries or letters accompany the Innerpeffray borrowers’ records, ephemera that would hypothetically allow researchers an intimate look into the minds of “readers at work.” Even if such documents existed, they would present their own set of limitations concerning interpretation. My goal in analyzing the Innerpeffray borrowing records is to use the “‘who’, the ‘what’, the ‘where’, and the ‘when’” to create hypothetical answers to questions that I, myself, and other researchers have concerning the cultural history of the Scottish Enlightenment. Darnton also writes, “The ‘where’ of reading is

more important than one might think, because by placing readers in their setting it can provide hints about the nature of their experience” (165-166). Darnton’s work shows that the geographical and historical context of the Innerpeffray Library borrowers, who lived in provincial Scotland far from the epicenter of Scottish Enlightenment thought, is enough to allow the formulation of hypotheses concerning the “‘whys’ and ‘hows’” of the Innerpeffray reader response.

The borrowers

Using a micro-analysis of the Innerpeffray borrower records, I hope to demonstrate how data such as the number of books borrowed by a patron or the breadth of interest presented by the borrowers can be used to infer qualitative information about the borrower’s experiences. While many of the entries in the borrowers’ ledger are incomplete (some borrowers didn’t include their occupation or address when signing the ledger, and sometimes omitted even their first name), the patrons discussed in this chapter wrote complete entries in the ledgers. They were also frequent borrowers, and their enthusiasm for reading is easily inferred from the regularity of their library visits as well as the breadth of topics that interested them. To read the borrowers’ records of the Innerpeffray Library is to travel back in time, to peek into the minds and lives of the borrowers and to explore their interests, motivations, and dreams.

William Sinclair, a student of Divinity, borrowed his first book from the Innerpeffray Library in the fall of 1793. He continued to borrow books from the Innerpeffray Library until the summer of 1799; despite appearing in the register for less than a decade, Sinclair is listed as having borrowed 96 books. The numbers of books borrowed by Sinclair amount to a considerably larger selection than other borrowers, making his reading experience an interesting

case study. While around 64% of Sinclair's selections were of a religious nature, the rest of the texts cover a wide range of literary genres including history, philosophy, land management, and natural history. Sinclair even borrowed a volume of Shakespeare's plays, one of the library's few forms of imaginative literature. Sinclair borrowed books in English, Latin, and French; these multilingual selections display his intellect and his educational background as a "Student of Divinity," the occupation he lists in the ledger. Sinclair's tri-lingual book selections also demonstrate an acceptance for books written outside of Scotland. The appearance of French language books in the Innerpeffray Library corresponds with Scotland's eighteenth-century friendship with France; accordingly, French was considered a polite language for the Scots to learn. An analysis of Sinclair's borrowing selections indicates not only broad intellectual curiosity on his part, but also the values typical of the Scottish Enlightenment, tolerance and curiosity. The presence of these values connects the Innerpeffray Library reading community to the larger Scottish Enlightenment culture.

While Sinclair was a reader with a higher education, working-class readers also tended to borrow across a broad range of literary genres. For instance, John Porteus, a weaver from the Innerpeffray area, borrowed nine books over a 20-year period (1766-1785), and borrowed from five different genres. He enjoyed reading texts on history, especially the history of Scotland: he borrowed David Crawford's *Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland* twice, as well as the popular volume *The martial achievements [sic] of the Scots Nation* by Patrick Abercromby. In addition to history and biography, Porteus borrowed a seventeenth century volume by William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ*. Although the inclination of Innerpeffray borrowers was to borrow religious texts, such texts are scarce in Porteus' borrowing records. William Law, a dyer from Crieff, had a similar experience. Law borrowed 19 books over a 17-

year period (1785-1802); he borrowed two of these books after the turn of the century. Law borrowed several history books; again including Abercromby's *Martial achievements* and two histories by William Robertson, *The history of the reign of Emperor Charles V* and *The history of America*. Law borrowed only two religious texts, and the rest of his volumes come from the genres of philosophy, geography and travel, natural history, and biography. Again, we can see a range in the interests of Innerpeffray borrowers, this time in the narratives of working-class readers instead of those with university experience. As a value of the time, curiosity was not limited to the rich or educated. In Porteus and Law we see the opportunity that workers had to explore the texts that appealed to them and educate themselves on new subjects.

Another acute example of diverse borrowing can be seen in Ebenzer Clement's borrowing records. Clement was a dyer and merchant from Crieff, who borrowed ten books over a 15-year period (1757-1772). Clement borrowed books from varied genres, including history, geography and travel, philosophy, and religion, but even more arresting is the fact that 60% of the books that Clement borrowed had been published in the seventeenth-century. His oldest selection, *the saints highway to happiness* [sic] by Thomas Taylor, was published in 1618, more than a century before Clement borrowed his first book from the Innerpeffray Library. Clement wasn't the only borrower to select books published before the eighteenth-century. While 1,296 of the books borrowed from the Innerpeffray Library during the eighteenth century were published from the years 1700 to 1795, 448 of borrowed books were published in the years from 1600 to 1699. As present day readers, it is easy to empathize with the Innerpeffray borrowers as they reached for the books of their past. In the twenty-first-century, we consider it valuable to read books published centuries before our own in order to understand the movement of our own social and artistic history. However, present day readers usually rely on digitized copies or recent

editions of materials in order to gain access to historical texts. The fact that the Innerpeffray Library entrusted antique volumes to non-students, such as the working-class readers, is an important example of the library's policy of accepting and believing in all patrons who were interested in their books. The attention patrons gave to older books is also noteworthy as the age of Enlightenment was an age of shedding the old in favor of the new. That the Innerpeffray readers were measurably attracted to books published a century before their own demonstrates how the readers broadly valued literature.

The women of the Innerpeffray Library

The majority of the Innerpeffray borrowers were adult men. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, children also borrowed books from the library, but it does not appear as if any children borrowed during the Enlightenment period. Although the ledgers did not note the gender of the Innerpeffray borrowers, the gender of the borrowers can usually be inferred based on their titles or forenames. With this presumption used to collect data, it appears fewer than twenty women borrowed from the Innerpeffray during the eighteenth-century. Some of these women were simply associated with their husbands, such as "Mrs. Menzies," "Mrs. Stirling," and "John Allan's Wife." One woman, Louisa Drummond, is listed as having lived in Drummond Castle, making it probable that she was a part of the wealthy Drummond family. She borrowed a book in French, *De l'origine des loix, des arts, et des sciences* by Antoine Goguet. Another man whose name is recorded as A Du Pare, who is also listed as having lived in Drummond Castle, also borrowed French language books such as *Les delices de la France*, with no author listed. These records imply the possibility that Du Pare was Louisa's French tutor, and

show that some women had opportunities of their own for education, and did not simply read the books selected by their husbands or fathers.

The women borrowed mostly religious texts, and they did not borrow any of the library's most popular books. For instance, William Robertson is missing from their borrowing records. Yet the books borrowed by the Innerpeffray women have their own interesting features. Most of the women borrowed books that had been published before the eighteenth-century; two women even borrowed a book of sermons that had been published in 1583. Cath Preston's only selection was a book of Shakespeare's plays. Janet Cooper, the first female borrower of the Innerpeffray, borrowed her sole book in the September of 1747, and was written up by the librarian as having borrowed "a small book on the unchangeableness of god." Two of the women, Janet Bryce and Janet St Clare, are marked as having declared that they did not know how to write. Lecturer R.A. Houston explains that when considering literacy, "[t]hose who can sign their full name on a document are deemed literate, while people who could only sign their initials or a mark are counted as illiterate" (Houston, 20). By these standards, perhaps Bryce and St Clare should have been considered illiterate; although it is possible these women had been taught to read and not to write. Alternatively, perhaps Bryce had been sent to borrow books for her husband, William Tanish. Perhaps Janet St Clare was a servant working for a family, and had been sent to retrieve the *Gospel-reconciliatio* by Jeremiah Burroughs. The motives behind the reading selections of these women may never be known without further evidence.

While I reviewed my borrowing narratives of the Innerpeffray women, I detected a striking emptiness, something missing from their narratives. Perhaps this feeling was a reaction to the holes created by several absent forenames, or possibly the ambiguity of the lives of these women—were they weavers or mothers, wealthy or poor? Ultimately, I articulated the nagging

question: why, in the first 47 years of the Innerpefferay's lending history, did less than twenty women come to borrow books from the Innerpefferay Library? Where were the other women of Perthshire? Were the other women read to by their husbands or pastors, and felt no need for an individualized reading experience? Were they illiterate, busy, or simply uninterested? Did husbands borrow books for themselves, and then pass the same books on to their wives? Or were some women discouraged from reading? The answers to these questions would require an investigation of the history of Perthshire, an investigation that would benefit from primary documents, such as letters or diaries, which potentially do not exist. A study into the lives and reading habits of eighteenth-century Perthshire women could be illuminating, or fruitless, depending on obtainable documentation. As for now, the mysteries persist.

Reading to save your soul

The emphasis on empirical knowledge during the Scottish Enlightenment produced an occasion for Scots to shrug off the beliefs of religious authorities and form their own moralities and opinions. Such an individualized process of thought had been unacceptable during the earlier Protestant Reformation. On the development of thought in the Scottish Enlightenment period, Alexander Broadie writes of the eighteenth century Scottish "demand that we think for ourselves, and not allow...the intellectual vice of assenting to something simply because someone with authority has sanctioned it" (Broadie, *The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*, 2). The autodidactic nature of reading, which allowed both educated and uneducated Scotsmen to gain a breadth of knowledge while engineering their own outlooks, assisted in the flourishing of Scottish libraries and reading communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The emphasis on self-education that pervaded the culture of the Scottish Enlightenment is a main

context for a micro-analysis of the Innerpeffray borrower record. On understanding reader experience, Darnton comments, “Men and women have read in order to save their souls, to improve their manners, to repair their machinery, to seduce their sweethearts, to learn about current events and simply to have fun” (Darnton, 165). It is impossible to know the exact motivations of the Innerpeffray borrowers, yet historical context tells us that one of the main motivations of the patrons would have been to educate themselves in order to draw individual conclusions on the world around them. It is presumable that the motives listed above were also at times a part of the Innerpeffray reading experience, although they are perhaps more charming propositions than they are definitely accurate answers.

The reading history surrounding the Innerpeffray borrowers

A micro-analysis of the Innerpeffray borrower ledgers applies that “who” and “what” to the “where” and “when” of the Scottish Enlightenment. The provincial borrowers of the Innerpeffray valued exploration and education, as they borrowed books about their own Scottish nation as well as books that reached across their borders into nations such as France and America. Yet, it still stands that the most popular selection for the Innerpeffray patrons were books with religious themes, and usually didactic in nature. This preference for religious texts is seemingly at odds with the general nature of the Scottish Enlightenment; not only did the Innerpeffray borrowers seem to be going against a national attitude, they were also at odds with cultural shifts across Europe. Discussing surveys of eighteenth century French reading habits, Darnton writes: “François Furet found a marked decline in the older branches of learning, especially the humanist and classical Latin literature that had flourished a century earlier...Newer genres such as the books classified under the rubric *sciences et arts* prevailed

after 1750...All the studies point to a significant drop in religious literature during the eighteenth century” (Darnton, 161). In a macro-analysis of Germany’s reading history, Darnton notes that “[t]he rise of the novel had balanced a decline in religious literature, and in almost every case the turning-point could be located in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially the 1770s” (Darnton, 162). In Scotland, the popularity of the novel wasn’t achieved until the nineteenth century, after the developments of the Scottish Enlightenment. But the general idea—that across Scotland and much of Western Europe, the popularity of religious literature was declining to make room for other genres—remains essential to understanding the place of the Innerpeffray library in the cultural changes of the eighteenth century.

With data explaining the reading selections of the eighteenth century Innerpeffray patrons, it becomes possible to begin answering questions as to “why” and “how” these patrons preferred religious texts above any other genre. Scotland’s national attitude, especially among the more secular members of the literati, was often hostile not only towards religious authority, but also towards what they viewed as the superstitious nature of religion and religious literature. After all, David Hume wrote in his *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748):

If we take in our hand a volume; of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance; let us ask, *Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number?* No. *Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence?* No.

Commit it then to the flames: For it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.

(Hume, 123)

This thesis contends that the variety of literary interests held by the Innerpeffray borrowers, culminating in an overall preference for religious literature, does not exclude the Innerpeffray Library or its patrons from a cultural involvement in the Scottish Enlightenment period. Instead,

I want to use this information about the Innerpeffray Library to change the way present day scholars define the Scottish Enlightenment, and to re-imagine the position of the Scottish Enlightenment in Scotland's history.

1806	April 12	The history of America Vol 1 th	Peter James	Returned
	April 12	Shakespeare Vol 6 th	John Macentyp	Returned
		Roller's Antiquities Vol 2		
	April 15	Relations of the world and the religions of Europe in all ages 1 Vol.	William M ^r	Returned
	April 15	Hook's Roman history Vol. 1 th	James Ewen	Returned
	April 18	The History of the Iron age 1 Vol.	Auchloy	
	April 19	Johnson's Shakespeare Volumes 2 & 3	Donald M ^r	Returned
		D ^r Medical obser- -vations Vol 1 th	David A ^r	Returned
	April 19	Darius, Dec. Astasia Prody one volume -	William Hepburn	Returned
	April 19	Hook's & Petalistical Poetry one volume	Thomas Payne	Returned
	April 21	An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Romans	W ^r Midway	Returned
	April 23	Discourse of Lucia Bialla Parsonage Vol 1 th	The Rev ^d	Returned
	April 23	Moses (Poise) & Book	David Miller	Returned
	April 23	Truth the Victory over error 1 Vol.	W ^r Midway	Returned
	April 24	one Sermon Book	Mango Murray	Returned
	April 25	Caylon Job	James Ewen	Returned

Figure 6

A page from the first ledger of the Innerpeffray Borrower's Register. This page represents later dates in the ledger, as the first date on the page is April 12, 1806. This image of the Innerpeffray Library's borrowers' ledger appears with the permission of the Governors of the Innerpeffray Mortification.

CHAPTER THREE

The Innerpeffray Library and an examination of rational versus traditional Protestantism

A list of the ten books most frequently borrowed from the Innerpeffray Library in the eighteenth century reveals, on a manageable level, the broad interests of the Innerpeffray reading community. Appearing on this list are two books that Anand Chitnis congratulates as being “‘enlightened’ works of the day”. Chitnis writes:

The books [the patrons] borrowed were not all, by any means, religious but included popular as well as ‘enlightened’ works of the day such as William Robertson’s History of Charles V, Locke’s Works and Buffon’s Natural History...If William Robertson, regarded as one of the great European intellectuals of his day, was regularly read by artisans in Perthshire, the intellectual elite of Scotland were not operating in a sphere totally above that of their fellow countrymen. (Chitnis, 19)

Chitnis provides insight into the ways in which the Innerpeffray borrowers were conforming to reading habits common during the Scottish Enlightenment. William Robertson’s history, *The history of the reign of Emperor Charles V*, was indeed the book borrowed most frequently from the Innerpeffray during the eighteenth century. Chitnis is not mistaken in commenting that this selection of the Innerpeffray borrowers does connect them to the literati, and it is a mark of the Enlightenment period to find a group of “artisans” reading the same material as Scotland’s “intellectual elite.”

Another significant selection of the Innerpeffray borrowers was George Louis (written as Lewis in the transcription) Buffon’s *Natural history : general and particular*, the sixth most borrowed book from the library in the eighteenth century. Buffon’s work, published in the 1780s, includes chapters explicating “Proofs of the theory of the Earth” and exploring the theories “Of

New Islands, Caverns, perpendicular Fissures, &c.,” “Of the Changes of Land into Sea, and of Sea into Land,” and much more. Although Buffon was a French author, the Innerpeffray’s translated copy of his work appears to have been published in Edinburgh, demonstrating the global quality of Buffon’s writing as well as the “capacity” of the Innerpeffray borrowers, of which Chitnis speaks, to participate in the modern magnum opuses of their time. Chitnis writes, “Innerpeffray Library’s borrowing register shows the capacity of ordinary people in central, lowland Scotland of the mid- to late-eighteenth century to support and countenance an intellectual movement in the university towns and cities” (Chitnis, 19). This demonstrates the concurrence of scholars to the fact that the Innerpeffray borrowers indeed participated in the

<i>Title and author of most frequently borrowed books from the Innerpeffray Library, 1747-1805</i>	<i>Number of occasions book was borrowed</i>
The history of the reign of Emperor Charles V, by William Robertson	57 occasions
Sermons on several subjects and occasions [sic], by Samuel Clark	48 occasions
Sermons preached upon several occasions, by Robert South	46 occasions
Several discourses preached at the Temple church, by Thomas Sherlock	42 occasions
Sermons, by John Tillotson	40 occasions
Natural history, : general and particular, by George Lewis Buffon	39 occasions
Sermons on various subjects, by John Abernethy	36 occasions
The Scots magazine	36 occasions
An ecclesiastical history, by Johann Lorenz Mosheim	32 occasions
An universal history, from the earliest account of time : to the present	28 occasions

Figure 7

“intellectual movement” of the Scottish Enlightenment.

As Figure 7 reveals, however, the most popular types of books borrowed from the Innerpefferay were books of sermons; five out of the ten most frequently borrowed texts from the Innerpefferay in the eighteenth century were books of religious discourses and sermons. Herein lies the complexity of an analysis of the Innerpefferay Library as a library reflecting common reading practices of the Scottish Enlightenment. What was the relationship of the Innerpefferay Library to the Scottish Enlightenment if, instead of only borrowing systematic texts by or approved by the Scottish literati, Innerpefferay patrons were drawn to religious texts? In order to understand the significance of religious texts for the Innerpefferay borrowers, it is necessary to recognize the religious history during and surrounding the Scottish Enlightenment.

Rational religion

Enlightenment and religion had a complicated relationship during the eighteenth century; not only in Scotland, but also in all countries experiencing the intellectual revolution. French philosophers reacted to the tension between science and religion by abandoning religion altogether and worshipping logic. M.A. Stewart explains that “[a]t the beginning of the century, Scotland was a largely Calvinist country” (Stewart, 32). As Scotland moved into its Enlightenment period, it adopted a new “tradition of ‘rational’ religion that subjected the whole framework of religious belief to the same rational critique as other forms of knowledge and belief” (31). Scotland maintained its relationship with religion partly through Christian members of the literati, who, instead of discarding seemingly antiquated religious beliefs, modified their religious practice and study to include logic and reason. In this way, historian David Allan understands that it is “difficult to regard the Enlightenment simply as a narrow and temporary

reaction against the role of the Kirk, or as a flat rejection of the native theological tradition” (Allan, 9). Many members of the Scottish literati were also members of the church, although they practiced a progressive Protestantism that departed from John Knox’s strict expectations. One such scholar was Francis Hutcheson, whose Glasgow professor John Simson “expressed doubts about the doctrine that salvation is possible only for those who have knowledge of Christ...views [that] were intolerable to many ministers” (Broadie, 116). Francis Hutcheson modified his religious beliefs during his education, and came to the conclusion that “even the most depraved of us are benevolent” and that “it was possible to construct a moral philosophy that was largely secular” (116-117). Literati members such as Hutcheson had consistently tense relationships with Kirk authorities, because of their untraditional beliefs.

The high tendency of the Innerpeffray patrons to borrow books from religious genres demonstrates that a commitment to religion existed throughout Enlightenment-era Scotland, from the cities to the farms. The question that arises based on such information is: were the Innerpeffray borrowers committed to the traditional Protestantism of many Kirk authorities, or a progressive Protestantism exhibited by literati members? It is impossible to know the true religious beliefs of the Innerpeffray patrons. Based on data from the Innerpeffray borrowers’ records, it seem unlikely that a significant number of borrowers were atheists like philosopher David Hume, although his books were borrowed from the library several times. Based on substantial borrower interest in didactic religious texts, it appears as if the majority of borrowers were involved with religion, just like their favorite authors.

Religious authors

The author of the most frequently borrowed book from the Innerpeffray, William Robertson, was renowned for his history texts and was also a Protestant member of the intellectual elite. He wrote sermons as well as historiography, although his religious texts were perhaps not as popular among the literati as his histories. The son of a minister, Robertson became a preacher at age 20, although he enjoyed a secular literary education including classical works by Homer and Aristotle, as well as rational philosophical texts from Heineccius and Locke.² Robertson's beliefs seem to differ from those of Hutcheson in that Robertson appeared to maintain the belief that a Christian man was superior to others. In his sermon *The Situation of the World at the Time of Christ's Appearance*, Robertson writes: "That part of the world wherein Christianity is established, infinitely surpasses the rest in all the sciences and improvements which raise one nation above another in reputation or power" (Robertson, cxxii). Robertson believed that those who were not Protestant Christians were hedonistic and superstitious, which opposed Hutcheson's beliefs that all, even non-Christians, had a capacity for moral good. Despite the profession of literati members that theirs was an intellect of pure, scientific reason, Robertson's religious claims were not logical; they were born on the tongue of a man who had been imprinted by his deeply religious community.

A substantial religious interest of the Innerpeffray reading community included books of sermons. Half of the most popular books at the Innerpeffray were books of sermons; interestingly, all of these books were published in London in the eighteenth century. Alexander Broadie considers the sermon to be an important element of the Scottish Enlightenment; he writes,

² Biographic information on William Robertson can be found in Reverend Alexander Stewart's introduction to Robertson's work.

A good deal can be learned about the character of the Scottish Enlightenment by a consideration of the sermons of the period. Many are interesting as revealing what the Enlightenment was up in Scotland, and many others are interesting as revealing the particular character possessed by Enlightenment values when informed by the distinctive spirituality of the moderate wing of the Kirk. (Broadie, 146)

As an example of this moderate wing, Broadie calls upon the sermons of Hugh Blair, a member of the literati as well as a preacher. Broadie comments that Blair's sermons were "theological" in content yet did not contain "heavy metaphysics," a quality of eighteenth century theology that David Hume found objectionable. Instead, Broadie describes Blair's sermons as instructing on a "godly life". Understanding the sermons enjoyed by the Innerpefferay borrowers will be a key to understanding their religious tendencies. Were the borrowers merely interested in leading a godly life, as characterized by Blair? Did the borrowers pursue a Robertsonian idea of the superiority of Protestant Christians as Robertson, as well as desire the strict Christianity of Kirk authorities?

The second most frequently borrowed book from the Innerpefferay was a book of sermons by Samuel Clarke (written as "Samuel Clark" in the transcription of the records). Clarke's writings took on attributes of rational religion, especially in his "rationalizing interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity," which rejected the belief of God as three separate beings, a belief which held considerable weight in Knox's Calvinism (Stewart, 36). Clarke's writings also reflected the empiricism proper to the Scottish Enlightenment in his examination of the existence and character of God. While Clarke "believed that from the concept of 'one unchangeable and independent being' he could infer self-existence, eternity, infinity, omnipresence and unity, he required the empirical evidence of the created world before he could add intelligence, and from

that go on to infer wisdom, liberty, power and moral perfection” (37). Here is an example of rational religion at work; Stewart explains that Clarke’s tools are that of a priori and a posteriori logic. Clarke needs only his reason to infer the character of God based on the model of an “independent being,” yet requires the “empirical evidence of the created world” to further determine additional characteristics of God. Clarke does not simply reflect the ideas of the Kirk or use a religious education to determine moral or divine characteristics of God. Instead, he employs the methods of the Scottish Enlightenment to come up with his own religious theories. The fact that the Innerpeffray borrowers were so eager to read the sermons of a man with such progressive Christian ideas speaks volumes as to the religious beliefs of the Innerpeffray patrons.

The most frequently borrowed books from the eighteenth century Innerpeffray Library, and the religious backgrounds of the authors of these books, cannot definitively answer questions concerning the strictness or moderation of provincial Scotland’s common religious practices. Yet the records can offer valuable clues as to the shifts in religious culture that were occurring across Scotland in the eighteenth century. By reading authors such as Robertson and Clarke, the Innerpeffray patrons appear to have matched the pace of religious readers in major Scottish cities. The Innerpeffray borrower devotion to borrowing religious texts is not an automatic indicator that the patrons were behind the times or anti-modern. Instead, the borrowing habits demonstrate that instead of adhering to strict Calvinism or abandoning religion altogether, the Innerpeffray patrons were most likely part of the cultural shift that transitioned orthodox Protestantism to moderate Protestantism. Yet the Scottish fidelity to Christianity reveals an inherent contradiction of the Scottish Enlightenment. Despite the best efforts of the writers of rational religion, religion maintained the attributes of subjectivity, and, and its core, faith and emotion. Scotland’s Protestant culture reveals that the Scottish Enlightenment didn’t remove

Scotland from its Calvinist past entirely, and an exploration of the second most popular subject among Innerpeffray borrowers, history, offers a lens towards additional religious threads running through the Enlightenment period.

Reading history in the historical nation

The importance of not only history, but also the history of religion, to the Innerpeffray reading community is apparent in many of the Innerpeffray's holdings, including the history by literati historian William Robertson on King Charles V. As a momentous portion of this king's reign included severe resistance to the Protestant Reformation, it is notable that a relatively religious Scottish reading community would be drawn to an exposition of Charles' life and reign. Alexander Broadie comments on the surge of historiography during the Scottish Enlightenment by writing: "National identity is inseparable from national history. A person who has no idea of his past has no idea who he is, and likewise a nation, to be a nation, must know its past, at least something of it" (Broadie, *The Historical Age*, 58). As the Scottish Enlightenment was a distinctly national movement, it is unsurprising to find Scottish histories on the shelves of eighteenth century libraries. And as Scotland's history was distinctly religious, it is also unsurprising to find histories that include religious elements as a part of the same library.

In fact, historian David Allan describes the experience of Early Modern historical scholars as particularly spiritual. Allan writes that:

History was..., in the eyes of later seventeenth-century historical thinkers...quite explicitly the record of the substantiation of the prophetic texts. On this reasoning the analysis of history could even be regarded as a tool for use in the more accurate exegesis of the prophetic passages of traditional scripture. (Allan, 52)

Seventeenth century Scottish historians saw in history “an incomparable stock of knowledge to which devout minds could turn with some hopes at least of an imperfect understanding of God’s Will” (52). To these scholars, history provided “[e]vidence and not narrative, testimony and not interpolation,” and reading history was in fact “a devotional performance in its own right” in that “[i]t brought the audience into the closest possible contact with immediate prophetic evidence for the most valuable of spiritual truths” (Allan, 53). In the case of early modern Calvinists, the truth and prophecy for which they searched concerned what they considered to be an impending apocalypse. Yet a spiritual connection to history as an opportunity for empirical scholars to predict the movements of society persisted in Scotland through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century scholarship of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The reliance on history as “testimony” was translated, during the Enlightenment, into the notion of the uniformity of human nature and the idea that societal progression occurs similarly across cultures. In his work *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, eighteenth century social theorist John Millar writes: “There is thus, in human society, a natural progress from ignorance to knowledge, and from rude, to civilized manners, the several stages of which are usually accompanied with peculiar laws and customs” (Millar, 492). Millar allows his reader to look back into history to predict the future of a society. If a culture begins with “rude” manners, it is sure to progress eventually to a stage of civilization, based on “the credibility of all historical testimony,” as Millar puts it (496). Scottish Enlightenment historian Dugald Stewart emphasizes the idea of historical evidence in his work *Conjectural History*. While he is commenting on the importance of a speculation of historical events when fact is not acquirable, Stewart theorizes that when

...it is impossible to determine with certainty what the steps were by which any particular language was formed, yet if we can shew [sic], from the known principles of human nature, how all its various parts might gradually have arisen, the mind is...to a certain degree satisfied... (Stewart, 671).

The eighteenth century use of history as evidence was different from the seventeenth century use in several ways. The Calvinist interest in locating God's will in written history disappeared in the age of reason; instead, there appeared a scientific desire to encounter history through logical organization. In his introduction to Millar's work, Alexander Broadie explains that Millar is "enhanced by Newton's demonstration that the great variety of changes in the universe can be brought under a few principles, in the end a single one..." (Broadie, 488) Although the Calvinist piousness concerning the reading of history was negated by the rationality of the Scottish Enlightenment, the need for history as a method for understanding society was very much a part of Enlightenment scholarship.

Interpreting the interest Innerpeffray patrons had in borrowing historical texts becomes more ambiguous because the reading of history was important in the seventeenth as well as the eighteenth centuries. Therefore, it is not entirely correct to call the borrowers antiquarian in their curiosity for history, just as it is not completely accurate to say that the borrowers' interest in history was a significant sign of the Innerpeffray's modernity. For instance, in beginning pages of his *Ecclesiastical history*, German writer Johann Lorenz Mosheim helpfully defines ecclesiastical history as "a clear and faithful narration of the transactions, revolutions, and events, that relate to that large community, which bears the name of Jesus Christ" (Mosheim, xxi). Unlike Buffon's objective natural history, Mosheim's history promises to be a subjective

look at the Christianity. It's possible that the Innerpeffray borrowers were more concerned with learning about their own religion than reading histories of other cultures or regions.

Examining the genres that were popular among Innerpeffray borrowers during the Scottish Enlightenment reveals the progression of ideas from seventeenth to eighteenth Scotland. Scotland's theological tradition of Protestantism had been achieved at the cost of bloody battles. It is understandable that community members did not toss this tradition aside easily during the Scottish Enlightenment. As the Scottish Enlightenment began, there were still many citizens, including members of the literati, who were committed to learning about Protestantism, although in a less structured way. In a similar vein, the study of history that was begun in the seventeenth century primarily by religious scholars continued in the eighteenth century as a tool of the literati, demonstrating that a habit of the seventeenth century did not abruptly end with the Scottish Enlightenment's commencement. The records of the Innerpeffray borrowers offer a microcosmic glance of the cultural shifts, and cultural stagnation, of the Scottish Enlightenment period. This period does not accept the simplistic labels of "religious" or "non-religious," and this cultural variability reveals the struggles of a nation attempting to rediscover its identity.



Figure 8

The display case on the first floor of the Innerpeffray Library that holds the Innerpeffray Borrower's Register. Photo credit Eliana Fenyes, 2013.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has employed the eighteenth-century Borrowers' Register of the Innerpefferay Library for the occasion of re-imagining the cultural event of the Scottish Enlightenment. The records themselves provide insight into the lives of long-ago provincial Scottish readers, as well as an opportunity to explore the interests of these borrowers and whether their interests lay inside or outside of the Scottish Enlightenment literary canon. The popularity of religious texts in this eighteenth century library raised questions concerning religious practices and beliefs in the Age of Reason, and instigated an investigation comparing religious attitudes during the Protestant Reformation and the Scottish Enlightenment. It is clear that several values key to the Scottish Enlightenment, such as empirical learning and education for all, are values that existed during the Protestant Reformation, perhaps priming Scottish scholars and citizens for an era of enlightenment. Central to this thesis is the notion that a study of reading practices is critical for understanding communities, and is instrumental in determining the broad effects of social and cultural movements such as the Scottish Enlightenment.

Readers through the ages

Academics, reading historians, and even recreational book enthusiasts all appreciate the chance to investigate the lives of yesteryear's readers. Author John Plotz expresses his thrill for the history of reading in a 2011 *Slate* article on the *What Middletown Read* project. This online database allows any Internet user to access the 1891-1902 borrowers records of Indiana's Muncie Public Library. Plotz reflects on his interests:

For as long as I remember, I have wanted to read like the dead. Not just read dead authors—something a bit creepier. Yes, I am aware that recapturing the actual

experiences of long-ago readers is impossible, like visiting Mars or traveling in time. Still, I can't help reading inscriptions, plucking out old bookmarks, decoding faded marginalia. I catch myself wondering who was reading this a century ago, and where, and why? (Plotz, "This Book is 119 Years Overdue").

As the *What Middletown Read* project is focused around the turn of the twentieth-century, the borrowers' records it presents are very different from the eighteenth century records found in the Innerpeffray's ledgers. For one, because the records are from the turn of the twentieth century, it is easier to access photographs of the borrowers, as well as artifacts such as census forms and death certificates. These are examples of documents that Plotz uses in his article to discuss the life of a borrower. Supplementary documents such as these allow amateur and academic reading historians to discover the races, ages, and family members of Middletown borrowers, an opportunity that is greatly missed when studying the eighteenth-century Innerpeffray records. Despite the differences between the Middletown project and my own study of the Innerpeffray ledgers, I find a striking similarity in the appreciation that viewers find in connecting with such records. During his research, for example, John Plotz was so charmed by one borrower named Louis Bloom that Plotz "determined to read, or at least to sample, all 291 books Louis Bloom had checked out" in order to find out "if, by recreating the borrowing patterns of a single borrower, I could...make his experience in some small way my own" (Plotz). Plotz used his reading experience in an attempt to understand the reading experience of Bloom. In many ways, his experiment was a recreational version of the endeavors of all reading historians.

Indeed, the Innerpeffray Library advertises its borrower ledgers as "the Library's most valuable book...Today, families from all over the world find their ancestors in the Register...and can hold the books they borrowed" (*The Library of Innerpeffray*). Family and community

members experience joy and curiosity as they explore the lives of their ancestors' long-ago neighbors. These reactions demonstrate the emotional effects of reading history, and the ways in which societies come together through historic artifacts. The social connection created between readers of the present and readers of the past is a fascinating consequence of the preservation of documents such as borrowers records. The Innerpeffray Borrowers' Register is as momentous for reading historians as they are for communities. The obligation of historians to reexamine the past in order to create a more deft comprehension of historic events should perhaps be society's main motivation for preserving library records; we can see that with the preservation of certain records, we can ensure that future generations understand, as accurately as possible, the cultural evolutions of the past.

The Innerpeffray's evolution

In a chapter called "Innerpeffray Today", historian George Chamier reports on the state of the library in the twentieth-century. After the system of borrowing ended in 1968, officials began to question the importance of the library. Chamier reports an incident that threatened the existence of the library: "In the early 1990s the [library] Governors reviewed whether it was in the public interest to maintain the Library at Innerpeffray and they seriously considered closing down and transferring the books to the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh" (Chamier, 113). This hazard motivated the creation of the Friends of Innerpeffray Library (or FOIL), an enthusiastic group of Perthshire community members dedicated to the preservation of the Innerpeffray Library building and all it holds. The importance of the Innerpeffray to its community is reflected in several mission statements, drawn up by the Governors and listed in Chamier's history:

1. We will always give priority to conserving the books of the Library and its artefacts.
2. We will preserve this tranquil, unspoilt, rural environment for thinking people to read, contemplate, study, and meet.
3. We will maintain and build on the core values of the founding family by offering educational opportunities for those who seek to improve their knowledge of Scottish literature and history.
4. We will look after the buildings in our care, recognizing them as a significant part of the heritage of Perthshire and of Scotland's smallest academic institution.

(Chamier, 115)

Thanks to a community dedicated to the Innerpeffray, the library has turned from a “forgotten jewel” to a “living entity” once more (Chamier, 112). The library now exists as a community touchstone, as well as an educational center for all visitors. During the Scottish Enlightenment, the library seemed to be moving between two systems of belief. But the most important goal of the library, to provide the opportunity for visitors to self-educate and improve, existed from the moment the library opened its doors until today. Throughout the centuries, the objective of the Innerpeffray Library—to allow anyone who wishes the opportunity for self-education for reading—has barely wavered. The story of the Innerpeffray shows that even before the Enlightenment, there were always Scots who wished for their neighbors, whatever their social status, to have the chance to learn.

The necessity—and complexity—of preservation

In his essay “Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era”, Roy Rosenzweig mentions the benefits and losses resulting from a new age of digital preservation. In

my research, I was able to appreciate the benefits of two kinds of preservation. My research included documents that were preserved nondigitally thanks to the Innerpeffray Library's thoughtful possession of the physical borrowers' ledgers. There are many advantages to working with the paper copy of a document, not least of which is the opportunity to see the document in the same way as the eighteenth century Innerpeffray Library community did. On the other hand, the digitized copies of the ledger pages with which I also worked gave me the chance to study the ledger pages at home in the United States, allowing me more control over my research experience inside the Innerpeffray Library. The transcriptions of the ledgers allowed me a quicker and more accurate study of the ledgers, although human error must be accounted for with transcribed documents. The borrower ledgers weren't the only documents I required for my project: I also needed to interact with the books the borrowers read. Many of these I read in the Innerpeffray Library during my three-week research trip, but I also accessed several books once I was back in America, using databases such as Google Books and HathiTrust. It was the combination of both digital and nondigital materials in my research that allowed me access to such a wealth of information as well as the opportunity to see the Innerpeffray Library and its books through the eyes of its eighteenth-century borrowers.

Despite the many uses of both digitally and manually preserved documents, Rosenzweig predicts problems with both methods of preservation that exist today. He comments: "Printed books and manuscript records decline slowly and unevenly—faded ink or a broken-off corner of a page. But digital records fail completely—a single damaged bit can render an entire document unreadable" (Rosenzweig, 316). Historians have long had to work with incomplete or missing records. Indeed, many records have been lost throughout the history of the Innerpeffray Library. In the years between 1694 and 1739, "the books were divided between the chapel loft and the

founder's 'new house', some of them seem to have gone missing at this time, and we have no record of borrowing (although that is not to say that it did not occur)" (Chamier, 111). When records from the past survive, it is often at random; this system of chance is one reason why the existence of the borrowers' ledgers is a gift from the past. Yet Rosenzweig fears that our newly developed methods of preservation—that is, digital preservation through computer software or hardware that may become worthless after a progression of technology—will leave humanist scholars with a scarcity of research materials.

The age of digital preservation presents historical centers, including the Innerpeffray Library, with questions as to how to best preserve documents, as well as how to present their documents to visitors. Even more pressing is Rosenzweig's query as to "whose overall responsibility it is to preserve the past" (Rosenzweig, 339). Rosenzweig points out that, despite best efforts, not every historical artifact can be saved. Many connected to the Innerpeffray Library have committed themselves to preserving as much as possible of the authentic library—the library building, the chapel and graveyard, and the schoolhouse still remain on the Innerpeffray campus. Not all, but thousands of the original Innerpeffray books remain. The Borrowers' Register is treasured by the community and protected by the library. Those currently involved at the library, including the Keeper of the Books and the group FOIL, continue to innovate uses for the Innerpeffray: presenting lecture series, creating opportunities for school and tourist groups to tour the library, community members and university students with volunteer opportunities. Clearly, those at the Innerpeffray Library are dedicated to the task of preserving history for future generations, and providing access to present day scholars and community members. Looking to the future of the Innerpeffray, as with all historical institutions, questions of preservation remain. How much, if any, of the historical materials at the Innerpeffray will

become digitized? The Borrowers' Register is already in the process of becoming a digital as well as a non-digital artifact. Does the future hold Innerpefferay digital archives? An online database containing all of the Innerpefferay's holdings? What is the most effective way to preserve the Innerpefferay Library and all its holdings, and, perhaps the most daunting question of all: what, ultimately, will be worth saving?

As of now, the place of the Innerpefferay Library in modern society is defined. It provides an authentic historical environment in which scholars, community members, and tourists can explore Scotland's history, engage with antiquated texts, and interact with the past through the books and Borrowers' Register. There is room for researchers to investigate further how this unique library relates to Scotland's history, from the Protestant Reformation and beyond—this library holds many secrets of the past, and its well kept artifacts allow the occasion for in depth study. The enchantment of the Innerpefferay Library lies in its ability to transport visitors to the past, an effect that must be at least partly attributed to its relatively complete and well-preserved holdings. To explain the experience the present day library provides, I select a quotation found in George Chamier's history from community member Christine Wallace:

I cannot remember when it was I had the knowledge that there existed in the county of my birth an ancient Library. But somehow I knew. So it was that one day I took myself off to find it. Along a deserted road with mountains far off, then down a bumpy lane bounded by high hedges, and I was there. Passing a stone house on my right, I walked over the damp grass to an ancient yew and a chapel, and then over a tree-bound pathway to a simple Georgian building. The door was locked and in the wind I returned to the stone house. On knocking, an elderly man appeared and gave me a key. I returned, opened a heavy door, climbed a stone stair and finally entered a still, secret, silent room,

just full of book stretching to the ceiling. I stood enraptured by my discovery. Here was the past of Perthshire. Their memories crowded in. It was magic.

(Wallace qtd. in Chamier, 112-113)

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