

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, p. 305, quoted by Maxwell, p. 379, is authority for this activity of Rev. Mr. Christison. That a library "was formed by the old Church there is no reason to doubt"; according to Maxwell, Millar was evidently mistaken in assuming that the library dated from 1442, for the "books" cited in the contract were those of the Great Altar, that is, service books, and so not properly included in a church library. This has been established by Dr. Thomas Kelly in a searching investigation, *Early Public Libraries*, The Library Association, 1966, pp. 85-8. Several leaves of such books, identified as belonging to the Sarum Missal, printed in 1494, and to the Sarum Gradual of 1532, are preserved, (Maxwell, p. 378), and also *The Book of the Church*.

<sup>4</sup> In addition were the 2,000 volumes bequeathed by Alexander Lindsay and received in 1723 by Thomas Bower, Provost of Dundee. This collection, apparently uncatalogued, would make up the total of the 6,000 stated to have been lost in the fire of 1841.

This is a remarkably large collection, judged by any standards, at least at this period. We should note the presence of no less than 19 classical authors. But we are the less surprised by so generous a selection when we learn from Dr. Millar's lecture that the Dundee Grammar School in the 16th and 17th centuries taught both Latin and Greek. French and Hebrew. As evidence of the level of education in what was sometimes called the Geneva of Scotland, he cites the *Compt Rendu of David Wedderburn*, 1587-1630 (edited by him for the Scottish History Society, 1898) in which is the record of books lent from a private library, including titles in several languages. The full account is given in my article "A Library Known by its Loans", *Notes and Queries*, Aug., 1961.

<sup>5</sup> The other, as recorded by Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3, is that of the parochial collection of 15 volumes at Repton in Derbyshire, with regulations of 1622.

## XIII

### *Innerpeffray: Reading for all the People*

"Every artificer, . . . the smith sitting by the anvil, . . . the potter sitting at his work: . . . Without these shall not a city be inhabited. . . . They will maintain the fabric of the world."

(*Ecclesiasticus*, 38)

THE picturesque name and surroundings of Innerpeffray are known to all interested in libraries throughout Scotland and to many in England. The historic collection in the heart of Perthshire has been the subject of articles in Scottish periodicals and in the *Library Association Record* and was described in a broadcast some fifteen years ago over the B.B.C.<sup>1</sup> More recently, in 1961, members of the Bibliographical Societies of Glasgow and Edinburgh made a joint visit to inspect the various features of interest.<sup>2</sup>

These exceptionally arresting features need no repetition here. The founding of the library by David Drummond, third Lord Maderite, in a testament of 1680, stipulated the erection of a library "for the benefit and encouragement of young students" with provision for the maintenance and development of a suitable collection, now totalling well over 3,000 volumes.<sup>3</sup> This foundation received a substantial addition from the Rt. Rev. Robert Hay Drummond, Archbishop of York (1761-76) in whose time the present library building was constructed. Although the scattered farm-houses of the area called Innerpeffray have all but disappeared, the two-storey library, quite isolated except for the adjacent unused chapel and schoolhouse, attracts hundreds of visitors every summer and maintains a library service for residents in the environs. Four miles from the nearest town of Crieff, such remoteness in the peaceful countryside gives it a distinction of no little charm tinged with a sense of the mystery of its survival in such an unusual rural setting.

Such facts have been recited. But what has remained unnoticed is what makes a public library—or shall we not say any non-private library?—of significant influence in the society from which it springs. Here is a record of obvious import, tragically rare before

the emerging era of statistics—the record of the *use* of books. Here, in the lending registers, is nothing less than a precious revelation of the actual works lent to be read and of the very people who carried away each book.

Such simple description of the Innerpefferay record appears on the surface quite commonplace. Its importance becomes suddenly apparent when we realize that this is the only known record of the kind surviving in Scotland from the eighteenth century; and even more striking when we are reminded that only one other similar record, that of the Bristol Library, has been preserved in the whole of Britain if not in the whole of Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Here, beginning in 1747, is the complete disclosure of every one of the thousands of loans made for over two and a half centuries. Here, it should be emphasized, is one of the few indices of reading known to us prior to the last century. Here is a window into the cultural and so into the social life of a region which cannot be limited only to the county of Perthshire. It is a record which deserves the most thoughtful reproduction and analysis as one of the all too scanty sources of re-creating the life of the Scottish people.

It is then the reflection and interpretation of the record of reading in a Lowland area of Scotland which is the object of this study. A complete exhibition is attempted for the whole last half of the eighteenth century, 1747–1800, supplemented by a more general assessment of the first half of the following century.

The overall picture of our major study is expressed in the total of 1,483 loans recorded during the years 1747–1800. These were distributed among 370 titles.

They in turn were divided as follows among these classes:

Religion	171
History, Law and Politics	85
General Secular Literature	37
Agriculture	18
Travel	11
Mathematics and Science	8
Miscellaneous	40
Total	370

As inevitable, among the class of Miscellaneous must be included an appreciable number of titles, especially those of multivolume sets, which fall within more than one class, as for example, Locke's

Works. But in general the relative numbers here tabulated are a fair reflection of the actual loans and thus presumably of the demand. Which books in the light of the relative number of loans were the eleven most popular during the half century? Here is the score:

Robertson, History of Charles V	46
Clark, Sermons	37
Tillotson, Sermons	34
Sherlock, Sermons	30
Buffon, Natural History	27
Monthly Review	26
Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History	26
Abernethy, Discourses (Sermons)	24
Universal History	23
Atterbury, Sermons	20
Locke, Works	20

Thus do the eleven most popular fall neatly into the class of those borrowed twenty times or more.

If we scan the next most popular class of works, those borrowed ten to nineteen times, we find the following scores of these thirty works:

Abercromby, *The Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*, 17; Anson, *Voyages*, 10; Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 13; Beattie, *Essays*, 13; Burroughs, *Gospel Revelation*, 10; Butler, *Analogy*, 14; Campbell, *Present State of Europe*, 18; *Complete History of Europe*, 14; Conybeare, *Sermons*, 13; *Critical Review*, 15; Dickson, *Agriculture*, 11; Ferguson, *Astronomy*, 10; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 10; Leland, *On Revelation*, 12; Leland, *View of Deistical Writers*, 16; Lyttleton, *History of Henry II*, 10; Pennant, *Tour Through Scotland*, 12; *Philosophical Transactions*, 13; Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum Biblicorum*, 13; Potter, *Greek Antiquities*, 14; Pridcaux, *Connection between the Old and New Testaments*, 14; Rapin, *History of England*, 13; Robertson, *History of America*, 18; *Scots Magazine*, 18; Seed, *Sermons*, 17; *Sermon at Boyle's Lecture*, 10; Sharp, *Sermons*, 16; Temple, *Works*, 12; *Collection of Voyages*, 13; and Watson, *History of Philip II*, 12.

This record of thirty next most popular titles shows a marked decline in religious works with a total of only nine such works: thus of the forty-one most popular only fourteen are religious. This is certainly one of the most significant indicators of the vogues, and serves to counterbalance the prominence of the religious in the total number of titles borrowed (171 out of 370). Also it is worth noting

that the most popular work is Robertson's *History of Charles V*, which is also quite the most borrowed single life among all the eight cathedral libraries with records surviving from the eighteenth century and also at the Bristol Library Society. History is much more prominent in this second group with a total of ten, or one-third. The high rank of Buffon, *Philosophical Transactions*, and Locke is also noteworthy, paralleling equal vogue in England.

Still most noticeable is the absence of almost every kind of the less weighty literature: no fiction at all in the earlier period, practically no poetry and no drama at all except one stray tragedy and Shakespeare. The two daring departures into entertainment are *Garden of Delights of English Poetry* and *Model of Wit, Mirth, and Eloquence*. The point is one of unmistakable import in view of the still uncertain status of fiction and lighter literature in eighteenth-century Scotland. Currie's assertion that in the lists of book societies of the poorer classes works of "taste and fancy" were prominent, if not actually predominant, is typical of many careless statements (always unsupported by evidence) about indices of reading.<sup>6</sup>

Further interesting facts are the inclusion of no less than thirty-nine volumes of sets of sermons and of eight editions of the Bible; and significant cultural relationships can be found in the form of the Scriptures five times borrowed: *La Sainte Bible de la Port Royal*—another bit of evidence of the Scottish ties with France.

But even these significant evidences of reading vogues are rivalled, if not positively exceeded, by the analysis of the readers themselves. For here is nothing less than a further unique feature, the actual identification of the individuals of a complete social cross section of this relatively extensive community, with a striking demonstration of the urge for education, even if in some cases restricted to religious self-cultivation, among the lowliest of the country folk. We do have extraordinary proof of this Scottish urge, it is true, in the reading societies of Wanlockhead, Leadhills and Westerkirk, all maintained by miners. But we know almost nothing about them except their names and the nature of their membership. Here, at Innerpeffray, however, is the identification of no less than twenty-seven vocations: barber, bookseller, army captain, cooper, dyer, dyer apprentice, factor, farmer, flaxdresser, gardener, glover, mason, merchant, miller, minister, quarrier, schoolmaster, servant, shoemaker, student (of humanity, divinity, philosophy), smith, surgeon, surgeon apprentice, tailor, watchmaker, weaver, wright, rounded out with the mere status of "Esquire". Of all this impressive array the total

is 287 borrowers, of whom eleven were women. Nor can it be said that the better educated were the predominant borrowers. The six Faichneys, for example, showed a total of fifty-six loans. But the mere number of identified borrowers is not statistically trustworthy, for often the reader did not give his occupation and so doubtless some other vocations were represented. But with the complete tabulation of the borrowings by each of the 287 recorded we can compute the distribution as follows:

Each of 8 readers borrowed 20 or more works  
 Each of 13 readers borrowed 15-19 works  
 Each of 16 readers borrowed 10-14 works  
 Each of 43 readers borrowed 5-9 works

These arresting figures reveal the borrowing of at least five works by each of seventy readers. Nor are the ministers and students pre-eminent in this record: weavers identify themselves twenty-six times, as compared with schoolmasters, twenty-two.

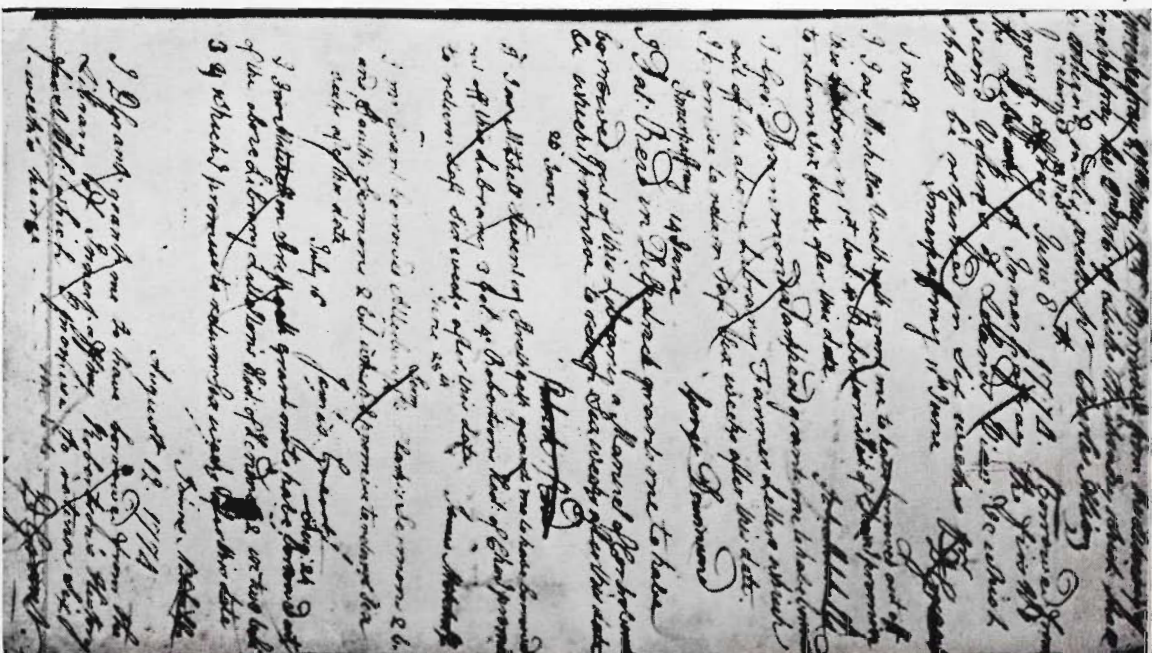
With the beginning of a new century an abruptly new pattern at the Library surprises the observer. Beginning with 1801 the former engaging but cumbersome form of record, "I David Miller Dyer in Crieff grant me to have borrowed out of the Library of Innerpeffray Caves Lives of the twelve Apostles which I promise to return in three months. [Signed] David Miller", gives way to the business-like ledger form of four columns, Date, Books, Persons Names, and Returned. At first also the radical change from a monthly<sup>7</sup> to a weekly schedule of opening days appears. But before long a much more frequent opportunity for readers is recorded, sometimes even on successive days. Another striking change is the increase in the number of titles a single reader was allowed to withdraw at one time. Obviously the greatly increased facilities were at once utilized, for in the half century 1801-50 no less than a total of 4,533 loans were made. This is more than three times the circulation of 1,483 in the previous half century. Here is a sudden expansion of reading which relatively exceeds the familiar descriptions of a rapid rise of a middle-class reading public during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

This acceleration in the movement of books is matched also by the significant new trends: the relative increase in the secular is at once noticeable. On the very first page, with borrowings on 9th and 16th March and 2nd and 9th April, 1801, of thirteen titles only four are religious. Instead, new works in this record

appear: *Reid's Enquiry into the Human Mind* and Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*; volumes of Johnson's *Shakespeare* twice borrowed (as they often are during this period); a "Roman History", and Pope's *Homer*. Here are the harbingers of a new era at Innerpefferay which sees the emergence of a quite new kind of title: Machiavelli and Boccaccio, Spenser, and Burton of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Descartes, Montesquieu, Helvetius, along with the lighter *English Rogue* and *Spanish Rogue*, and even "Coffhouse jests". A new scientific trend is seen moreover in several volumes of physics and chemistry and the frequent appearance of Ward's *Mathematics*, with a more popular touch in "A World of Wonders". Not that the religious books disappear from the record, but they are supplemented by emergent literature both belles-lettres, philosophy, and science, most of which obviously was being currently acquired. History remains stable in volume but relatively less prominent than in the eighteenth century.

This bare record of titles and of the good Scots names of the people searching the shelves must be clothed with as much visual circumstance as we may conjure up from the past. This treasure house of piety and learning and of expanding educational facilities was the centre of a circle with a radius of ten or twelve miles in which a few hundred probably less than a thousand people lived a primarily agricultural life, served by the necessary craftsmen—wrights, smiths, shoemakers and tailors. Both home industries and small organized enterprises are revealed by the presence of the flaxdresser and the "weaver at the mill at Strathgath". In the absence of almost all records of any kind, we may conjecture that the library was opened on a market day to accommodate those participating in such a regular important event—the "Lady Market" named for the chapel—at Innerpefferay, but open, be it noted, at certain intervals only once a month of which no regular schedule is discernible, until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The one exception was accessibility to students and schoolmasters apparently at all times.

This service to students was indeed notable. Four different designations of them appear: students of philosophy, of humanity, of divinity and just unidentified "student". Those in divinity designated themselves twenty-eight times while those in philosophy and humanity eleven and five times, respectively, and just plain "students" twenty times. Some of the divinity students lived with ministers, we may assume, and the man who conducted the school



Courtesy Mrs. J. M. Drummond, M.B.E., former Librarian.  
 12. A Page of the Borrowers' Register, Innerpefferay Library, showing loans to James Mitchell, tutor of Sir Walter Scott.

at Madderty (near Innerpeffray), David Malcolm, brilliant Greek scholar, evidently inspired his students both while under his jurisdiction and later after their entrance into the universities, to utilize so excellent an opportunity as the library offered.

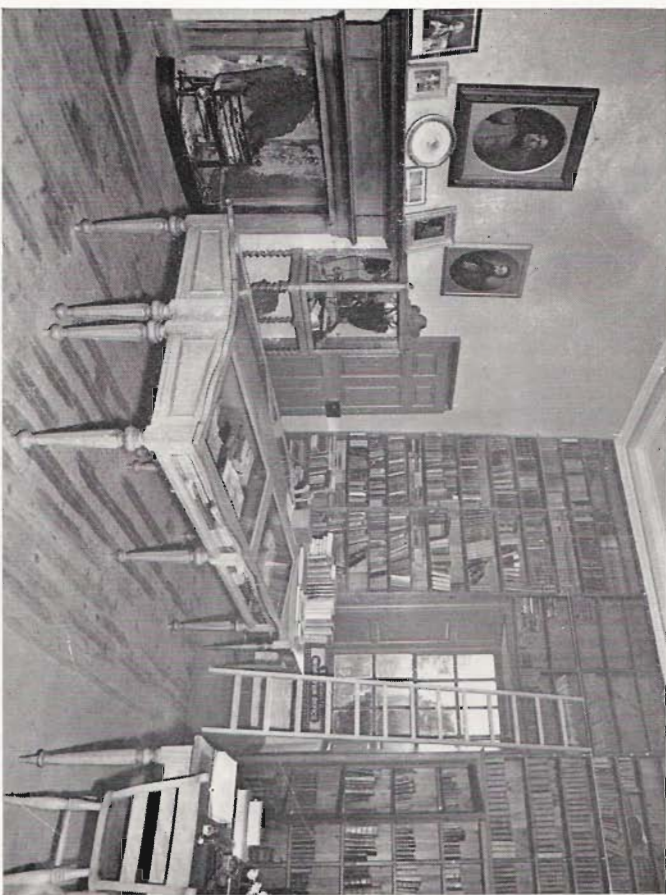
The most dramatic episode involving a student is happily preserved in a letter from the student himself in 1823 describing his struggle to use the library as a resident of the region. Having been ejected by the librarian who was supported by the Patron the Earl of Kinmoull for some obscure offence, the youth took his case to the Sheriff, with the aid of a lawyer. This attorney pleaded that the library belonged to the people and that this student's whole university career depended on his use of the library during the summer. The Sheriff's decision in his favour was highly expressive of the Scottish temper and the whole incident is obviously of rich significance in social history.

A different kind of librarian (who was also schoolmaster in the eighteenth century) was sturdy, devoted John Dougall who waited from 1755 to 1762 for a salary totalling £47 13s. 6d. ! In the Museum at Perth was recently found the notebook in which he recorded details of the men and pack horses engaged in erecting the present library building.

The importance of the library to students should not obscure the persistent widespread utilization of its resources by every class in the region. We cannot over-emphasize in particular the record of the artisans. Consider the six members of the Faichney family—two of them stonemasons, another a farmer—who borrowed fifty-six volumes during the half century. The monument in the graveyard outside the library, although not a masterpiece of sculpture, is a moving and charming even if slightly bewildering testimony to the wealth of symbols which James Faichney chiselled into stone. It is a fitting counterpart to the record which the Faichneys reveal in the registers.

As the Faichneys and many others trudged on foot or lurched on a farm horse the miles across the fields, over dusty or frozen tracks to bring home their treasures with a sense of warm eager anticipation and exultation, theirs was not the sentiment printed on the title-page of *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Gentlemen's Library of Wighton* (1806): "We are here humanized without suffering; acquire a fine polish without travelling; and without the trouble of study imblie the most pleasing, most useful lessons."

Those farmers, weavers, shoemakers, and masons or students and



[Photograph courtesy of Scottish Field.]

13. The Innerpeffray Library showing one of the three walls lined with bookshelves to the ceiling. Except for the display cases and pictures on the walls, the large room, 35 × 24 feet in extent, like the stone exterior, remains substantially the same two centuries after its original erection.

ministers of Perthshire would have turned with a silent contempt from such dalliance with the printed page.

We should not, of course, amid all this wealth of unique evidence claim for the record more value than the data plainly show. We realize that considerable refinement of the figures here presented would be enlightening: as, for example, noting the volume of a multivolume work borrowed and designating the borrower of each volume of such a work. That is, how many persons borrowed Locke to make the total of twenty loans? And did the same person or persons borrow both the volumes of the set? Likewise, how many persons borrowed a single volume work? As a final exact record, who borrowed what and how often?<sup>10</sup> With considerably more manpower than currently available, such significant facts could be determined.

Yet even with all these data, the question remains, did the borrower read the book? This question is the very heart of the determination of reading vogues; and as I have asserted in the monographs cited in note 4, only some kind of personal testimony can be the reliable criterion of such vogues. We are, therefore, not claiming that we have in these records a revelation of the complete reading habits of this community. We should have to know what, if any, publications the people possessed and read in their homes; and we should need to know what reading was done in the library itself.

With all these qualifications, surely the cumulative scores signify trends of searching minds: they express urges of nearly 300 people over the half century comprehensively analyzed. What is beyond question is the witness to the humble folk who year after year covered often difficult miles to find spiritual and intellectual nourishment.

Here, then, is far more than "a quaint corner in Ibraria," as one account describes Innerpeffray. Here, in these sometimes crabbled and fading records, is a priceless witness to the actual movement of books in human hands, of the eyes intent on the open page betokening the activity of the eager mind. Here is one of the tragically few moving pageants for the recapture of social history—the only one of its kind in all Scotland.

This unfolding record comes home with particular force to social historians, for seldom does so abundant evidence illumine the cultural development of even so small an area for so long a period. Scarcely less significant, however, is such evidence for the historians

of literature—however rarely they have cared to explore it. Thus a prominent professor recently asserted that the "urban" men of letters, especially in Edinburgh were devoted to history,<sup>11</sup> quite ignoring the widespread evidence of equal devotion in Aberdeen, Dundee, Kelso, and Ayr<sup>12</sup>—and Innerpeffray. Most of all, of course, must that particular stripe of social historian, the historical interpreter of the libraries themselves, not limit his purview to the library as a museum—still less as a mausoleum, as all too traditionally common—but search in every way to discover what purpose this library served. There are all too few Innerpeffrays. We should not ignore its significance for the future of library history.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> An account in the *Glasgow Herald*, 4th June, 1898, is the basis of an illustrated booklet available at the library. In the *Scottish Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 56 (May, 1940) is a rambling article by Robert R. Walls, "Innerpeffray: Scotland's First Public Library." A scholarly outline by Dr. W. M. Dickie in the *Library Association Record* (Vol. 6, n.s., 1928), pp. 100-5, gives an authoritative description of the more notable volumes. (It was Dr. Dickie, formerly librarian of Queen's College, Dundee, who made an expert invaluable typescript catalogue of the collection, a photostat of which is in the library of Edinburgh University.) A brief article with illustrations appeared in *Scottish Field* (June, 1954).

<sup>11</sup> In the present study I am indebted first of all to Mrs. J. M. Drummond, M.B.E., the accomplished librarian for ten years, whose wide knowledge has been indispensable. To the Board of Governors of the Innerpeffray Mortification, having jurisdiction over the library, I am grateful for permission to quote freely from the borrowers' ledger and other records; and Mr. James Stevenson, solicitor of Crieff, Hon. Secretary of the Board, deserves my best thanks for providing much background information. Also I express appreciation to Miss Charlotte Dallas, the librarian succeeding Mrs. Drummond, for examining difficult entries in the ledger and for other courtesies. Special acknowledgment should be made to Mr. I. Beldowski, of the library of the University of Leicester, who drew my attention to the existing literature concerning Innerpeffray.

<sup>12</sup> Among the volumes of note are *The Fall of Princes and Princesses*, 1520?; Boece, *Scotorum historie*, 1527; William Drummond, *Flowers of Stow*, 1530; *La Bible*... Sedan 1633, the pocket Bible of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose; and *Biblia Sacra ex S. Caroliis interpretatione*, 1738, once owned by Carlyle and bearing his autograph on the title page; J. Major, *Historia Majoris Britanniae*, 1521; *La Sainte Bible en Francais*, 1530; and *The second part of the Pilgrim's Progress*... 1682.

<sup>13</sup> For the only comparable record see my monograph *Borrowings from the Bristol Library 1773-84: A Unique Record of Reading Vogues* (Charlottesville, Va., 1960). Though not comparable, the mere preservation of any loan registers from the eighteenth century lends value to such records in eight English cathedral libraries, studied in my tabulation of the loans of 2,700 titles *Reading Vogues in English Cathedral Libraries of the Eighteenth Century* (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. 67, 68, December, 1963, January, February, March, 1964).

In view of the categorical statement here made regarding the rarity of these records before the nineteenth century, it may be noticed that they exist in certain Cambridge colleges, such as Trinity and St. John's, and at the Bodleian where they began in 1647. An interesting and, to my knowledge, sole register of loans at a parochial library (except for an almost negligible one at Witham, Essex) is that preserved at the St. George's Parish Church at Doncaster, beginning in 1726.

On the continent no loan records of general public libraries of any kind are known. Such archives do survive from the eighteenth century at certain German university libraries, such as that at Göttingen.

Other secular loan records in eighteenth-century Scotland are those at Leathills and Haddington, supplemented by the ones at the Presbytery Library, Dumfries. They are noteworthy as constituting, together with the Innerpeffray registers, the largest number

of such records in any part of Britain. But Innerpefferay is unrivalled in the chronological span, in the volume of loans, and in the social distribution of the borrowers.

The question of Innerpefferay's primacy in time is unimportant. Dr. Dickie suggests that it is "probably the oldest free public library in Scotland" (op. cit., p. 105). For all practical purposes it is the oldest. See my article, "The Earliest Free Lending Library in Britain," *Library Association Record*, Vol. 53 (May 1961), in which the romantic story of the library of St. Mary's, Dundee, is recounted. It is doubtful whether the circulation of books at St. Mary's was appreciable: as with so many other local collections, the catalogue fortunately has survived, but no record of loans.

<sup>5</sup> What use was made of the library, housed in the attic of the adjoining chapel, before 1747, we do not know—one may conjecture, very little.

<sup>6</sup> *The Works of Robert Burns*, (London 1813), I, p. 112 n. Accurate assessment of Scottish vogues is full of pitfalls. One has to be as careful as possible in specifying exactly what years and what communities are involved. The best analysis of this problem is David Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830* (London 1961), Chap. on "Fiction and the Scottish Reading-Public", and observations elsewhere *passim*. One of his most provocative explanations is that a Calvinist Church did not suppress "a profane art and worldly feelings" but that Calvinism brought out "into full potency a native trait which itself tended to thwart or curtail imagination" (p. 75).

<sup>7</sup> Although the standard schedule appears to call for only one open day a month, more frequent entries of loans appear. Nor are these confined to names of students who had the special privilege of using the library without restriction, especially during vacations.

<sup>8</sup> For a most instructive and comprehensive description of this movement in England, see R. D. Altick, *The English Common Reader* (Chicago, 1957).

<sup>9</sup> It should be realized that there was no village clustered around or near the chapel and library. We must visualize numerous farms worked by the craftsmen and scattered over the countryside. Innerpefferay was not even a separate parish, but an area originally named "Powfeg", mouth of the Pow, a stream created by the monks of Inchathray Abbey (about five miles from the library), when they drained the marshes of the region. Standing on a knoll about fifty feet above a graceful curve in the river Earn, the chapel-library is far from "desolate", as one usually reliable writer has described it. But there are now only two dwellings within a quarter of a mile: many of the houses of the whole pleasant countryside have disappeared during the past century, the inhabitants having moved to industrial centres. We must, then, think of the patrons of the library as coming for miles.

Most of the data for this description, as well as for the accounts of the protesting student and of the manuscript notebook, have been provided by Mrs. Drummond.

<sup>10</sup> David Datches, *A Critical History of English Literature* (New York 1960), Vol. II, p. 306. Far more correct is Hume's well-known remark, "This is the historical age and we are the historical people."

<sup>11</sup> It would be instructive, as Mrs. Drummond suggests, to trace the history of the divinity students. We do know, for instance, that John Barclay, who borrowed the learned Annotations of Beza, founded the Bercan Sect, which still survives. Of particular interest are the borrowings of James Mitchell (1763-1835), the beloved tutor of Sir Walter Scott. Between 1774 and 1802 Mitchell borrowed eleven works in history and divinity, such as Robertson's *Charles V*, Lyttleton's *Henry II*, Calvin's *Institutes*, and Gronovius' *De Veritate Christianae Religionis*.

<sup>12</sup> As shown in the catalogues or other records. See, for example, my article "Library News from Kelso," *Library Review* (Autumn 1960).

<sup>13</sup> The contribution of such testimony to a people's reading can be more fully comprehended when we realize how meagre is our knowledge of the social habits of most areas of Britain prior to the nineteenth century. Nor do such studies as P. R. Crowe's article, "The Population of the Scottish Lowlands," *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XLIII (May 1927), pp. 147-67 afford the information that we seek. Moreover, all too many of the sources we possess (like the much quoted and recommended *My Own Life and Times 1741-1814* by Thomas Somerville, Edinburgh, 1861) too often prove unreliable because of the fallibility of human memories. Hence this record of Innerpefferay is a rich mine of cultural evidence.