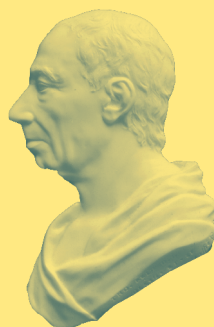


# THOMAS REID

## AND THE UNIVERSITY



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Edited by  
Paul Wood

THOMAS REID  
AND  
THE UNIVERSITY

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THE EDINBURGH EDITION  
OF THOMAS REID

General Editor  
Knud Haakonssen

**1** *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation: Papers Relating to the Life Sciences* edited by Paul Wood (1995)

**2** *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* edited by Derek R. Brookes (1997)

**3** *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* edited by Derek R. Brookes and Knud Haakonssen (2002)

**4** *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid* edited by Paul Wood (2002)

**5** *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts: Papers on the Culture of the Mind* edited by Alexander Broadie (2005)

**6** *Thomas Reid on Practical Ethics* edited by Knud Haakonssen (2007)

**7** *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* edited by Knud Haakonssen and James A. Harris (2010)

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THOMAS REID  
AND THE  
UNIVERSITY

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EDITED BY  
Paul Wood

WITH A NEW TRANSCRIPTION AND ENGLISH  
TRANSLATION OF THOMAS REID'S  
PHILOSOPHICAL ORATIONS BY  
Alexander Broadie

EDINBURGH  
University Press

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# Preface:

## The General Editor's Retrospect on the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid

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KNUD HAAKONSEN

. . . an edition is not the place to engage in passing critical debates or possibly idiosyncratic interpretations. It is a place for setting out any evidence on why a text came to be written, how it was written, what it alludes to, and if possible what contemporary, now-obscured question it was answering.

(Marilyn Butler, General Introduction to *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth* [1999–2003] vol. I, p. vii)

A ten-volume edition of an author who himself published only three book-length studies and a few smaller pieces may seem odd. In fact, the disproportion between Thomas Reid's published *oeuvre* and the hitherto unpublished material was central to the origins of the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid and remains important to its rationale. For most of the time since his death but especially in twentieth- and twenty-first-century history of philosophy, Reid has mainly been known as a philosophers' philosopher, a thinker who addressed central issues in epistemology, the philosophy of mind and the philosophy of action, and who did so, partly, in a classic in the genre, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense*, and, more wide-rangingly, in the less well known *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* and *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*. Insofar as anything else by Reid was published, it was garnishment to those three works. This image of the pure philosopher was buttressed by Reid's reputation as the ablest contemporary critic of David Hume and, less flatteringly, as worth a dismissive remark by Immanuel Kant.

However, occasionally awareness of a much wider authorship surfaced, not least as 'the Scottish Enlightenment' became a flourishing subject of study in the 1980s. Several scholars began to take an interest in the significant amount of manuscripts from Reid's hand that had been preserved, especially in Special Collections at Aberdeen University Library, where the use of the Birkwood Collection was facilitated by the recataloguing undertaken by J. C. Stewart-Robertson and



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David Fate Norton. There is an uneven, occasionally broken, line from these signs of interest to the eventual Edinburgh Edition, which has been completed with the present volume. My purpose here is not to trace this line in detail, but only to note a few points that may explain important features of the edition.

One such point was a gathering of ten scholars for a ‘Reid Editorial Conference’ in October 1983 in St John, New Brunswick, Canada, organised by J. C. Stewart-Robertson. The aim was to lay plans for a new edition of Reid, but it soon turned out that both among the participants and in wider circles of Reidians there were quite different ideas of what sort of edition this should be. Three types of attitudes were discernible: there were connoisseurs of manuscripts who were fascinated by esoteric sources of knowledge not commonly known; there were philosophers with a pragmatic hope of elucidating Reid’s well-known philosophical tenets; and there were empirically minded intellectual historians looking for new chapters in the history of knowledge beyond philosophy in the modern conception of the subject. Despite much mutual sympathy, these differences made it difficult to plan a comprehensive edition of any sort. What is more, Reid was not considered particularly marketable. Nevertheless, Princeton University Press eventually agreed to a piecemeal approach by publishing one title at a time. One volume was eventually published in this way, namely my own edition of Reid’s manuscripts on what he called practical ethics.<sup>1</sup> Yet even though the publication was both a sales and a critical success, as it was being published, a change of editor and of editorial policy made it clear that the Press would no longer pursue such projects. Reid was among the casualties.

The next major turning point came a couple of years later, when Edinburgh University Press asked me to explore the possibility of making a new edition of Reid. The Press did not do so out of the blue. Not only was the situation at Princeton well known, but EUP was planning a broad initiative in intellectual history with a Scottish focus. Moreover, the Press was also aware of a few scholars with interests in particular parts of Reid’s works. In the autumn of 1993, I sent the Press a nine-page report on ‘Thomas Reid Publications’ in which I foreshadowed all but one of the eventual ten volumes and recommended rejection or reconstruction of some of those already mooted. However, the final section of the report was tellingly entitled ‘How to plan for a series without having one’, in which I acknowledged the caution of the Press but urged that ‘we have to find some sort of balance between the need for piecemeal Press commitment and

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Reid, *Practical Ethics: Being Lectures and Papers on Natural Religion, Self-Government, Natural Jurisprudence and the Law of Nations*, ed. Knud Haakonssen, Princeton, NJ, 1990.

the need for an over-all plan'. In other words, we still had to take a piecemeal approach, whereby each volume had to be self-contained, yet the possibility of a structured series had to be kept open and indeed strengthened by each individual title. Fortunately, action overtook planning. Paul Wood had been preparing a selection of Reid's manuscript papers on the life sciences that was ready to be offered to the Press and was accepted soon after my report.<sup>2</sup> Hot on the heels of this, a PhD student of mine at the Australian National University, Derek Brookes, completed a text-critical edition of Reid's *Inquiry* as part of his dissertation, and this edition was soon ready to go to the Press.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, we had two volumes within two years, and the Press did publish these under the general title of the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid. Only when a further volume was approaching completion, however, did the Press feel that it was safe to specify what the series should consist of. The ten volumes were settled at a meeting with the Editorial Director, Jackie Jones, in May 2001, an event that for me was one of the most important in the long editorial saga. The full series list was printed for the first time in the third volume the following year.<sup>4</sup> Here Wood's and Brookes's pioneering titles *post hoc* became volumes 1 and 2. This act of trust by the Press facilitated significant changes to the editorial work. The volume editors and I could now work on the selection of what to include in future volumes, and we could make cross-references to material in volumes that were certain be published.<sup>5</sup>

The core of the plan for the series was twofold. I wanted to present Reid's major philosophical works and his smaller publications edited in accordance with modern text-critical standards, and I wanted to publish as generous a selection as possible of his unpublished papers across their extraordinary range of topics. But I wanted to do so by recognising that fundamentally different editorial approaches were required for these two kinds of materials. The editions of Reid's published works are a presentation of the texts as Reid left them, using modern critical methods of editing. The editions of his manuscript materials are editorial constructions of selections from the surviving manuscripts in his hand, using all

<sup>2</sup> *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation: Papers Relating to the Life Sciences*, ed. Paul Wood (1995).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense. A Critical Edition*, ed. Derek R. Brookes (1997).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, ed. Derek R. Brookes and Knud Haakonssen (2002), p. ii.

<sup>5</sup> The first to be constructed in light of this security was volume 5, *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, ed. Alexander Broadie (2005), soon to be followed by volume 6, *Thomas Reid on Practical Ethics*, which was a revised second edition of the Princeton edition.

relevant Reidian ideas in the organisation of the material. This distinction entails some significant differences in the making of the two kinds of works.

The works Reid himself published have a textual authority that it was the editor's primary duty to preserve and convey to the reader as independently as possible of the editor's own intellectual concerns. This can of course only be a guiding ideal, but that is exactly what makes it important. At the same time, the editor had to facilitate the reader's access to the work without directing the reading. In practice, this meant providing factual information by completing or identifying Reid's references to people, events and especially texts, and by suggesting cross-references to his other texts. In this last regard, a particularly important aspect of the editorial work has been to point out to the reader some of the rich resources in the manuscripts that have been preserved, especially academic lectures or papers to the learned societies in which he was active during all of his university career. Reid himself used such manuscripts intensively in the composition of his published works, but it has been of overriding importance that we, as modern editors, preserve the integrity of his choice of text and restrict ourselves to limited suggestions for the reader to pursue. In keeping with this policy of editorial restraint, the editions of Reid's published works have short introductions, largely 'factual' explanatory notes and references to obviously relevant manuscript material. A key requirement in critical editions of published work is to record changes to the text undertaken by the author. In the case of Reid, this was relevant only to the *Inquiry*, which saw four lifetime editions, whereas the two *Essays* were published only once before his death.

The volumes based on Reid's manuscripts have of necessity been constructed on very different principles. First of all, they are indeed *constructions* by the editors, who have selected manuscripts that belong together for reasons to be found in Reid's work, but which Reid himself did *not* put together for publication. The typical cases are sections of his lecture courses that he himself identified as distinct subjects. In these editions the selection of texts, their composition and presentation have to be argued in some detail, and the editorial commentary in many cases has to be elaborate simply in order to identify the topics indicated in sometimes fragmentary notes from Reid. This is interpretative work by its very nature, but that makes Marilyn Butler's wise words about editorial restraint highly relevant also in these volumes. And in fact, the extensive introductions and commentaries in the manuscript volumes of the Edinburgh Edition have by and large managed without engaging in scholarly disputes and have instead provided material for such disputes to be conducted in the appropriate scholarly fora.

Inevitably some volumes have had to combine both published and manuscript texts by Reid. This has necessitated the employment of both types of editorial approaches within one thematic volume, but of course the theme for such volumes

has been chosen by the volume editors in agreement with the general editor. Volumes 5, 8, 9 and 10 are to varying degrees cases of such mixtures.<sup>6</sup>

The balancing act between published works and manuscript material was changed during the period of the editorial work when digital images of the Reid manuscripts became publicly available through the internet. This made it more realistic to make generous references to the manuscripts, just as it eased the editorial need for extensive quotations from these papers.<sup>7</sup> Although the expert scholar may still have to spend time with the original manuscripts in Aberdeen, it is now possible for a much wider readership to become acquainted with Reid's *Nachlass*, whether included in the Edinburgh Edition or not.<sup>8</sup>

By combining published and unpublished work, yet keeping the two as clearly distinct as possible, the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid suggests fundamental issues about the role of authorial intention in intellectual history; about the relationship between the persona of the thinker in published work and in work presented in quite different fora, and between both of these roles and the testimony of his or her private life, ranging from reading notes and *notes de memoire* to correspondence;<sup>9</sup> about the use of text-critical methods to establish a text as the historical form of an author's intention; and, in a different key, about the identity of philosophy as a subject.

The last issue returns us to my starting point. The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid has established beyond doubt that Reid was much more than the 'pure philosopher' of traditional philosophical historiography, and it has provided a wealth of evidence for the coherence that he himself saw in what to the modern reader seem disparate subjects. Thus, his *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* barely touches upon the broadly conceived social ethics, politics and economics that he in his lectures inferred from the active powers, just as his *Inquiry into the Human Mind* and his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* give little idea of how these powers, in Reid's view, were the basis for the sciences and mathematics. The former subject was my own way into Reid's world, the latter was that of Paul Wood, as we established in that meeting in St John, New Brunswick,

<sup>6</sup> *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts; Thomas Reid on Society and Politics: Papers and Lectures*, ed. Knud Haakonssen and Paul Wood (2015); *Thomas Reid on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, ed. Paul Wood (2017); *Thomas Reid and the University*, ed. Paul Wood (2021). Some manuscripts were appended to the *Inquiry* and the *Intellectual Powers* because of the unsettled state of the series when these volumes were being edited.

<sup>7</sup> The first to benefit from this was volume 7, *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*, ed. Knud Haakonssen and James A. Harris (2010).

<sup>8</sup> See <[https://www.abdn.ac.uk/diss/historic/Thomas\\_Reid](https://www.abdn.ac.uk/diss/historic/Thomas_Reid)> (accessed 8 June 2020).

<sup>9</sup> Notes of all sorts have been used extensively in several volumes of the Reid edition; and cf. volume 4, *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid*, ed. Paul Wood (2002).

nearly four decades ago. The Edinburgh Edition has left no doubt that his was the richer ore to mine in Reid's papers, and it is entirely fitting that not only the first but also the last – in fact, the two last – volumes were edited by him. It is a pleasure to acknowledge his extraordinary contribution. At the same time, I express my gratitude to the other editors, Alexander Broadie, Derek Brookes and James Harris, whose contributions have been noted above. Last but not least, a succession of senior editors at Edinburgh University Press – for the longest period and still, Carol Macdonald – have done their very best to help me square the circle of how to plan a series without having one. With their support, we now have it. It is up to the reader what to make of the result.

# Acknowledgements

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I am extremely grateful to the following institutions for permission to publish the manuscripts and letters included in this volume: the Sir Duncan Rice Library of the University of Aberdeen; Glasgow University Archives; the National Library of Scotland; Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA; and the University of St Andrews Library. I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of Knud Haakonssen, who has again demonstrated his exemplary editorial skills in helping me to see this volume through the press. In addition, I would like to thank: John Cairns, Dr Anne Cameron (Archives Assistant, Archives and Special Collections, University of Strathclyde), John Christie, Lauren Dolman (Assistant Librarian, Balliol College), Julie Gardham (Head of Special Collections, Glasgow University Library), Miles Kerr-Peterson, Kurtis Kitagawa, Katie McDonald and Emma Yan (Duty Archivists, Archives and Special Collections, University of Glasgow), Anna Plassart, Lina Weber, John Wright and Bill Zachs for their prompt responses to queries about matters of fact and interpretation; Giovanni Grandi, Knud Haakonssen, Doris and Richard Sher, and Felix Waldmann for alerting me to the existence of letters not included in *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid*; the Reading Room Manager, Michelle Gait, and the staff of the Wolfson Reading Room, Special Collections Centre, University of Aberdeen, for their assistance with this volume and others in the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid; Michelle Gait also deserves special acknowledgement for her invariably helpful responses to my queries about archival matters and for her assistance with the editorial presentation of Reid's philosophical orations; Patrick Corbeil for his research assistance; and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Hugh Campbell and Marion Alice Small Fund for Scottish Studies at the University of Victoria for funding which supported my editorial work.

Alexander Broadie provided the new transcription and English translation of Reid's philosophical orations. I established the texts of the remaining documents that appear below and I compiled the editorial apparatus, apart from the Textual Notes to the orations, which are the collaborative product of Alexander Broadie and myself. It is a pleasure to thank Thomas Ahnert for the English translations of Latin phrases and passages included in the Editorial Notes (unless otherwise indicated). I am additionally grateful to Gábor Gángó for his English rendering of a syntactically obscure Latin passage.

The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid has been longer in the making than I care to remember. The making of it has, however, led to the formation of friendships which I value. I deeply appreciate the generous support and sage advice given over the years by Carol Macdonald and James Dale at Edinburgh University Press. Ralph Footring has copy-edited and typeset volumes 8–10 of the Edinburgh Edition; I am greatly indebted to him for his scrupulous work on the texts as well as his seemingly limitless store of patience in dealing with the practical problems involved in the publication process. All three colleagues have helped in significant ways to lessen my editorial load and they deserve recognition for their efforts.

Given the assistance that I have received from all of those noted above, I should emphasise that I am solely responsible for any error that remains in this volume.

*Paul Wood  
Pender Island  
September 2020*

# The Manuscripts and Editorial Principles

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The manuscripts included in this volume are held in the Special Collections Centre in the Sir Duncan Rice Library, University of Aberdeen. The manuscripts transcribed here are found in two deposits: the Birkwood Collection, MSS 2131/1–8; and the archives of King's College, University of Aberdeen, which contain the Latin texts of his philosophical orations delivered in 1753, 1756, 1759 and 1762 (now catalogued as KINGS/8/1/1 but formerly as MS K 222). All the manuscripts in the Birkwood Collection have been digitised and are available through the Special Collections Centre website <[https://www.abdn.ac.uk/historic/Thomas\\_Reid/index.shtml](https://www.abdn.ac.uk/historic/Thomas_Reid/index.shtml)>.

In transcribing the manuscripts and letters included in this volume, Alexander Broadie and I have aimed to provide accurate and easily readable texts. Because most of Reid's manuscripts contain numerous deletions, insertions, corrections and the like, the creation of such texts is not a straightforward process. We have therefore adopted the following editorial principles in order to achieve our editorial end:

1. We have made no attempt to normalise Reid's erratic spelling and punctuation, except where the spelling was clearly mistaken or its eccentricity too distracting.
2. In our transcriptions, words or characters which are missing because of damage to the manuscript or which are judged to have been inadvertently omitted by Reid are enclosed thus: '<>'. Illegible letters or words are indicated thus: '<?>'.
  3. Any characters written as superscripts are here printed on the regular line.
  4. In Reid's manuscripts, he typically overlines and occasionally underlines for emphasis. The relevant words or passages are here printed in italics without editorial comment.
  5. We have silently normalised Reid's abbreviations and contractions where no modern equivalent exists or where they are not self-explanatory. Thus, on p. 40, l. 1, we have expanded his abbreviation 'Q' because it does not obviously stand for 'Question'. Similarly, on p. 118, ll. 35–6, we have normalised his abbreviation 'D.O.M.' to 'Domini Optimi Maximi' because the abbreviation is not self-explanatory to a modern reader. Reid routinely uses standard Latin contractions in his Philosophical Orations. For example, on p. 44, l. 22, he uses



‘itaq’ for ‘itaque’. We have expanded his contractions here and elsewhere in the Orations in the interests of readability.

6. We have silently omitted repetitions of words or phrases, catchwords and any material deemed to have been mistakenly included in the manuscripts and letters.

7. Folio/page breaks in Reid’s manuscripts are indicated by a vertical line, |, in the text. In the page margin at the head of each manuscript, the conventionally abbreviated manuscript number is printed and followed, after a comma, by an indication of the initial folio or page number. Subsequent folio and page numbers are indicated in the margin in square brackets thus, ‘[ ]’. In the case of unpaginated manuscripts, the folio number and the side – recto ‘r’ or verso ‘v’ – of the folio are given.

8. Variants in Reid’s manuscripts, letters and published texts are recorded in the Textual Notes. These notes are keyed to the relevant texts using page and line numbers (that is, ‘57/14’ in the textual notes refers to p. 57, l. 14). In these notes, editorial comment is in italics and Reid’s wordings are in regular typeface. Words or phrases repeated and left undeleted by Reid have not been recorded, nor have catchwords, nor those instances where Reid has changed an unfinished text by superimposing a letter or word over what he had originally written, or revised a phrase in the course of his initial writing. We have also not recorded those instances where Reid has merely gone back and corrected his spelling or grammar, or supplied a missing character, word or words. Variants are indicated in the following manner. In MS 2131/2/II/1, fol. 1v (p. 40, l. 30 below), for example, Reid initially wrote ‘opening’. Reid’s change is recorded in the Textual Notes thus:

40/30 assisting] opening

Where there are variants of variants we have usually followed this method of indicating Reid’s changes. In cases where this was not practicable we have explained the alterations in the Textual Notes.

Cancelled passages have been identified and recorded in the Textual Notes. Reid often failed to replace deleted material with a new word or phrase. On p. 132, l. 40, for example, he first wrote ‘objectum facultates seu operationes’, and subsequently deleted ‘facultates seu’, so that in the state in which he left his manuscript only ‘objectum operationes’ remains. This change is recorded in the Textual Notes thus:

132/40 objectum operationes] objectum facultates seu operationes

Reid sometimes left his initial formulation of a revised passage uncanceled. For instance, on p. 42, l. 24, Reid had initially written the phrase, ‘fuit Stagirita

magno’, and then wrote over the line ‘olim’ and ‘& post eum alij cum’, without cancelling his original formulation. This change is recorded in the Textual Notes thus:

42/24 fuit olim Stagirita & post eum alij cum magno] fuit Stagirita magno

In recording Reid’s revisions, we have made a distinction between insertions and additions. Where Reid has indicated where to place additional material in the text (typically with a caret, ‘^’, below the line) we have used the annotation ‘*inserted*’. Where Reid has not indicated where to place additional material with a symbol, we have used the annotation ‘*added*’. Thus, on p. 3, l. 30, Reid has used a marker to indicate the insertion of ‘Lime’. In this (and similar cases) we have recorded the revision thus:

3/30 Lime *inserted*.

But on p. 3, l. 10, Reid has not specifically indicated where to place the additional wording ‘or City’, although the context makes it clear where he intended the wording to go. In this instance (and other similar instances) we have recorded the revision thus:

3/10 or City *added*.

In ambiguous cases, we have specified the revision using the normal convention. Where Reid has written his insertion or addition in the margin of the page, we have noted the location of the insertion or addition in the Textual Notes.

9. The letters included in Appendix A have been formatted following the conventions adopted in *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid* (volume 4 of the Edinburgh Edition).

10. In editing published texts I have retained the original punctuation, spelling, capitalisation and italicisation. I have silently corrected simple typographical errors and have incorporated corrections enumerated in lists of errata. Original pagination is indicated using angle brackets thus, ‘<1>’.

11. The Editorial Notes preceding the Textual Notes contain translations of Latin passages, along with details of the papers and books Reid quotes from or refers to in his texts. The Editorial Notes are indicated in Reid’s texts by asterisks, ‘\*’, and are keyed to the texts using the same convention employed in the Textual Notes. Detailed commentary on the contents of the manuscripts and printed texts has been confined to the Introduction.

Where known, life dates for all figures active prior to 1800 mentioned in the Introduction and the Editorial Notes are given in the Index of Persons and Titles.

# Index of Manuscripts and Published Texts

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## Manuscripts

### Aberdeen University Library, Special Collections Centre

#### *King's College Archives*

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#### *MSS 2131: Birkwood Collection*

- p. 40              2131/2/II/1. 'Question<.> How far it is allowable to principle  
Children with Opinions before they are capable of a Rational  
Enquiry into them.'
- p. 257             2131/5/II/7. Thomas Reid to ?, [1741–54]
- p. 257             2131/6/I/33. Thomas Reid and [John Stewart] to ?, [1737–38]
- pp. 268–71      2131/7/VI/1. Thomas Reid to [Alexander Crombie], [1793]
- pp. 3–7            2131/8/V/1. 'Scheme of a Course of Philosophy', 1752

### Glasgow University Archives

- pp. 260–1      MS 27288. Matthew Morthland to Thomas Reid, 11 March 1776
- p. 262            MS 34617. Matthew Morthland to Thomas Reid, 2 May 1777

### Haverford College, Quaker and Special Collections

- p. 265            Charles Roberts Autograph Letters Collection 250, Box 14,  
Folder 19, Thomas Reid to John Bell, 14 November 1785

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### National Library of Scotland

- pp. 259–60 Acc. 4796, Box 3, Folder 1. Thomas Reid to Sir William Forbes, 26 October 1775
- pp. 261–2 Acc. 4796, Box 3, Folder 2. Thomas Reid to Sir William Forbes, 20 May 1776
- pp. 262–3 Acc. 4796, Box 3, Folder 3. Thomas Reid to Sir William Forbes, 4 May 1777

### St Andrews University Library, Special Collections

- pp. 264–5 msdep7/Autograph collection/80(b). Thomas Reid to [James Gregory], [June–September 1784]
- pp. 266–8 MS Q171.R8, vol. II, fols 5–6. Thomas Reid to John Robison, 12 April 1792

### Published Texts

- pp. 8–18 *Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders of King's College in Old Aberdeen. M.DCC.LIII. With Additions M.DCC.LIV.* [Aberdeen], [1754].
- pp. 187–255 Dugald Stewart. 'Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D.D.' In Dugald Stewart, *Biographical Memoirs, of Adam Smith, LL.D. of William Robertson, D.D. and of Thomas Reid, D.D. Read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (pp. 399–532). Edinburgh, 1811.
- pp. 258–9 Dugald Stewart to Thomas Reid, [1774–75]. In Dugald Stewart, *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart* (vol. I, pp. 133n–4n). Edited by Sir William Hamilton. 11 vols. Edinburgh, 1854–60.
- pp. 274–6 'The Measures of Heat'. In William Irvine and William Irvine the younger, *Essays, Chiefly on Chemical Subjects*. London, 1805, pp. 153–8.

- pp. 19–39      Anon. *Memorials, &c. relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen*. [Aberdeen], 1755.
- pp. 179–86      [Robert Cleghorn]. *Sketch of the Character of the Late Thomas Reid, D.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow; with Observations on the Danger of Political Innovation, from a Discourse Delivered on 28th. Nov. 1794, by Dr. Reid, before the Literary Society in Glasgow College*. Glasgow, 1796.
- pp. 171–8      ‘Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons, communicated by Dr. Thomas Reid, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, a Nephew of the late Dr. David Gregory Savilian Professor at Oxford’. In Charles Hutton, *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary: Containing an Explanation of the Terms, and an Account of the several Subjects, Comprized under the Heads Mathematics, Astronomy and Philosophy, both Natural and Experimental: With an Historical Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of These Sciences: Also Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Authors, Both Ancient and Modern, Who by Their Discoveries or Improvements Have Contributed to the Advancement of Them* (vol. I, pp. 555–8). 2 vols. London, 1795–96.
- pp. 136–70      ‘[Statistical Account of the] University of Glasgow’. In *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (vol. XXI, pp. 1–50). Edited by Sir John Sinclair. 21 vols. Edinburgh, 1791–99.
- p. 266      Thomas Reid to Adair Crawford, [1788]. In Adair Crawford, *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat, and the Inflammation of Combustible Bodies; Being an Attempt to Resolve these Phenomena into a General Law of Nature*. Second edition. London, 1788, p. 6.
- p. 264      Thomas Reid to Lord Kames, [1778–79]. In [Henry Home, Lord Kames], *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion . . . [with] Several Essays Added concerning the Proof of a Deity*. Third edition. Edinburgh, 1779, pp. 204–6.

# Introduction

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## 1. Reform and Union: King's College, 1751–64

Thomas Reid's involvement in university life and his outlook as an educator have received little scholarly attention, even though he lived to the age of eighty-six and spent forty-eight years of his long life working successively as a librarian, a regent and a professor at Marischal College and King's College, Aberdeen, and the University of Glasgow. While his earliest biographers, Robert Cleghorn and Dugald Stewart, drew attention to his 'merit as a Teacher' (p. 180) neither of them mentioned his labours as an academic administrator and reformer, or his interventions in the turbulent academic politics of both King's and Glasgow College. Following in the footsteps of the historians of the University of Aberdeen, John Malcolm Bulloch and Robert Sangster Rait, A. Campbell Fraser briefly discussed Reid's role in the reform of the curriculum and the retention of regenting at King's. Campbell Fraser said nothing, however, about Reid's subsequent engagement in the squabbles that divided those teaching at Glasgow, despite quoting at length letters from Reid to his Aberdeen friends Andrew and David Skene reporting on the political battles being fought in the meetings of faculty and senate.<sup>1</sup> An account of Reid's administrative activities and his allies in the in-fighting at Glasgow College is to be found in the pioneering history of that institution by James Coutts, although Coutts did not reconstruct the full story of Reid's endeavours as a university administrator and academic politician while holding the Glasgow Chair of Moral Philosophy.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, apart from Charles Stewart-Robertson, commentators on Reid have largely ignored his views on education, despite the fact that an extended passage in the *Inquiry* criticises the educational principles informing Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile*,

<sup>1</sup> John Malcolm Bulloch, *A History of the University of Aberdeen, 1495–1895*, pp. 150–2, 176–7; Robert Sangster Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen: A History*, pp. 200–1; A. Campbell Fraser, *Thomas Reid*, pp. 46–7, 83. Reid's contributions to the reform of King's College in 1753 are dealt with in greater detail in Paul Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: The Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century*, ch. 3. The political divisions at King's while Reid taught as a regent are reconstructed in Roger L. Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics: The Aberdeen Universities in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 74–6, 80–7.

<sup>2</sup> James Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow: From Its Foundation in 1451 to 1909*, pp. 272–3, 279–81, 283, 288, 290, 303, 308–9, 316; see also J. D. Mackie, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1951: A Short History*, pp. 206–8, 236.

*ou de l'éducation* (1762).<sup>3</sup> The documents included below in Parts One to Three shed new light on these hitherto understudied aspects of Reid's career and indicate that especially while he was a Regent at King's College, he was able to put into practice the pedagogical principles that he shared with his teacher at Marischal, George Turnbull, and his fellow student David Fordyce, who had both published influential books on education in the 1740s.<sup>4</sup>

On 25 October 1751 Thomas Reid was unanimously elected by the members of King's College to replace the recently deceased Regent and nominal Professor of Mathematics, Alexander Rait.<sup>5</sup> As one of the three regents at the College, Reid was required to teach the *cursus philosophicus*, that is, the three-year cycle of courses that made up the philosophy curriculum. When Reid was appointed at King's, first-year students (bajans) entering the College were instructed in Latin and the rudiments of Greek. As semis in their second year, they progressed to the *cursus philosophicus*, which they began by studying logic and metaphysics. In their tertian year, they were lectured on ethics (including natural law), politics and 'general' physics, and, as magistrands in their fourth year, they were taught 'special' physics and mathematics.<sup>6</sup> When the session at King's began in November 1751, Reid inherited his predecessor's cohort of students who were embarking on their third year. He therefore had to work up lectures on morals, natural law, politics

<sup>3</sup> Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 199–202. For summaries of his ideas regarding education see also his lectures on the culture of the mind in Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 63–4, 75–7. Charles Stewart-Robertson has analysed Reid's educational thought in 'The Well-Principled Savage, or the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment'.

<sup>4</sup> George Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education, in All Its Branches* (1742); David Fordyce, *Dialogues concerning Education* (1745–48). Reid told his students in his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind that Turnbull and Fordyce were among 'the most eminent Authors Ancient & Modern' who had written about education; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 76 (see also p. 16).

<sup>5</sup> Reid was formally admitted as a Regent on 22 November 1751; 'King's College Minutes, 1733–1754', Aberdeen University Library (hereafter AUL), MS KINGS/1/4/1/8, pp. 331, 333. Reid's predecessor, Alexander Rait, graduated from King's College in 1722 and went on to teach mathematics privately at King's until he was appointed as the College's Professor of Mathematics on 31 October 1732. Rait's chair had been vacant since the resignation of the previous Professor of Mathematics, Thomas Bower, in 1717. Rait also replaced John Ker as a Regent at King's in 1734, and it is unclear whether he lectured on mathematics after succeeding Ker; 'King's College Minutes, 1722–1733', AUL, MS KINGS/1/4/1/7, fol. 78r, and Peter John Anderson (ed.), *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen, 1495–1860*, pp. 62, 75–6, 226.

<sup>6</sup> Wood, *Aberdeen Enlightenment*, pp. 3–4. 'General' and 'special' physics, which coalesced as fields of study in sixteenth-century France, gradually transmuted into the subjects of natural or experimental philosophy and natural history during the first half of the eighteenth century. Courses on 'general' physics typically dealt with the scope and definition of physics and the elucidation of basic concepts such as matter and motion, whereas the teaching of 'special' physics usually focused on the consideration of a broad range of celestial and terrestrial phenomena.

and the basics of natural philosophy in 1751–52, while in 1752–53 he probably taught a mixture of natural philosophy and natural history, as well as the elements of arithmetic, algebra and Euclidean geometry. Given that he had only recently become a Regent, it is striking that at some point in 1752 he drafted his ‘Scheme of a Course of Philosophy’ (pp. 3–7), in which he outlines a *cursum philosophicum* whose structure differs considerably from the curriculum then in place at King’s. Significantly, his ‘Scheme’ reads like a template for the curriculum reforms at King’s in 1753, for, as we shall see, the sequence of subjects that he specifies is essentially the same as that in the restructured curriculum approved by the College in August 1753. Whereas at the time he wrote the ‘Scheme’ he taught the various branches of philosophy in the order prescribed by the traditional *cursum philosophicum*, he envisaged a curriculum in which geography and natural history were to be taught in the semi class, natural philosophy and mathematics in the tertian class, and pneumatology, ‘Ethicks[,] Œconomicks [and] Politicks’ in the magistrand class (p. 6). In 1752, he was thus already contemplating replacing the study of metaphysics and logic with that of geography and natural history in the first year of the *cursum philosophicum*, and reversing the order which natural and moral philosophy occupied in the College’s curriculum.

Reid’s ‘Scheme’ may have grown out of preliminary discussions regarding curriculum reform at the two Aberdeen colleges. That such discussions took place is implied by the wording of the minutes of a meeting held at Marischal on 1 September 1752, at which the masters ‘appoint[ed] their Principall to write to the Principall of the Old town College to know what time he and Some of their Faculty can meet with our Faculty anent a Proper Regulation of the Method of Study in the Different Classes of the Colledges &c’.<sup>7</sup> Although the proposed meeting appears not to have taken place, the members of Marischal College pressed ahead with their plan to revise their curriculum. In the *Aberdeen Journal* for 17 October 1752, Principal Thomas Blackwell the younger and his colleagues announced that ‘after long Deliberation and Experience, they have unanimously resolved to make a great Alteration in the usual Course of *Academical Education*, both with respect to the SCIENCES formerly taught, and especially the ORDER of teaching them’. The Marischal men also stated that they had resolved to ‘fix the *Professors of Philosophy* (hitherto ambulatory) each to continue in, and constantly teach the Branch belonging to his Profession’, thereby breaking with the tradition of regenting.<sup>8</sup> Further details of the remodelled curriculum were published in the December issue of the *Scots Magazine*, but it was not until a faculty

<sup>7</sup> ‘Minutes of Marischal College, 1729–1791’, AUL, MS MARISCHAL/1/2/1/1, fol. 39r.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Blackwell the younger, ‘Report on the Reforms at Marischal College’.



meeting held on 11 January 1753 that the specifics of the revamped curriculum and the adoption of fixed chairs were ratified by the College.<sup>9</sup> The unanimous vote in favour of the reform package meant that, beginning in the next session, students at Marischal would follow a *cursus philosophicus* from which the last vestiges of Aristotelian scholasticism had been removed. Instead of following the traditional order of subjects, which the Marischal faculty regarded as being inconsistent with ‘the gradual openings of the Human Mind, as well as the Natural Order of Things’, the students would now begin with natural history, geography, ‘the Elements of Civil History’ and mathematics in their semi class. As tertians, they would learn the basics of mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, astronomy, magnetism and electricity. Then, in their magistrand year, they would be taught ‘the Abstract Sciences, or the Philosophy of Spirits, Pneumatology, Ethics, and Logic’. In following this order, moreover, the masters at Marischal hoped that they would ‘render the Study of the Sciences more advantageous in life, than it is generally thought to be’ and ‘remove the prejudices some have entertained against University Education as useless’.<sup>10</sup>

Because their academic competitors in New Aberdeen had taken the initiative in reforming their curriculum and teaching practices, Reid and his colleagues at King’s College were obliged to respond to the Marischal reforms in order to attract students to Old Aberdeen. By the early spring of 1753 new regulations governing the ‘Order & Discipline of the College’ had been drafted, and at a meeting held on 23 March the regulations were approved by the masters at King’s, although they were not entered into the minutes. The masters also struck a committee consisting of the Principal, John Chalmers, the Humanist Thomas Gordon, Reid and his fellow Regent Roderick Macleod ‘for conserting a proper Plan for the (Economie and Suggesting further proposals for the better Regulating [of] the Discipline of the College & Improving the plan of Education’.<sup>11</sup> Reid and his fellow committee members first drew up proposals regarding the ‘(Economie’ of the College and these were approved on 6 July 1753 at a meeting of the Principal and faculty.<sup>12</sup> Reid’s committee next considered the state of the curriculum and the issue of whether to retain the regenting system. By the time of the next

<sup>9</sup> Anon., ‘The Order of Teaching in the Marischal College, &c.’; ‘Minutes of Marischal College, 1729–1790’, fol. 42r–v.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Minutes of Marischal College, 1729–1790’, fol. 42r–v. At the request of his colleagues, Alexander Gerard later published his *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of It* (1755), which provided a rationale for, and a defence of, the reformed curriculum at Marischal.

<sup>11</sup> ‘King’s College Minutes, 1734–1754’, p. 355.

<sup>12</sup> ‘King’s College Minutes, 1734–1754’, pp. 361–4. The œconomist at King’s evidently disapproved of the proposals for he resigned and the position had to be advertised.

College meeting, held on 17 August 1753, the committee members had not only consulted with their colleagues about these matters but had also drafted ‘Ane Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders of the Colledge’, which was a comprehensive statement of the new regulations governing all aspects of academic life at King’s. According to the minutes, ‘The Meeting did Unanimously Approve of the [Abstract] and appointed it to be Printed and to be distributed among the Alumni & Well wishers of the Colledge’.<sup>13</sup> Shortly thereafter, the Colledge printer, James Chalmers, produced copies of the pamphlet, which were widely distributed in the north-east and to a lesser extent elsewhere in Scotland. The work of Reid’s committee was not finished, however, because King’s received comments from ‘many Persons of worth and Learning, and some of high Rank and Character’ (p. 15) about the changes made at the Colledge, which prompted the committee members to submit a set of supplementary regulations at a meeting of the Principal and masters convened on 6 April 1754. After approving these regulations, those in attendance noted that ‘The Copies of the former Regulations [were] almost all Distributed’ and hence requested the printing of ‘a New Impression of the former Regulations, having those presently agreed upon Subjoined to it’.<sup>14</sup> This is the text of the *Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders of King’s Colledge in Old Aberdeen* that is reproduced below.

Although the minutes of the meetings at which the reforms at King’s were discussed indicate that Reid may not have had a guiding hand in the initial drafting of the regulations dealing with student discipline, there is little doubt that he played a leading role in the formulation of the statutes that were approved by the Colledge in August 1753 and April 1754 and printed in the *Abstract*. The anonymous author(s) of the statistical account of King’s Colledge published in 1799 noted that ‘the celebrated Dr Reid’s opinion, and views respecting education, are supposed in general to have prevailed’ in the framing of the regulations adopted in 1753–54, and that Reid was a ‘zealous advocat[e]’ for the regenting system. This statement was based on information provided by Reid’s fellow reformer at King’s, the long-serving Thomas Gordon. Similarly, in January 1764 Reid’s pupil and protégé William Ogilvie told David Steuart Erskine (later the eleventh earl of Buchan) that ‘This Colledge [King’s] owes to Dr Reid several valuable improvements in their Plan of Education’.<sup>15</sup> According to Ogilvie,

<sup>13</sup> ‘King’s Colledge Minutes, 1734–1754’, pp. 366–73 (the quotation appears on p. 363).

<sup>14</sup> ‘King’s Colledge Minutes, 1734–1754’, pp. 393–7 (the quotation appears on p. 394).

<sup>15</sup> Anon., ‘University and King’s Colledge of Aberdeen’, in Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–99), vol. XXI, pp. 79, 83, 103; William Ogilvie to David Steuart Erskine, eleventh earl of Buchan, 5 January 1764, in David Steuart Erskine, eleventh earl of Buchan, ‘Extracts

By his [Reid's] persuasion the Session was prolonged from five to seven months. Logic was almost entirely omitted.

The Philosophy of the Mind was made to come after that of Material Nature and Natural History was introduced which I believe had never before been taught in Scotland nor perhaps with due regard to System in any of the Universities of Europe.<sup>16</sup>

*Prima facie*, it may seem implausible to see Reid as deeply involved in the formulation of the rules to be observed at the public table in the College or the cleanliness of the rooms and public spaces at King's, not least because of Dugald Stewart's depiction of Reid in his 'learned retreat' in Old Aberdeen immersed in his lectures and preoccupied by the threat of Humean scepticism (p. 187). Nevertheless, as James Beattie sourly observed some years later, Reid had a penchant for drawing up elaborate systems of rules and regulations, and, although the body of statutes contained in the *Abstract* may seem obsessively detailed, the *Abstract* embodies a view of collegiate life rooted in Reid's conviction that a well-regulated form of education was central to the moral perfection of the individual and one of the 'means of promoting and preserving Virtue in a State'.<sup>17</sup>

What came to be known as the 'new regulations' at King's bear the impress of Reid's view of an ideal university education in a number of ways.<sup>18</sup> First, as William Ogilvie noted, Reid convinced his colleagues of the need to increase the length of the teaching session from five to seven months. Presumably, Reid did so on the basis of his own experience as a student at Marischal College, for Dugald Stewart mentions that Reid had observed that 'the sessions of the College were, at that time, very short, and the education . . . slight and superficial' (p. 190). And in the battle which began in October 1759 over the length of the session and the number and size of the student bursaries offered at King's, Reid and his allies resolutely defended both the extension of the teaching year and the amalgamation of smaller bursaries in order to cover the cost of the longer session.<sup>19</sup>

from the Diaries and Letter-books of the 11th earl of Buchan. No. 9. The Story of His Life, 1764', Glasgow University Library (hereafter GUL), MS Murray 502/65.

<sup>16</sup> Ogilvie to Erskine, 5 January 1764.

<sup>17</sup> James Beattie to Robert Arbuthnot, [c. 10 August 1792], in James Beattie, *The Correspondence of James Beattie*, ed. Roger J. Robinson, vol. IV, p. 174; Beattie saw Reid as an overly speculative thinker who was needlessly fascinated by the byzantine complexities of James Harrington's *Oceana*. Reid's fascination with Harrington's *Oceana* is reflected in his politics lectures; see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xlvi, 38–44. For Reid on the importance of education see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> Anon., 'University and King's College of Aberdeen', p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> 'King's College Minutes, 1754–1762', AUL, MS KINGS/1/4/1/9, pp. 53–61. Following the reforms of 1753–54, the numbers of incoming students at King's plummeted, which precipitated

Secondly, the order and contents of the reformed *cursus philosophicus* described in the *Abstract* correspond to the curriculum outlined in Reid's 'Scheme', with natural history, geography and civil history taught in the semi class, followed by natural philosophy in the tertian class and 'the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Sciences that depend upon it' in the magistrand class (p. 15). Moreover, the rationale given for the reordering of the sequence of subjects over the three years of the course, namely that 'those Parts of Philosophy which are conversant about Objects of Sense ought in the Order of teaching to precede those which have the Mind and its Faculties for their Objects' (p. 14), registers Reid's conception of the unfolding of our mental faculties and the consequent 'natural order in the progress of the sciences'.<sup>20</sup> It is also plausible to see the expansion of the teaching of mathematics 'both speculative and practical' as reflecting Reid's intellectual priorities, given that he was a gifted mathematician who had engaged in various lines of mathematical enquiry prior to his appointment at King's.<sup>21</sup>

Thirdly, the supplementary statute agreed to in 1754 specifying what was meant by the phrase 'the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Sciences that depend upon it' is a succinct formulation of Reid's conception of the scope and foundational character of the science of the mind. The nod to the traditional subject of pneumatology in the inclusion of 'the Knowledge we may acquire of other Minds, and particularly of the supreme Mind' notwithstanding, the wording of this statute strikes a distinctively Reidean note in stating that the '*Philosophy of the Mind*' dealt with 'the Improvements' our mental powers 'are capable of, and the Means of their Improvement' (p. 16). For Reid, this was the essence of what he called (following Cicero and especially Bacon) the 'culture of the mind'.<sup>22</sup> The

a crisis that was exacerbated by deep disagreement among the Principal and masters over how to remedy the situation. Reid persistently defended the reforms adopted in 1753–54 and he was supported by his kinsman John Gregory, Thomas Gordon, George Gordon (Professor of Hebrew) and John Lumsden (Professor of Divinity). On the dispute at King's see Wood, *Aberdeen Enlightenment*, pp. 71–2, and Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics*, p. 81.

<sup>20</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 17, 28–30; Reid, *On Practical Ethics*, p. 6; and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 13. Compare 'Minutes of Marischal College, 1729–1790', fol. 42r, and Gerard, *Plan of Education*, pp. 6–7, 23–6.

<sup>21</sup> On Reid as a mathematician and his teaching of mathematics at King's see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xxv–xxxii, xxxvi–xl, and lxxx–lxxxvi.

<sup>22</sup> Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King, pp. 159–61 (II.v.13); Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), ed. Michael Kiernan, pp. 132–3, 145–56; Francis Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum* (1623), in *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. John M. Robertson, pp. 571–8. Reid's immediate context is explored in Charles Stewart-Robertson, 'The Pneumatics and Georgics of the Scottish Mind'. For Reid's broader historical context see Sorana Corneanu, *Regimens of the Mind: Boyle, Locke and the Early Modern Cultura Animi Tradition*, and Peter Harrison, 'Francis Bacon, Natural Philosophy and the Cultivation of the Mind'. As shown below (pp. lxi–lxiii), Reid's conception of the culture of the mind was taken from Bacon's writings.

delineation of ‘the mutual Influence of Body and Mind on each other’ was another Baconian element in Reid’s anatomy of the mind, and one that was fundamental to his understanding of the structural relationship among the sciences insofar as he maintained that ‘the fine Arts or Arts of Taste depend chiefly upon the Connexions between Mind & Body and derive their first principles from these Connections’.<sup>23</sup> The assertion in the *Abstract* that ‘Logic, Rhetoric, the Laws of Nature and Nations, Politicks, Oeconomics, the fine Arts and natural Religion’ are all grounded on the science of the mind registers his belief that ‘the faculties of the human Mind are the Engines and Tools with which we work in every branch of Science’ (pp. 15–16).<sup>24</sup> In construing the dependency of this cluster of the human sciences on the anatomy of our mental powers, Reid was following in the footsteps of David Hume as well as his Regent at Marischal, George Turnbull.<sup>25</sup>

Fourthly, we have seen that it was acknowledged at King’s at the end of the eighteenth century that in 1753 Reid persuaded the College to retain the regenting system (p. xxv), even though all of the other Scottish universities had abandoned that system in favour of fixed chairs.<sup>26</sup> For a ‘multi-competent intellect’ such as Reid, teaching mathematics and the ensemble of subjects that made up the reformed *cursum philosophicum* was not a daunting prospect, even though it may have been for the other regents. Hence the statement that it was not ‘at all extravagant to suppose, that a Professor ought to be sufficiently qualified to teach all that his Pupils can learn in Philosophy, in the Course of three Sessions’ (p. 14) was perhaps designed to reassure his colleagues as much as the parents of prospective students.<sup>27</sup> What is significant about the defence of regenting in the *Abstract* is that it is not couched in terms of the unity of the sciences but rather

<sup>23</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 193; Reid later explored the connexions between mind and body in his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind. The passage in which Reid mentions the study of ‘the Effect of Body & Mind upon each other’ in his ‘Scheme’ clearly indicates his indebtedness to Bacon’s characterisation of this study in Book IV of *De augmentis scientiarum*; compare Reid, ‘Scheme’, p. 5 below, with Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, pp. 480–2. John Gregory shared Reid’s Baconian conception of the relations between mind and body; see Paul Wood, ‘The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment’, pp. 91–2.

<sup>24</sup> Reid, *On Practical Ethics*, p. 7. Reid elaborated on his view of the tree of the sciences in his introductory lecture to his Glasgow course on moral philosophy; see Reid, *On Practical Ethics*, pp. 3–16. For other formulations of these points by Reid see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 6–8, 9, 65–6, 192–3, 207, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 12–15.

<sup>25</sup> David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40), ed. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, p. 4; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 389–91.

<sup>26</sup> The Town’s College in Edinburgh was the first to switch to fixed chairs, in 1707, followed by Glasgow (1727), St Andrews (1747) and Marischal College (1753). King’s eventually abandoned the regenting system in 1800.

<sup>27</sup> The phrase ‘multi-competent intellect’ is John Christie’s; see John R. R. Christie, ‘The Origins and Development of the Scottish Scientific Community, 1680–1760’, p. 127.

in terms of the intellectual and moral benefit to students of having a ‘Tutor’ who would monitor their progress through the curriculum and assess their readiness to move on through the successive years of the *cursus philosophicus*. Like Turnbull, Reid believed in the systematic coherence of the various branches of learning and he employed the same metaphor of the ‘tree of knowledge’ to elucidate the interrelatedness of the sciences.<sup>28</sup> Yet, in thinking about education he placed much greater emphasis on the importance of the inculcation of sound morals and good habits than he did on purely intellectual attainments. He later told his students at Glasgow that ‘Man [is] intended for Action more than for Speculation’ and that ‘the real Worth and Merit of a Man does not consist in fine Speculations but in acting right’. Consequently, according to Reid the primary task for parents and educators was to ‘Educat[e] men to Virtue[,] industry & good Habits which are necessary in all conditions of Life’.<sup>29</sup> Given these educational priorities, it would seem that Reid maintained that the regenting system was better suited to the moral formation of the individual than the system of fixed chairs because regents were in a position to scrutinise the behaviour and application of their pupils. Understood in these terms, regents acted *in loco parentis* and, while this point dovetailed with the need to assuage anxious parents by stressing the high degree of supervision that students would receive at the College (p. 14), the defence of regenting in the *Abstract* also reflects the basic principles of Reid’s theory of education.<sup>30</sup>

Fifthly, the scheme for a museum in the seventh supplementary statute of 1754 bears Reid’s hallmark. His wide-ranging interests in mathematics and the natural sciences appear to have shaped the proposal, insofar as the museum was conceived primarily in terms of the study of natural history, natural philosophy and the various branches of mathematics, with no provision made for the inclusion of materials related to civil history. Moreover, his competence as a mathematician and natural philosopher undoubtedly lay behind the plan to purchase instruments for use in the teaching of the mathematical sciences of surveying, navigation, astronomy and optics. We know that Reid employed such instruments in teaching

<sup>28</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 8; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 390–1. On the metaphor of the ‘tree of knowledge’ see Richard Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture*, pp. 23, 132–3.

<sup>29</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 76, 190. Reid echoes Locke’s statement that ‘Action [is] the great business of Mankind’; John Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), ed. Peter H. Nidditch, p. 293 (II.xxii.10).

<sup>30</sup> For regenting as a system of education adapted to the competitive educational marketplace in Scotland in the 1750s, see Wood, *Aberdeen Enlightenment*, pp. 68–9. Writing to the father of two sons who were about to enter King’s College, Reid himself emphasised that their activities would be closely watched by the masters and staff; Reid to Archibald Dunbar, 4 September 1755, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 10–11.



these sciences and he probably regarded the stock of somewhat outdated instruments owned by the College to be inadequate for pedagogical or research purposes.<sup>31</sup> And the proposed acquisition of models, prints and paintings of ‘the most Usefull & Curious Instruments and Machines, Ancient or Modern’ recalls the wording and objectives of a similar public appeal for funds made by the masters at Marischal College in 1726 that Reid undoubtedly remembered from his student days.<sup>32</sup>

Sixthly, while Reid was not alone at King’s in criticising scholasticism, the dismissal of the ‘Logic and Metaphysic of the Schoolmen’ as subjects which were ‘justly of less Value in the present Age’ in the *Abstract* registers not only his attitude towards the legacy of Aristotelian scholasticism but also his conception of the uses served by a liberal education. In his *Observations upon Liberal Education*, George Turnbull had written critically of ‘the wild, pedantic jargon that hath long had too great a share in some schools and universities, under the name of metaphysic or ontology’ and what he called ‘the wrangling arts’, which he said taught ‘young people to delight in barking at one another like young whelps’.<sup>33</sup> He also took aim at the curriculum of the schools in questioning the teaching of logic at the beginning, rather than at the end, of a student’s course of studies and, in doing so, followed the argument of Francis Bacon, John Milton and other educational reformers.<sup>34</sup> In his condemnation of ‘the philosophy of the schools of Europe’ that had flourished ‘during many ages of darkness and barbarism’, Reid echoed Turnbull’s critique of scholasticism, as well as the criticisms of Aristotelianism put forward by Bacon, John Locke and a host of seventeenth-century opponents of the scholastic tradition. According to Reid,

philosophy . . . [became] an art of speaking learnedly, and disputing subtly, without producing any invention of use in human life. It was fruitful of words, but barren of works, and admirably contrived for drawing a veil over human ignorance, and putting a stop to the progress of knowledge, by filling men with a conceit that they knew every thing. It was very fruitful also in controversies; but for the most part they were controversies about words, or about things of no moment, or things above the reach of the human faculties: And the issue of them was what might be expected, that the contending parties fought, without

<sup>31</sup> Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xxxvii, lxxxiv–lxxxvi.

<sup>32</sup> On the 1726 initiative at Marischal College see Wood, *Aberdeen Enlightenment*, pp. 15–17.

<sup>33</sup> Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 35 note, 347, 349. Turnbull attributed his characterisation of traditional logic to Plato.

<sup>34</sup> Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 277–8. Compare Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 59; John Milton, *Of Education* (1673), ed. Allan Abbott, in *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson et al., vol. IV, pp. 278–9.

gaining or losing an inch of ground, till they were weary of the dispute, or their attention was called off to some other subject.<sup>35</sup>

Scholasticism was, for Reid, the barren fruit of Aristotle's philosophy. Although he recognised that Aristotle had possessed 'an uncommon share' of genius and had engaged in 'indefatigable study, and immense reading', he said that the Stagirite's writings 'carry too evident marks of that philosophical pride, vanity, and envy, which have too often sullied the character of the learned'. These moral failings manifested themselves in Aristotle's *Organon*, which Reid believed amounted to little more than an instruction manual on how to engage in 'litigation' and 'to contend, not for the truth merely, but for victory'.<sup>36</sup> Logic had suffered as a consequence, for, as he put it in his 1753 philosophical oration, the art of dialectic had been 'fertile in thorns of controversy and disputation but ha[d] been sterile and unproductive of true science and inventions useful to human beings' (p. 55). Moreover, from the time of Aristotle onwards, logic had been 'taught too early in life'. While Reid allowed that there might be a form of 'elementary logic, level to the capacity of those who have been but little exercised in reasoning', he maintained that 'the most important parts of [logic] require a ripe understanding, capable of reflecting upon its own operations'. Consequently, he insisted that 'to make logic the first branch of science that is to be taught, is an old error that ought to be corrected'.<sup>37</sup> The omission of metaphysics from the reformed curriculum at King's can thus be seen as being driven by Reid's antipathy to scholasticism, while the transfer of the study of logic from the semi to the magistrand year may have been, as William Ogilvie suggested, due largely to Reid's contribution to the deliberations of the committee which drafted the 'new regulations' of 1753–54.

As for the purpose of a liberal education, Reid's answer to this question was implicit in his 'Scheme', where he noted the need for 'A View of the Different Stations in Life & the Qualities of Body & Mind & Fortune necessary to the proper Duties of them' (p. 7). Even though we have seen that Reid held that the primary aim of education was to '[train] men to Virtue industry and other good Habits which make men happy in themselves and usefull in Society', he nevertheless acknowledged that the form of education individuals received had to be appropriate to their 'Tempers Fortunes Station in Life and the Character or Profession for which they are bred'.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, in reforming the College,

<sup>35</sup> Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 114 (II.8).

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic. With Remarks', in Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 97, 137, 139; Reid's 'A Brief Account' was first published in 1774.

<sup>37</sup> Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic. With Remarks', pp. 144–5.

<sup>38</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 63, 77.



careful consideration had to be given not only to the inculcation of ‘good habits’ and sound moral principles but also to the kind of curriculum that would ‘qualify Men for the more useful and important Offices of Society’ (p. 14). The revamped curriculum Reid and his committee put in place in 1753–54 was designed to advance both of these educational ends. Reid was clearly articulating the rationale for the curriculum reforms at King’s when he later told his students in his private class on the culture of the mind at Glasgow that

there is a common Curriculum for all Scholars in places of Education, which it is intended they should run in common before they apply to their separate Professions. It is the intention of this Accademical Curriculum that Young Gentlemen being initiated in the Languages, in History Natural & Civil, in the Principles of Mathematicks and Physicks, of Logic Pneumatology Ethicks Jurisprudence & Politicks, should have all the faculties of their Minds opened enlarged and strengthened by being exercised in all these different ways.<sup>39</sup>

In these notes, dating from 1766, Reid obviously refers to the curriculum described in both his ‘Scheme’ and the ‘new regulations’ of 1753–54, and points to the reasons why this curriculum was adopted at King’s, namely that it provided the learning suitable for a gentleman and for those entering the professions of the law, medicine or the clergy. And it was this form of a ‘Liberal Education’ which he maintained would allow students to ‘acquire those Qualifications’ that would bring ‘honour’ to themselves and to their families as well as benefit the nation and humankind more generally.<sup>40</sup>

Although the ‘new regulations’ were drafted by the committee struck in March 1753 and approved by the College as a whole, there is little doubt that many of the original statutes of 1753 as well as the supplementary statutes of 1754 bear the distinctive imprint of Reid’s educational thought, and for this reason we have included the *Abstract* among the texts reproduced below.<sup>41</sup> Similar considerations apply to the pamphlet *Memorials, &c. relating to the Union of the King’s and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen*, published in 1755. The reforms at King’s and Marischal prompted the revival of a scheme to unite the two Aberdeen colleges which had first been mooted in early 1747. This scheme was a response to the

<sup>39</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> It is likely that Reid’s fellow member of the committee, the Humanist Thomas Gordon, drafted the fourth of the supplementary statutes regarding the teaching of Greek and Latin (p. 16). The proposals for the creation of a museum and the construction of a chemical laboratory and anatomy theatre in the seventh of the supplementary statutes were partly linked to the attempt to establish a medical school at King’s; see Wood, *Aberdeen Enlightenment*, p. 71.

ongoing negotiations to amalgamate St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges in St Andrews, which eventually led to their union in June 1747. In the face of concerted opposition from the Aberdeen Town Council and indifference on the part of the government in London, however, the Aberdeen union scheme was abandoned in 1749.<sup>42</sup> But once the reforms were in place at King's and Marischal, a committee was struck in 1754 to reconsider the possibility of uniting them. The committee consisted of members from both institutions: Reid and his kinsman James Gregory from King's, who joined forces with the Marischal professors William Duncan, John Stewart and Alexander Gerard (who also acted as clerk of the committee).<sup>43</sup> The make-up of the committee is noteworthy for two reasons: first, the Principals of the two colleges, John Chalmers (King's) and Thomas Blackwell the younger (Marischal), were not directly involved in the deliberations of the committee; and, secondly, William Duncan was the only member not closely tied to Reid through kinship or friendship. The committee was thus almost exclusively made up of like-minded men who shared a common view of education and who were not inclined simply to defend the interests of their respective colleges in their negotiations. Although no record of the meetings of the committee survive, the members presumably convened during the course of the summer of 1754. Shortly after the start of the teaching session, a meeting of the Principals and masters of both colleges was held on 8 November at which those in attendance unanimously endorsed the document 'Articles of Union, agreed upon between the Principal and Masters of King's and Marischal Colleges'.<sup>44</sup> At this meeting, all parties also agreed to send a letter to the formidable manager of Scottish affairs in London, the third duke of Argyll, 'soliciting his interest and direction in carrying on and bringing to an issue the Union of the two Colleges'.<sup>45</sup> The letter was to be delivered to Argyll by George Middleton of Seaton, who

<sup>42</sup> Wood, *Aberdeen Enlightenment*, pp. 61–3, 225–7.

<sup>43</sup> James Gregory served as the Professor of Medicine at King's from 1732 until his death in November 1755. With the establishment of fixed philosophy chairs at Marischal in 1753, William Duncan became the Professor of Natural Philosophy and Alexander Gerard became the Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic.

<sup>44</sup> A manuscript copy of the 'Articles of Union' survives in AUL, MS MARISCHAL/4/1/1/1/6; the document is signed by all of the members of the committee. A printed version of the 'Articles of Union' on a single sheet dated 20 July 1786 is to be found in AUL, MSU 557/2. Another printed version is included in Anon., *A Complete Collection of the Papers relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen: Containing, Not Only Those Already Published by Authority, but also Several Original Papers, and Many by Anonymous Writers on Both Sides of the Question* (1787), pp. 2–4.

<sup>45</sup> Anon., *A Complete Collection of the Papers relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen*, p. 5. Given that the text of the letter was approved by those at the meeting on 8 November, the letter must have been drafted previously.

was one of Argyll's political allies in the north-east of Scotland and later a rector of King's affiliated with Reid's faction in the College. Middleton, so the letter indicated, was to act as Argyll's agent in managing the union locally.<sup>46</sup>

The twelve 'Articles of Union' drawn up by Reid and his committee focussed on the number of professors who would teach at the united college, their salaries and the thorny issue of who would control the patronage of their positions (see the summary below, pp. 38–9). The second article stipulated that 'the Professions in the United College be the same as in the King's College at present, with the addition only of a Professor of Mathematics', which allowed for the fact that unlike King's Marischal lacked a Civilist but had a chair of mathematics thanks to the bequest of the distinguished seventeenth-century man of science Duncan Liddell, who had been born in Aberdeen.<sup>47</sup> Most of the remaining articles dealt with the difficult practical problem of how the two sets of professors could be amalgamated into one without any of the current office holders losing their posts. Surprisingly, in light of their retention of the regenting system in the reforms of 1753–54, the Principal and masters of King's (including Reid) made a notable concession in accepting that the philosophy chairs would be fixed in the united college.<sup>48</sup> But it is significant that the 'Articles of Union' did not address other equally contentious issues, namely where the united college was to be located and whether the united college would be a collegiate body like King's or an institution which allowed students to board elsewhere in Old and New Aberdeen.

Having militantly opposed the 1747 scheme for uniting King's and Marischal, the Aberdeen Town Council again moved to defend the perceived interests of the New Town. The Council insisted that it would consent to the planned union only if the united college was located in New Aberdeen. Moreover, the Council cultivated the political support of James Ogilvy, the fifth earl of Findlater and second earl of Seafield, in order to counter the influence of the duke of Argyll.<sup>49</sup> Even

<sup>46</sup> Anon., *A Complete Collection of the Papers relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen*, p. 5. On George Middleton of Seaton and King's see Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics*, pp. 82–3.

<sup>47</sup> 'Articles of Union', in Anon., *A Complete Collection of the Papers relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen*, p. 2. In retaining the chair of mathematics, Reid and his colleagues recognised that the Aberdeen Town Council, which had the patronage of the chair, would have been unwilling to see the position disappear.

<sup>48</sup> See Article IV, 'Articles of Union', in Anon., *A Complete Collection of the Papers relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen*, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Aberdeen Town Council Register, vol. LXII, Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives, MS CA/1/1/62, entries for 14, 20 and 21 November 1754; Aberdeen Town Council to James Ogilvy, fifth earl of Findlater and second earl of Seafield, 18 February 1755, and Ogilvy to the Aberdeen Town Council, 8 March 1755, in the Outgoing Correspondence of Aberdeen Burgh, 4 January 1748–25 March 1755, Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives, MS CA/8/3/3. Roger Emerson has pointed

though Findlater was not a disinterested party, he was nevertheless appointed to mediate between King's, Marischal and the Aberdeen Town Council regarding the contested question of the site, and in November 1754 the three sides submitted documents to him outlining their respective views on this issue (pp. 21–35). Dismayed by the concerted opposition of their counterparts at Marischal and the members of the Town Council to siting the united college in Old Aberdeen, and displeased with the tactics of the baillies and their allies, King's College formally withdrew from the negotiations surrounding the proposed union on 3 December 1754. And, having broken off these negotiations, Principal Chalmers and his colleagues at King's justified their decision to do so by publishing the pamphlet reproduced below in February 1755 (pp. 19–21).

In the letter prefacing the *Memorials*, Principal Chalmers and the masters at King's stated that the College had been unjustly exposed to public censure because copies of their submission to Findlater had been circulated by the Aberdeen Town Council. Consequently, Chalmers and his colleagues had elected to print the documents sent to Findlater by the three parties involved in the negotiations in order not only to vindicate themselves but also to counter the stratagems of the Council by showing that the proposed union was 'a *matter of public concern*, in which the North of *Scotland* and the whole country have a greater interest than any particular society or town' (p. 19).<sup>50</sup> And, according to the 'Memorial' of the Principal and masters at King's, the public interest was best served by locating the united college in Old Aberdeen. They argued that from a financial and practical point of view, siting the united college in New Aberdeen would be a mistake. Contrasting the state of the colleges, they pointed out that there was no accommodation for either pupils or professors at Marischal and that the College building required expensive renovations because it was in serious disrepair, whereas, they noted, the buildings at King's had recently been refurbished and could readily accommodate over 150 students and in the Old Town there was also sufficient housing for the teaching staff (pp. 21–2).<sup>51</sup> Significantly, this argument presupposed that the

out that Findlater was closely connected with the Aberdeen Town Council and that from the beginning of the negotiations regarding the union of the Aberdeen colleges he favoured locating the united college in the New Town; Emerson, *Professors, Politics and Patronage*, p. 125 notes 13 and 18.

<sup>50</sup> In framing the argument in this way, Chalmers and his colleagues appealed to the interests of parents living in their primary catchment area for students, namely the north-east and the Highlands; see the classic study by Robert Noyes Smart, 'Some Observations on the Provinces of the Scottish Universities, 1560–1850', pp. 100, 102–3, as well as Colin A. McLaren, *Aberdeen Students, 1600–1860*, Appendix IV.

<sup>51</sup> The fabric of Marischal College was, in fact, in poor condition in the mid-eighteenth century; Jennifer J. Carter and Colin A. McLaren, *Crown and Gown, 1495–1995: An Illustrated History of the University of Aberdeen*, pp. 55–6.

collegiate model of education upon which the 1753–54 reforms at King’s were founded would be adopted in the united college, and the Principal and masters asserted that it was this model (which they traced back to Bishop Dunbar’s foundation charter) that furthered the ‘*public good*’. Echoing Reid’s justification for the retention of the regenting system in the *Abstract*, they contended that professors at an institution such as Marischal College had ‘nothing to do, but to appear so many hours in school, and to have no further thought nor care’ for their students. By contrast, the order and discipline at a college such as King’s allowed the masters to fulfil the primary duty of an educator, which was to ‘look after’ their pupils by policing their moral and intellectual development (p. 24). Given these pragmatic and pedagogical considerations, the Principal and masters at King’s therefore urged that the united college be located in Old Aberdeen.

The King’s faculty, however, made two additional points which they must have realised were hardly calculated to win them support in New Aberdeen. First, Chalmers and his colleagues juxtaposed the urban setting of Marischal with the pastoral environment of King’s and claimed that it was ‘universally agreed’ that ‘a pleasant well situated and retired village’ such as Old Aberdeen was a more suitable location for an educational institution than ‘the middle of a populous town, growing daily in riches and luxury’ such as New Aberdeen. Luxury, they observed, bred temptation, and urban life made it impossible ‘by any discipline that can be established, to fix the minds of those of better rank, so as to make them apply to study, when they are surrounded by public diversions to distract and dissipate their thoughts’. They maintained that when students were allowed to board privately in a town they were necessarily exposed to ‘numberless temptations, to idleness and debauchery of every kind, both with respect to their principles and their morals’. Moreover, they suggested that, by living in a town, the students inevitably mixed with members of the lower orders, and they highlighted the plight of students from less well-off backgrounds whose finances forced them to board in quarters in which they could not avoid associating with ‘*hirers,—stblers,—soldiers, and the very lowest dregs of the people*’. Consequently, Chalmers and his colleagues maintained that a united college situated in the Old Town would keep students away from the vices inherent in town life, and that the collegiate system was the most effective means to preserve the morals of their pupils (p. 23).

Secondly, and more controversially, Chalmers and his colleagues questioned the common practice in New Aberdeen of sending boys aged eleven or twelve to Marischal for two years before entering them into a trade or profession. The King’s men contended that this practice was harmful, since the boys learned nothing that would be useful to them in their future careers and instead acquired ‘habits of *idleness*, which are not easily shaken off’. Hence the Principal and masters at King’s urged Findlater to agree to locate the united college in Old

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Aberdeen, because they believed that this move would discourage parents in New Aberdeen from using the united college as an educational holding ground for their sons. Furthermore, they suggested that the exclusion of such students would also improve the standard of education at the united college, for ‘instead of spending their time in teaching these children and keeping them out of harm’s way’ the professors would be able ‘to employ their labours more suitably in teaching such as are really designed for learning and learned professions’ (pp. 25–6). The Principal and masters at King’s thus envisaged a less diverse student body at the united college, just as they had earlier aimed to foster a more socially exclusive group of pupils in their reforms of 1753–54. And while the view of higher education they articulated proved to be contentious when copies of their ‘Memorial’ were circulated by the Aberdeen Town Council, the King’s men were, in effect, simply drawing out the implications of the pedagogical principles that had shaped those reforms.

The ‘Memorial’ submitted by the Principal and professors at Marischal College to the earl of Findlater was much less substantial than that drawn up by their counterparts at King’s in terms of both length and content. Insofar as there was a good deal at stake, the slightly anodyne character of the Marischal submission is surprising and suggests that the faculty refrained from presenting a detailed argument because they did not want to alienate either their colleagues at King’s or the Aberdeen Town Council. While they provided at least token support for the Council’s position that the united college had to be sited in New Aberdeen, they also distanced themselves from the aggressive stance taken by the Provost and baillies. Nevertheless, the Marischal men enumerated five reasons why the costs of locating the united college in the Old Town far outweighed the benefits. First, they cited the likely drop in student numbers, which, as we have seen, apparently did not worry their counterparts at King’s. Secondly, the professors at Marischal countered the argument of King’s regarding the detrimental moral consequences of having the united college in New Aberdeen by pointing out that most of the families who sent their sons to study in the New Town had ‘some friends and connexions’ who would provide lodgings and supervise their boys while at university. According to the Marischal men, therefore, there was no need for the collegiate regime adopted at King’s and, further, they also claimed that boarding in a crowded college was just as likely to lead to moral corruption, no matter how much the students were policed. Moreover, they emphasised that it was only in an urban environment that a student could obtain a fully rounded education, since there were private teachers available in the town for subjects that were not covered in the curriculum, and the multifaceted character of social life in an urban setting provided ‘the opportunity of conversation, and of seeing company, and by acquaintance with persons of every way of business, of being prepared in



some manner for any employment' (p. 27). Hence even though the members of the two Aberdeen colleges agreed that the purpose of education was to produce polite and virtuous citizens, they differed sharply over who ought to be educated at a university, with King's targeting the landed classes and the professions and Marischal looking to those engaged in trade and commerce.

Thirdly, the Marischal faculty provocatively played on public fears of political subversion when they suggested that 'private *Academies*' would spring up in New Aberdeen if the united college were located in the Old Town, on the ground that 'the disaffected party will, with their usual activity, fondly seize so favourable an opportunity of obtaining teachers of their own principles, by whom youth will run a great risque of being corrupted' (p. 28). Private academies had been hotbeds for Jacobitism and Episcopalianism in the north of Scotland earlier in the century, while the Catholic college of Scalán operated not far away in Banffshire, so that the Marischal men were not entirely grasping at straws.<sup>52</sup> As Chalmers and his colleagues at King's noted, however, the argument was a specious one because, with 'the laws now in force, and the vigilance and authority of well affected magistrates, every such disaffected *Academy* may be easily suppressed' (p. 20).<sup>53</sup> Fourthly, contrary to the assertions of King's, the Principal and professors at Marischal claimed that the buildings in the Old Town were not in fact large enough to accommodate all of the students at the united college and at the same time provide the space required for teaching and administrative purposes. Hence

<sup>52</sup> This argument was doubly ironic. The spectre of Jacobite and Episcopalian private academies had already been raised in March 1749 by the Principals of Marischal and King's, Thomas Blackwell the younger and John Chalmers. Blackwell the younger and Chalmers pointed to the pernicious effects of private academies in order to argue for a united college in Aberdeen; Wood, *Aberdeen Enlightenment*, p. 226. The Marischal men were thus reviving an argument that had earlier been made jointly by the two Aberdeen colleges. The argument was also ironic insofar as the one of most notorious Jacobite private academies had been established at Elgin by William Meston, who had been purged from Marischal College in 1716–17 by the Royal Commission of Visitation; Anon., 'Some Account of the Author's Life', in William Meston, *The Poetical Works of the Ingenious and Learned William Meston, A.M. Sometime Professor of Philosophy in the Marischal College of Aberdeen* (1767), p. vi. On Scalán see John Watts, *Scalán: The Forbidden College, 1716–1799*.

<sup>53</sup> The relevant legislation was 19 George II c. 39, 'An Act for the More Effectual Disarming the Highlands in *Scotland*; and for the More Effectually Securing the Peace of the Said Highlands; and for Restraining the Use of the Highland Dress; and for Further Indemnifying Such Persons as Have Acted in Defence of His Majesty's Person and Government, During the Unnatural Rebellion; and for Indemnifying the Judges and Other Officers of the Court of Justiciary in *Scotland*, for not Performing the Northern Circuit in *May* One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Six; and for Obliging the Masters and Teachers of Private Schools in *Scotland*, and Chaplains, Tutors and Governors of Children or Youth, to Take the Oaths to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and to Register the Same'; see Owen Ruffhead, *The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta, to the Twenty-Fifth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, Inclusive*, new edition revised and corrected by Charles Runninton (1786), vol. VI, pp. 332–8, esp. pp. 337–8.

the Marischal men warned that overcrowded student rooms increased the ‘risque of [students] being corrupted in their morals, and interrupted in their studies’ (p. 28). Fifthly, the faculty at Marischal affirmed that it would be financially advantageous for the united college to sell off the buildings in the Old Town rather than those in New Aberdeen, which was an implicit admission that the material fabric of King’s was in far better condition than that of Marischal (p. 28).

The points made in Marischal’s ‘Memorial’ were taken up in the lengthy document submitted by the Aberdeen Town Council to the earl of Findlater in November 1754, in which the Council vigorously defended its position that the united college had to be located within its jurisdiction in the New Town. The Council began by reminding Findlater of its earlier opposition to the union proposal initially floated in 1747, and recapitulated the arguments that it had made in March of that year against the scheme.<sup>54</sup> It is revealing that in both 1747 and 1754 the Town Council believed that the question of uniting the colleges was at bottom not about improving education but about increasing the salaries of the masters; hence the Council was determined to resist any plan that compromised the interests of New Aberdeen (p. 31).<sup>55</sup> The case presented to Findlater by the Provost and baillies combined legal considerations with practical concerns, and touched only incidently on educational matters. They emphasised that any move to the Old Town was inconsistent with the terms of agreement between the Council and the fourth earl of Marischal to found his eponymous college, as well as the conditions of the various mortifications and donations that established the chairs of divinity and mathematics, the position of the Bibliothecar and a number of student bursaries. Consequently, they stressed that, from a legal point of view, there was no option but to situate the united college in New Aberdeen. The Provost and baillies also highlighted the financial and social costs of a move to Old Aberdeen. They said that they would likely have to come up with another salary since Marischal’s divinity professor doubled as one of the town’s ministers, and they were worried as well that the loss of the Principalship at the College would adversely affect their ability to recruit men of learning to the New Town because it had been standard practice to present one of the burgh’s ministers to the post of Principal. Furthermore, they claimed that their burgh would lose prestige if the united college were to be located in Old Aberdeen, and that their citizens would have to pay more for the education of their sons. Echoing Marischal’s ‘Memorial’,

<sup>54</sup> Compare John Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1643–1747*, pp. 386–7.

<sup>55</sup> The salaries of Scottish professors and regents declined through the 1730s and 1740s, and both Aberdeen colleges also faced serious financial problems in this period; Donald J. Withrington, ‘Education and Society in the Eighteenth Century’, pp. 185–6.



they contended that, given the greater number of private teachers working in New Aberdeen, the standard of education would inevitably suffer if the united college were in Old Aberdeen, while they also played on fears of renewed Jacobite and Episcopalian proselytising by suggesting that without a college in the New Town private academies would spring up to fill the educational void (pp. 32–3). For all of these reasons, therefore, the Aberdeen Town Council steadfastly resisted any suggestion that the united college should be situated in the Old Town.

In early December 1754, Principal Chalmers and the masters at King's received a report that the earl of Findlater had settled on New Aberdeen as the site for the united college. Although Findlater subsequently denied the report, the news prompted Chalmers and his colleagues to transmit a letter to the earl dated 3 December 1754 in which they announced that they had no choice but to withdraw from the negotiations because the Aberdeen Town Council would agree to the proposed union only on the condition that the united college would be located in the New Town. They stated that if the college was going to be situated in the New Town, it would be impossible to adopt the collegiate system in place at King's, which 'they would not, upon any consideration, give . . . up', and they further believed that a move to New Aberdeen would lead to costly legal wrangles, a loss of income and dissension among the professors (pp. 35–8). Since Findlater promptly reassured the King's men that he had not in fact made any decision about the location of the united college, it appears that Chalmers and his colleagues agreed to await the earl's verdict, even though they were undoubtedly well aware of the political pressure being put on him by the Aberdeen Town Council and its allies. They can hardly have been surprised by the contents of Findlater's 'Decreet Arbitral' which was finally issued on 17 March 1755, almost a month after the publication of the *Memorials*. Findlater was 'clearly of opinion' that 'it is greatly most fitt for promoting good Education of Youth Universally in the North of Scotland & for the Strengthening the Interest of the Protestant Religion & our present happy Constitution that the Seat of the United University shall be in the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen'. Yet he apparently agreed with King's about the potential for dispute, for he also stated that 'it is my Sincere and friendly Advice that no Application to Parliament be made for an Union of the . . . two Colleges, Unless it be done in the most Amicable & Harmonious Manner by the Parties Concerned'.<sup>56</sup> But since there was no middle ground between the positions taken by the Aberdeen Town Council and Marischal College on the one hand, and King's College on the other, Findlater's ruling effectively spelled the end for the union scheme.

<sup>56</sup> James Ogilvy, fifth earl of Findlater and second earl of Seafield, 'Decreet Arbitral', AUL, MS MARISCHAL/4/1/1/2.

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Having been a member of the committee that had initially formulated the articles for the proposed union, Reid was likely frustrated by the intransigence of the Aberdeen Town Council, with which he had already locked horns over his salary as the Bibliothecar at Marischal College in 1736.<sup>57</sup> However, it is also clear that he did not want the union of the two Aberdeen colleges to take place if it meant sacrificing what he and his colleagues had achieved at King's in 1753–54. As one of the principal architects of the reforms at the College, he was unwilling to exchange regenting or the collegiate system for a united Aberdeen university partly controlled by the Town Council. Writing in September 1755 to the father of two boys about to enter King's, Reid reassured him that the collegiate system adopted in 1753–54 meant that 'there are few boys so narrowly lookt after, or so little exposed to temptations to vice, at home as with us at present'. He then mentioned the difficulties that King's had faced in switching to the collegiate model and noted that 'it makes our work labourious during the session'. Nevertheless, he said that

after the experience of two sessions we are not only satisfied that it is practicable; but have already seen such effects of it, both upon the morals and proficiency of our students, as we hope will at last justify us [King's College] to the world, in sticking so obstinately to it in opposition to such an union of the two colleges as behoved to have altogether undone it.<sup>58</sup>

Consequently, despite the fact that no evidence survives regarding his involvement in the crafting of the documents submitted by King's College to the earl of Findlater included in the *Memorials*, we know that Reid was a vocal proponent of the collegiate model of education advocated in the King's 'Memorial' and that he would have advised his colleagues not to abandon their recently adopted '*plan of discipline*' for the sake of a union which would have obliged them to renounce the pedagogical principles embodied in the reforms of 1753–54. Moreover, he may have been one of those delegated by the College to communicate with Findlater because of his connections with the earl's family, although we do not know precisely when he struck up his friendship with the earl himself or with Findlater's son, Lord Deskford. Hence, even though we know that Reid played a prominent role in the initial phase of the union negotiations and the drafting of the 'Articles of Union', we can only speculate about the extent to which he was involved in the subsequent exchanges between King's, Marischal, the Aberdeen Town Council and the earl of Findlater over the question of the location of the united college.

<sup>57</sup> On this episode see Paul Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*.

<sup>58</sup> Reid to Archibald Dunbar, 4 September 1755, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 10–11.

And even if Reid was not the sole or primary author of the documents issued by King's College and printed in the *Memorials*, it is appropriate to reproduce this pamphlet below because the view of education articulated in these documents registers the principles of pedagogy that had guided him in reforming King's in 1753–54.

During the period Reid served as a Regent at King's College, he also had the opportunity to discuss educational matters in the context of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society (popularly known as the Wise Club), which held its inaugural meeting in January 1758. Between December 1759 and August 1760, members of the Society debated a series of questions related to education, including one proposed by Reid on 26 September 1759, 'Whether it is proper to educate Children without instilling Principles into them of any kind whatsoever?'<sup>59</sup> Reid's question was eventually considered on 1 April 1760 and the minutes of the meeting record that 'M<sup>r</sup> Reid was appointed to make an Abstract against [the] next meeting'.<sup>60</sup> The wording and brevity of the manuscript transcribed below headed 'Question<.> How far it is allowable to principle Children with Opinions before they are capable of a Rational Enquiry into them' (p. 40) suggest that the manuscript is a preliminary and, perhaps, partial draft of his introductory remarks on the question, while a more detailed discussion of this issue in his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind provides us with a clearer sense of what he might have said about the question at the April meeting.<sup>61</sup> As his lecture notes show, Reid's question addressed an 'Opinion' advanced by 'Mr Lock in several Passages of his Essay and of his Posthumous tract of the Conduct of the Understanding' that, in the education of children, 'Their Understandings . . . ought to be left free of any bias either in favours of an Opinion or against it till they are ripe for Judging and Examining it themselves'.<sup>62</sup> His answer to the question not only illustrates

<sup>59</sup> H. Lewis Ulman (ed.), *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 1758–1773*, pp. 93, 192. On Reid's question and his response to it, see also Stewart-Robertson, 'The Well-Principled Savage, or the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment'.

<sup>60</sup> Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, p. 96.

<sup>61</sup> For Reid's subsequent treatment of the issue, see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 187–90; this manuscript (AUL, MS 2131/4/1/25) is undated. In lectures dating from December 1768 and March 1770 Reid narrowed the focus of his discussion of this issue in addressing the question 'Whether children are to have opinions instilled into them' in the context of 'the Culture of our Active Powers' and the moral improvement of the individual; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 89, 90–1.

<sup>62</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 187–8. Compare Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 81–2, 711–13 (I.iii.22 and IV.xx.8–10); John Locke, 'Of the Conduct of the Understanding', in John Locke, *Posthumous Works of Mr. John Locke* (1706), pp. 32, 46–7. Reid's reading of Locke is, however, problematic, given that Locke states in the *Second Treatise of Government* that: 'The power . . . that parents have over their Children, arises from that Duty which

the differences between his and Locke's conceptions of human nature, but also sheds light on the conceptual framework within which he developed his ideas regarding education.

Whereas Locke famously declared in his *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* that the human mind is originally akin to 'white Paper, void of all Characters, without any *Ideas*', he nevertheless acknowledged that we are born with a set of mental faculties or powers which gradually come to be exercised in response to the growing range of our ideas of sensation and reflection, and that these ideas are accompanied by sensations of pleasure or pain, which God has given us to ensure our preservation by 'excit[ing] us to . . . Actions of thinking and motion'.<sup>63</sup> Hence Locke, no less than Reid, recognised that there is – to use the Reidean phrase – an 'original constitution' of the mind which is created by God and which enables us to 'find out those Measures, whereby a rational Creature put in that State, which Man is in, in this World, may, and ought to govern his Opinions and Actions depending thereon'.<sup>64</sup> The source of Reid's disagreement with Locke signalled by his question for the Wise Club relates not to Locke's claim that, at birth, the mind is like a blank slate but rather to what Reid regarded as Locke's impoverished account of our 'original constitution'. While he agreed with Locke that the mind possesses the powers of perception, abstraction, reflection, imagination, memory, reason and the will, as well as the intrinsic capacity to form habits and to associate ideas, his catalogue of the 'natural furniture of the human understanding' was more extensive than Locke's, for it also included, *inter alia*, the principles of veracity and credulity, the inductive principle, instincts and principles of 'improvement' such as 'Activity' and the 'Desire of knowledge'.<sup>65</sup> Because human nature was so well furnished, it was inevitable for Reid that children should adopt beliefs about the world around them and modes of behaviour

is incumbent on them, to take care of their Off-spring, during the imperfect state of Childhood. To inform the Mind, and govern the Actions of their yet ignorant Nonage, till Reason shall take its place, and ease them of that Trouble, is what the Children want, and the Parents are bound to. For God having given Man an Understanding to direct his Actions, has allowed him a freedom of Will, and liberty of Acting, as properly belonging thereunto, within the bounds of that Law he is under. But whilst he is in an Estate, wherein he has not *Understanding* of his own to direct his *Will*, he is not to have any Will of his own to follow: He that *understands* for him, must *will* for him too; he must prescribe to his Will, and regulate his Actions; but when he comes to the Estate that made his *Father a Freeman*, the *Son is a Freeman* too.'; John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), ed. Peter Laslett, pp. 306–7 (*Second Treatise*, §58).

<sup>63</sup> Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 104, 129 (II.i.2 and II.vii.3).

<sup>64</sup> Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, p. 46 (I.i.6).

<sup>65</sup> Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 193–9, 213; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 37–40. Reid was dissatisfied with previous attempts (including Locke's) to enumerate and classify the powers of the mind; see, for example, Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 56–9, 64–70 (1.5, 1.7).

in dealing with others because the operation of the various powers and principles of the mind meant that it was a ‘vain Imagination’ to think that ‘Children can grow up to years of Understanding without a System of Practical Principles which they have either received from Instructors copied from Companions or been led into by their own passions and Tempers’ (p. 40).<sup>66</sup> As Reid understood it, the issue was not (as he thought Locke would have it) that children should be kept ‘free from all Opinions’ (regardless of whether these opinions were their own or those of their instructors or parents), but rather that children should be taught how to use the ‘natural furniture’ of their minds properly and to behave in ways that would enable them to live happy, productive and virtuous lives in their maturity (p. 40).<sup>67</sup>

Reid also took issue with Locke over the role of authority in education. Reid read Locke as denying that authority should play any role in the education of children, based on the latter’s argument in Book IV of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* that authority is one of four ‘*wrong measures of Probability*’ and the one ‘which keeps in Ignorance, or Error, more people than all the other together’.<sup>68</sup> In writing about the causes of our erroneous opinions, Locke observed that when we come to reflect on our beliefs we often mistakenly regard those that appear to be the oldest as unquestionable truths and ‘are apt to reverence them as sacred Things’. According to Locke, such dogmatism was dangerously misplaced because we typically remain ignorant of how our most firmly held beliefs were acquired and do not realise that such beliefs were, in fact, inherited from others. Hence Locke warned his readers:

There is nothing more ordinary, than that *Children* should receive into their Minds Propositions (especially about Matters of Religion) from their Parents, Nurses, or those about them: which being insinuated into their unwary, as well as unbiass’d Understandings, and fastened by degrees, are at last (equally, whether true or false) riveted there by long Custom and Education beyond all possibility of being pull’d out again.<sup>69</sup>

Reid, on the other hand, did not share Locke’s anxiety about such putative abuses of authority in education. Instead, he maintained that education necessarily involved the exercise of authority and that the aim of instructors was to instil sound principles and inculcate good habits in their charges. As he emphasised

<sup>66</sup> Compare Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 188.

<sup>67</sup> Compare Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 188–9.

<sup>68</sup> Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 711, 718 (IV.xx.7 and IV.xx.17). Reid does not do justice to the argument of Locke’s *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693) or to Locke’s account of paternal power in the *Second Treatise of Government*; see above note 62.

<sup>69</sup> Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, p. 712 (IV.xx.9).

elsewhere, unlike the offspring of animals, human infants are not, by nature, equipped to survive without parental care. He said that ‘the infant enters into Life in a state of greater weakness & imbecility than the young of any other Species, with more Wants and less ability to supply them’.<sup>70</sup> Consequently Reid told his fellow members of the Wise Club that ‘It is the Condition of human Nature that we must be carried in Arms till we can walk. And it is no less so that we must be guided by Authority both in our Opinions and Actions till we can guide our selves’ (p. 40).<sup>71</sup> The parent or educator must thus use ‘The Principles of Credulity and Imitation [as] leading Strings’ in order to implant the principles and inspire the behaviour that will allow those in their care to cultivate knowledge and virtue in later life (p. 40).

Furthermore, Reid disagreed with Locke that the exercise of authority in education contravened the criteria of rational belief that Locke outlined in Book IV of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*. Even though he accepted much of what Locke had to say about probability and the proportioning of our belief to evidence, he dissented from Locke’s argument that ‘*the Opinion of others*’ was not a legitimate ground upon which to regulate our assent ‘since there is much more Falshood and Errour amongst Men, than Truth and Knowledge’.<sup>72</sup> In his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind, Reid addressed Locke’s argument and countered that

It is reasonable in the Nature of the thing that our Opinions should be influenced by Authority. That such Persons who are good Judges in such matters think so & so, is a reasonable Argument and tho It has no place against Demonstration yet in subjects that admit onely of probable Evidence it has its weight.<sup>73</sup>

This point had important implications for the education of children, insofar as the principle of credulity leads them to regard their preceptors as reliable and trustworthy, and the teachings of their instructors as meriting their assent. He concluded that ‘there is therefore no abuse of the rational Powers in yielding to [the opinions of their teachers] providing the degrees of Assent are not disproportioned to the nature of the Evidence’.<sup>74</sup> For Reid, then, the inculcation of beliefs in education was consistent with Locke’s demand that ‘*the Mind if it will proceed*

<sup>70</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 14; see also pp. 11, 30.

<sup>71</sup> Compare Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 188.

<sup>72</sup> Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, p. 657 (IV.xvi.6).

<sup>73</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 189; see also pp. 179–80.

<sup>74</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 189. Compare Reid’s comments on the evidence of testimony and authority in Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 487–8, 557–8 (VI.5, VII.3), where he argues that testimony and authority are two different forms of probable evidence.

*rationally, ought to examine all the grounds of Probability, and see how they make more or less, for or against any probable Proposition*.<sup>75</sup>

In stating in his remarks to the Wise Club that the education of children was grounded on the principles of credulity and imitation, Reid was implicitly pointing to one of the central tenets of his theory of the physical, intellectual and moral formation of both the individual and our species. For him, the maturation of the individual and of humankind involved the three forms of ‘culture’ he later described in his Glasgow lectures, namely the ‘Culture of Nature’, the ‘Culture of human Society’ and education, which he defined as ‘the Means that may be used by Parents Tutors & others about us when we are Young or by our Selves in Riper Years on purpose to improve our faculties’.<sup>76</sup> In his lectures, he appealed to the analogy initially drawn by the Stoics and subsequently used by George Turnbull and David Fordyce among others between the maturation of the mind and the growth of trees and vegetables.<sup>77</sup> He told his students that just as there are seeds which must be cultivated in order to produce a mighty oak or cedar, so too there are ‘seeds’ of the powers, passions and capacities of the human mind which require cultivation so that our mind can fully blossom. Nature, he said, provides these seeds, but if they are not nurtured, humans appear to be little different from the ‘brute Creation’.<sup>78</sup> Yet nature also teaches us that ‘almost every thing God has made is capable of being improved by Culture. And that those Animals who have naturally more sagacity than others, are by their superior Natural improvements fitted to receive a higher degree of improvement by culture and training’. It followed that since the ‘human Species . . . is furnished by Nature with far more Noble faculties than any other Animal we know’, humankind is the ‘most of all improveable by proper training and Culture’.<sup>79</sup> Both the analogy of nature and the natural history of our species for Reid pointed to the fact that we are *perfectible* creatures and, in his lectures on the culture of the mind dating from the 1770s,

<sup>75</sup> Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, p. 656 (IV.xvi.5).

<sup>76</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 15–16, 72, 75.

<sup>77</sup> On the Stoics see Maryanne Cline Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*, ch. 1; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 52, 118, 153–4, 155–6, 159, 174–5, 206–7, 221–2; Fordyce, *Dialogues concerning Education*, esp. vol. I, pp. 116–22, where the character Philander says that ‘As little would I agree with those Philosophers . . . [who claim] that the Mind resembles a Leaf of white Paper. I would rather compare it to a Seed, which contains all the Stamina of the future Plant, and all those Principles of Perfection, to which it aspires in its After-growth, and regularly arrives by gradual Stages, unless it is obstructed in its Progress by external Violence’ (pp. 116–17). In this passage, Fordyce addresses the question Reid later raised in the Wise Club.

<sup>78</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 10–12, 23, 29–30. As mentioned in note 22 above, Reid’s conception of the culture of the mind was also deeply indebted to Bacon’s discussion of the ‘Georgics of the Mind’.

<sup>79</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 14; see also p. 58 for a later formulation.



he went so far as to assert that it is a ‘Law of Nature’ that ‘Human Minds should grow up from a small an[d] imperceptible beginning, passing through various successive States of Existence . . . which [are] preparatory to that which follows; & that their improvement . . . depends in a great Measure upon the Culture they receiv[e]’.<sup>80</sup>

How, then, are we to achieve this perfection and thereby realise the full potential of human nature? Reid maintained that the ‘Culture of Nature’ contributed little to the improvement of the mind. Because he identified the state of nature as a ‘solitary State’, he said that the evidence provided by the lives of ‘Wild Men’ and ‘Savage Tribes’ showed that our mental development in the state of nature was limited, and largely driven by our endeavours to satisfy our needs, our innate propensity for activity, our curiosity and our capacity to acquire habits. Regarding the satisfaction of our needs, he differed with Rousseau in stating that ‘The natural Wants of Man are great’, and affirmed that our wants ‘require in the Savage State the utmost Exertions of Activity Industry, Cunning & Watchfulness to supply them’.<sup>81</sup> Based on travel reports and accounts of ‘Wild Men’, he concluded that in this state our external senses are acute, we develop great physical agility and strength coupled with physical endurance, we become watchful and the passion of revenge flourishes.<sup>82</sup> Yet he also thought that there were a number of ‘Defects

<sup>80</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 12, 48–9, 51. In his lectures Reid sharply distinguished between his conception of perfectibility and that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, because he maintained that for Rousseau perfectibility was ‘a Principle of Corruption rather than of perfection, and to be given to Mankind onely to make them vitious and unhappy’; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 45. On Reid’s response to the writings of Rousseau see J. C. Stewart-Robertson, ‘Reid’s Anatomy of Culture: A Scottish Response to the Eloquent Jean-Jacques’.

<sup>81</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 15, 81.

<sup>82</sup> Reid’s comments on ‘Wild Men’ were based, at least in part, on accounts of Peter the Wild Boy, to whom he refers in his Glasgow lectures on practical ethics and on the culture of the mind; see Thomas Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 84 and 218, note 84, and Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 31. In 1726 Peter was brought from his native Hanover to the court of George I in London and was described in a pamphlet by Daniel Defoe, *Mere Nature Delineated: Or, a Body without a Soul* (1726), which Reid may have known. The extent to which Reid was familiar with the voluminous travel literature is yet to be established. In his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind he refers to George Anson and Richard Walter, *A Voyage Round the World, In the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV* (1748), and it may be that his description of the ‘savage tribes’ of Canada was based on Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix’s *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le journal historique d’un voyage faite par ordre du Roi dans l’Amérique septentrionale* (1744), to which he refers in his correspondence; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 35–6, 48, and Reid to James Gregory, 26 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 194. Reid’s details regarding Alexander Selkirk’s solitary life on the island of Juan Fernandez suggest that he had read Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), which contained an account of Selkirk, or perhaps Rogers’s pamphlet *Providence Display’d, or a Very Surprizing Account of One Mr Alexander Selkirk* (1712); Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp 36, 83. And Reid’s mention



of this Culture of Nature': 'No Language. No Exercise of Reason. No Exercise of the Moral Powers or of Social Affection. Constant fear & Dread'.<sup>83</sup>

By contrast, 'the Culture of human Society' served to accelerate the perfection of human nature. While Reid acknowledged that this form of culture overlaps to some extent with the 'Culture of Nature', he nevertheless believed that 'Man [is] more fitted to improve by society than any other Animal'.<sup>84</sup> The social state represents a transformative stage in the history of our species, for it is in this state that we begin to use artificial languages as well as tools, our social affections come into play, religion originates and the 'Natural Principles' of credulity and imitation give rise to the cumulative progress of knowledge and the refinement of our moral and aesthetic judgements.<sup>85</sup> Among these developments, he singled out the advent of artificial language as especially important; he believed that language use was a prerequisite for 'our learning to think and to reason' as well as for the improvement of knowledge and the practical arts. Consequently, he declared that language was justly regarded as 'one of the characteristick distinctions of the human Species' and bound up with our elevated status in nature as rational beings.<sup>86</sup> But even though human nature flourishes in society, he recognised that,

of 'St Kilda Men' probably signals his knowledge of Martin Martin's *A Voyage to St. Kilda*, which had reached a fourth edition by 1753; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 83.

<sup>83</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 15, and, for a more elaborate treatment, pp. 34–45, wherein Reid dismissed Rousseau's celebration of the state of nature in the *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men* (1755) as a 'Paradox' akin to the paradoxes advanced by David Hume (pp. 42–5). In his more detailed delineation of the 'Culture of Nature' he also suggested that the inductive principle of the mind begins to function, which allows 'Wild Men' and 'Savage tribes' to acquire some empirical knowledge of the changing seasons, the more obvious features of the natural world and some of the basic laws of nature; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 37, 39, and also Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 560–1 (VII.3).

<sup>84</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 16; see also p. 72 for what is likely a later formulation, where he states that 'Human Society in its own Nature without any Intention in ourselves or others carries the human Mind to a much higher pitch of Knowledge Reason & Active Exertion than it could possibly attain without [it] in the Solitary or Savage State'.

<sup>85</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 15–16, 46–8, 74–5. In differentiating between the solitary and social states, and by suggesting that these states promote the development of different mental powers and passions, Reid was implicitly sketching a stadial history of the mind which resembles that found in Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men*; for context and further discussion of this point see Wood, 'The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment', esp. pp. 104–11. Reid hinted at a stadial history of the mind elsewhere in his lectures on the culture of the mind when he observed that 'the Effects of human Society upon the human Mind must be very different according to the complexion of the Society in which we live. Those who are brought up in a Rude and barbarous Society, will be rude and Barbarous, & those who are brought up in a more polished Society will be polished & civilized'; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 72.

<sup>86</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 46, 48.

like our ‘solitary State’, social life is disfigured by ‘Defects’. Echoing Hume, he acknowledged that ‘In this as in most other things the Corruption of the best things is worst’. For Reid, our life in society enables us to cultivate virtue while also providing the opportunity for us to indulge in vice. Living among other members of our species fosters our use of reason and enhances our sense of ‘freedom of Choice’; the operation of the principle of imitation, however, means that we can become either virtuous or vicious depending on the company we keep. Consequently, Reid warned his students that while ‘the Society of the Wise and good is the Source of human Improvement in Virtue as well as of human felicity’, they needed to be cognisant of the fact that ‘the Society of bad men has the most powerfull tendency to corrupt the heart and deprave the morals of Men’.<sup>87</sup>

Reid held that the perfection of humankind cannot be achieved without the capstone of ‘culture’, namely education. He did so because he thought that it is through education that we are able to realise the potentialities of human nature most fully. He declared not only that ‘The Gradual Improvement of Arts and Sciences [was] entirely owing to Education’ but also that ‘It is impossible to say to what Length Arts and Sciences may be carried if they are duly cultivated’.<sup>88</sup> Returning to his analogy between the seeds of plants and those of the mind, and his point that ‘proper Culture’ and training serve to ‘perfect’ vegetables and animals for our use, Reid said that

These observations might lead us from Analogy to expect that Man the Noblest & most sagacious of all the inhabitants of this Globe is also more capable of being improved by proper training and Education than any other Animal. By this Means the Wisdom of God makes us in some measure instrumental in forming one another and even in forming ourselves.<sup>89</sup>

In light of the evidence he cited, he affirmed that ‘the Rules of Education’ constitute ‘a most important branch of Knowledge’ and that they were ‘of the most general Concern to Mankind’, not least because he was ‘verily convinced that the far greatest part of Men are, what they are, good or bad, by the means of Education’. Yet even though he wished that ‘the knowledge of the Principles of Educating men to Virtue industry & good Habits which are necessary in all

<sup>87</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 73. Hume disingenuously used this phrase with reference to religion; see his essay ‘Of Superstition and Enthusiasm’, in David Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political and Literary* (1777), ed. Eugene F. Miller, p. 73, and David Hume, ‘The Natural History of Religion’, in David Hume, *A Dissertation on the Passions and the Natural History of Religion* (1757), ed. Tom L. Beauchamp, pp. 63, 65.

<sup>88</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 17.

<sup>89</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 76.

conditions of Life were more generally known to Parents of both Sexes than they are', he did not enumerate these principles in his lectures, stating that such an enumeration 'does not fall directly within my Design'. Instead, he recommended that his students read the works dealing with education by Plato, Xenophon, and Quintilian 'among the Ancients' as well those by Milton, Abraham Cowley, Locke, Turnbull, Fordyce and Rousseau 'among the Moderns', since it was in their writings that they would find 'the Subject . . . almost exhausted'.<sup>90</sup> Apart from highlighting the overriding importance of the subject, Reid did not, therefore, offer his own detailed blueprint for the education of children in his lectures on the culture of the mind. Consequently, despite their sketchy and fragmentary character, his introductory comments to his question for the Aberdeen Philosophical Society reproduced below are a revealing complement to his lectures, insofar as they provide us with suggestive clues as to what that blueprint might have looked like.

Reid's answer to the question he posed to the Wise Club also sheds light on his views regarding university education and points to his rationale for retaining regenting at King's College in 1753–54. *Prima facie*, his question seems to have little do with university teaching and it appears anomalous in the context of some of the other questions related to higher education proposed by his colleagues, such as John Stewart's query 'Whether the Time allotted for teaching Greek in the Universities of Scotland be not too short, & if so what would be the proper Remedy'.<sup>91</sup> When we consider that the boys who entered King's could be as young as ten, but were more often twelve, it is, however, reasonable to suggest that Reid was not thinking simply of infants or the very young but that he also had his own pupils in mind.<sup>92</sup> If so, then his defence of the reasonable exercise of authority in education can be read as a justification for the regenting system because regenting involved precisely the kind of moral and intellectual discipline that he saw as a necessary element in the education of the young. Given that regents governed their pupils *in loco parentis*, their task was to instil the behaviours and beliefs that would enable

<sup>90</sup> Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 76; see also p. 16. It is significant that Reid mentions the education of both sexes. In listing the canonical works on education Reid also referred to 'Bishop Berkeley in his Adventures of Guadentio di Lucca', a book that was, in fact, written by Simon Berington, even though it was attributed to Berkeley; see [Simon Berington], *The Memoirs of Sigr Guadentio di Lucca: Taken from His Confession and Examination before the Fathers of the Inquisition at Bologna in Italy* (1737).

<sup>91</sup> Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, pp. 191–2. Not all of this set of questions pertained to university teaching; for example, the Rev. John Farquhar asked 'What is the best Method for training in the Practice of Virtue' (p. 192).

<sup>92</sup> On the age of students entering King's in the eighteenth century see McLaren, *Aberdeen Students*, pp. 58, 87.

their students to cultivate knowledge and virtue in later life. It was this feature of regenting that Reid and his colleagues highlighted in their public pronouncements about the reforms at King's and the abortive union scheme of 1754–55 (pp. 14, 24). Consequently, his statement that a 'right Education' involved the inculcation of 'such Opinions as may have the most Salutory Influence both for cherishing good Affections promoting good habits and for assisting the Intellectual Powers in their growth and bringing them to perfection' (p. 40) can be seen as the enunciation of the animating principle of the 'new regulations' that Reid and his colleagues adopted at King's in 1753–54. Furthermore, Reid's maxim that 'It is the Condition of human Nature that we must be carried in Arms till we can walk' (p. 40), combined with his argument that it is reasonable to inculcate the young with opinions about matters that are probable, provided him with the principles to justify what in practice takes place in the classroom, namely the transmission of currently accepted truths in the sciences from teachers to students. Clearly, he did not see education as involving the abuse of authority or the illegitimate imposition of beliefs on those being taught. Rather, education, be it by a parent, a tutor, a professor or a regent, was for Reid ideally a means to cultivate the minds of the young and, in doing so, to furnish them with the habits and knowledge appropriate to their social rank and the state of the society in which they lived.<sup>93</sup>

## 2. Philosophical Orations

Regenting was not the only vestige of the College's scholastic past to survive the reforms at King's in 1753–54. Even though the curriculum and the routines of College life were remodelled, King's retained the traditional form of its public graduation ceremony, which had been in place since at least the seventeenth century.<sup>94</sup> The extent to which public graduations were accompanied by non-academic activities such as celebratory dinners varied over the centuries, but the essence of the public ceremony remained constant. It featured a regent's class of

<sup>93</sup> Although Reid thought that children of all social ranks should be taught 'Virtue industry & good Habits', he did suggest that the lower ranks of society did not need to be educated in the sciences. In his Glasgow lectures he stated: 'For two hundred years back Knowledge and Learning has been diffused and spread among all degrees of Men in Europe, & is become necessary in some degree to every Man that is above the rank of a day Labourer'; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 6, 76. Reid's 'intellect' was thus not in any straightforward sense a democratic one, nor was he alone in questioning the extent to which the lower orders of society ought to be educated; compare Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), ed. R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. B. Todd, vol. II, pp. 785–6 (V.i.f.54–5).

<sup>94</sup> There were, on occasion, private graduations at King's in the period; McLaren, *Aberdeen Students*, pp. 42, 76.

graduating magistrands disputing topics proposed by their master in a published thesis; after the disputes were concluded, each of the graduands took an oath of fidelity to the College and the Protestantism of the Kirk.<sup>95</sup> By the time Reid delivered his first philosophical oration in 1753, King's had abandoned the publication of the theses propounded by the regents, and had done so perhaps as early as the 1710s.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, his orations contain formulations of the traditional oaths of loyalty to College and Kirk, and his oration for 1753 indicates that the graduands took these oaths collectively, with their right hands raised, before they were invited to 'present some example of your thinking' to the audience attending the ceremony (p. 59). And although he describes the first two of his texts simply as 'orations', we have followed Walter Robson Humphries in referring to the four texts Reid declaimed in 1753, 1756, 1759 and 1762 as 'philosophical orations' because this title harkens back to the tradition of *theses philosophicae* published by previous generations of regents at King's and elsewhere in Scotland.<sup>97</sup> Reid's orations should be seen as being rooted in that tradition, even though their delivery coincided with the attempt to expunge the last remnants of scholasticism from King's in 1753–54.

Reid's philosophical orations are significant historically for two main reasons. First, although the contents of his post-reform lectures at King's College on natural history, natural philosophy and mathematics are reasonably well documented in his surviving manuscripts, very few items in the Birkwood Collection have been identified as being related to his teaching of 'the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Sciences that depend upon it' (p. 15).<sup>98</sup> Previous volumes in the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid have included transcriptions of manuscripts that are the

<sup>95</sup> On the public graduation ceremonies see McLaren, *Aberdeen Students*, pp. 41–2, 74, 75–6; Reid's orations indicate that McLaren is mistaken in suggesting that students were no longer involved in public disputations at graduation. For different versions of the graduation oath at King's see Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen*, Appendix III, pp. 349–51, and [Thomas Middleton], *An Appendix to the History of the Church of Scotland; Containing the Succession of the Archbishops and Bishops in Their Several Sees, from the Reformation of Religion, Until the Year 1676* (1677), p. 26. My thanks to Knud Haakonssen for kindly providing the Middleton reference.

<sup>96</sup> Published graduation theses survive from Marischal College up to the 1730s. See William Duff, *Dissertatio philosophica, de natura et legibus materiae* (1732).

<sup>97</sup> Thomas Reid, *Philosophical Orations of Thomas Reid: Delivered at Graduation Ceremonies in King's College Aberdeen, 1753, 1756, 1759, 1762*, ed. Walter Robson Humphries, esp. pp. 6–7. The most comprehensive study of published graduation theses in Scotland remains Christine Mary Shepherd (née King), 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the 17th Century'.

<sup>98</sup> On his natural history, natural philosophy and mathematics lectures at King's see Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 3–4, and Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii, xl–xliii.

texts for lectures on the anatomy of the mind, as well as a set of notes that were conceivably used in his teaching of ‘Oeconomics’.<sup>99</sup> The manuscript that contains the draft of his question for the Aberdeen Philosophical Society transcribed below also incorporates material that appears to be linked to his lectures: on the recto of the folio on which his draft is written there is a numerical sequence of points dealing with the regulation of our active powers while on the second folio there are notes on ‘The influence of the Passions Appetites & Affections upon belief’ and, conversely, ‘Of the influence of our Opinions upon our Passions & principles of Action’.<sup>100</sup> Consequently, Reid’s philosophical oration from 1753 contains invaluable hints regarding the substance of his pre-reform lectures and, taken as a whole, his orations provide us with a sense of the main themes of his King’s classes on our intellectual powers. Secondly, his orations also allow us to document the development of his science of the mind and, in particular, his critique of the theory of ideas. Because we know little about the evolution of his philosophical thought in the 1740s and, in particular, about his response to the writings of Hume in the period, his orations are an important record of the genesis of his common-sense philosophy in the decade leading up to the publication of his *Inquiry* in 1764.<sup>101</sup>

We have seen above that after Reid’s appointment at King’s in October 1751, the students he inherited from Alexander Rait were entering their tertian year, which meant that in the sessions for 1751–52 and 1752–53 he had to work up lectures on morals, politics, natural history, physics and the basics of arithmetic, algebra and geometry. His philosophical oration for 1753 tells us something about his lectures on most of these topics during the course of his reflections on the nature of philosophy. According to Reid, philosophy is an art and, as such, it has laws which guide its practitioners in their pursuit of their art’s end or purpose. In the case of philosophy, the aim of the art is to discover the ‘wisest and most generous laws’ through which God governs the material and moral worlds (p. 43). Unlike mathematics, however, philosophy had not arrived at a sufficiently advanced state to allow its practitioners to arrive at a consensus regarding the ‘laws of philosophising’. Rather, from classical antiquity onwards, philosophy had divided into ‘various schools and sects’, which meant that there was little agreement over philosophical method or substantive issues such as ‘the origin of the world, the elements, the order and causes of natural things, God, the human

<sup>99</sup> Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 318–28, and Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 57–64.

<sup>100</sup> AUL, MS 2131/2/II/1, fols 1r, 2r–v.

<sup>101</sup> The evidence for Reid’s thinking about matters pertaining to Hume and the science of man will be considered in detail in Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*.

mind, the ends of goods and evils, [and] the happy life' (pp. 45–6).<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, he did allow that over the course of the history of philosophy, there had been exemplary figures whose work served as models for the practitioners of the art.

Accepting the tripartite Stoic division of philosophy into ethics, physics and 'the art of discourse', he proceeded to identify the authors he regarded as canonical in each of these domains and, in so doing, hinted at the thinkers whose doctrines figured in his lectures. In the field of ethics, he singled out Socrates for praise and went so far as to state that the Athenian 'was almost worthy to be called an apostle since all his teaching was taken up with praising virtue and exhorting men to strive for virtue and to revere the deity' (p. 49).<sup>103</sup> Along with Socrates and his 'school' (which included 'Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Cebes the Theban and Aeschines'), Reid admired the Stoics and especially Cicero among the ancients, while the only modern moralist he mentioned was Joseph Butler (p. 49). Knud Haakonssen and James Harris have noted that Reid's comments on morals imply that in his lectures he distinguished between speculative ethics, which dealt with 'the causes, origin and nature of virtue', and practical ethics, which enumerated our duties to God, ourselves and others.<sup>104</sup> Given that Reid specifically mentions Cicero's *De officiis* (p. 49), it is likely that his lectures on practical ethics were based on this text.<sup>105</sup> As for his pre-reform classes on speculative ethics, Reid undoubtedly drew on Butler's writings and, perhaps, those of Francis Hutcheson, in order to elucidate 'the internal sensibilities of an honourable man struck by [the] love of virtue', 'the common sense of the ordinary people' regarding virtue and the particulars of what 'has been inscribed in the very hearts of men by the finger of God' regarding morality (p. 49). Moreover, even though Reid was the archetypal anatomist of human nature, it may be that in the classroom he displayed a degree of warmth in the cause of virtue when expounding our moral duties, insofar as he states in his oration that those 'who have dealt best with [life and ethics] are not those who have discoursed on these things with acuity and dialectical subtleties, but instead

<sup>102</sup> In referring to 'the ends of goods and evils', Reid alludes to the title of Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. I thank Knud Haakonssen for pointing this out.

<sup>103</sup> On Socrates see also Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 9–10, 76.

<sup>104</sup> See the Introduction to Reid, *Active Powers*, p. ix. For Reid's later formulation of the distinction between speculative and practical ethics see Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 10–13. The historical context for Reid's treatment of practical ethics is discussed in Knud Haakonssen's Introduction to Reid, *Practical Ethics*, and in Colin Heydt, *Moral Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain: God, Self and Other*.

<sup>105</sup> As Knud Haakonssen has pointed out, there survives among Reid's manuscripts an undated translation of Cicero's *De officiis* which Reid began and abandoned; see Reid, *Practical Ethics*, p. lxxxi, and AUL, MS 2131/2/II/8.



are those who give people a sense of the weightiness of these matters and who move their heart' (p. 47).

The other main subject that Reid covered in his lectures during the session of 1751–52 was politics, and in April 1753 he returned to that science, calling it 'the noblest part of philosophy' in his oration.<sup>106</sup> Not surprisingly, he named Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle as the most accomplished writers on politics among the ancients, while among the moderns he valued the contributions of Niccolò Machiavelli, David Hume, James Harrington and especially the Baron Montesquieu, who, he said, had 'surpassed everyone by a considerable distance'. His remarks on his quartet of moderns are significant, for it would seem that in his view they had all transformed politics into an empirical science based on history and the compilation of data regarding the nation states of their day, while Montesquieu in particular had 'expounded the causes, concepts and effects of laws, morals and politics' based on the 'principles of human nature'. It would seem, therefore, that in his pre-reform lectures at King's, he presented the study of politics as being founded on experience and the anatomy of the mind, and as being focussed on 'the fate of states, both ancient and modern' interpreted largely through the lens of Montesquieu's analysis of the three fundamental forms of government, namely republican, monarchical and despotic (pp. 49–51).

In the recently completed session for 1752–53, Reid had been teaching a mixture of natural history and natural philosophy to his magistrands and these subjects are discussed at some length in his overview of the history of physics. As a good Baconian, he initially made the point that physics 'should be grounded on natural history' and this was presumably how he presented these subjects in his lectures.<sup>107</sup> In his classes he probably began with a survey of the three kingdoms of nature as a prelude to his consideration of natural philosophy. But it may be that in the time available to him during the few months of the pre-reform session he was able to provide only a truncated treatment of both subjects, given that his oration implies that his coverage of physics might have been restricted to the basics of observational and physical astronomy, optics and, perhaps, the fundamentals of Newtonian mechanics. In briefly tracing the respective histories

<sup>106</sup> Compare Aristotle's statement that politics is 'the most authoritative art and that which is most truly the master art'; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094<sup>a</sup>-<sup>b</sup>, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, vol. II, pp. 1729–30.

<sup>107</sup> For Bacon's view of the relationship between natural history and natural philosophy see the dedication and Book I, Aphorism XCVIII, in the *Novum organum* (1620) as well as 'A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History' (1620), in Francis Bacon, *The Instauration magna Part II: Novum organum and Associated Texts*, ed. and trans. Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, pp. 9, 157, 451, 455.



of natural history and natural philosophy, Reid drew a sharp contrast between the two in terms of the achievements of the ancients. For whereas he credited Aristotle, Theophrastus and Dioscorides as having advanced our knowledge of the three kingdoms of nature ‘because of their credibility and accuracy’, he condemned all of the systems of physics formulated in classical antiquity for being made up of ‘worthless, fictional and hollow ideas’ which, he said, ‘were produced not from nature by legitimate experiment but from conjecture and imagination’. The sole exception to this blanket condemnation of ancient natural philosophers was Hippocrates of Cos, who had ‘delivered up, by dependable observation and many experiments, the unshakable foundations of medicine’ and who merited the reputation of being ‘one of the finest philosophers’. Reid’s methodological message here was clear: the progress of philosophy depended on the scrupulous, accurate and critical collection of facts combined with the use of observation and experiment in the investigation of the natural order. This message was reinforced in his celebration of the work of Francis Bacon. According to Reid, Bacon had both ‘delineated with the greatest judiciousness the headings of natural history and demonstrated its aim and usefulness’ and taught that the ‘true interpretation of nature is to be reached on the basis of experiments and of induction on experiments, and supported by acts of nature or of art’ (pp. 51–3). On his reading of history, therefore, Bacon was instrumental in the renewal of natural history as well as the replacement of the speculative methods of the ancients by a radically different empirical approach to the study of nature, one based on the use of observation, experiment and induction.

Following this pivotal Baconian moment of methodological reform, the moderns had made great strides in astronomy and optics, thanks to the invention of instrumental hardware such as the telescope and the microscope. As a proficient observational astronomer himself, Reid had the requisite technical expertise to evaluate the work of the group of leading observationalists he believed laid the foundations for the creation of ‘the true physical astronomy’ by Johannes Kepler and his successor, ‘the chief of geometers and natural scientists’, Isaac Newton.<sup>108</sup> In addition, unlike many readers of the *Principia*, he had the competence and critical skills to understand, and even to criticise, the mathematical infrastructure of Newton’s masterwork, which meant that he was well placed to assess the profundity of Newton’s revolutionary contributions to the fields of mathematics

<sup>108</sup> Reid’s activities as an observational astronomer prior to his appointment at King’s are described in the Introduction to Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. cxiii–cxiv, cxv–cxvi.

and natural philosophy.<sup>109</sup> In Reid's case at least, his praise for Newton was based on a deep understanding of the mathematical language and conceptual foundations of the Newtonian system, and he gave voice to his admiration for Newton in his 1753 oration in speaking of the discovery of 'the laws governing the smallest bodies in nature as well as the largest' by 'the supreme intellect of Newton'. Newton's *Principia* and *Opticks* thus served as methodological models for Reid, and one of the methodological lessons these exemplars taught was that queries and conjectures ought to be proposed 'with a modesty . . . worthy of a philosopher'.<sup>110</sup> As well as teaching the rules of proper method, Reid saw the *Principia* and especially the Queries to the *Opticks* as laying the groundwork for future progress in natural philosophy. And even though he admitted that Newton's followers had achieved 'little' in advancing our knowledge of nature, he was encouraged by the fact that Newtonian physics was gradually gaining acceptance on the continent thanks to what was known as the 'Jesuit edition' of the *Principia* and that Newton's system of the world 'had been confirmed to such an extent by recent observations, especially by the renowned Edmond Halley, Bradley, and the French academicians sent to Lapland and Peru, that the most obstinate critics have been forced to surrender' (p. 53).<sup>111</sup>

Reid's comments on the third branch of philosophy, namely the 'art of discourse', draw out the implications of his earlier remarks on the 'rules for doing philosophy' and shed light on the reasons why he led the revolt against scholastic logic in the curriculum reforms at King's in 1753–54. In his 1753 oration, he was highly critical of the syllogistic logic codified by Aristotle and refined by the scholastics, which he said had hitherto been regarded as 'the norm for philosophising and as philosophy's root and branch'. Reid, however, denied that Aristotle's *Organon* contained the true laws of philosophising. Echoing Bacon, he pointedly wrote 'since the stock is recognised by its fruit, I beg to know what fruit

<sup>109</sup> Reid's critical reading of Newton's *Principia* is discussed in Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xx–xxi.

<sup>110</sup> Reid's 1753 oration is the first surviving text in which he states that Newton had taught the proper use of queries and conjectures. For subsequent statements see, for example, Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 163; Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, p. 152; Reid to Lord Kames, 16 December 1780, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 140–1; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 77–8, 91–2 (II.3, II.4).

<sup>111</sup> In mentioning the 'Commentary of the Roman Franciscans' (p. 53) Reid was referring to Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, ed. Thomas Le Seur, François Jacquier and Jean Louis Calandrini (1739–42); Le Seur and Jacquier were Minim friars in Rome. In the 1730s and 1740s Reid had carefully studied the work of Halley and James Bradley, along with the reports of the findings of the French expeditions to Lapland and Peru, which decided the dispute over the shape of the Earth in Newton's favour; see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. cxiv–cxvi.

this stock has produced for so many centuries'.<sup>112</sup> As noted above (pp. xxx–xxxix), he contended that Aristotelian logic had only promoted disputatiousness and had failed to ameliorate the human condition through either the advancement of knowledge or the creation of technologies that benefitted humankind. While he acknowledged that the syllogism was a useful 'weapon of war' in disputation, he insisted that it was utterly useless as a method of reasoning in mathematics or in the empirical sciences.<sup>113</sup> To drive home his point, he considered the methods of analysis and synthesis (although he did not identify them as such).<sup>114</sup> In the former method, we move 'upward', starting from particulars which 'are known first by the senses, by experiment, by testimony, and by other means' and ascending to 'laws of nature and general axioms'. This move from 'the known to the unknown' was, for Reid, 'the task, the work, of the philosopher', yet he claimed that 'the syllogistic art' is of no assistance to us in making the move from particulars to generalisations. As for the method of synthesis, it involves the 'descent' from 'universal propositions to particular propositions subordinate to them'. And here too the use of the syllogism was largely redundant because the descent from generalisations to particulars was 'straightforward and easy and . . . does not much require the help of an art'. Hence, syllogistic logic was of little utility in philosophy and, more importantly, it failed to spell out the rules governing philosophical enquiry (p. 55). We can well understand, therefore, why he believed that the study of the syllogism was a largely pointless exercise and why he and his colleagues subsequently declared in the *Abstract* that the logic of the schools did nothing to 'qualify Men for the more useful and important Offices of Society', given that the fulfilment of those offices required a familiarity with the fundamentals of

<sup>112</sup> In the Gospel of St Matthew, 7: 20, Jesus warned his flock against false prophets and advised his followers, 'Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them'. Francis Bacon's argument that 'works' are a sign of truth in philosophy was inspired by this passage; see Book I, Aphorisms LXXIII and CXXIV in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 117–19, 187, and Francis Bacon, 'Thoughts and Conclusions on the Interpretation of Nature or a Science Productive of Works', in *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Farrington, p. 93. Reid also appears to have in mind the opening of Bacon's Preface to the Great Instauration in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 11–13.

<sup>113</sup> Compare Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 128–9, 146, 175, 178.

<sup>114</sup> See also Reid to Lord Kames, 16 December 1780, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 141. Reid's characterisation of the methods of analysis and synthesis follows that found in Query 31 of Newton's *Opticks*; Isaac Newton, *Opticks: Or, a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections and Colours of Light*, fourth edition (1730), pp. 380–1. Reid was also familiar with discussions of the methods of analysis and synthesis in the logic textbook tradition; see, for example, Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, *Logic or the Art of Thinking: Containing, Besides Common Rules, Several New Observations Appropriate for Forming Judgment* (1683), ed. and trans. Jill Vance Buroker, pp. 233–8, and Isaac Watts, *Logic: Or, the Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth*, seventh edition (1740), pp. 340–6.

mathematics and the elements of the empirical sciences as these were taught in the revamped curriculum at King's (p. 14).

According to Reid, it was Bacon who first recognised that a completely different form of logic was required in order to guide our investigations in the empirical sciences and who enunciated in his *Novum organum* what Reid regarded as a fundamental law of philosophising, namely that 'philosophers are not permitted to make up, out of their own minds, stories about the nature of things, however likely and self-consistent they may be'. Consequently, philosophy rightly conceived involved the 'fair and legitimate interpretation of nature itself or of the works of God', which was to be accomplished through the methodical use of observation, experiment and induction. In his view, Newton was virtually the only natural philosopher who had absorbed and put into practice Bacon's methodological message; as Reid memorably put the point, 'Newton . . . led by the hand of this most renowned of men [i.e. Bacon] and instructed in his counsels, made great advances in natural philosophy'.<sup>115</sup> Yet even though Newton had followed the methodological teachings of his master regarding the interpretation of nature, the 'laws of the art of philosophising' remained largely unarticulated, in part because Bacon did not live to complete his Great Instauration. It is at this juncture in the oration that we come to appreciate the significance of Reid's identification of the canonical figures in the history of philosophy, for he maintained that we must extrapolate the rules of philosophising appropriate to the different branches of philosophical enquiry from their writings. He told his audience that 'he who would wish to delineate the laws of philosophising should pay particular attention to Hippocrates of Cos, Socrates, Bacon, Montesquieu and Newton', since it was in their works that we would learn how to conduct our investigations in medicine, morals, natural history, politics and natural philosophy (pp. 55–7).<sup>116</sup>

Having modestly declared that he was unequal to the task of laying down the laws of philosophy in his first oration, Reid returned to the rules of the art in his

<sup>115</sup> For other instances of this characterisation of Newton as Bacon's disciple in his writings see Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 184–5; Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic', p. 147; Reid to [Dugald Stewart], [1791], and Reid to Edward Tatham, October 1791, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 211–12, 225; Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 200; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 79, 121, 457 (II.3, II.8, VI.4). Reid was indebted to his regent George Turnbull for this depiction of Newton; see George Turnbull, *On the Association of Natural Science with Moral Philosophy* (1723), in George Turnbull, *Education for Life: Correspondence and Writings on Religion and Practical Philosophy*, ed. M. A. Stewart and Paul Wood, pp. 49–50.

<sup>116</sup> On Reid's use of exemplars see Christopher A. Schrock, 'Thomas Reid on the Improvement of Knowledge', esp. pp. 131–2.

second philosophical oration, delivered in April 1756.<sup>117</sup> In light of the aim of the art of philosophy, which he said was ‘to enhance the human lot and to enhance humankind’s power over things’ (p. 63), as well as ‘the most agreeable examples of philosophising’ (p. 61), he now proposed four additional laws to the one he stated in his previous oration. His five ‘laws of philosophising’ are as follows:

1. Questions which deal with matters that transcend the limits of our knowledge or which are of no benefit to humankind should be ‘banished from philosophy’ (pp. 63–7).
2. Philosophy encompasses all of the arts and sciences that are ‘useful to humankind’ (pp. 67–71).
3. Philosophers must interpret rather than anticipate nature (pp. 71–5; see also p. 57).
4. Philosophers should not accept doctrines that are contrary to the common sense of humankind (pp. 75–7).
5. Philosophers should ground each branch of philosophy on the principles of common sense and the axioms and phenomena studied in their respective fields (pp. 77–9).

In addition to these five general laws governing the practice of the art of philosophy, he acknowledged that there are particular rules which are specific to the various branches of that art (pp. 61–3).

Collectively, Reid’s five laws of philosophising are a blend of his fervent Baconianism, his admiration for Newton, his competence as a mathematician and his defence of the principles of common sense. Moreover, in suggesting these laws, he forged an identity for the philosopher that reflected his own unique set of skills and philosophical interests. In his second philosophical oration, his Baconianism again comes to the fore, with Bacon’s ideas providing the inspiration for the first three of Reid’s laws of philosophising.<sup>118</sup> His discussion of these laws wove together major themes and motifs derived from Bacon’s *Novum organum* and associated writings, notably the Lord Chancellor’s critique of the philosophy of the Greeks, his conception of the relationship between philosophy and the arts, his distinction between the anticipation and interpretation of nature, and his characterisation of the moral values that ought to inform philosophical enquiry. Returning to the attack on scholasticism launched in his previous discourse,

<sup>117</sup> In writing his first oration, Reid artfully set the stage for what he planned to discuss in 1756; compare D. D. Todd’s assessment of Oration I in Thomas Reid, *The Philosophical Orations of Thomas Reid: Delivered at Graduation Ceremonies in King’s College, Aberdeen, 1753, 1756, 1759, 1762*, ed. D. D. Todd and trans. Shirley Darcus Sullivan, p. 14.

<sup>118</sup> On Reid’s indebtedness to Bacon see Dugald Stewart, below, pp. 198, 204.

Reid contended that the scholastics had promoted a form of philosophising that encouraged pointless sectarian disputes over problems whose resolution was either impossible given human nescience or of no moral or material benefit to humankind. Echoing Bacon's injunction that we judge the merits of a philosophy by its practical consequences, Reid censured scholasticism not only for having flattered human pride but also for fostering 'sophistry', which was for him a perversion of the true philosophical spirit insofar as it involved disputatiousness, speculation about unknowable or useless topics, the multiplication of schools and sects, and the endless framing of hypotheses (p. 65).<sup>119</sup> Exemplary figures from the past, however, provided guidance in articulating an alternative to the 'pride and idle talk' of the Sophists and their progeny. In antiquity, Socrates, that 'wisest of the Greeks', mocked them, while in the modern era Locke and Bacon marshalled the philosophical weapons that could be used to explode the scholastic system (p. 65). Reid's first law of philosophising thus registers the Baconian equation of knowledge and power in its demand that philosophers enhance human happiness through the cultivation of useful learning.

His gloss on his first law also speaks to Bacon's reconfiguration of the conception of the 'culture of the mind' that dated back to classical antiquity, most notably where Reid states that 'sound philosophy' endeavours to 'provide true help for the human mind' and to 'enhance its innate powers' in order to 'extend the dominion of man over himself and over other things' (p. 67).<sup>120</sup> Originating in the writings of Cicero among others, the practice of the culture of the mind focussed on the moral formation of the individual and, even though the Christian doctrine of original sin raised questions about the extent to which individuals could control their behaviour without the intervention of divine grace, Cicero's claim that 'the cultivation of the soul is philosophy' remained influential within the Christian tradition.<sup>121</sup> At the outset of his career, Bacon conceived of the culture of the mind in Ciceronian and Christian terms. Writing in 1596 to Roger Manners, the fifth earl of Rutland, regarding his travels in Europe, Bacon advised Manners that he should aspire not only to learn from men and things but also to improve himself so that 'you do every day become more worthy'. Hence, Bacon said, 'your Lordship's end and scope should be that which in moral philosophy

<sup>119</sup> For Bacon's argument that 'works' are a sign of truth in philosophy see note 112 above.

<sup>120</sup> On this point see Corneanu, *Regimens of the Mind*, ch. 1, and Harrison, 'Francis Bacon, Natural Philosophy and the Cultivation of the Mind'. Although Corneanu and Harrison differ over specific details in their interpretations of Bacon, they agree that Bacon enlarged the scope of the culture of the mind so that it no longer focussed exclusively on moral self-cultivation. My argument in this paragraph is indebted to their work.

<sup>121</sup> Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, p. 159 (II.v.13).

we call “cultum animi”, the tilling and manuring of your own mind’. In 1596, therefore, Bacon saw the culture of the mind in largely traditional terms, namely as a branch of moral philosophy whose aim was individual self-improvement.<sup>122</sup> Later, in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon again treated the culture of the mind in a Ciceronian manner and characterised the practice as being an integral part of moral philosophy and likened it to a kind of regimen which would enable us to cultivate virtue by curing the distempers afflicting the human soul.<sup>123</sup>

By c. 1602, however, Bacon was developing an alternative, and much broader, conception of the culture of the mind that encompassed all of our moral and intellectual faculties. In ‘A Letter and Discourse to Sir Henry Savile, Touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers’ he drew Savile’s attention to the fact that in considering the ‘Education of youth’, ‘philosophers’ had hitherto written a good deal about ‘the framing and seasoning of youth to moral virtues, tolerance of labours, continency from pleasures, obedience, honour, and the like’ (that is, the culture of the mind), whereas by contrast there was ‘a strange silence’ among these philosophers regarding ‘the improvement and helping of the intellectual powers, as of conceit, memory, and judgment they say nothing’. Despite this silence, he maintained that our intellectual powers could be improved through ‘exercise’ because humans are ‘the most susceptible of help, improvement, impression, and alteration. And not only in his body, but in his mind and spirit. And there again not only in his appetite and affection, but in his power of wit and reason’.<sup>124</sup> But by the time he published the *Novum organum* and other fragments of his *Instauratio magna* in 1620 and his *De augmentis scientiarum* in 1623, Bacon’s broader understanding of the scope of the culture of the mind came to dominate his thought, such that it was now central to both moral *and* natural philosophy.<sup>125</sup> In aiming to enlarge our dominion over nature, the method advocated by Bacon in the *Novum organum* functioned as a mental regimen intended both to discipline the mind and to promote the pursuit of virtue – specifically, the virtue of charity – through the performance of works that benefit humankind.<sup>126</sup> The nexus of knowledge

<sup>122</sup> Francis Bacon, ‘Advice to the Earl of Rutland on His Travels’, in Francis Bacon, *The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers, p.69.

<sup>123</sup> Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, pp. 145–56.

<sup>124</sup> Francis Bacon, ‘A Letter and Discourse to Sir Henry Savile, Touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers’, in Bacon, *The Major Works*, pp. 114–15. In his Introduction Brian Vickers dates this text to c. 1602, whereas Sorana Corneanu suggests that it was written in the period 1595–1604; compare Bacon, *The Major Works*, p. xxxiv, with Corneanu, *Regimens of the Mind*, p. 234, note 1.

<sup>125</sup> Bacon’s traditional configuration of the culture of the mind lingers in *De augmentis scientiarum* but is replaced in the *Novum organum*.

<sup>126</sup> In the Preface to the Great Instauration, Bacon wrote of the ‘true ends of knowledge’ that knowledge was not to be sought ‘for personal gratification, or for contention, or to look down on



and power envisaged by Bacon thus involved a power over ourselves as well as nature, and this power was to be actively marshalled for the amelioration of the human condition.<sup>127</sup> And, as a consequence, the life of the philosopher, as Bacon understood it, was to be one of action rather than mere contemplation. It is this Baconian vision of the culture of the mind – and philosophy more generally – that informs not only Reid’s first two orations but also his teaching of the subject at both King’s College and the University of Glasgow.<sup>128</sup>

In emphasising that knowledge should be useful, Reid followed Bacon in challenging the Aristotelian distinction between knowledge (*epistêmê*) and art (*technê*), as well as Aristotle’s hierarchy of the sciences in which the purely speculative or theoretical took precedence over the ‘productive’.<sup>129</sup> Although Aristotle muddled the distinction between *technê* and *epistêmê* elsewhere in his extensive writings, the contrast he drew between these two intellectual virtues licensed the divorce of philosophy from the arts at the hands of his followers in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In his writings, Bacon challenged Aristotle’s prioritisation of the theoretical over the practical as well as the dichotomy between philosophy and, especially, the practical arts that had emerged in the post-classical era. For him, philosophy was not associated with the *vita contemplativa*. Instead, he identified philosophy with a specifically Protestant form of the *vita activa* and, in doing so, reconfigured the relations between the arts and sciences.<sup>130</sup> Symptomatic

others, or for convenience, reputation, or power, or any such inferior motive’ but rather ‘for the benefit and use of life, and that it be perfected and regulated in charity’; Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 23; compare Francis Bacon, ‘Valerius Terminus of the Interpretation of Nature: With the Annotations of Hermes Stella’, in *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St Alban and Lord High Chancellor of England*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, vol. III, pp. 221–2, where Bacon quotes I Corinthians 8: 1, ‘Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth’.

<sup>127</sup> Compare Reid’s second oration below, p. 63.

<sup>128</sup> Reid’s surviving lecture notes for his course on the culture of the mind at Glasgow show that he dealt with the improvement of both our intellectual and our moral powers; see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, esp. pp. 17–22, 61–2, 64–6, 78–81, 85–91. The stipulation in the King’s College *Abstract* of 1754 that the ‘Philosophy of the Mind’ included the improvement of the ‘Sensitive, Intellectual, [and] Moral’ powers (p. 16) indicates that the scope of his earlier lectures on the subject at King’s was much the same as that of his course at Glasgow.

<sup>129</sup> For the distinction between *epistêmê* and *technê* see Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1139<sup>a</sup>–1140<sup>a</sup>, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. II, pp. 1798–800. Aristotle distinguished between the speculative, practical and productive sciences which involved different forms of knowledge, see Aristotle, *Topics*, 145<sup>a</sup>, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. I, p. 244, and Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1025<sup>b</sup>–1026<sup>a</sup>, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. II, p. 1619–20. According to Aristotle, ‘there are three kinds of theoretical [i.e. speculative] sciences – natural science, mathematics, theology. The class of the theoretical sciences is the best, and of these themselves the last named is best; for it deals with the highest of existing things, and each science is called better or worse in virtue of its proper objects’; Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1064<sup>a</sup>–1064<sup>b</sup>, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. II, p. 1681.

<sup>130</sup> Harrison, ‘Francis Bacon, Natural Philosophy and the Cultivation of the Mind’, pp. 151–2.



of Bacon's reassessment of these relationships was the newly elevated status he assigned to the mechanical arts. Rejecting previous stereotypes of the mechanical arts, he contended that it was in these arts, rather than in philosophy or the sciences, that progress had genuinely occurred, largely because the mechanical arts were 'founded on nature and the light of experience'. To bring about the Great Instauration, the mechanical arts had to be integrated into the practice of philosophy, and this meant that the experiments performed in the mechanical arts had to be collected into an 'experimental history' of nature, which he saw as an important component of the comprehensive catalogue of nature and the arts upon which natural philosophy had to be founded.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, Bacon emphasised the reciprocity of the relationship between the mechanical arts and philosophy: progress in either domain depended on progress being made in the other. In the *Novum organum* he stated:

... let no one hope for great progress in the sciences (especially in the operative department) unless natural philosophy be extended to the particular sciences, and these in their turn reduced to natural philosophy. For hence it comes about that astronomy, optics, music, many of the mechanical arts, and medicine itself, and (which may surprise you) moral and political philosophy, and the science of logic have practically no depth but skate over the surface and variety of things; because once these are dispersed and set up as particular sciences, they are no longer nourished by natural philosophy; which could have given them new strength and growth at source. . . . Since, therefore, the sciences have been cut off from their roots, it is no wonder that they do not grow.

Natural philosophy was thus rightly considered as the 'great mother of the sciences' rather than as a mere propaedeutic, for she enriched fields such as the mechanical arts, just as they in turn enriched her.<sup>132</sup>

In his second oration, Reid praised Bacon for having 'correctly grasped' the implications of Cicero's characterisation of philosophy as 'the creator and mother . . . of all the reputable arts'.<sup>133</sup> According to Reid, there is a 'loving mutuality of duties' between philosophy and the arts and sciences, and this reciprocal relationship extended not just to the 'liberal arts' but also to 'the mechanical and mercantile arts'.<sup>134</sup> In his view, Bacon's great insight was that *all* of the arts,

<sup>131</sup> Preface to the Great Instauration, Book I, Aphorism LXXIV, and Aphorisms IV–V of 'A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History', in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 13, 119, 458–65.

<sup>132</sup> Book I, Aphorism LXXX in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 127.

<sup>133</sup> Cicero, *De oratore*, trans. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, vol. I, p. 9 (I.iii.9).

<sup>134</sup> On the relationship between philosophy and the practical arts, compare Reid's Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind in Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 6.

‘even the meanest of them’, deal with natural phenomena that are pertinent to ‘the investigation of the causes of things and the powers of nature’. It was this insight, he suggests, that prompted the Lord Chancellor to reform the study of natural history by stipulating that the subject should include ‘the history not only of natural productions but also of the arts both liberal and mechanical, the arts of agriculture, cattle breeding, dyeing, glassmaking, the making of sugar, gunpowder, paper and such like’. And, echoing Bacon, he held out the hope that such histories would lead to further progress in both the individual arts themselves and natural philosophy. Moreover, much as Bacon had implicitly done in the passage just quoted, Reid condemned the separation of philosophy from the sciences and liberal arts. This separation, which had begun in classical antiquity, had enfeebled the liberal arts and sciences, and had deprived philosophy ‘of its most noble branches’, leaving only ‘young shoots’ and ‘a trunk’ he described as ‘a piece of useless timber’.<sup>135</sup> Philosophy had become, on his reading of history, useless and essentially a scholastic exercise, cultivated only by ‘monks’ and ‘men of leisure’. To save philosophy from sterility, therefore, he recommended the restoration of the reciprocal relationship that had once subsisted between philosophy and the liberal arts and sciences, so that philosophy could again be of service to, and enriched by, human life (pp. 65, 67–71).<sup>136</sup>

Bacon’s ‘art of interpreting nature’ was a cornerstone not only of his own renovation of philosophy but also of Reid’s methodological outlook. The significance that Bacon’s conception of the interpretation of nature held for Reid can be gauged by the fact that this art figured as the only example of a law of philosophising cited by Reid in his oration of 1753, while in his second oration the art again featured as one of his five laws regulating the practice of philosophy. Although Bacon did not live to specify the precise details of his ‘art of interpreting nature’, the characterisation of the general aim and scope of the art in his *Novum organum* and associated fragments from the *Great Instauration* served as the starting point for Reid’s delineation of what the interpretation of nature entailed. In these writings Bacon presented his method as a *via media* between the extremes of scepticism and dogmatism. While he agreed with the ancient sceptics that our mental faculties are fallible, he sought to provide ‘helps’ to overcome the failings of our senses, memory and reason in the form of experiments, natural histories and the use of eliminative induction. And while he allowed that we can acquire certain

<sup>135</sup> In using the metaphor of a tree and its branches to describe philosophy and its relation to the arts and sciences Reid echoes George Turnbull; for references, see above, note 28.

<sup>136</sup> It is precisely this reciprocity between philosophy and the liberal arts that informed Reid’s view of the relationship between ‘the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Sciences that depend upon it’; see below, pp. 67–71.

knowledge by employing these helps, he rejected the dogmatism of Aristotle and his scholastic followers on the ground that they had done ‘very great damage to philosophy and the sciences’ by turning the study of the natural world into a ‘magisterial’ exercise involving the use of syllogistic logic and the exegesis of the Aristotelian canon rather than the empirical investigation of the book of nature.<sup>137</sup> Moreover, all of the philosophers of classical antiquity had misconceived the true aim of natural philosophy, which for Bacon was ‘not the discovery of arguments but of arts’ that would enlarge our dominion over ourselves and the natural order. His ‘art of interpreting nature’ was designed to achieve that end by effecting a ‘marriage’ between the human mind and nature and, significantly, he believed that his ‘art’ could be utilised in ‘logic, ethics and politics’ as well as the other sciences, for he wrote in the *Novum organum* that ‘just as the common [syllogistic] logic, . . . reaches not only to the natural but also to all the other sciences; so mine, which advances by *Induction*, takes in everything’.<sup>138</sup>

Reid too maintained that Bacon’s ‘art of interpreting nature’ was applicable not simply to natural philosophy but to all of the branches of philosophy, and he likewise conceived of the ends of the art in Baconian terms, as can be seen in his second oration in his statement that ‘the aim of philosophy is to enhance the human lot and to enhance humankind’s power over things’ (p. 63). What is striking about Reid’s comments on the interpretation of nature is how he employed religious imagery to elaborate on his statement of his third law of philosophising. Bacon had utilised theologically charged language in the concluding paragraphs of his plan for the Great Instauration, where he observed that ‘the whole idea’ of his method was ‘never to take one’s eyes off things themselves, and to take in their images just as they are’; he implored God to ‘forbid that we may give out a fantastic dream for a pattern of the world’ and asked that ‘He graciously grant that we write a revelation and true vision of the Creator’s footprints and impressions upon His creatures’.<sup>139</sup> Reid employed a similar dichotomy between God’s creation and creations of the human mind in order to distinguish between the categorically different tasks of the poet and the philosopher: whereas the art of the poet consists in the invention of plausible stories, the art of the philosopher is restricted to the chaste interpretation of God’s works to the exclusion of ‘any admixture of the produce of the human mind’ (p. 73). Drawing a parallel between the

<sup>137</sup> Preface to the Great Instauration and Book I, Aphorisms XXVI–XXXIII, LXIII, LXVII, CXXVI in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 11, 74–7, 98–101, 106–9, 188–91.

<sup>138</sup> Preface to the Great Instauration, ‘Plan of the Work’ and Book I, Aphorism CXXVII in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 21, 29, 190–1.

<sup>139</sup> Bacon, ‘Plan of the Work’, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 45; see also Book I, Aphorism CXXIV, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 187.

Christian theologian and the philosopher, he indicated that while the theologian must learn to understand the language of the Bible, the philosopher must learn to read the language of nature. Furthermore, he insisted that they must both refrain from distorting the message of those languages by imposing their own fictitious interpretations upon them:

Just as it is the Christian theologian's function to draw from the pure word of God the dogmas of religion and not to add anything from his own intellect or another's, so also it is the philosopher's function to reject all the fictions and divinations of men as apocrypha, and to esteem as pure and divine only that which the works of God say and recount. (p. 73)

Reid's critique of the use of conjectures and hypotheses in philosophy is rooted in this construal of the philosopher's task, insofar as they are both figments of the imagination akin to the fictions of the poets rather than a product of the 'art of interpreting nature'.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, the language of nature, properly interpreted, teaches us lessons about morality as well as the laws of nature. For in addition to informing us about the laws governing the physical universe and the powers God has bestowed on humankind, nature reveals to us the 'connecting principle' that unites individuals in social units and the 'service' and 'offices' through which we 'can be of benefit to people' (p. 73).<sup>141</sup> Although he observed that 'a trustworthy interpreter is truly a rare bird in the world', he nevertheless affirmed (as he had done in his first oration) that there had been a handful of philosophers who had advanced the 'art of interpreting nature', namely Hippocrates of Cos and Socrates among the ancients, and Bacon and Newton among the moderns (p. 75).<sup>142</sup>

The cluster of moral values that Reid ascribed to the interpretation of nature, and to the proper pursuit of philosophy more generally, were also those which were integral to Bacon's version of the culture of the mind, of which his 'art of interpreting nature' was a part. The Lord Chancellor's *cultura animi* was designed

<sup>140</sup> Compare the passage in the introduction to the *Inquiry* where Reid states: 'Conjectures and theories are the creatures of men, and will always be found very unlike the creatures of God. . . . A just interpretation of nature is the only sound and orthodox philosophy: whatever we add of our own, is apocryphal, and of no authority'; Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 12.

<sup>141</sup> Reid dealt with these matters in his lectures on practical ethics, wherein he surveyed 'The duties of Natural Religion, The Duties of self Government, The Law of Nature or natural Jurisprudence and the Law of Nations'; Reid, *Practical Ethics*, p. 14.

<sup>142</sup> Reid's comment on the rarity of true interpreters of nature alludes to line 165 in Juvenal's sixth satire, 'The Ways of Women': 'a rare bird on this earth, exactly like a black swan'; Juvenal, *Satires*, in *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton Braund, pp. 248–9.

to remediate the corruptions afflicting human nature in our post-lapsarian state.<sup>143</sup> According to Bacon's reading of the biblical narrative of the Fall, the form of knowledge that Adam and Eve sought and which led to humankind's expulsion from the Garden of Eden was moral rather than natural knowledge:

For it was not that pure and unstained knowledge of nature, the knowledge by which *Adam* gave names to things according to their kind that prompted or occasioned the Fall, but that ambitious and importunate craving for moral knowledge to judge of good and evil so that man might revolt from God and give laws to himself was the ground and measure of temptation.<sup>144</sup>

Consequently, whereas humankind is unable to arrive at a true understanding of morality independently of Divine revelation, out of His goodness and benevolence God has both allowed us to know something of nature and provided us with mental tools to acquire this knowledge. Yet these tools are fallible and to some extent faulty as a result of the Fall, which is why we must follow the mental regimen prescribed by Bacon's culture of the mind and employ the 'helps' provided by his method. The aim of Bacon's *cultura animi* was also to combat the moral effects of the Fall. Pride, arrogance and presumption had led Adam and Eve to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and, in doing so, they lost their original innocence. In the Lord Chancellor's view, this triad of vices characterised the disputatious modes of philosophising employed by Aristotle, the scholastics and other ancient and modern philosophers.<sup>145</sup> Hence, for Bacon, their philosophies embodied the values which had brought about the Fall of humankind. By contrast, he argued that the values embedded in his 'art of interpreting nature' were those of humility and a reverence for the works of God, and he believed that religious faith as well as the use of his method would enable us 'to some extent' to regain the innocence humankind lost at the Fall.<sup>146</sup> Moreover, his method involved *work*. This suggests that in devising his method he was cognisant of God's injunction to Adam and Eve in Genesis 4:19, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread'.<sup>147</sup> Although Bacon acknowledged that 'the angels fell because of an appetite for power' and that 'men fell because of an

<sup>143</sup> For an illuminating study of the ways in which the biblical doctrine of the Fall shaped not only Bacon's Great Instauration but also debates over the status of human knowledge and the rise of the experimental philosophy more generally in the seventeenth century see Peter Harrison, *The Fall of Man and the Foundations of Science*.

<sup>144</sup> Bacon, Preface to the Great Instauration, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 23.

<sup>145</sup> Bacon, Preface to the Great Instauration, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 23.

<sup>146</sup> See Bacon, Preface to the Great Instauration, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 25.

<sup>147</sup> Compare 'Plan of the Work' and Book II, Aphorism LII, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 44–7, 447.

appetite for knowledge', he nevertheless insisted on the moral legitimacy of the nexus of knowledge and power fostered by his method because he stipulated that the acquisition and exercise of knowledge and power was to be governed by the Christian view of charity. The 'true ends of knowledge', he advised his readers, are not 'personal gratification, or . . . contention, or to look down on others, or . . . convenience, reputation, or power or any such inferior motive' but rather 'the benefit and use of life . . . perfected and regulated in charity'.<sup>148</sup>

These Baconian themes are woven into Reid's explication of his laws of philosophising in his second oration. As in Bacon, Reid's understanding of the task of the philosopher was premised on the biblical narrative of the Fall, for there is a clear allusion to the doctrine of original sin in his comment that the 'chaste' interpretation of God's works was inimical to 'the pride and arrogance of one born a human being, who likes to command rather than to obey things, and to sever the knots of nature by the power of his mind rather than to clear them by a cautious and slow process' (p. 73).<sup>149</sup> This passage also indicates that he associated the vices of 'pride and arrogance' with false methods of philosophising; this point is made clear in his oration where he states that philosophers should recognise that the aim of their art is not the 'prideful display of disputing' or the 'feeding of controversies or overcoming a protagonist in a dispute' but rather the performance of good works (p. 65). The contrast between Socrates, the exemplary moralist who was modest enough to admit his ignorance, and his antagonists the Sophists, who engaged in 'pride and idle talk', thus serves to illustrate the moral differences between true and false philosophers (p. 65). Furthermore, he endorsed Bacon's view that the practice of philosophy involved work. Reid noted that even though our innate pride might lead us to believe that we can readily invent conjectures in order to understand nature, the true path to a knowledge of the creation involved 'exertion and hard work' in learning the language of nature (p. 73). And while Reid may not have emphasised the overriding importance of the virtue of charity in his discussion of the aim of the art of philosophy, we have seen that he subscribed to Bacon's tenet that the proper end of philosophical enquiry is to improve the human condition. To this Baconian mix, Reid added one value of his own, which was rooted in his professional roles as an academic and a minister in the Church of Scotland. It is a noteworthy feature of his second oration that he celebrates the value of intellectual freedom as manifest in the freedom to philosophise, which he says was guaranteed at King's by the College's

<sup>148</sup> Bacon, Preface to the Great Instauration in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 23.

<sup>149</sup> Reid also alludes to Bacon's view that we must obey nature in order to interpret her; Bacon, 'Plan of the Work' and Book I, Aphorism III, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 45, 65. The 'cautious and slow process' Reid speaks of was the method prescribed by Bacon.

founder, William Elphinstone, and by ‘the nature of the reformed religion’, which he juxtaposes with the ‘tyranny and superstition’ of the Catholic Church (p. 65). The values that Reid thought were embedded in the philosophical enterprise as he conceived it were thus not simply Christian, but distinctively Protestant, in character. Hence his second oration illustrates the extent to which his view of philosophy was rooted in the Reformed tradition, with the ideas central to Bacon’s Great Instauration serving as the vehicle for the articulation of Reid’s religious values in the realm of philosophy.

Although Reid said in his first philosophical oration that the ‘finger of God’ had ‘inscribed in the very hearts of men’ the fundamental truths of morality and referred to the ‘common sense of the ordinary people’ in mentioning the disputes ‘about the causes, origin and nature of virtue’ among moralists (p. 49), it is only in his second oration that he elaborated on what he understood by the term ‘common sense’ (pp. 75–7). His characterisation of the nature of ‘common notions’ in his second oration tells us that his conception of the principles of common sense was rooted in Euclidean geometry and the writings of Cicero and the Stoics.<sup>150</sup> For in the *Elements*, Euclid builds his system of geometry upon a set of twenty-three definitions, five postulates and five ‘common notions’, while Cicero argued that our knowledge of virtue and vice was grounded on nature and, in particular, upon ‘κοινὰ εννοιαί’ or ‘*koinai ennoiai*’, that is, ‘common notions’.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, it is significant that in commenting on his formulation of his fourth law of philosophising he excludes the forms of scepticism associated with Zeno of Elea, Thomas Hobbes and David Hume from the province of true philosophy on the ground that scepticism is inconsistent with the laws of philosophising. His argument is thus primarily a methodological one, although he does suggest that scepticism was also inconsistent with the *aims* of philosophy rightly conceived, insofar as he says that a consequence of accepting the paradoxes of the sceptics was that ‘necessarily nothing done is of any consequence’ (p. 75).<sup>152</sup> Also noteworthy here is Reid’s depiction of Hume as a Pyrrhonist and religious sceptic. When Reid delivered this oration in 1756, Hume’s scepticism and irreligion were the

<sup>150</sup> On Cicero and the Stoics see Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*, pp. 23–6.

<sup>151</sup> See Euclid, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid’s Elements*, trans. Thomas L. Heath, second edition, vol. I, pp. 153–5, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On the Laws*, in Cicero, *On the Republic and On the Laws*, trans. David Fott, esp. p. 145 (I.44–6). As Heath points out, in classical antiquity the terms ‘common notions’ and ‘axioms’ were more or less interchangeable; Euclid, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid’s Elements*, vol. I, pp. 221–2. Reid’s wording in referring to ‘*koinai ennoiai*, axioms or common notions’ reflects this usage.

<sup>152</sup> David Hume likewise criticised Pyrrhonian scepticism on the ground that its principles were not ‘beneficial to society’; David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748), ed. Tom L. Beauchamp, p. 119.



subject of an intense public debate. The year before, one of Reid's associates, the Rev. Robert Traill, attacked Hume's deprecation of religion in a sermon preached before the Synod of Aberdeen, while Hume's irreligion was denounced by the Rev. John Bonar, whose anonymous pamphlet *An Analysis of the Moral and Religious Sentiments Contained in the Writings of Sopho, and David Hume, Esq[.]* was used to bolster accusations of heterodoxy and infidelity levelled at Hume and his friend Henry Home (later Lord Kames) at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1755 and again in 1756.<sup>153</sup> The attempts by high flyers in the Kirk to have Hume and Home excommunicated failed, but their polemics reinforced the public perception that Hume coupled Pyrrhonism with Epicurean atheism.<sup>154</sup> Reid's references to Hume in his second oration are symptomatic of this perception, although his lack of persecuting zeal in his opposition to Hume indicates that his tolerant attitude towards his antagonist paralleled that of Hume's allies among the Moderate clergy in Edinburgh.<sup>155</sup>

The stipulation in Reid's fifth law of philosophising that philosophy should 'not only not be hostile to common notions but in addition to be constructed and built on them' (p. 77) further illustrates the importance of exemplars in mathematics and natural philosophy for his reform of the practice of philosophy. Euclid's *Elements* serves as one model for the construction of axiomatic systems, to which Reid adds Book III of Newton's *Principia*, in which, he says, the science of physical astronomy was built on the basis of 'two pillars of solid steel', namely 'three or four common notions which [Newton] termed rules of philosophising'

<sup>153</sup> Robert Traill, *The Qualifications and Decorum of a Teacher of Christianity Considered; with a View to the Temper of the Present Age Respecting Religion, and to Some Late Attacks Which Have Been Made Upon It* (1755); [John Bonar], *An Analysis of the Moral and Religious Sentiments Contained in the Writings of Sopho, and David Hume, Esq; Addressed to the Consideration of the Reverend and Honourable Members of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* (1755).

<sup>154</sup> On the failed attempts to have Hume and Home excommunicated from the Church of Scotland see Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*, pp. 65–73.

<sup>155</sup> Reid's remarks on the value of intellectual freedom in his second oration suggest that while he was militantly opposed to Hume's ideas, he was nevertheless willing to grant Hume the freedom to philosophise. As his subsequent correspondence with Hume indicates, despite their deep philosophical differences Reid admired his opponent's intellectual acumen and was prepared to engage with Hume on a personal level; for more on the relationship between Hume and members of Reid's circle in the north east of Scotland see Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*. Reid's associate among the Edinburgh Moderates, Hugh Blair, published an anonymous pamphlet in 1755 in which he appealed to the principle of the freedom of enquiry in order to defend Hume and Home against their ecclesiastical critics; see Sean Patrick O'Rourke, 'Hugh Blair's *Observations upon a Pamphlet* (1755): Introduction and Text', p. 226. Richard Sher notes that this principle was a fundamental component of 'the philosophy of Moderatism'; Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 67. For context see also M. A. Stewart, '*Libertas philosophandi*: From Natural to Speculative Philosophy'.



and ‘phenomena perceived by the senses’ (p. 77). As Reid’s remarks indicate, Book III of the *Principia* opens with a statement of Newton’s ‘Rules for the Study of Natural Philosophy’, followed by six ‘phenomena’ which summarise the basic data regarding the orbital motions of the planets and their satellites in our solar system.<sup>156</sup> Hence Book III of the *Principia* was a more suitable model for the branches of philosophy that involved the empirical investigation of human affairs than Euclid’s *Elements*, even though Reid did not differentiate between them. Nevertheless, he insisted that ‘there are axioms and there are phenomena in ethics and politics no less than in physics on which every sound argument in these sciences rests’, and, in doing so, implied that, unlike ethics and politics, the study of the human mind had yet to achieve the status of a ‘science’ in the eighteenth-century sense of the term, namely an organised body of knowledge derived deductively from self-evident first principles (p. 79).<sup>157</sup>

In addition to his delineation of the persona of the philosopher through his enunciation of his five laws of philosophising, Reid’s criticism of scholastic theology in his second philosophical oration is of considerable historical interest because the precise nature of his religious affiliations within the Church of Scotland remain elusive.<sup>158</sup> As Dugald Stewart tells us, while Reid ministered to his flock at New Machar, he followed the practice of the day by reading popular sermons published by distinguished men of the cloth. In Reid’s case, he is said to have read sermons by the renowned Latitudinarian divine and Archbishop of Canterbury John Tillotson, and the noted English Presbyterian preacher John Evans (p. 192).<sup>159</sup> The work of both men was based on a rejection of the priorities

<sup>156</sup> The first Latin edition (1687) of the *Principia* included two rules of philosophising (called ‘hypotheses’ in this edition only), to which Newton added a third rule in the second Latin edition (1713) and a fourth rule in the third Latin edition (1726); Isaac Newton, *The Principia: Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, third edition (1726), trans. I. Bernard Cohen, Anne Whitman and Julia Budenz, pp. 794–801.

<sup>157</sup> For Reid on first principles and the axiomatic form of the sciences compare: Reid, *Active Powers*, pp. 176–80, 270–8 (III.iii.6, V.1); Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 452–512, 559 (VI.4–6, VII.3); Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 26–7, 30–4. In the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the word ‘science’ is defined thus: ‘SCIENCE, in philosophy, denotes any doctrine, deduced from self-evident and certain principles, by a regular demonstration’; William Smellie (ed.), *Encyclopædia Britannica; or, a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Compiled upon a New Plan* (1771), s.v. ‘Science’, vol. III, p. 570.

<sup>158</sup> What little we know regarding Reid’s religion is summarised in the Editor’s Introduction to Thomas Reid, *Thomas Reid on Religion*, ed. James J. S. Foster. Additional documentary evidence is considered in Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*.

<sup>159</sup> For the sermons of Evans see especially John Evans, *Practical Discourses concerning the Christian Temper: Being Thirty-Eight Sermons upon the Principal Heads of Practical Religion, Especially Injuncted and Inforced by Christianity* (1723), a work which by 1742 had gone through five editions. Tillotson’s sermons went through many different editions and formats in the first

of Calvinist scholastic theology as it was taught in the schools, insofar as both of them were advocates of religious toleration among Protestants, both emphasised the centrality of the fulfilment of practical religious duties in the life of a Christian, and both eschewed the abstract as well as acrimonious theological disputes characteristic of scholastic Calvinism (although Tillotson was an accomplished controversialist who was hostile to Catholics and unbelievers).<sup>160</sup> They were also both gifted preachers, who sought to impress on their auditors that Christianity was reasonable and that the true Christian should value moral action more than doctrinal rectitude.

Views similar to those of Tillotson and Evans increasingly gained ground among Scottish Presbyterians in the early decades of the eighteenth century, due in part to the influential teaching of the Edinburgh Professor of Divinity, William Hamilton, whose lectures Reid's regent George Turnbull attended.<sup>161</sup> Given Turnbull's contempt for scholasticism in general, and for the rigidity of Calvinist orthodoxy in Scotland in particular, it may be that his religious attitudes rubbed off on his pupil.<sup>162</sup> When Reid was a student at Marischal College, the Principal and Professor of Divinity, Thomas Blackwell the elder, served as a conduit for the ideas of the Latitudinarians, for we know that Blackwell the elder was familiar with the publications of Edward Stillingfleet, although his understanding of the reasonableness of Christianity differed significantly from that of Stillingfleet and his fellow Latitudinarian divines.<sup>163</sup> Unfortunately, we know very little about the religious outlooks of the two men whose lectures Reid would have attended while he was a divinity student in Aberdeen: Blackwell the elder's successor as Professor at Marischal, James Chalmers, and the King's Professor of Divinity,

half of the eighteenth century. Reid may have used the three-volume edition of Tillotson's works edited by Tillotson's chaplain Ralph Barker and first published in 1712, or the more comprehensive twelve-volume edition of his writings: John Tillotson, *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr John Tillotson, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Ralph Barker (1742–44).

<sup>160</sup> For a helpful overview of the religious ideas of Tillotson and his fellow Latitudinarians see Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660–1780*, vol. I, ch. 2, as well as Gerard Reedy, 'Interpreting Tillotson', for a somewhat different view of Tillotson's negotiation of the relationship between reason and revelation. As Rivers points out, Tillotson and the Latitudinarians grounded their account of natural religion on an appeal to 'common notions'; this feature of their writings may well have resonated with Reid. For Evans see the article on him by S. J. Skedd in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>161</sup> Hamilton's teaching and influence are discussed in Henry Sefton, "'Neu-lights and Preachers Legall': Some Observations on the Beginnings of Moderatism in the Church of Scotland". For the Turnbull–Hamilton connection see the Introduction to Turnbull, *Education for Life*, p. xvii.

<sup>162</sup> George Turnbull to Robert, first Viscount Molesworth, 5 November 1722, in Turnbull, *Education for Life*, p. 10.

<sup>163</sup> See especially Thomas Blackwell the elder, *Ratio sacra, or, an Appeal unto the Rational World, About the Reasonableness of Revealed Religion* (1710), p. 88.

David Anderson. But the anecdotal evidence mentioned by Dugald Stewart regarding Reid's use of sermons by Tillotson and Evans in his preaching at New Machar indicates that, like Turnbull, Reid was unsympathetic to the doctrinaire Calvinist orthodoxy of the high flyers within the Kirk and that he subscribed to a moderate form of Calvinism which stressed the moral teachings of Christ and which recognised the complementary provinces of reason and revelation. Reid's affinity for a moderate Calvinism, and his dislike of disputes over arcane matters of theology, surface in his second philosophical oration when he states that 'sound and more skillful' theologians had 'purge[d] and . . . cleanse[d] theology' by eliminating 'the theological questions and disputes which have no significance for the enhancement of Christian virtue and piety' (p. 65).<sup>164</sup> Reid's dismissal of scholastic theology thus signals his endorsement of the religious ideas and ideals of the generation of moderate clergymen trained by William Hamilton that included such figures as Robert Wallace and William Leechman, as well as the slightly younger phalanx of clerics who in the 1750s formed the Moderate Party in the Church of Scotland.<sup>165</sup>

In his third and fourth philosophical orations, delivered in 1759 and 1762, Reid turned his attention to the 'theory of ideas', that is, the set of interrelated hypotheses that he believed had played a pivotal role in preventing the study of the human mind from achieving the status of a science. Because Reid's final oration recapitulates the critique of the theory of ideas he presented in his third oration, in what follows I shall focus primarily (but not exclusively) on the details of the attack on the ideal system he mounted in the spring of 1759. During the three years that separated his second and third orations, a significant change occurred in the institutional context for his thinking about philosophical matters, for, as we have seen, the Aberdeen Philosophical Society was founded in January 1758. Hence when Reid read his third oration, he had two venues in which to develop his common-sense philosophy, namely the classrooms of King's and the meetings

<sup>164</sup> Tillotson was undoubtedly one of the theologians Reid had in mind here. Reid later referred to Tillotson in his Glasgow lectures on rhetoric and praised Tillotson for the proper use of ridicule in his writings and for having avoided the stylistic extremes of 'dry' and 'florid' composition; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 241–2, 274–5. He also quotes from 'the excellent' Tillotson's sermon, 'The Wisdom of Being Religious', in Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 505–7 (VI.6); for another reference to Tillotson see p. 521. This sermon is found in *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr John Tillotson*, vol. I, pp. 1–74.

<sup>165</sup> In addition to Sefton, "'Neu-lights and Preachers Legall'", see especially M. A. Stewart, 'Principal Wishart (1692–1753) and the Controversies of His Day'; Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*; Thomas Ahnert, *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1690–1805*; Knud Haakonssen, 'Natural Rights or Political Prudence? Francis Hutcheson on Toleration'; and Jeffrey M. Suderman, *Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: George Campbell in the Eighteenth Century*. Campbell was one of Reid's closest associates and shared his views.

of the Wise Club. Presumably, Reid initially formulated his criticisms of the theory of ideas in his lectures at King's and, if this was the case, his third oration indicates that he targeted the ideal system in his classes by 1759 at the latest. His contributions to the Wise Club soon after its foundation likewise suggest that by 1759 he had developed the arguments that he subsequently employed to combat the theory of ideas in the *Inquiry*. In his first discourse to the Society, in June 1758, he dealt with topics such as the geometry of visibles, which he later discussed in the *Inquiry*'s sixth chapter, on the sense of sight, while at two meetings of the Club held in July 1758 Reid and his colleagues debated his question 'Are the Objects of the human Mind properly divided into Impressions & Ideas? And must every Idea be a Copy of a preceeding Impression?' In his introductory comments on this question, Reid took aim at the theory of ideas and enumerated his reasons for rejecting the claim made by George Berkeley, Hume and their fellow proponents of the ideal system that impressions and ideas are the only objects of human thought.<sup>166</sup> Then, in 14 March 1759, Reid read a second discourse to the Society, on the 'Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste', in which he contended that the theory of ideas was 'a meer fiction & hypothesis contrived to solve the phænomena of perception, memory and imagination' which was inconsistent with common sense and which 'if justly pursued, [would] either lead us back into the exploded Peripatetic system [of intelligible species], or plunge us into the most forlorn scepticism'.<sup>167</sup> We shall see below that Reid's third philosophical oration, which he delivered in April 1759, largely restates or reformulates the objections to the ideal system that he raised in his discourse given to the Wise Club in March that same year.

Before analysing the details of Reid's critique of the theory of ideas in his third and fourth philosophical orations, two general features of these orations should be noted. First, although the focus of this pair of orations is very different from that of those for 1753 and 1756, his attack on the ideal system is framed in terms of the laws of philosophising enunciated in his second oration. In 1759 and 1762, for example, he echoed his earlier complaint that the art of philosophy had 'hardly passed beyond the state of infancy or at any rate of childhood' (p. 45). The 'philosophy of the human understanding', he said, continued to be

<sup>166</sup> Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, pp. 85–6, 190 and Table A-4. For Reid's first discourse see AUL, MS 3107/1/1, pp. 17–[30]. The text of his introductory remarks survives in two versions: AUL, MS 2131/6/1/11 (which is in his own hand), and AUL, MS 3107/2/1, fols 5r–6v (which is a copy in the hand of Thomas Gordon).

<sup>167</sup> Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, p. 90 and Table A-4. An incomplete copy of Reid's second discourse survives in the hand of Thomas Gordon in AUL, MS 3107/1/3, pp. 58–[72] (for the quotation see p. 63).

‘wrapped in darkness’ because it ‘rested on hypotheses and on idols of the mind rather than on accurate analysis of the operations of the understanding’ (p. 83). Due to the sorry state of this branch of philosophy, little progress had been made in our understanding of the operations of the mind; by contrast, the sciences of ‘astronomy, mechanics, hydrostatics, optics and chemistry’, which all rested on certain first principles, ‘daily benefit[ted] from incremental steps worthy of the human mind’ (p. 115). This lack of progress in the philosophy of the mind was, for him, a symptom of the fact that the proponents of the theory of ideas had, in a number of ways, violated all but the second of his five rules of philosophising. According to Reid, the theory consisted of little more than ‘dogmas about ideas, judgement and apprehension’ which were ‘intertwined with knotty subtleties’ and which were more conducive ‘to the acatalepsy of the Sceptics than to sound and useful science’. Such dogmas had, he suggested, discouraged ‘wise people’ from learning about ‘the abstract questions and disputations that are generally termed metaphysics and that depend on the philosophy of the human understanding’ because these questions and disputes were useless, irresolvable and sometimes dealt with matters beyond the sphere of human knowledge (pp. 83, 115). The theory of ideas was thus in his view no different from the logomachies of the scholastics and the verbal jousts of the Sophists that his first law of philosophising was designed to exclude from the domain of true philosophy. Furthermore, the scepticism to which the ideal system inevitably led likewise contravened his first law, insofar as the Pyrrhonism engendered by the theory of ideas fostered a ‘barren and dismal loneliness’ that was of no benefit to the individual or to humankind more generally (pp. 83, 117).<sup>168</sup>

Reid’s third law of philosophy stipulated that philosophers interpret rather than anticipate nature, and, to do so, they are required to combat the idols of the mind and eschew the use of hypotheses. The theory of ideas contravened his third law on two counts: first, it was a fiction or hypothesis that was akin to poetry rather than a genuinely philosophical account of the operations of the mind and, secondly, it rested on false analogies between the actions of material bodies and those of the mind (pp. 93, 99, 107, 125). These false analogies were rooted in ‘the human mind’s strong proclivity to invent a similarity between the operations of the mind and the actions of bodies’, and this ‘strong proclivity’, in which the ideal system originated, was for him a manifestation of the ‘idols of the human mind’ (pp. 83, 105–9, 125).<sup>169</sup> The theory of ideas also contradicted his fourth law

<sup>168</sup> Compare David Hume’s similar assessment of Pyrrhonism as cited above, in note 152.

<sup>169</sup> See also Reid’s later discussion of the idols of the mind, where he mentions the false analogies between body and mind in his survey of the errors arising from the idols of the tribe; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 530 (VI.8). Bacon hinted at the problems associated with analogical reasoning in his

of philosophising, namely that philosophers should not advance views which are incompatible with the principles of common sense. A recurring criticism in his orations for 1759 and 1762 is that the basic elements of the theory of ideas were, in his words, ‘abhorrent to the common sense of humankind’, and he singled out Locke’s account of judgement as a notable example of the dissonance between the conceptual foundations of this theory and the dictates of common sense (pp. 87–9, 115, 131–3). Lastly, Reid evidently thought that the ideal system was inconsistent with his fifth law of philosophising, which stated that philosophers should ground their explanatory schemes on the principles of common sense, axioms and phenomena, following the examples set by Euclid’s *Elements* and, especially, Book III of Newton’s *Principia*. While Reid acknowledged that the proponents of the ideal system had premised their theory of the mind on axioms, he contended that these axioms had gained widespread acceptance on the basis of the reputation of the thinkers who had advanced the theory rather than on the cogency of the principles involved (p. 83). Consequently, he believed that there was a false consensus in the philosophy of mind regarding the veracity of the ideal system, and one which persisted despite the fact that the theoretical postulates of the system were inconsistent with common sense. He therefore insisted that the axioms upon which the theory of ideas rested had to be subjected to critical scrutiny in order to transform the philosophy of mind into a genuine science and to counter the sceptical consequences of the ideal system. In sum, despite the different foci of his initial and his final pair of philosophical orations, there were nevertheless significant continuities between them, insofar as the methodological concerns of the first two orations served as the starting point for his critique of the theory of ideas in his orations for 1759 and 1762.

The second general point to be made about Reid’s last two philosophical orations is that their contents are closely related to the subjects he was teaching his students in their magistrand year. I have suggested above that it is plausible to assume that the criticisms of the theory of ideas put forward in these orations were initially formulated in his lectures on the philosophy of the mind. Yet we need to recognise that these orations also deal in great detail with topics covered in his lectures on logic, most notably our mental faculties of simple apprehension, judgement and reasoning (see especially p. 117). Discussion of these faculties of the mind was a staple of both logic textbooks and courses on logic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Reid structured his logic lectures according

enumeration of the idols of the tribe, although he did not identify such reasoning as manifesting the inherent flaws of human nature; see Book I, Aphorism XLVI, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 83–5. On this point cf. Alan Wade Davenport, ‘Reid’s Indebtedness to Bacon’, pp. 499–502.



to this standard pattern.<sup>170</sup> Given that he taught his course on logic towards the end of the session, it may be that he drew extensively on his course material in his orations for a pragmatic reason, namely that he wanted to enable his graduands to dispute topics that were still relatively fresh in their minds rather than questions related to subjects in the *cursus philosophicus* covered in their semi or tertian years. Another reason for drawing on his logic lectures was that he used them as a platform to criticise aspects of the theory of ideas and Locke's treatment of judgement.<sup>171</sup> More importantly, in his lectures on logic he also attacked Hume's denial of 'the vulgar division of the acts of the understanding, into conception, judgment and reasoning' made by 'all logicians', as well as Hume's analysis of causation and his treatment of testimony as it related to the credibility of miracles.<sup>172</sup> His lengthy rebuttal of Hume left his students in no doubt that Hume's doctrines threatened to undermine both natural and revealed religion.

In his philosophical orations for 1759 and 1762, he repeated the criticisms that he made in his logic lectures of Locke and Hume on the nature of judgement (pp. 87–91, 131–3), and again made it clear to his audiences that Hume's

<sup>170</sup> For examples in the logic textbook tradition see: John Wallis, *Insitutio logicæ, ad communes usus accommodata* (1687); Henry Aldrich, *Artis logicæ compendium*, second edition (1691); Gershom Carmichael, *A Short Introduction to Logic: An Elementary Textbook for Students of Philosophy (Particularly at the University of Glasgow)*, second edition (1722), in *Natural Rights on the Threshold of the Scottish Enlightenment: The Writings of Gershom Carmichael*, ed. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne and trans. Michael Silverthorne, pp. 289–317; Francis Hutcheson, *A Compend of Logic* (1756), in Francis Hutcheson, *Logic, Metaphysics and the Natural Sociability of Mankind*, ed. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne and trans. Michael Silverthorne, pp. 1–56; and Watts, *Logic: Or, the Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth*. Reid's logic lectures and their relationship to this tradition are discussed in Emily Michael, 'Reid's Critique of the Scottish Logic of Ideas'. Although the structure of Reid's lectures followed the traditional quadripartite sequence of simple apprehension, judgement, reasoning and method, he criticised the standard view that this sequence represented a progression from the simplest to the most complex mental acts, and that the act of judgement 'is somehow composed of an apprehension or is a modification of one' (p. 85). Instead, he insisted that 'apprehension, judgement and reasoning are three utterly different operations of the human understanding, each one of these being of its own kind no less than are smell, taste and hearing' (p. 87). That is, they are all distinct faculties of the mind. Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 65–7 (1.7).

<sup>171</sup> For his criticisms of Locke see Anon., 'System of Logic, Taught at Aberdeen 1763', in 'Observations on Logic: By Several Professors', Edinburgh University Library, MS Dk.3.2, pp. 19–20 (original pagination). This set of notes is misdated because Reid taught logic in the sessions for 1755–56, 1758–59 and 1761–62. Internal evidence indicates that the notes were taken in either the 1758–59 or the 1761–62 academic session, for Reid is recorded (p. 37) as referring to the British capture of the site of Fort Duquesne from the French. This incident occurred in November 1758.

<sup>172</sup> Anon., 'System of Logic, Taught at Aberdeen 1763', pp. 34–37, 58–77; Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, p. 67, note (1.3.7.5). On Reid's criticisms of Hume in his logic lectures see Fred S. Michael and Emily Michael, 'Reid's Hume: Remarks on Hume in Some Early Logic Lectures of Reid', and M. A. Stewart, 'Rational Religion and Common Sense', pp. 132–45.

formulation of the theory of ideas posed a dangerous threat to religion. Without explicitly denouncing Hume's heterodoxy, Reid nevertheless artfully contrasted Hume's use of the ideal system with that of René Descartes, Nicolas Malebranche, Locke and Berkeley in order to suggest that Hume had intentionally exploited the sceptical implications of that system for irreligious ends. Regarding Hume's predecessors, he observed that 'the tie of religion, love of the human race and the power of common sense' had prevented them (and hence their readers) from 'perish[ing] in [the] chasm of scepticism', whereas Hume had been the first to push 'the doctrine of ideas' to its sceptical limits. And even though he continued to express admiration for Hume's acuity as a metaphysician, Reid clearly had serious doubts about the moral import of Hume's philosophical enterprise, for he made the ironic comment that 'conformably with [Hume's] humanity, he commended to the human race this doctrine [i.e. the ideal system], adorned with the very great power of his talent and acuity', despite the fact that Hume knew full well that the 'hypothesis of ideas' led inescapably to a corrosive form of Pyrrhonism. But, as Reid reassured his auditors, 'with the destruction of the hypothesis [of ideas] [Hume's] system, this proud fortress of present-day scepticism, immediately falls' (p. 111; compare p. 133).<sup>173</sup> Reid's last two philosophical orations thus show not only that his lectures and orations shared the same apologetic ends but also that his public pronouncements regarding Hume were becoming more polemical, with the hitherto uneasy balance between praise and condemnation beginning to tip towards the overt censure of Hume's irreligion and moral integrity.

In his third and fourth orations, the starting point for Reid's critique of the theory of ideas was his rejection of the view commonly expressed by writers on logic that 'there are three kinds of simple apprehension, namely, sensation, imagination, and pure understanding' (p. 91).<sup>174</sup> He rejected this view for two reasons. First, he denied that in sensory perception sensations are simple, given that sensations are 'conjoined with judgement and belief' by a law of human nature. Secondly, he questioned whether imagination and pure understanding could be distinguished as Descartes had done on the basis that 'in the imagination

<sup>173</sup> When introducing his question 'Are the Objects of the human Mind properly divided into impressions & Ideas? And must every Idea be a Copy of a preceeding Impression?' to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society in July 1758, Reid stated that the systems of Berkeley and Hume were both founded on the theory of ideas, although he did not use this terminology; see AUL, MS 2131/6/1/11, fol. 1r. In reading the manuscript draft of the first five chapters of Reid's *Inquiry* sent to him by Hugh Blair, Hume took exception to 'one particular Insinuation' in the draft which most likely questioned either his religion or his moral probity. The passage that offended Hume may have repeated the point that Reid made in his 1759 discourse, which was written at the same time as he was working on the *Inquiry*.

<sup>174</sup> See, for example, Hutcheson, *A Compend of Logic*, pp. 11–12.



there is a phantasm or image of a thing in the brain' whereas there is no such phantasm or image in acts of pure understanding (pp. 91–3).<sup>175</sup> Regarding the latter claim, he insisted that even though no one had 'ever shown by a certain or even a probable argument that there are such phantasms', philosophers had willingly adopted a 'mere hypothesis' in asserting that such phantasms or images exist in the brain. It was the unproven existence of these phantasms or images that prompted him to challenge the assumption basic to all philosophical accounts of the operations of the human mind, namely that the 'mind perceives external and absent objects not immediately but via certain images or likenesses depicted in the mind which [philosophers] term ideas' (p. 93).<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, these ideas were assumed to be 'the immediate and proximate object[s] of thought', although he notes that Plato and Malebranche held that we perceive our ideas in the mind of God and thus dissented from the consensus among other philosophers that we perceive our ideas in our own minds (p. 93).<sup>177</sup> Moreover, Reid's third oration indicates that by 1759 the basic elements of his narrative of the origins and development of the theory of ideas were in place.<sup>178</sup> For in this oration he says that philosophers were faced with an explanatory puzzle in dealing with our faculties of sensory perception, memory and imagination: how is it that the human mind is able to perceive objects external to it, the past or the future, or objects which do not exist? It was this puzzle, he suggested, which led Plato and Aristotle to posit the existence of 'ideas' in order to account for the operations of the human mind. According to Reid, the invention of ideas brought with it another unexamined assumption about the mind, namely, 'the mind by its nature is provided with a consciousness of its operations, to the extent that it can perceive whatever is in itself'. On the basis of this assumption, he claimed, perception was 'reduced to consciousness' (p. 97). He also maintained that neither ancient nor modern philosophers had ever questioned these assumptions, although he did believe that there had been one pivotal moment in the history of the theory of ideas when Descartes – the 'leader and teacher' of the moderns – rejected the Aristotelian

<sup>175</sup> Reid has in mind here a passage in the sixth of Descartes' *Meditations*; see René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641), in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. John Cottingham et al., vol. II, pp. 50–1. See also Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 326 (IV.3).

<sup>176</sup> For a slightly different formulation see Reid's introductory comments on his question regarding impressions and ideas in AUL, MS 2131/6/1/11, fol. 1r. As noted above, Reid's comments were written in 1758.

<sup>177</sup> Even though Reid claimed that from Plato and Aristotle onwards philosophers had all subscribed to the theory of ideas, he did acknowledge in his third oration that there had been disputes over whether ideas are innate, whether they originate in sensation or reflection, and whether there are abstract general ideas (p. 95).

<sup>178</sup> For this narrative see also Reid, 'Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste', pp. 70–1.

doctrine of intelligible species and, in doing so, opened the door to Pyrrhonian scepticism. And even though Descartes, Malebranche, Locke and Berkeley were no sceptics, their theorising about the human mind gave rise to the ‘monstrous opinions’ of Hume, who, unlike his predecessors, was no friend to ‘knowledge, virtue and religion’ (pp. 109–11, 133).<sup>179</sup>

Reid’s rebuttal of the theory of ideas rested on four main points. First, he contended that the ideal system attempted to explain the inexplicable. Returning to the assumption made by proponents of this system that perception can be accounted for in terms of the consciousness of our ideas, he told his audience that ‘to give an account of a phenomenon is nothing other than to show that such a phenomenon follows from some known laws of nature’. Moreover, these laws were themselves inexplicable because they were laid down by the will of God. It followed that we cannot explain the primary properties of material bodies because the Creator had ordained that matter is ‘extended, impenetrable, inert, [and] movable’, and he said that to endeavour to explain these properties would only ‘agitate [philosophy] with vain hypotheses’. Similarly, there are features of the mind which cannot be explained, such as ‘how the mind thinks, [and] how it is conscious of its thoughts and operations’. He insisted that there are ‘primary and simple’ (and hence irreducible) faculties ‘placed in [human] minds by God who is most good and most great’ which were ‘to be exercised according to laws and within limits prescribed by him’. While he recognised that there were what he called ‘secondary principles’ of the mind that could be explained in terms of the operations of our simple mental faculties, he maintained that the advocates of the ideal system had made a fatal mistake in treating perception and memory as if they were such ‘secondary principles’ and in accounting for their operations in terms of our ‘consciousness of ideas which are in the mind itself’. For Reid, this was a mistake because perception and memory, like simple apprehension and reasoning, were faculties of the mind and hence irreducible to consciousness.<sup>180</sup> Furthermore, this mistake generated two additional hypotheses regarding our mental operations: (1) that ‘every person, as if in a camera obscura, perceives nothing outside but only images or ideas of things depicted in his camera’ and (2) that ‘these ideas or images of external and of past things exist in the mind’. As his third law of philosophising stipulated, however, such hypotheses were to be rejected because they were ‘foreign to true philosophy’ (p. 99).

<sup>179</sup> Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 3–4, 19–23, 31, 75–6, 212–13, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 461–2, 525–6 (VI.4, VI.7).

<sup>180</sup> Reid also makes this argument in Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, p. 64.

The second point that Reid emphasised in his critique of the theory of ideas was that its advocates had failed to produce any evidence to support the claim that ideas or images in the mind or the brain do in fact exist. As he pointed out in his fourth oration, even the great Newton had ‘lapsed’ into accepting the hypothesis that in sensory perception these images travel through our nerves into our brains and are there perceived by the mind in our ‘sensorium’, despite the fact there was no anatomical evidence to prove that material images exist in the brain.<sup>181</sup> The existence of ideas was thus, for Reid, yet another empirically unwarranted hypothesis which ought to have been rejected rather than adopted by the proponents of the ideal system (p. 123).

The third point that Reid stressed in his last two philosophical orations was that even if we granted for argument’s sake the questionable assumptions and hypotheses upon which the theory of ideas rested, the theory failed to explain the phenomena of perception and memory. In the case of perception, his criticisms focussed on the question of how ideas could ‘represent’ objects external to the mind.<sup>182</sup> Reid affirmed that there were only three possible meanings that can be attached to the term ‘represent’: ideas function as ‘a deputy’, as an ‘image’ or ‘likeness’, or as a ‘sign’. Although his comments on the first meaning are cryptic and opaque, his argument appears to be that if ideas ‘represent’ external objects in the way that an MP, for example, represents constituents, there is no evidence to suggest that ideas in fact function in this manner. As for the second meaning, he invoked the examples of the secondary qualities of sound, taste and smell in order to deny that ideas can be images of these qualities. And while he was prepared to admit that there could be images of figure, extension and colour, he countered that it was inconceivable that such images could, as in a painting, be depicted ‘in the unextended and immaterial mind’. Furthermore, he pointed out that if we liken the mind to a camera obscura (as Aristotle and other philosophers had done), we are left with the problem of explaining how the mind recognises that our ideas are images of external objects when all the mind is conscious of is its ideas. Or, to put it another way, how can the mind learn that ideas ‘represent’ objects external to itself? This was, he maintained, an insoluble problem. Turning to the third meaning, he said that if ideas are taken to be signs rather than images we are faced with a similar explanatory difficulty, namely, how is it that the mind learns to read and understand the language of ideational signs presented to it? Given all of these problems with the supposed representational status of

<sup>181</sup> For Newton’s sensorium hypothesis see Query 28 in Newton, *Opticks*, pp. 344–5.

<sup>182</sup> Reid had criticised the theory of ideas in much the same terms in Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, pp. 67–8.

ideas, Reid concluded that the theory of ideas could not explain the phenomena of perception.<sup>183</sup>

As for our power of memory, Reid emphasised that the ideal system was likewise incapable of accounting for the operations of this faculty of the mind. To clarify his position, he considered the example of our remembering hearing a bell ringing ‘half an hour ago’. He claimed that those not schooled in the doctrines of philosophers would say that we recall to our mind the sound of the bell, whereas philosophers (i.e. the proponents of the ideal system) would explain that because the past is not an immediate object of consciousness, we remember the sound via an ‘idea or image present in my mind, which the mind contemplates immediately and which represents a past sound’. Here too, he pointed out, we must ask if the term ‘idea or image’ of a sound has any meaning. For him, it was unclear how an idea could possibly represent a sound, since ‘I know nothing like a sound except a sound’ (p. 103).<sup>184</sup> Consequently, he held that the language of ‘ideas’, ‘images’, ‘intelligible species’ and ‘phantasms’ was meaningless when used to account for our memory of a sound. He also accused the advocates of the ideal system of obfuscation in their use of this language, because he believed that ‘ordinary people’ understood the phrase ‘idea of a sound’ to mean no more than ‘the recollection of a sound or the act of mind when it remembers a sound’ and that ‘ordinary language’ sanctioned their interpretation of the phrase (pp. 103–5).<sup>185</sup> But philosophers persisted in flying in the face of this entrenched meaning in claiming that ideas are the object of thought rather than an act of the mind; in doing so, they distinguished between ideas as ‘proximate’ and ‘unmediated object[s] of cognition’ and the remembered sound, which was said to be more ‘remote’ and ‘mediated’. Reid, on the other hand, rejected this distinction on the grounds that ‘every object of thinking’, including a remembered sound, ‘is equally an immediate object’ and that it was meaningless to speak of ‘think[ing] about something with the aid of an intermediary’. And while he recognised the existence of the phenomena that philosophers had labelled ‘the association of ideas’, he nevertheless insisted that the associations produced by ‘a certain natural impulse’ of the mind linked together the immediate objects of thought

<sup>183</sup> Although Reid questioned the use of the term ‘idea’ to mean mental images or representations, in his philosophical oration for 1762 he indicated that there were other acceptable meanings of the term (p. 127). See also Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, pp. 71–2.

<sup>184</sup> In his Wise Club discourse given in March 1759 he made the same remark with regard to the sense of smell, stating that ‘I can conceive nothing like smell but smell’; Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, p. 61.

<sup>185</sup> Compare Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, p. 62.

(in his example, Galileo and the moons of Jupiter) rather than our ideas of those objects (p. 105).<sup>186</sup>

To make his fourth point, Reid traced the origin of the problems faced by the theory of ideas back to what he described as ‘a prejudice to which the human mind is . . . inclined’, namely the invention of analogies between mental operations and the behaviour of material bodies (p. 109).<sup>187</sup> As we have seen, he maintained that this idol of the mind had misled philosophers into drawing false analogies between the behaviour of matter and mind, and he believed that it was these analogies which had given rise to the ideal system. This idol of the mind, he argued, had seduced philosophers into adopting the principle that ‘the mind can only act where it is and when it is’, based on the unexamined assumption that since material bodies only act upon one another directly through contact or via an intermediary medium or body then this must also be true of acts of the mind (p. 107). In order to explain the perception of objects external to the mind or the memory of events in the past, philosophers had thus been led to invent ‘ideas’, which were immediately present to the mind and which functioned as the intermediaries between the mind and external objects or past events. Reid put the point thus: ‘. . . the whole framework of ideas rests on this principle as a basis, that perception and memory are indeed actions of a mind upon objects or actions of an object upon a mind, actions which require a certain conjunction and contiguity of mind and object’ (p. 107). Reid, however, denied that the actions of bodies are analogous to those of mind, stating that ‘the word “action” is ambiguous and is applied to things of wholly different genera’ in the case of material and mental acts. When applied to material bodies in Newtonian mechanics, ‘actions are said to be by bodies on bodies when they attract each other, press each other or hit each other’, as in gravitational attraction, the behaviour of fluids or the impact of moving bodies. In these interactions between material objects, he noted, ‘it is commonly believed that . . . there is either a necessary contiguity or there is an intermediate body’.<sup>188</sup> It was this belief which informed the assumption made by philosophers

<sup>186</sup> See also his formulation of this argument in Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, pp. 62–3.

<sup>187</sup> He also attacked these misguided analogies in Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, pp. 64–7.

<sup>188</sup> Reid’s qualification that ‘whether this is believed rightly or otherwise I do not now enquire’ is an allusion to the debate over whether attractive forces such as gravity involved action at a distance, or whether gravity and the other attractive forces investigated by Newton and his successors were caused by some form of ethereal medium. As is well known, Newton himself vacillated between these two positions. Three years before Reid delivered his third oration, in 1759, Newton’s letters to Richard Bentley written in the winter of 1692–93 were published. In his third letter, Newton stated with reference to the attractive force of gravity discussed in the *Principia* that ‘it is inconceivable,

that in acts of mind such as perception and memory ‘there is a necessary contiguity, whether spatial or temporal, between mind and object’ (p. 107). But in Reid’s view this was to commit a category mistake in assimilating the actions of the mind to those of the body, a mistake which was, moreover, rooted in the ‘prejudice’ that leads us to ‘suppose that operations of the mind and actions of bodies are of the same genus and subject to the same laws’.<sup>189</sup> Furthermore, he pointed out that this cluster of assumptions about the nature of the human mind had two highly problematic consequences. First, the dubious mind–body analogies had led the supporters of the ideal system to attribute, either implicitly or explicitly, spatial location to the mind, even though such a property was, ‘to say the least, wholly uncertain’.<sup>190</sup> Secondly, the analogies between material bodies and the human mind upon which the theory of ideas rested forced the proponents of the theory into a dilemma.<sup>191</sup> For if the mind can act only through contact, like matter, then it followed, for Reid, that the advocates of the ideal system were obliged to adopt the Peripatetic theory of intelligible species to explain perception. Yet Descartes and all of the modern philosophers who followed in his footsteps had rejected this theory, while retaining a key element of it, namely the belief that ideas are images or representations of external objects.<sup>192</sup> This ‘maimed hypothesis’, Reid claimed, inevitably sunk the ideal system into the ‘pit of scepticism’ because there was no intermediary connecting our ideas to objects external to the mind as there was in the theory of intelligible species (p. 109). Consequently, in Reid’s view the advocates of the theory of ideas were faced with either reviving the Aristotelian concept of intelligible species or lapsing into Pyrrhonian scepticism, and there was no way for them to escape being caught on one of the horns of this dilemma.

that inanimate brute Matter should, without the Mediation of something else, which is not material, operate upon, and affect other Matter, without mutual Contact’. He also denied that action at a distance without an intermediary was possible, a view he attributed to Epicurus and which he said was ‘so great an Absurdity, that I believe no Man who has in philosophical Matters a competent Faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it’. Newton concluded that ‘Gravity must be caused by an Agent acting constantly according to certain Laws; but whether this Agent be material or immaterial, I have left to the Consideration of my Readers’; Isaac Newton, *Four Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Doctor Bentley. Containing Some Arguments in Proof of a Deity* (1756), pp. 302–3. Reid’s comments in his third oration register Newton’s views and the debate over the nature of attractive forces.

<sup>189</sup> For Reid, this ‘prejudice’ was also at the root of the ‘ordinary people’s’ anthropomorphism and materialist conceptions of the mind (p. 109).

<sup>190</sup> Reid dealt with the issue of the spatial location of the soul in his pneumatology lectures. For his treatment of this issue at Glasgow see his lecture notes transcribed in Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 617, 618, 619–20. In his lectures he mentions Newton’s sensorium hypothesis and Descartes’s suggestion that the mind is located in the pineal gland as examples of this questionable form of analogical reasoning.

<sup>191</sup> On this dilemma compare Reid, ‘Analysis of the Sensations of smell & Taste’, pp. 68–70, 72.

<sup>192</sup> Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 125–7 (II.8).

By the time Reid delivered his philosophical oration for 1759, therefore, the basic arguments, along with much of the incidental detail, of his *Inquiry* were in place. The evidence reviewed above indicates that he formulated and refined these arguments in the classrooms at King's College, the meetings of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society and the graduation ceremonies held at King's in 1759 and 1762. As already noted, one of the striking features of his fourth and final oration is that it is a much shorter recapitulation of what he had stated in his previous oration. It may be that Reid was pressed for time in writing his last oration because we know that in the spring of 1762 he was hard at work drafting the *Inquiry*'s chapters on the senses of smell, taste, hearing and touch, which he eventually sent to his friend Hugh Blair, most likely in May or June 1762.<sup>193</sup> Another notable feature of his last (as well as his penultimate) oration is that his critique of the theory of ideas is not couched in terms of his distinctive *vera causa* reading of Newton's first rule of philosophising, which stipulated that causal explanations had to satisfy two requirements, namely that there is evidence to show that the posited cause exists and that the cause necessarily entails the effect it purports to explain.<sup>194</sup> His last two orations indicate that prior to 1762 he had not formulated his interpretation of Newton's 'golden rule', even though he queried both the existence of ideas and the explanatory adequacy of the ideal system in his orations, his discourses for the Wise Club and presumably his lectures. Nor had he realised that Newton's first rule could be deployed to overthrow the ideal system by the time the *Inquiry* appeared in 1764, for an appeal to the rule does not figure in the book. It would seem that he arrived at his *vera causa* interpretation of Newton's first rule only after he moved to Glasgow; his surviving lecture notes indicate that it was in the period 1765–69 that he articulated the reading of Newton's rule that he subsequently published in his *Intellectual Powers*.<sup>195</sup> Thus, even though his orations taken as a whole illustrate his vehement opposition to the use of hypotheses and conjectures in philosophy, they also tell us that Reid had not yet devised one of the most potent methodological weapons that he was later to employ to combat a range of pernicious hypotheses, including the theory of ideas.

Nevertheless, Reid's philosophical orations are as significant historically for what they do say as for what, in the case of his gloss on Newton's first rule of philosophising, they do not. His orations for 1753 and 1756 present us with a

<sup>193</sup> David Hume forwarded his comments on Reid's draft to Hugh Blair on 4 July 1762, so it is reasonable to assume that Reid had sent the chapters that he had completed no later than mid-June; see David Hume to Hugh Blair, 4 July 1762, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>194</sup> See Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 51 (I.3).

<sup>195</sup> Compare his comments on Newton's first rule from 1765 in AUL, MS 2131/4/II/1, p. 20, with those from 1768–69 in AUL, MS 2131/4/II/2, insert, p. 5.



systematic consideration of the nature of philosophy and the role of the philosopher that has no equivalent elsewhere in his surviving writings. Moreover, these orations attest to the Baconian roots of his philosophical outlook and, in doing so, they provide us with the context needed to make proper sense of the scattered comments about Bacon and Bacon's ideas found in his published works.<sup>196</sup> If we want to understand how Reid conceived of philosophy as a 'way of life', and the extent to which he was indebted to Bacon for his conception of the practice of philosophising, then we must begin by studying his first and second orations.<sup>197</sup> And if we want to reconstruct the genesis and evolution of Reid's common-sense philosophy, including his critique of the ideal system, we can only do so in light of the evidence provided by his philosophical orations regarding the development of his thinking during his years teaching at King's College.

### 3. Glasgow College, 1764–96

Not long after Reid and his family moved to Glasgow in the summer of 1764, he wrote to his old friend in Aberdeen, Andrew Skene, with palpable excitement about his teaching and his new surroundings, both at the University and in the town. Regarding his colleagues, he noted that they 'live in good habits with one another and manage their political differences with outward decency and good manners', although this masked the fact that there was 'a good deal of Intrigue and secret caballing, when there is an Election'. He also mentioned to Skene that even though he wanted to attend the lectures of some of his fellow professors, he was unable to do so because he was busy preparing lectures and he was obliged to attend lengthy 'College Meetings . . . of which we have commonly four or

<sup>196</sup> Reid's indebtedness to Bacon has been a matter for dispute. For example, in his path-breaking study of Reid's methodology, L. L. Laudan downplayed Bacon's influence on Reid's methodological thought and emphasised that Reid's conception of induction was taken from Newton rather than the Lord Chancellor; see L. L. Laudan, 'Thomas Reid and the Newtonian Turn of British Methodological Thought', esp. p. 120. For Reid as an unqualified Newtonian see Robert Callergård, *An Essay on Thomas Reid's Philosophy of Science*. By contrast, Reid's Baconianism is emphasised in Davenport, 'Reid's Indebtedness to Bacon', and in J. Charles Robertson, 'A Bacon-Facing Generation: Scottish Philosophy in the Early Nineteenth Century', esp. p. 40, note 21.

<sup>197</sup> In referring to philosophy as 'a way of life' I allude to the writings of Pierre Hadot; see in particular Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, ed. Arnold I. Davidson and trans. Michael Chase, and Pierre Hadot, *What Is Ancient Philosophy?*, trans. Michael Chase. Although this is not the place to discuss the issue in the detail it deserves, Reid's conception of philosophy as an art can be seen as an example of the philosophical form of life described by Hadot. According to Hadot, 'the philosophy of the eighteenth century . . . tends, as in antiquity, to reunite philosophical discourse and way of life'; Hadot, *What Is Ancient Philosophy?*, p. 268. Bacon's Great Instauration was one of Reid's models for uniting theory with practice.



five in the week'.<sup>198</sup> Over the course of the next three decades, little changed in Reid's academic routine at Glasgow College, apart from having more time to devote to his research and writing following his retirement from the classroom in the spring of 1780. Right up until his death in November 1796, he was closely involved in the administration of the university.<sup>199</sup> In addition to attending the regular meetings of Faculty and those of Senate, he served as Clerk of Senate (1776–77), Quaestor of the Library (1781–83) and Vice-Rector under Edmund Burke (1784–85); he was also twice the University's representative at the General Assembly of the Church of the Scotland (1767 and 1772).<sup>200</sup>

Reid also became deeply embroiled in the internal politics of the College, which became increasingly divisive from the mid-1760s onwards. In 1765 he was already apprehensive about the factional disputes which threatened to disrupt College business, and he may have been linked to the stratagem mooted in January 1766 of bringing a law-suit to the Court of Session in order to settle the differences between the rival parties in a long-running battle over the respective powers of the meetings of Faculty and Senate.<sup>201</sup> The matter was resolved only by rulings issued by the Court in 1771 and 1772, which affirmed that the authority to manage the property and finances of the University rested with the Faculty meeting, whereas Senate had the authority to decide disciplinary matters and the disposal of revenue in excess of the payment of salaries and operating expenses. The Court also found that the University accounts had to be vetted by the 'Visitors' (the Rector, Dean of Faculty and the Minister of the High Church of Glasgow), while professorial

<sup>198</sup> Reid to Andrew Skene, 14 November 1764, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 36–7.

<sup>199</sup> His last surviving letter deals with the hotly contested election of a successor to the late Professor of Natural Philosophy, John Anderson; Reid to James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, 14 April 1796, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 235.

<sup>200</sup> For more on Reid's administrative activities see Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*.

<sup>201</sup> Reid to David Skene, 20 December [1765] and Reid to Andrew Skene, 30 December 1765, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 45, 46. In December 1766, Reid reported to Andrew Skene that the factional warfare at the College was more intense than it had been the previous year; Reid to Skene, 17 December 1766, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 57. On the battle over the respective jurisdictions of the Faculty and the Senate see Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, pp. 267–88, and Mackie, *The University of Glasgow*, pp. 196–206. The jurisdictional issue was important because it raised the question of who held ultimate institutional authority, the Principal and professors, who met as the Faculty (also known as the 'College' meetings), or the Senate (also known as the 'University') meetings, which included the Principal, professors, Rector and/or Vice-Rector, and Dean of Faculty. The issue led to hotly contested elections of a Rector in the 1720s, and resurfaced as a bone of contention following the appointment of William Leechman as Principal in July 1761. Previously, Leechman had defended the rights of Senate. Once he became Principal, however, he championed the rights of the Faculty meeting. Leechman's change of tactics set the stage for the power struggle that ensued.

elections were a matter for the Faculty.<sup>202</sup> These rulings led to a prolonged period of wrangling over the management of the University accounts which lasted from 1773 until Principal William Leechman's death in 1785.<sup>203</sup> At issue was the competence and integrity of the College's factor, Matthew Morthland. Leechman and his party stoutly defended Morthland's bookkeeping and behaviour, which had initially been questioned by the fiery Professor of Natural Philosophy, John Anderson. Reid and four other colleagues agreed with Anderson's contention that Morthland was both incompetent and dishonest, and supported his call for the accounts to be vetted by the Visitors because they were not being kept in accordance with the statutes laid down by a Royal Commission of Visitation in 1727.<sup>204</sup> Despite the revelation that Morthland had made a false claim for expenses, Leechman and his allies stood by the factor and quashed an attempt by Anderson's cabal to have Morthland disciplined in 1775. Anderson then opted to pursue the matter in the Court of Session, but an agreement was reached between the warring parties to have the University accounts vetted by the Visitors. Their assessment (known as the 'Shaw Park Decree') was made public on 12 October 1775. In it they censured Morthland's practices and demanded that he submit proper annual accounts of the University's finances. The Principal and his friends continued to shield Morthland, however, and, despite the concerted efforts of Anderson, Reid and their associates, the factor emerged from this controversy more or less unscathed.<sup>205</sup> No action was ever undertaken to recover the expenses he had falsely claimed and, the year before he finally resigned in 1785, he was even rewarded for his long service to the University. Although Reid and his associates failed dismally in their attempt to break Leechman's autocratic rule, the

<sup>202</sup> Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, pp. 277–8, and Mackie, *The University of Glasgow*, pp. 204–5.

<sup>203</sup> On this episode see Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, pp. 278–83, 287–8; Mackie, *The University of Glasgow*, pp. 206–9; and David A. R. Forrester, 'There Are Three Laws . . . The Laws of Reason, The Laws of Bookkeeping and the Statutes of Visitation (John Anderson, 1775): An Essay on an Eighteenth Century Academic Controversy'.

<sup>204</sup> On the statutes regulating the College accounts see Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, pp. 206–7. Those who joined Anderson and Reid in opposing the Principal's party were Alexander Wilson (Professor of Practical Astronomy), Thomas Hamilton (Professor of Anatomy), William Richardson (Professor of Humanity) and John Young (Professor of Greek).

<sup>205</sup> In an attempt to pressure the Principal to discipline the factor, Anderson, Reid and their allies went so far as to publish the documents related to the Morthland affair in *Process of Declarator MDCCXXV concerning the Management of the Revenue of Glasgow College: And concerning a Vote in the Comitia of the University of Glasgow* (1778). On the Morthland affair see also Reid to William Leechman, 8 January 1776, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 93–6. As this letter indicates, Reid drew on his knowledge of the principles of bookkeeping to criticise the factor's accounts. For Reid's administrative dealings with Morthland see also Letters 5 and 7 in Appendix A below, pp. 260–1, 262.

knowledge he gained of the University's history and administrative regulations during the course of the series of disputes that polarised the academic community in Glasgow was subsequently put to good use in the composition of the entry on the University of Glasgow that appeared after his death in the final volume of Sir John Sinclair's *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, which was published in 1799.

Although the entry is not attributed to Reid in the *Statistical Account*, and sections of the entry were written by others, one of his Glasgow colleagues, William Richardson, later stated in his life of Reid's protégé and successor, Archibald Arthur, that 'the Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow, published by Sir J. Sinclair, . . . was all written by Dr. Reid, excepting the statements respecting the business of particular classes, and . . . was much shortened in the printed copy'.<sup>206</sup> While Reid's authorship of the entry may strike us as surprising, given that he is viewed first and foremost as a philosopher, there were good reasons for him to undertake this project. First, he was one of the longest-serving professors at the University, along with John Anderson, John Millar and James Williamson. Anderson would have been a suitable candidate to write the entry because he was the professor with the most seniority, having been first appointed as the Professor of Oriental Languages in December 1754, before switching to the chair of natural philosophy in a contentious election held in 1757.<sup>207</sup> He also had serious antiquarian and historical interests. But he had alienated erstwhile allies such as Reid and all of the other professors and lecturers because of his campaign in 1784–85 for the establishment of a Royal Visitation Commission to investigate the state of the University, his questionable treatment of students and his proclivity to launch lawsuits against his colleagues.<sup>208</sup> John Millar had joined the University as the Regius Professor of Civil Law in the summer of 1761 and was, as is well known,

<sup>206</sup> William Richardson, 'An Account of Some Particulars in the Life and Character of the Rev. Mr Archibald Arthur, Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow', in Archibald Arthur, *Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects* (1803), p. 507, note. Compare Sir William Hamilton's ascription of the entry to Reid in Thomas Reid, *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D. Now Fully Collected, with Selections from His Unpublished Letters*, ed. Sir William Hamilton, fourth edition (1854), p. 721, note. The section headed 'Additions and Corrections' (pp. 169–70) was presumably not written by Reid.

<sup>207</sup> See Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities*, pp. 129–31, 134–8.

<sup>208</sup> Compare the contemporary assessment of Anderson in John Millar to Edmund Burke, 16 August 1784, in John W. Cairns, 'The Letters of John Millar', p. 271. Millar's letters to his colleague Patrick Wilson and to the Rector of Glasgow University, Edmund Burke, in this period provide a vivid sense of how Anderson was perceived and dealt with by Millar and the other Glasgow professors. On Anderson's increasingly erratic and litigious behaviour in the 1780s see also Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, pp. 283–93.

a gifted philosophical historian.<sup>209</sup> It may be that Millar was simply too busy to agree to draw up the entry destined for Sinclair's *Statistical Account*. Like Millar, James Williamson became a Glasgow professor in 1761. Williamson appears to have been Robert Simson's hand-picked successor to the chair of mathematics. This suggests that he was a serious mathematician, but he appears to have been nothing more than a competent teacher and his career at the University was undistinguished. He may well have been viewed as an unsuitable candidate to write the entry for Sinclair, even though he had retired from the classroom in January 1789.<sup>210</sup> Reid was the next in line in terms of seniority, insofar as he had been chosen as the Glasgow Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1764. As noted above, his involvement in College politics had given him a deep understanding of the institutional workings of the University. In addition, we have seen that he was well versed in the pedagogical literature of his day. He was also interested in the state of the ancient universities of Cambridge and, especially, Oxford, and, as I have shown elsewhere, his borrowings from the Glasgow University Library tell us that he was widely read in history.<sup>211</sup> Moreover, as someone who had taught that education was relevant to the material as well as the moral improvement of the nation in his lectures on 'police' at Glasgow, he would have endorsed the aims and the quantitative methods at the heart of Sinclair's project.<sup>212</sup> Reid was, therefore, just as qualified as his colleagues Anderson and Millar to write the entry on the University of Glasgow for Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account*.

It is unclear when Sinclair initially approached the University to provide a summary of its institutional history and a description of its current teaching

<sup>209</sup> Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 154–5. Millar was familiar with the records of the University's history; see especially Millar to George Henry Hutton, 1789, in Cairns, 'The Letters of John Millar', p. 284.

<sup>210</sup> Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 154, 185. When Williamson retired, he designated Millar's son James as his successor.

<sup>211</sup> During the period 1767 to 1789, Reid borrowed 42 titles (9% of his total borrowings) dealing with historical topics and another 10 titles (2%) on antiquities and chorography. The number of his borrowings in history was the same as that in moral philosophy and was only exceeded by the number in theology and church history (62); Paul Wood, 'A Virtuoso Reader: Thomas Reid and the Practices of Reading in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', pp. 56, 57, 60. For his interest in the history of the University of Oxford see Reid to ?, 27 January 1789, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 203. In this letter to an unidentified bookseller, Reid ordered copies of an untraced edition of Nicholas Amhurst, *Terræ-Filius: Or, the Secret History of the University of Oxford; in Several Essays* (1726) and Anon., *Parebolæ sive excerpta e corpore statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1784). Amhurst's *Terræ-Filius* was a satirical Whiggish attack on the rampant Toryism and High Churchmanship prevalent at Oxford in the early 1720s.

<sup>212</sup> Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xxviii–xxx, liii–lv, 55, 57.

practices.<sup>213</sup> He appears to have contacted Glasgow College before the other Scottish universities. He may have done so because he had studied under John Millar in 1767–68 and had been awarded an honorary LLD by the Principal and professors in June 1788.<sup>214</sup> Internal evidence suggests that Reid was working on the text in 1792. The University's benefactor, the Rev. William Walton, to whom Reid refers, died on 16 October 1789. The comment that Walton's death had 'happened about three years ago' (p. 157) dates the entry to 1792, as do the references to the Royal Charter of the Glasgow Infirmary, the death of the architect Robert Adam and the construction of the Infirmary building (pp. 157–8). The Charter was granted in February 1792, Adam died in March 1792 and the foundation stone for the Infirmary was laid at a civic ceremony in May 1792.<sup>215</sup> We know that Reid's text was finished at some point in 1794, for in early November 1794 Sinclair reported that he had received 'a copy of the very intelligent and satisfactory Statistical Account . . . of the University of Glasgow', to which he hoped to add statistical information regarding the size and composition of the student body before the entry appeared in the concluding volume of the *Statistical Account*.<sup>216</sup> For reasons which cannot now be determined, this information was not produced. In 1799 Sinclair was therefore obliged to publish the text submitted to him in 1794, along with the more recently written 'Additions and Corrections' appended to it (pp. 169–70).<sup>217</sup>

<sup>213</sup> Sinclair initially circulated the printed list of queries that formed the basis of the entries in the *Statistical Account* in May 1790; see Sir John Sinclair, 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Statistical Account of Scotland', in Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. XX, pp. xii–xiii, xxvi–xxxv.

<sup>214</sup> Principal Archibald Davidson to Sir John Sinclair, 24 June 1788, in Sir John Sinclair, *The Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair; Bart.* (1831), vol. I, p. 243; Rev. John Sinclair, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of the Late Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair Bart.* (1837), vol. I, pp. 18–19. Sinclair also studied at the University of Edinburgh 1765–67 and 1768–70.

<sup>215</sup> For the date of Walton's death see William Thomson (ed.), *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships and Other Foundations in the College and University of Glasgow*, p. 282; Jacqueline Jenkinson, Michael Moss and Iain Russell, *The Royal: The History of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, 1794–1994*, pp. 20–1.

<sup>216</sup> See the letter dated 3 November 1794 written by Sinclair to the Principals of St Andrews, Edinburgh, King's College and Marischal College requesting similar accounts of their institutions, in Sinclair, 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Statistical Account of Scotland', p. lviii. When Reid's text was submitted to Sinclair the Glasgow Royal Infirmary building had been completed (cf. p. 157–8) but the official opening of the Infirmary had not taken place (cf. p. 170). The Infirmary was opened on 8 December 1794, after the main body of the entry had been sent.

<sup>217</sup> The reference to the opening of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary in December 1794 indicates that this section was written at a later date. There is also one detail in the main body of the entry which shows that revisions were made to the text after it was submitted in November 1794. The statement that there were ten students at Balliol College, Oxford, funded by the Snell foundation (p. 166)

Reid's statistical account was the most exhaustive treatment of the history and state of the University of Glasgow published in the eighteenth century. Other descriptions of the University (which included some historical material) had appeared earlier in the century, notably those by John M'Ure, John Chamberlayne, John Gibson and Andrew Brown.<sup>218</sup> But Reid's narrative of the College's evolution and his discussion of its constitution, finances and teaching practices was far more detailed and more firmly rooted in the archival record than those of his predecessors. Like the other entries in the *Statistical Account*, Reid's narrative tells a story of 'then and now', that is, of the progressive improvement of the state of the University from its foundation in 1451.<sup>219</sup> The story that Reid tells was not, however, one of linear progress. Rather, he traces a path of historical development that included reversals as well as advances. For Reid, the pivotal moment in the institutional life of the College was the Reformation, which, he writes, 'brought the University of Glasgow almost to annihilation' (p. 147). Before 1560, the University had been governed by its 'Ancient Constitution', which was based on the Papal Bull founding a *studium generale* in Glasgow, the statutes set down by Bishop William Turnbull in 1451 and the Royal Charter of 1453. In Reid's view, even though these documents had set the University on a firm financial and administrative footing, teaching and learning did not flourish. The unhealthy condition of the University was, he suggests, caused by two fatal flaws in the 'Ancient Constitution' that undermined the academic life of the institution: first,

reflects an increase in the number of exhibitioners that was made in August 1795; see W. Innes Addison, *The Snell Exhibitions from the University of Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford*, p. 22.

<sup>218</sup> John M'Ure, *A View of the City of Glasgow: Or, an Account of Its Origin, Rise and Progress, with a More Particular Description Thereof Than Has Hitherto Been Known* (1736), pp. 218–49; John Gibson, *The History of Glasgow, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (1777), pp. 186–91; Andrew Brown, *History of Glasgow; and of Paisley, Greenock and Port Glasgow* (1795–97), vol. II, pp. 67–76, 127. The first edition of James Denholm's popular description of Glasgow published in 1797 contains only a brief section on the University, but the third edition of 1804 includes a much expanded account of the University based largely on the entry in the *Statistical Account*; compare James Denholm, *An Historical Account and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs: Containing a History of the Rise and Progress of the City, a Description of the Public Buildings, and an Account of the Political Constitution, the University and Corporate Bodies, Compiled from Authentic Records and Respectable Authorities* (1797), pp. 205–10, with James Denholm, *The History of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs*, third edition (1804), pp. 388–401. Earlier in the eighteenth century, a detailed description of the history and current state of the University of Glasgow (as well as those of the other Scottish universities) was included in later editions of John Chamberlayne's survey of Britain; see, for example, the 'A List of the Professors in the Several Universities of North-Britain, &c.', in John Chamberlayne, *Magnæ Britanniae notitia: Or, the Present State of Great Britain; with Diverse Remarks upon the Ancient State Thereof*, thirty-first (England) and tenth (Scotland) edition (1735), pp. 9–14.

<sup>219</sup> On the *Statistical Account* as a composite narrative of historical change in Scotland see Mark Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance*, ch. 5.



the regents and lecturers had no incentive to teach because they were not paid regular salaries, and, secondly, the internal affairs of the University were not regulated by an external governing body such as the visitation commissions that were later instituted by the crown or parliament (p. 146). In Reid's estimation, the story of the University's first century was thus one of gradual decay.

The decline of the University was arrested by the advent of what Reid termed the 'Modern Constitution', which was founded on the charter known as the *Nova erectio* granted to the University by James VI in 1577.<sup>220</sup> In the immediate wake of the Reformation, all that functioned academically was 'a relic of the ancient University', namely the '*College of Arts, or Pædagogium*'. Even though the College had been, prior to 1560, 'the least in dignity, though perhaps not the least useful', Reid viewed it as the 'seed of a reformed University; dependent for its subsistence and growth on future benefactions' (p. 147). With the subsequent receipt of a steady stream of benefactions from the burgh, private individuals and the crown, the fortunes of the University gradually revived, not least in terms of the addition of teaching positions and the expansion of the number of subjects taught. He also saw the beginnings of effective external checks on the University's management of its affairs in the stipulation that the College accounts be vetted by the burgh in the burgh charter of 1572 and in the provision in the *Nova erectio* for the auditing of the accounts by 'Visitors' (pp. 149, 150).<sup>221</sup> But despite the fact that the flaws of the 'Ancient Constitution' had been remedied, at the Restoration of Charles II the University again fell on hard times because of lost revenue and increasing debt (p. 153).<sup>222</sup> This reversal, however, proved to be a temporary one, for after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–90, the financial assistance of the crown and, to a lesser extent, private benefactors allowed the University to clear its debts and to cover the salaries for the chairs that were either re-established or created in the early decades of the eighteenth century (pp. 154–5). Thanks to the 'Modern Constitution', adequate funding and effective external regulation through the Visitors and Visitation Commissions, the University of Glasgow now entered upon a period of unprecedented prosperity and academic achievement that showed no sign of ending. If the first century of the University's history had

<sup>220</sup> Reid's estimate of the significance of the *Nova erectio* is echoed in Mackie, *The University of Glasgow*, p. 73, who likewise sees the Royal Charter of 1577 as the foundation of the modern University.

<sup>221</sup> Reid's attention to the role played historically by the Visitors in preventing financial mismanagement registers his insistence on their involvement in vetting the University accounts during the campaign to discipline the College factor Matthew Morthland.

<sup>222</sup> Reid's statement that the 're-establishment of Episcopal government in the church, after the restoration of Charles II, gave a severe check to the prosperity of the University' (p. 153) speaks to the fact that he was a Presbyterian minister, albeit a tolerant one.



been a period of decline, Reid clearly believed that, notwithstanding the setback suffered at the Restoration, the second and especially the third centuries of the University's existence constituted an era of incremental improvement, which mirrored the progress that had taken place not only in the nation at large but also in the Republic of Letters more generally.

Reid's statistical account was not, however, simply a narrative of institutional progress, for his conception of a liberal education informed his description of the state of the University in his own day. First, he emphasised the utility of the subjects in the curriculum and, especially, the practical applications of mathematics (p. 162). He also noted that at Glasgow, as was the case at other European universities, an increasing number of new and useful sciences were taught, largely in response to the progress of society. He explained the evolution of the curriculum in terms of successive adaptations to altered social circumstances, the changing 'purposes and views of the nation at large' and to the progress of learning itself (p. 160). For Reid, the medieval curriculum had been adapted to the limited circumstances of the period and produced masters qualified for careers in the church, the service of the crown or the learned professions; by contrast, the modern curriculum had expanded to serve the diverse needs of complex, commercial societies. Secondly, he continued to attack scholasticism, notably in his remarks on 'the syllogistic art', his rejection of the mastery of 'the art of disputation' as the *sine qua non* of academic merit and his criticism of the tutorial method of teaching (pp. 160, 161, 167). Thirdly, he focussed on how the institutional structure of the university facilitated the moral and intellectual growth of its students. As we have seen, this aspect of education was for him of paramount importance. He pointed out that students were not obliged to submit to religious tests, as they were in England, because it was thought 'highly improper that young persons, in prosecuting a general course of academical education, should bind themselves to any particular system of tenets or opinions' (p. 165). This policy was consistent with the 'liberal and tolerating principles . . . so conformable to the spirit and genius of Christianity' which he said guided the professors in the Faculty of Theology (p. 163). It was also consistent with the belief held by Reid and the Moderates in the Church of Scotland that such freedom encouraged intellectual and moral honesty and eliminated religious hypocrisy.<sup>223</sup> Discipline and academic

<sup>223</sup> For Reid on toleration see Reid, *On Practical Ethics*, pp. 156–7. Reid's Aberdeen friend, George Campbell, maintained that toleration in matters of religion was a principle of common sense; see Suderman, *Orthodoxy and Enlightenment*, pp. 108–9, 162–3, 244–7. The Edinburgh Moderates routinely invoked the shibboleth of toleration (especially in the context of their defence of the proposed legislation for Catholic relief in Scotland in 1778–79) but, unlike Campbell (and some of their Popular opponents), they did not articulate a principled justification for toleration; see, for

achievement were likewise not to be enforced by a system of strict regulations and penalties, as they once had been when students lived in the College. As Reid put it: ‘A complicated and rigorous discipline, extending to innumerable frivolous observances, can hardly fail, . . . to become contemptible; and, if students are treated like *children*, it is not to be expected that they will behave like MEN’ (p. 165). Instead, the individual professors endeavoured to inspire the efforts of their scholars by their own example. The weekly Latin orations, the annual prizes and the continual public assessment of the students by their teachers were designed to promote learning through healthy competition (pp. 165, 168).<sup>224</sup> Discipline was maintained by busying the students with their studies and by their weekly meetings with their professors.<sup>225</sup> Moreover, the wealthier students were able to board with the families of either the Principal or the professors, and thereby profit from informal conversation and private tuition (p. 165). Reid concluded that the ‘*moderate discipline*’ of the University was one of its greatest advantages, insofar as the professors acted *in loco parentis*, that is, in a manner closer to ‘the anxious watchfulness of a parent’ than to ‘the troublesome and vexatious interpositions of a prying and perhaps unpopular magistrate’ (p. 169).<sup>226</sup>

A further theme of his statistical account of the University, and one not found in his earlier writings on education, was the superiority of the Scottish universities to their counterparts in England and elsewhere. According to Reid, Glasgow’s eminence rested on its system of salaries, class fees and public lectures. As noted above, one of the major defects he identified in the ‘Ancient Constitution’ of the University was that no regular salaries were paid to those responsible for teaching. In rectifying this problem, the University had, in his

example, Alexander Carlyle’s speech before the General Assembly in May 1779 as reported in John Erskine (ed.), *A Narrative of the Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 25. 1779. Occasioned by Apprehensions of an Intended Repeal of the Penal Statutes against Papists* (1780), esp. pp. 34–6. On the ‘No Popery’ episode in Scotland see Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 277–97.

<sup>224</sup> On the pedagogical benefits of awarding prizes and the salutary effects of competition among students compare George Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education Illustrated by the Method of Teaching the Logic, or First Class of Philosophy, in the University of Glasgow* (1818), pp. 383–410.

<sup>225</sup> See also Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education*, pp. 378–83.

<sup>226</sup> Despite Reid’s earlier view that the intellectual and moral formation of students could be achieved only in a collegiate setting, he appears to have accepted that the system of discipline in place at Glasgow could also serve this pedagogical end, with the proviso that the professors had to be ‘attentive to perform their duty’ (p. 164) in the supervision of their students. The location of the University of Glasgow was also of moral benefit, according to Reid. Being in an ‘industrious city’, it did not expose its students to the ‘dissipation’ and idle ‘amusements’ found in a capital city (i.e. Edinburgh). But the site of the College allowed the professors and students to engage with ‘the progress of philosophy, and the interesting business of society’, which were both to be found in Glasgow (p. 169).

view, hit upon an ideal solution: because the professors were guaranteed only modest salaries, their incomes depended largely on the fees paid by the students attending their lectures.<sup>227</sup> Consequently, their teaching had to be of the highest calibre in order to attract students. Reid attributed a number of benefits to public lecturing: professors were obliged to keep up with the latest advances in their respective fields; their lectures were necessarily suited to the needs, best interests and capacities of their students; the repetition of their lectures from session to session allowed them to correct errors and enabled them to form ‘the most liberal and comprehensive views’ of the subjects they professed; and the preparation of lectures created an enthusiasm and commitment in the professors that was transmitted to their pupils (pp. 159–60). Rivalry between professors further reinforced the beneficial effects of public lectures. By contrast, at well endowed universities such as Oxford and Cambridge teaching had suffered because professors and tutors could rely on ecclesiastical benefices or other sources of income, while the use of tutorials as the primary vehicle of teaching as opposed to public lectures curbed the stimulus of competition for public approbation and perpetuated the values of scholasticism (p. 160).<sup>228</sup>

Given Reid’s earlier defence of the regenting system at King’s College, Aberdeen, it is significant that he did not offer a pedagogical justification for the professorial system at Glasgow, choosing rather to highlight the merits of Glasgow’s combination of modest salaries with class fees, and of public lectures. Nor did he mention that the order in which the philosophy course was theoretically taught (namely in the sequence of logic, moral philosophy and then natural philosophy) was the reverse of what it was after the reforms at King’s in 1753–54.<sup>229</sup> And while he had earlier condemned the teaching of logic in the first year of the *cursum philosophicum*, he endorsed the placing of his colleague George Jardine’s course at the beginning of the philosophy curriculum. Jardine’s course was, he said, ‘properly placed at the entrance to philosophy’ because Jardine’s

<sup>227</sup> Reid here follows the argument of Bernard Mandeville and Adam Smith that the combination of small salaries and class fees encouraged professors to cultivate learning and lecture with more assiduity than salaried academics; Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1729–32), ed. F. B. Kaye, vol. I, pp. 293–4; Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. II, p. 760 (V.i.f).

<sup>228</sup> Reid was also implicitly critical of the ancient English universities in his comment on the social stigma attached to bursaries (p. 166). On the superiority of the teaching methods at Glasgow to those found in Oxford and Cambridge compare Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education*, pp. 449–80.

<sup>229</sup> Although, as Reid notes, the students were ‘at liberty to follow that course of study, which they find suited to their various pursuits and prospects’ (p. 169). The *cursum philosophicum* was thus far less rigidly structured at Glasgow than it was at either of the Aberdeen colleges.

lectures on logic and especially on ‘general grammar, rhetoric, and belles lettres’ covered topics that were of considerable interest to students ‘at a time when their taste and feelings are beginning to open’ and that encouraged them to read ‘such authors, as are necessary to supply them with facts and materials for beginning and carrying on the important habits of reflection and investigation’ (pp. 161–2).<sup>230</sup> Thus, even though there are continuities between Reid’s earlier writings on education and his statistical account of the University of Glasgow, it would seem that his account was, at least to some extent, a rationalisation of his experience as a Glasgow professor.

#### 4. Life Narratives

Thomas Reid did not live to write a narrative of his life, even though he had been prompted to do so shortly before his death by his kinsman and protégé James Gregory (p. 189). We do, however, have some sense of how he saw himself and viewed his intellectual development, partly through the genealogical details of the Reid family that were subsequently used by Dugald Stewart in writing his *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid* (1802) but especially through the extensive genealogical accounts of the Gregory family that Reid compiled during his long life. The first such account by Reid that we know of, entitled ‘The Genealogy of the Gregorys’, appears to have been drawn up *c.* 1750. This manuscript (which appears to have been lost) traced the successive generations of the Gregory family from his distant ancestors who lived in the sixteenth century to his maternal cousins and more distant relations who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>231</sup> He later elaborated on the material included in this

<sup>230</sup> The scope of Jardine’s lectures reflects the influence of one of his teachers at Glasgow, Adam Smith. During his brief tenure of the Glasgow chair of logic, Smith lectured on rhetoric and *belles-lettres*; as the Professor of Moral Philosophy, he continued to do so in his private classes. See Ian Simpson Ross, *The Life of Adam Smith*, pp. 109–10, 126–9. Reid also taught rhetoric in his private class at Glasgow, as well as logic, the culture of the mind and the connections between mind and body.

<sup>231</sup> This genealogical account of the Gregorys is transcribed in Walter R. Humphries, ‘Paper on “The Family of Gregory”’. On the basis of the handwriting, Humphries dated ‘The Genealogy of the Gregorys’ to the mid-eighteenth century and attributed the manuscript to Reid. In writing to James Gregory in the early 1780s Reid refers to two copies of a paper entitled ‘the Genealogy of the Gregories’, one owned by himself and one in the possession of Gregory’s brother William; Reid to James Gregory, 7 April 1783, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 162. The fact that Reid here mentions collating two copies implies that William Gregory’s copy was of greater textual authority and also suggests that the ‘Genealogy’ was a document that had perhaps been passed down within the immediate Gregory family. It may be that the manuscript Humphries consulted was a copy Reid made *circa* 1750 of a version of the genealogy in the possession of members of the Gregory family whom

manuscript in various letters to James Gregory in the 1780s and in ‘Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons’, which was originally written in 1788 and subsequently published in the first volume of the English mathematician Charles Hutton’s *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary* in 1795–96 (pp. 171–8).<sup>232</sup>

Reid’s ‘Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons’ is a commentary on passages in the biography of his second cousin and former colleague at King’s College, John Gregory, which prefaced the edition of Gregory’s works that appeared in January 1788.<sup>233</sup> Although that biography was published anonymously, we know that it was written by the advocate and Edinburgh Professor of Civil History, Alexander Fraser Tytler (later Lord Woodhouselee).<sup>234</sup> Reid was sent a copy of *The Works of the Late John Gregory, M.D.* in February 1788 and wrote to thank James Gregory for the edition of his father’s writings. Regarding Tytler’s biography of John Gregory, he noted that he had ‘some exceptions to some things in the narrative, but they relate to unimportant circumstances’. He also mentioned that, apropos the compliments paid to him by Tytler, ‘I wish [the author] had spared some epithets, which I could not read to myself without a blush’.<sup>235</sup> It may be that Tytler’s life of John Gregory incorporated biographical details regarding Gregory’s ancestors supplied by Reid, for in the summer of 1787 James Gregory had sent Reid a list of queries about Reid’s grandfather David Gregory of Kinnairdy and other members of the Gregory clan which elicited a lengthy response.<sup>236</sup> Reid was prompted to re-examine Tytler’s biography in June 1788, this time in relation to a project then underway in London. In 1787 the Edinburgh Professor of Mathematics, John Playfair, had

he knew in Aberdeen such as James Gregory, the Professor of Medicine at King’s College (1732–55), or James’ brother John, who was first a regent at King’s (1746–49) and then Mediciner (1755–66).

<sup>232</sup> Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787 and [late February 1788], in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 187–91, 196–7. Reid was also fascinated by an anecdote regarding a conversation between his ancestor, the Edinburgh Professor of Mathematics (1691–1725) James Gregory, and Isaac Newton in which Newton claimed to have family relations in East Lothian; see Reid to James Gregory, 14 March 1784, and Reid to John Robison, 12 April 1792, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 167–8, 227–30. For another version of Reid’s letter to Robison, see below, pp. 266–8.

<sup>233</sup> Alexander Fraser Tytler, ‘An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory’, in John Gregory, *The Works of the Late John Gregory, M.D.* (1788), vol. I, pp. 1–85.

<sup>234</sup> Tytler was identified as the author in Archibald Alison, ‘Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee’, pp. 535–6. Reid had probably learned that Tytler had written the life from James Gregory (p. 171).

<sup>235</sup> Reid to James Gregory, [late February 1788], in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 196.

<sup>236</sup> Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 187–91. Reid’s grandfather was the brother of James Gregory’s great grandfather, James Gregory, the Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews (1669–74) and Edinburgh (1674–75).

been approached by Charles Hutton to send him a copy of a polemical pamphlet by Gregory of Kinnairdy's brother, the mathematician James Gregory.<sup>237</sup> It may be that Playfair had been asked to forward the pamphlet because Hutton was already planning his *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary*, which included lengthy biographical entries on this James Gregory as well as his nephew David Gregory, who eventually became the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford (1692–1708). Playfair responded to Hutton's request in April 1788 and, given the date of Reid's 'Some farther Particulars', it is likely that Playfair's colleague James Gregory recruited Reid to supply the biographical information about the Gregory family that Reid felt Tytler had omitted.<sup>238</sup> We know that Reid drew up 'Some farther Particulars' with Hutton in mind, for in the original manuscript he wrote that 'Dr Hutton may pick out of the Whole what he judges to be for his purpose'. This sentence was removed from the published version, thereby obscuring Reid's motivation in writing the manuscript.<sup>239</sup>

'Some farther Particulars' shows just how deeply Reid was immersed in the history of his mother's family. He was clearly proud of the intellectual and practical achievements of his maternal ancestors, and he undoubtedly saw himself as sharing in their legacy, especially in the fields of mathematics and natural philosophy. He was certainly perceived by others as adding further lustre to the Gregory family line. As already noted, Reid was embarrassed by Alexander Fraser Tytler's statements that he was 'an honour to philosophy and to literature' and that he had 'inherit[ed] largely the mathematical genius of his ancestors'.<sup>240</sup> Tytler's panegyric was later echoed by Reid's Glasgow colleague James Millar, who wrote that his elderly friend was 'peculiarly distinguished by his abilities and proficiency in mathematical learning' and that this distinguishing feature of

<sup>237</sup> The pamphlet in question was Gregory's *The Great and New Art of Weighing Vanity: Or a Discovery of the Ignorance and Arrogance of the Great and New Artist, in His Pseudo-Philosophical Writings* (1672), which attacked the work of the Scottish mathematical practitioner George Sinclair. Hutton had close ties with the professors at the University of Edinburgh for he was awarded an honorary degree by the Town's College in 1779.

<sup>238</sup> John Playfair to Charles Hutton, 21 April 1788, in Benjamin Wardhaugh (ed.), *The Correspondence of Charles Hutton (1737–1823): Mathematical Networks in Georgian Britain*, pp. 56–9. Playfair's letter indicates that Hutton did not know James Gregory personally but that he knew Dugald Stewart. Another letter from Playfair to Hutton shows that the latter had met or corresponded with Stewart, perhaps in the context of the award of the honorary degree from the University of Edinburgh; see John Playfair to Charles Hutton, 12 December 1782, in Wardhaugh, *The Correspondence of Charles Hutton*, p. 29.

<sup>239</sup> Reid's original manuscript survives in the group of papers gifted to the University of Aberdeen in 1980; see AUL, MS 3061/25. Reid dated the manuscript '1788', and another hand has added 'June 24'. This may be the date that a copy was sent to James Gregory.

<sup>240</sup> Tytler, 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', p. 26 and note.

Reid's persona as a thinker was 'another instance of the prevalence of mathematical genius in the family of Gregory or Anderson' (p. 177). Millar thus seems to have understood that in writing about the genealogy of the Gregorys, Reid was also writing about his own personal history and identity. The details of Reid's 'Some farther Particulars' need not concern us here, largely because the biographical information compiled by him has subsequently been absorbed into the literature on the Gregory family. For those interested in Reid's own life, however, there is a revealing passage on his friendship with the Marischal Professor of Mathematics, John Stewart, that Hutton deleted in the published version. In the original manuscript Reid states that Stewart was

the intimate Friend of Dr Reid from the time of their being at the [Aberdeen] Grammar School to his Death in 1766, and from his early years was so firm in resisting every Temptation to wrong Conduct, that Dr Reid attributed in a great Degree his being kept from Dissipation in his Youth, to the Example of his Friend. A Rivalship in Love made no breach in their Friendship. In this Mr Stewart had the greatest Merit as he happened to be the unsuccessful Lover[.]<sup>241</sup>

While the close friendship between Reid and Stewart is well known, this passage includes the only known reference to their rivalry in love. What this passage implies is that the two of them may have both courted Reid's cousin Elizabeth when they travelled to London in the spring of 1736, with Reid eventually winning her hand in marriage in the summer of 1740.<sup>242</sup>

A note written in a different hand on the last page of the manuscript, which is most likely that of James Gregory, tells us something about Reid's Baconianism. The note indicates that Reid had written another set of comments on Tytler's biography of John Gregory and records that he objected to what he thought was an invidious contrast drawn by Tytler between the 'general speculations' about the '*method of philosophising*' in Bacon's *Novum organum* and Newton's actual practice of that method as illustrated in his *Principia* and *Opticks*.<sup>243</sup> Reid's response to Tytler's remarks was as follows:

No man ever followed the method prescribed by Lord Bacon so closely & so chastely as Sir I. Newton. Had Lord Bacons rules been properly attended to, Philosophy would an hundred years ago have been in that advanced state, in which it now is; and all the Improvements that have been made are owing

<sup>241</sup> See Textual Note 177/1–2, below.

<sup>242</sup> For further details on Reid's relationship with Elizabeth see Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*.

<sup>243</sup> Tytler, 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', pp. 61–3.



either to those who followed Lord Bacons rules, or to those who imitated them . . . Dr. John Gregory was as great an Admirer of Lord Bacon as I am[.]<sup>244</sup>

Reid's observations thus provide a further illustration of his view that Newton was best understood as Bacon's methodological disciple, and he forcefully restated this view shortly thereafter to Gregory's colleague and their mutual friend, Dugald Stewart. In his comments on a preliminary draft of the first volume of Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Reid regretted that Bacon's works appeared to be sinking into obscurity in both Britain and Europe. While he recognised that the works of Newton and Locke had done 'more to diffuse a true Spirit of Philosophy, than Lord Bacons Writings', he nevertheless contended that it ought to be remembered 'that the Spirit of Newton and Locke descended from the Loins of Lord Bacon'.<sup>245</sup>

Unlike his philosophical nemesis David Hume, Reid did not write an autobiography that served to define for posterity his identity as a man of letters.<sup>246</sup> Consequently, after Reid's death on 7 October 1796 it was left to his closest associates to answer the question, who was Thomas Reid?<sup>247</sup> We have seen that just before Reid died one answer to this question was provided by James Millar, who acknowledged that although Reid was 'well known to the public' through his endeavours to 'combat' Humean scepticism, his intellectual reach extended well beyond the provinces of metaphysics and morals. In Millar's view, Reid was 'remarkable for that liberality, and that ardent spirit of enquiry, which neither overlooks nor undervalues any branch of science', and especially for his passion for mathematics, which Millar saw as 'the original bent of his genius'. Even at 'a very advanced age', according to Millar, Reid's 'inclination for mathematical researches' led him to pursue his study of mathematics 'with a youthful attachment, and with unremitting assiduity' (p. 177). A similarly flattering portrait was drawn in the obituary of Reid published in the *Glasgow Courier* the day after his death. The anonymous obituarist celebrated Reid's published writings, stating

<sup>244</sup> See Textual Note 177/10–11, below.

<sup>245</sup> Reid to [Dugald Stewart], [1791], in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 212. See also note 115 above for further references.

<sup>246</sup> David Hume, *The Life of David Hume, Esq. Written by Himself* (1777), which included Adam Smith's letter of 9 November 1776 to the publisher William Strahan regarding the circumstances of Hume's death. Smith's concluding statement that 'Upon the whole, I have always considered him, both in his lifetime and since his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man, as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit' (p. 62), was a provocative one. The texts of Hume's 'My own Life' and Smith's letter to Strahan first appeared in the *Scots Magazine* for January 1777 and were therefore widely circulated before the pamphlet was published by Strahan in March of that year; see David Hume, *My Own Life*, 1776, ed. Iain Gordon Brown, pp. 23–6.

<sup>247</sup> For a preliminary exploration of this issue see Paul Wood, 'Who Was Thomas Reid?'

that his three books were ‘noble and lasting monuments of his eminent abilities, his deep penetration, and his extensive learning’ which had collectively ‘brought about a memorable revolution in the Philosophy of Human Nature’ by ‘unravelling sceptical perplexities, overturning ill-founded hypotheses, and resting every conclusion on evident principles’. Regarding his character, Reid was said to have been distinguished by ‘an ardent love of truth’ evident in his ‘assiduous pursuit of . . . various sciences’, an ‘amiable simplicity of manners, gentleness of temper, strength of affection’, which had ‘displayed themselves in the habitual exercise of all the social virtues, and ‘a steadiness, fortitude and rational piety’. So pronounced were his intellectual and moral virtues, the obituarist concluded that ‘those who were acquainted with this illustrious man, admired his superiority, and rejoiced in his friendship’ (p. 180).<sup>248</sup>

A more nuanced tribute to Reid appeared in the *Glasgow Courier* a fortnight later under the *nom de plume* of ‘Lucius’, who has traditionally been identified as Reid’s physician, friend and colleague Robert Cleghorn.<sup>249</sup> The persona profiled in Cleghorn’s ‘sketch’ differs subtly from those delineated by James Millar and the anonymous obituarist, insofar as he mentions that Reid was widely known as an accomplished teacher as well as an author. Moreover, he presents Reid’s achievement as a philosopher in a different manner, choosing to emphasise the positive contribution Reid had made to the science of the mind rather than simply casting Reid in the somewhat negative role of being a prominent critic of Humean

<sup>248</sup> The wording of the opening paragraph of Robert Cleghorn’s ‘sketch’ of Reid (p. 180) implies that he was not the author of this obituary.

<sup>249</sup> [Robert Cleghorn], ‘To the Editor of the Glasgow Courier’, *Glasgow Courier*, Thursday, 20 October 1796. Cleghorn’s pen-name alludes to the Roman moralist and dramatist Lucius Annaeus Seneca. Although there is no direct evidence for Cleghorn’s authorship of the ‘sketch’ of Reid’s character and achievements, the text contains circumstantial evidence that suggests this. The paragraph devoted to Reid’s ‘pursuit of new knowledge’, for example, contains two valuable clues (p. 181). First, Cleghorn was himself a proponent of Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier’s revolutionary chemical system, so that the reference to Reid’s study of the ‘late improvements in Chemistry’ speaks to their shared interest in the work of Lavoisier and his associates in France. Secondly, the mention of Reid’s engagement with the politics of the 1790s can be read as a reference to their shared political views, for both of them were members of a group of Foxite Whigs at the University that also included John Anderson, George Jardine, and John and James Millar. The descriptions of Reid’s domestic life and his fatal illness (pp. 181–2) reflect a close personal relationship such as Reid and Cleghorn enjoyed, and Cleghorn knew the details of Reid’s last days having been his physician. And, like Reid, Cleghorn was a member of the Glasgow Literary Society. He would therefore have heard Reid’s discourse on muscular motion, as well the discourse from which the text of ‘On the Danger of Political Innovation’ was excerpted. Lastly, the details about Reid’s involvement in the affairs of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary (p. 181) register the fact that both Reid and Cleghorn worked tirelessly together to establish the Infirmary. Cleghorn was also the Infirmary’s first physician and he would have known about Reid’s charitable donations to the patients.

scepticism. The distinction Cleghorn draws between the *Inquiry* and the two *Essays* is also novel, with the chapter on vision in the former constituting Reid's major contribution to philosophy and the latter works being 'of a more popular cast' and of less philosophical significance. Like his fellow memorialists, he paid tribute to Reid's 'extensive erudition without pedantry', although he added the singular observation that Reid was a shining example 'of profound and successful research without arrogance or conceit' (p. 182). Furthermore, he substantiates his claim about the wide-ranging nature of Reid's erudition through his references to Reid's fascination with Lavoisier's system of chemistry and to Reid's discourse on muscular motion delivered to the Glasgow Literary Society in December 1795.<sup>250</sup> Thus, while Reid's philosophical legacy was given pride of place in the 'sketch' (as it was in the anonymous obituary), Cleghorn provided some indication of Reid's extensive work in the natural sciences, albeit while remaining silent about Reid's mathematical researches.

More controversially, Cleghorn went beyond the anodyne pieties of the anonymous obituarist in characterising Reid's religion and commented on the highly contentious issue of Reid's politics. Reading between the lines, Cleghorn placed Reid firmly in the camp of the Moderates. The statement that Reid 'venerated *Religion*' but 'not the noisy contentious systems which lead men to hate and persecute each other' indicates that, like the Moderates, Reid saw the message of Christianity as being primarily a moral one, focussed on living an ethical life rather than maintaining rigid theological dogmas.<sup>251</sup> The characterisation of religion as a 'sublime principle which regulates the conduct by controuling the selfish, and animating the benevolent affections' likewise suggests that Reid's view of religion was much the same as that of the Moderates in Glasgow and elsewhere.<sup>252</sup> Cleghorn also illustrated Reid's practical virtues. For example, Reid's benevolence manifested itself in practical terms, notably in his treatment of children and in his 'most ardent support' for 'every scheme which promised to improve human nature, or to alleviate human misery', such as the infirmaries in Aberdeen and Glasgow (p. 181). The reference to 'intemperate Philosophers' is an allusion to Joseph Priestley's vitriolic attack on Reid; for Cleghorn, Reid's

<sup>250</sup> For Reid's interest in Lavoisier and French chemistry see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. clxxxviii–xcii, 139–53, and for his discourse on muscular motion see Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 28–9, 103–24.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. p. lxxiv above. The non-sectarian character of Reid's Christianity is also underlined in Cleghorn's comments about Reid's 'impartiality' (p. 181).

<sup>252</sup> As Ned Landsman has pointed out, however, evangelical critics of the Moderates also emphasised the importance of 'Christian Benevolence', the difference being that they saw benevolence as being grounded in grace; see Ned C. Landsman, 'Liberty, Piety and Patronage: The Social Context of Contested Clerical Calls in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow', pp. 219–20.

silence in the face of Priestley's barbs exemplified Christian forbearance in the face of intemperate personal criticism, a virtue which was likewise in evidence in Reid's response to the 'zealots who most falsely call themselves Christians'. The 'zealots' Cleghorn had in mind were almost certainly those affiliated with the Popular Party in Glasgow, and especially the evangelical Minister of Govan, the Rev. William Thom, who was a vocal critic of Reid and his fellow professors (p. 181).<sup>253</sup> Cleghorn also drew attention to Reid's true Christianity in his description of his patient's final illness, highlighting Reid's courage, consideration for others and religious conviction in the face of death (p. 182). Reid was thus portrayed by Cleghorn as a model of the practical piety championed by the Moderates and their allies in the Church of Scotland.

Given that Reid and Cleghorn were both members of the cadre of Foxite Whigs at the University of Glasgow, it is not surprising that Cleghorn chose to mention briefly his friend's enthusiastic interest in the 'great political events' of the 1790s. Although the meaning of the passage is far from obvious, Cleghorn's comment that 'Age . . . and a native love of truth, gave *him* [Reid] a degree of impartiality, which is now as rare in politics as it has always been in theology' can be read as an oblique criticism of those who were militantly opposed to the French Revolution, with the italicised '*him*' in the passage heightening the contrast between Reid and those who had attacked him for his support for the Revolution in its moderate reformist phase.<sup>254</sup> In the polarised political climate of the 1790s, Reid's unwavering belief in the moral perfectibility of humankind, especially as it was expressed in his 1794 discourse for the Glasgow Literary Society on the 'Utopian System', could be seen as tantamount to an endorsement of the principles upon which the French Revolution was founded.<sup>255</sup> Even though Reid had no truck with

<sup>253</sup> On Thom see especially Robert Kent Donovan, 'Evangelical Civic Humanism in Glasgow: The American War Sermons of William Thom', and Richard B. Sher, 'Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow', pp. 342–51. One episode that illustrates the differences between Reid and those affiliated with the Popular Party occurred at a meeting of the Glasgow Literary Society held on 20 November 1778, at which the members debated John Millar's voluntary question, 'Is it expedient to give an unlimited Toleration to the Roman Catholic Religion in Britain'. Reid defended the Moderate line and answered in the affirmative. John Anderson defended the Popular view and answered in the negative. In the debate Anderson 'compared the Papists to a rattle-snake, harmless when kept under proper restraint, but dangerous like it when at full liberty, and ready to diffuse a baleful poison around'; see the transcript 'Laws of the Literary Society in Glasgow College', GUL, MS Murray 505, p. 73, and the letter of Alexander Peters to James Beattie, 8 December 1778, quoted in Margaret Forbes, *Beattie and His Friends*, p. 151.

<sup>254</sup> On Reid and the politics of the 1790s see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xxxiv–xxxvii, xcvi–cii.

<sup>255</sup> For the text of Reid's discourse 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System' see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 134–54.

revolutionary politics, there were those in Glasgow who tarred him with the brush of Jacobinism. In their original form, Cleghorn's comments can be interpreted as a defence of Reid's reformist politics, which Cleghorn wholeheartedly shared. The apparent meaning of Cleghorn's remarks, however, was significantly altered when his 'sketch' was subsequently published in pamphlet form. It is not clear who was responsible for the repackaging of Cleghorn's 'sketch', insofar as the pamphlet was advertised in the *Glasgow Courier* two days *before* the 'sketch' was initially published. As stated in this advertisement, the pamphlet contained not only Cleghorn's 'sketch' but also an additional work by Reid, 'on the danger of Political Innovation'.<sup>256</sup> It is conceivable, therefore, that Cleghorn might have had a hand in preparing the text of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation' (pp. 183–6), which was excerpted from Reid's discourse, 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System' and given a title which signalled opposition to revolutionary and reformist politics. This possibility is unlikely, however, because Cleghorn remained a 'Democrate' politically and his career at the University of Glasgow suffered as a consequence.<sup>257</sup> Instead, it is more plausible to assume that either the proprietor of the *Glasgow Courier* or someone working on his behalf came up with the text of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation', not least because the anti-revolutionary message of the text reflected the newspaper's opposition to reformist and radical politics.<sup>258</sup> When read in the context of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation', Cleghorn's comments on Reid's political outlook in the 1790s took on a decidedly different meaning than they originally had when he first wrote his 'sketch'.<sup>259</sup>

In the months following Reid's death, a decision was evidently taken by his circle of friends in Edinburgh to publish a more substantial assessment of his life and intellectual legacy. Given that Reid and James Gregory were not simply kinsmen but also personally close, it is likely that Gregory took the initiative,

<sup>256</sup> See the advertisement in the *Glasgow Courier*, 18 October 1796. The advertisement stated that the pamphlet was 'in the Press, and will speedily be published'.

<sup>257</sup> See Cleghorn to John McLean, 22 April 1796, as transcribed in George Thomson, 'Robert Cleghorn, M.D.', p. 175. In this letter Cleghorn explained the reason why he was not appointed to the vacant chair of medicine at Glasgow in 1796, which was instead given to the politically acceptable Edinburgh surgeon Adam Freer; see Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 188–9.

<sup>258</sup> See Bob Harris, *The Scottish People and the French Revolution*, pp. 51–3. The fact that Cleghorn's 'sketch' was repackaged along with the anonymous obituary that had appeared in the *Glasgow Courier* also suggests that the pamphlet was prepared in-house.

<sup>259</sup> The text of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation' was later used by the Glasgow Professor of Humanity, William Richardson, to mask the fact that both Reid and his protégé Archibald Arthur were supporters of the reformist phase of the French Revolution; see Richardson, 'An Account of some Particulars in the Life and Character of the Author', pp. 512–14.

especially since Gregory had encouraged Reid to pen an autobiography just before he died (p. 189). Gregory also probably persuaded Dugald Stewart to write an account of their mentor's career and philosophical outlook, with a view to publication in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (of which Reid was a Fellow).<sup>260</sup> Having already written and published such an account of Adam Smith, and at work on a second devoted to William Robertson, Stewart was an experienced biographer, notwithstanding his reservations about the genre.<sup>261</sup> By the summer of 1797 Stewart had apparently started drafting his projected biography of Reid. In August of that year Sir William Forbes informed James Beattie of Stewart's project and asked for anecdotes of Reid as well as confirmation of some biographical details that Stewart was uncertain of.<sup>262</sup> Stewart also contacted Beattie's assistant and successor at Marischal College, George Glennie, for information about Reid, along with the minister of Rayne, Patrick Davidson, the then incumbent at New Machar, William Stronach, Reid's Glasgow colleague, George Jardine, and members of Reid's extended family in the north-east (pp. 191, 254–5).<sup>263</sup> By 1799, however, Stewart's work on the biography had stalled. Writing to James Currie, the biographer and editor of Robert Burns, he confessed that he had done little on his life of Reid, not least because he was being

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Dugald Stewart, *Biographical Memoirs, of Adam Smith, LL.D. of William Robertson, D.D. and of Thomas Reid, D.D. Read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (1811), pp. v–vi.

<sup>261</sup> The textual history of Stewart's biography of Adam Smith is sketched in Adam Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (1795), eds. W. P. D. Wightman, J. C. Bryce and I. S. Ross, pp. 265–7. Stewart was deeply unhappy about writing his life of Robertson and in 1797 wrote to Archibald Alison: 'I hate biography, and scarcely know whose life I would not rather have written than Dr. Robertson's'; see John Veitch, 'Memoir of Dugald Stewart, with Selections from His Correspondence', in *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart* (1854–60), ed. Sir William Hamilton, vol. X, p. lxxv, note. Stewart read the first part of his biography of Robertson to the Literary Class of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in March 1796, but did not read the remaining parts until May and June 1799; 'Journal or Minute Book of the Literary Class of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Volume 1: 3 November 1783–21 November 1808', National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Acc. 10000/3, pp. 83, 88, 89. The biography was finally published in 1801 as a book rather than as a memoir in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*; Dugald Stewart, *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson, D.D. F.R.S.E. Late Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Historiographer to His Majesty for Scotland* (1801).

<sup>262</sup> Sir William Forbes to James Beattie, 24 August 1797, NLS, Fettercairn Papers, Acc. 4796/98/3. Forbes here suggests that Reid had either requested Stewart to write his biography or sanctioned the choice of Stewart to do so. It may be that Forbes was confusing Stewart's two biographical projects because we know that William Robertson had asked Stewart to compose his life; see Jeffrey R. Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson: Minister, Historian and Principal*, p. 236.

<sup>263</sup> On Glennie see Sir William Forbes to James Beattie, 11 April 1798, NLS, Fettercairn Papers, Acc. 4796/98/3. Stewart also received biographical information from the Rev. James Leslie of Fordoun and the Rev. John Rose of Udney. Rose was married to Reid's half-sister Grace, while Leslie was the son of Alexander Leslie and Margaret Reid, another of Reid's half-sisters.



pressured by Robertson's family to complete the still unfinished biography of his ex-colleague.<sup>264</sup> But once the Robertson text was finalised, Stewart was able to make significant progress on the Reid project. In a letter to Samuel Parr dating from the spring of 1801, Stewart promised to send Parr a copy of his *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson*, and noted that

I have found myself also obliged to yield to the wishes of some of my friends in drawing up a short memoir with respect to the life and writings of Dr. Reid. With *this* performance (which is now nearly finished) I hope to close for ever my attempts as a biographer.<sup>265</sup>

Presumably Stewart was at work on his 'short memoir' through the summer and early autumn of 1801, because when the academic session for 1801–2 was more or less over, he read 'the 1st part of his Biographical Account of the late Dr. Reid' at a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh held on 17 May 1802. He presented the 'sequel' on 6 December.<sup>266</sup>

As was the case with Stewart's *Account* of Robertson, his 'Biographical Account' of Reid proved to be too long to appear in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. Already in September 1802, the life of Reid was said to be 'now in the press' by the writer and Stewart family friend Elizabeth Hamilton, who also expressed regret that Stewart remained true to his word in declaring that the Reid biography would be 'the last work of the kind he means to publish'.<sup>267</sup> It may be, therefore, that the first edition of Stewart's *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid*, published by Adam Neill & Co. in 1802 and seemingly intended primarily for circulation among Stewart's associates and Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, was, in fact, already available before or perhaps on the day he read the final part of the life in December of that year.<sup>268</sup> The *Account*

<sup>264</sup> Dugald Stewart to James Currie, 12 May [1799], Mitchell Library Special Collections, Burns Papers, envelope 15. I thank Brad Bow for this reference.

<sup>265</sup> Dugald Stewart to Samuel Parr, 30 May 1801, in Samuel Parr, *The Works of Samuel Parr, LL.D. Prebendary of St Paul's, Curate of Hatton, &c. with Memoirs of His Life and Writings, and a Selection from His Correspondence* (1828), ed. John Johnstone, vol. I, p. 722. In this letter Stewart also stated that he had 'neither talents nor inclination' for writing biographies.

<sup>266</sup> 'Journal or Minute Book of the Literary Class of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Volume I: 3 November 1783–21 November 1808', p. 92; 'Minutes of the Meetings of the Physical and Literary Classes of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1 July 1793–12 January 1824', NLS, Acc. 10000/4, entry for 6 December 1802.

<sup>267</sup> Elizabeth Hamilton to Dr ?, 14 September 1802, in Elizabeth Benger, *Memoirs of the Late Mrs Elizabeth Hamilton. With a Selection from Her Correspondence and Other Unpublished Writings* (1818), vol. II, pp. 49–50.

<sup>268</sup> Dugald Stewart, *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D.D. F.R.S. Edin. Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow* (1802). In the NLS there is a presentation



cannot have been issued much after 6 December 1802 because almost all of the initial twenty-one pages of the first section were published in the *Scots Magazine* for January 1803.<sup>269</sup> The following year, a reset version of the first edition of Stewart's *Account* prefaced the first volume of a triple-decker edition of Reid's two *Essays* and a four-volume edition of Reid's *Works*, both issued by Bell and Bradfute.<sup>270</sup> In 1803, the text of the *Account* also appeared in a slightly revised form in what can be regarded as a 'popular', second edition published by the prominent Edinburgh bookseller William Creech. From 1803 onwards, Stewart's *Account* thus not only functioned as an introduction to Reid's philosophical writings in the various editions of them published by Bell and Bradfute and others, but also circulated as a free-standing text.<sup>271</sup>

The dual life of the text is reflected in reviews published in 1804. In the *Edinburgh Review*, Stewart's former student Francis Jeffrey displayed little interest in the biographical details recorded in the *Account*.<sup>272</sup> Instead, Jeffrey used his review to attack Stewart's Baconian conception of the science of the mind as well as various aspects of Reid's common-sense philosophy.<sup>273</sup> By contrast, in the *Monthly Review* the anonymous reviewer of the 1803 edition of Reid's *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind* (whom we know to be Lockhart Muirhead) adopted a different focus.<sup>274</sup> Because Reid's two *Essays* had previously been reviewed in the journal, Muirhead devoted his attention exclusively to

copy of the first edition of the *Account* given by Stewart to his friend Gilbert Elliot, first earl of Minto (shelfmark NF.1182.f.2).

<sup>269</sup> Anon., 'Extract from Professor Stewart's Account of the Life and Writings of Dr Reid'. Subsequent sections of the book appeared in the numbers for February and March.

<sup>270</sup> Dugald Stewart, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D.D. F.R.S.Edin. Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow', in Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind* (1803), vol. I, pp. i-clxiv, and in *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D. F.R.S.Edin. Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow* (1803), vol. I, pp. i-clxiv.

<sup>271</sup> See, for example, Dugald Stewart, 'The Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D.D. F.R.S.', in *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D. F.R.S. Edinburgh. Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow* (1813–15), vol. I, pp. 3–92. The text of Stewart's biography of Reid is taken from the second edition of 1803. In their preface, the 'American Editors' said of Stewart's biography that 'A better preliminary dissertation to the whole work [of Reid] the public cannot reasonably desire'; Reid, *The Works*, vol. I, p. vi.

<sup>272</sup> Francis Jeffrey, 'Review of *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D.D. F.R.S. Edinburgh, Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow*. By Dugald Stewart'. Of the first biographical section in the *Account*, Jeffrey wrote that it was 'perhaps . . . the least interesting' of the three parts of the book (p. 269).

<sup>273</sup> Jeffrey, 'Review', esp. pp. 273–7, 279–4.

<sup>274</sup> B. C. Nangle, *The Monthly Review Second Series 1790–1815: Indexes of Contributors and Articles*, pp. 47, 90. Muirhead served as Librarian at the University of Glasgow (1795–1827) and taught Italian and French before his appointment as Lecturer on Natural History in 1803. He was later elected to the newly established Regius Chair of Natural History in 1807.

Stewart's 'Account' rather than the details of Reid's philosophy and spent most of his review summarising the basic facts of Reid's life as recounted by Stewart. Declaring that his main aim was to 'gratify the laudable curiosity of the public', Muirhead suggested that whereas 'Dr. Reid's writings will long proclaim their own excellence', readers were indebted to 'the pen of his surviving friend' for 'a knowledge of his life and character'. And while he largely endorsed Stewart's defence of Reid's philosophical legacy, Muirhead criticised the structure of the biography. While he recognised that Stewart was 'eminently conversant in the rules of fine writing, and . . . scrupulously careful of the distribution of his notes', he nevertheless observed that 'we cannot wholly approve of suspending a biographical narrative, to make room for a long and grave critique on the nature and tendency of a series of metaphysical essays'.<sup>275</sup>

Stewart's subsequent decision to collect together his lives of Smith, Robertson and Reid seems to have been partly based on his dissatisfaction with the 'mangled' form in which his biography of Robertson had appeared in 1802 and partly on the solicitation of his London publishers, Thomas Cadell the younger and William Davies, who (along with Archibald Constable) paid him the princely sum of £500 sterling copy money for his biographies of Smith and Reid.<sup>276</sup> Just prior to Stewart's retirement from the classroom in 1810, Cadell and Davies alerted him to the fact that Andrew Strahan was keen to print for them his 'quarto lives' but he prevaricated over the project until July 1810, when he announced to Constable that 'In a Week or two I propose to begin to Print the 4to Edition of Lives; but shall proceed very Slowly' because of his summer travels.<sup>277</sup> In early September he promised to send the printer, John Stark, 'a corrected copy of Mr Smith's life' and a subsequent undated letter to Constable indicates that he was at work on revising his life of Robertson.<sup>278</sup> One feature of the book that was of great concern to Stewart as he proceeded with his revisions was the production of the portrait

<sup>275</sup> [Lockhart Muirhead], 'Review of *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind*. By Thomas Reid', p. 128.

<sup>276</sup> For Stewart's 'Astonishment' and 'heart-felt vexation' regarding the format of his life of Robertson see Stewart to Thomas Cadell, 8 June 1802, NLS, Miscellaneous Letters, MS 1003, fols 160r–2v; see also Textual Note 251/12 below. For his copy money see Stewart to Archibald Constable and Company, 30 May 1811, NLS, Correspondence of Robert Cadell, 1802–1826, MS 21001, fol. 102r.

<sup>277</sup> Dugald Stewart to Archibald Constable, 13 November 1809, NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fols 77r–78v; Stewart to Constable, 28 December 1809, NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fols 79r–80v; Stewart to Constable, 24 May 1810, NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fols 83r–85v (which contains as an enclosure on fol. 84r a letter from Cadell and Davies to Stewart dated 17 May 1810); Stewart to Constable, 26 July 1810, NLS, Miscellaneous Correspondence, MS 5319, fol. 40v.

<sup>278</sup> Dugald Stewart to Archibald Constable, 4 September 1810, NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fol. 101r–v; Stewart to Constable, undated, NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fol. 105r–v.

engravings based on Tassie medallions of Smith, Robertson and Reid that were to accompany their respective biographies. From the outset, he was adamant that the Tassie medallion depicting Reid in the antique style was his choice for inclusion in the book, rather than the alternative medallion which showed Reid ‘abominably disfigured by a Wig’.<sup>279</sup> Despite Stewart’s repeated requests for the antique Reid to be engraved, it seems that Constable mistakenly asked for a medallion portraying *Smith* in the antique style to be sent for engraving, and the publication of the book was delayed as a consequence.<sup>280</sup> Writing to Constable at the end of June, Stewart expressed his satisfaction with the engravings of Smith and Robertson and suggested that Constable and his partners might consider substituting an engraving based on the copy of the Raeburn portrait of Reid in Stewart’s possession, noting that ‘As Mr. Davies & you propose to delay the publication [of the lives] till the end of the year, there will be ample time for deliberation on this matter after we meet’.<sup>281</sup> At this point in the publication process, Stewart appears to have settled on the text, even though he was still anxious about the quality of the engravings. A letter to Stark shows that Stewart continued to make minor textual revisions into the autumn of 1811 and it would seem that the *Biographical Memoirs* was finally published in late November or early December.<sup>282</sup> The version of Stewart’s life of Reid used in the *Biographical Memoirs* is the last lifetime edition authorised by him, and it is this text which is included below.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>279</sup> Dugald Stewart to Archibald Constable, 28 March 1811, NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fol. 113r; see also Stewart to John Stark, [1811], NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fol. 108r, wherein Stewart states that ‘it is the *Antique* head of Reid (not that with the wig) that I wish to be engraved. I told Davies that I Should like to have *this* Medallion (which I think One of Tassie’s best performances) engraved in the first place’.

<sup>280</sup> Dugald Stewart to William Davies, 5 April [1811], in Heiner F. Klemme, ‘Anmerkungen zur schottischen Aufklärung (in Aberdeen). Neue briefe von Baxter, Beattie, Fordyce, Reid und Stewart’, pp. 268–9.

<sup>281</sup> Dugald Stewart to Archibald Constable, 24 June [1811], NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fols 118v–118ar.

<sup>282</sup> Dugald Stewart to John Stark, 24 September 1811, NLS, Constable Collection, MS 675, fol. 120r–v. The three portrait engravings all give the publication date of 25 November 1811, which was presumably the official date of the publication of the book in London. The *Biographical Memoirs* is listed among the ‘New Works Published in Edinburgh’ in the December issue of the *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*.

<sup>283</sup> Stewart was very particular with his texts and his life of Reid was no exception; see Dugald Stewart to John Bradfute, 13 July 1808, NLS, Watson Autographs: Literary and Scientific, MS 581, fols 3r–4v. This letter discusses the proposed reprinting of Stewart’s biography in a new edition of Reid’s *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind* published in 1808. In the end, the biography was not included. A prefatory note dated August 1808 states: ‘The Publishers regret, they cannot prefix to this Edition, the Memoir of Dr Reid’s Life, by Professor Dugald Stewart, being the Author’s property: But it may be had separately, in one volume octavo. — *Price five shillings in boards*’; see Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind* (1808), vol. I, unpaginated preliminary pages.

Because of Stewart's global renown as a philosopher, and the wide circulation of his biography of Reid both as a separate publication and as a prefix to a number of British and American editions of Reid's writings, Stewart's *Account* established itself as the definitive delineation of Reid's intellectual identity. Prior to the appearance of the *Account*, Reid's public persona as a man of letters was in flux. While the majority of commentators agreed with the anonymous obituarist in the *Glasgow Courier* that Reid had 'brought about a memorable revolution in the Philosophy of Human Nature' (p. 180), there was no consensus regarding the details of this revolution. Most writers saw Humean scepticism as Reid's primary philosophical target, but only one memorialist characterised his response to Hume explicitly in terms of an appeal to the principles of common sense.<sup>284</sup> Moreover, there was no agreement as to how Reid's published works related to one another. Reid's early 'An Essay on Quantity' was almost entirely overlooked, although the lone obituarist who mentioned the work said that it did 'him much honour'.<sup>285</sup> As for Reid's *Inquiry* and his two volumes of *Essays*, opinions varied. His anonymous obituarist in the *Glasgow Courier* implied that these three works collectively presented his philosophy, whereas we have seen that Robert Cleghorn viewed the *Inquiry* as Reid's most important work and said that, for all of their merits, the two *Essays* were 'of a more popular cast' (p. 181). James Millar's wording in his tribute to Reid implies that he likewise regarded the *Inquiry* as the major statement of Reid's science of the mind, as well as being the text which had 'given a new turn to speculations upon that subject' (p. 177). The question of the precise nature of Reid's philosophical achievement was thus unresolved, and no single narrative that linked his publications together into a coherent history of his intellectual development had established itself as the definitive one. And while his 'extensive learning' was widely celebrated, his work in fields other than morals and metaphysics were at best briefly mentioned. The exception was his skill as a mathematician, which was highlighted by Millar and by an anonymous obituarist in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who wrote that Reid had 'afforded a wonderful example of early proficiency in mathematicks' and had been a 'master of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia at the age of 20'.<sup>286</sup> Furthermore, in Millar's tribute to Reid the discussion of Reid's mathematical prowess threatened to destabilise the common image of Reid as having been, first and foremost, a metaphysician and moralist, insofar as Millar claimed that the 'original bent' of Reid's 'genius' was mathematics and that it was only 'accidental occurrences' (namely the writings

<sup>284</sup> See Anon., 'Obituary of Thomas Reid', p. 883. Compare James Millar (p. 177) and Robert Cleghorn (pp. 180–1).

<sup>285</sup> Anon., 'Obituary of Thomas Reid', p. 883.

<sup>286</sup> Anon., 'Obituary of Thomas Reid', p. 883.

of Hume) that had temporarily oriented him towards the study of the science of human nature (p. 177).

Stewart's *Account* took all of these unstable elements in the public image of Reid and incorporated them into a coherent biographical narrative that continues to frame the way in which Reid's life and writings are understood. Three features of Stewart's portrait of his revered mentor stand out as having shaped both scholarly and popular depictions of Reid for over two centuries.<sup>287</sup> First, Stewart presented Reid's life as being 'uncommonly barren of those incidents which furnish materials for biography' (p. 187). Elaborating on Reid's comment that he was able to write the *Inquiry* thanks to 'the leisure of an academical life, disengaged from the pursuits of interest and ambition', Stewart maintained that the life of his subject had been 'spent in the obscurity of a learned retreat, remote from the pursuits of ambition, and with little solicitude about literary fame' (p. 187).<sup>288</sup> In portraying Reid's life as being largely devoid of interest, Stewart was able to achieve an important strategic end, namely the depoliticisation of Reid's career. Since the politics of Reid and Stewart were suspect because they were both known to be Whigs and supporters of the reformist phase of the French Revolution, Stewart (unlike Robert Cleghorn) chose to remain silent about Reid's Whiggism and advocacy of political reform.<sup>289</sup> His silence in turn allowed him to depict Reid as someone who had contributed to the well-being of humankind in the moral rather than the political sphere, and as a man who had lived an exemplary life nurturing his family, promoting philanthropic enterprises and educating his pupils. And it was just such a life that illustrated Seneca's assertion that those who inculcate virtue are of no less service to the state than statesmen or jurists, and that displayed 'those fair rewards of extensive usefulness, and of permanent fame, which talents and industry, when worthily directed, cannot fail to secure' (pp. 250–1). For Stewart, recounting Reid's life served to 'foster the proud and virtuous independence of genius; or, amidst the gloom of poverty and solitude, to gild the distant prospect of the unfriended scholar, whose laurels are now slowly ripening in the unnoticed privacy of humble life' (p. 251).<sup>290</sup>

<sup>287</sup> I have discussed both the salient characteristics and the impact of Dugald Stewart's life of Reid in three essays: Paul Wood, 'The Hagiography of Common Sense: Dugald Stewart's *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid*'; Paul Wood, 'Dugald Stewart and the Invention of "The Scottish Enlightenment"'; and Wood, 'Who Was Thomas Reid?'

<sup>288</sup> Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 5.

<sup>289</sup> Reid's engagement with political theory and reformist politics is explored in the Introduction to Reid, *On Society and Politics*.

<sup>290</sup> In the eighteenth century, it was widely accepted that, as Lord Bolingbroke put it, 'history is philosophy teaching by examples how to conduct ourselves in all the situations of private and public

Secondly, Stewart used the almost total absence of dramatic incident in Reid's personal life as a pretext to foreground the narrative of Reid's intellectual development.<sup>291</sup> Even if the details of Reid's life were of limited interest, Stewart insisted that Reid was nevertheless a figure of historical significance because Reid's career 'fixe[d] an æra in the history of modern philosophy' (p. 187). Hence Stewart's *Account* was primarily an exercise in intellectual biography which defined not only Reid's identity as a thinker but also the key features of his philosophy. In stating that Reid's life as a man of letters marked a distinct period in the history of philosophy, Stewart signalled that he ascribed to Reid the identity of a 'philosopher' and, in doing so, he excluded the natural sciences and mathematics from the core of Reid's intellectual interests. For Stewart, Reid was, quintessentially, a metaphysician and moralist. Stewart therefore characterised Reid's work in mathematics and the various branches of natural philosophy as a diversion from, or as incidental to, the gradual unfolding of the fundamental doctrines of Reid's philosophy. Consequently, Reid's engagement with Newton's system of the world or his knowledge of mathematics were of importance to Stewart only because Reid's early immersion in Newtonianism and his precocious skills as a mathematician explained why he was the first metaphysician to truly apply the method of Bacon and Newton to the investigation of the powers of the human mind (p. 198). Whereas James Millar and other obituarists had earlier seen Reid's 'extensive learning' as encompassing both of the main branches of philosophy, Stewart circumscribed Reid's intellectual identity in portraying him as being a 'philosopher'.

Thirdly, unlike Reid's previous memorialists, Stewart created a unified biographical narrative in which all four of Reid's published writings fit together like the pieces of an intellectual puzzle. While Stewart accepted that part of Reid's significance as a thinker lay in the fact that he had confuted Humean scepticism, Stewart emphasised that he had also made a notable contribution to philosophy in laying the methodological and theoretical foundations for the systematic investigation of our intellectual and active powers. That is, in Stewart's view, Reid was not simply the most astute critic of Hume; rather, in refuting Hume he had created the basis for a genuine science of the mind. Within this narrative, Reid's 'An Essay on Quantity' figures as a transitional work, illustrating the shift in Reid's thinking from a fascination with natural philosophy and mathematics to metaphysics and moral philosophy (p. 192). More generally, the years in which

life'; Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *Letters on the Study and Use of History* (1752), vol. I, p. 57. Clearly, Stewart believed that one of the aims of biography was to teach moral lessons.

<sup>291</sup> As Stewart himself acknowledged, there was at least one dramatic episode in Reid's life, namely the furore that surrounded his presentation as minister at New Machar (p. 191).

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Reid served as minister at New Machar (1737–51) were said by Stewart to have been ‘spent in the most intense study; more particularly in a careful examination of the laws of external perception, and of the other principles which form the groundwork of human knowledge’ (p. 192). As evidence for this claim, Stewart subsequently cited autobiographical passages in Reid’s writings in which he claimed that ‘I once believed th[e] doctrine of ideas so firmly, as to embrace the whole of BERKELEY’s system in consequence of it’ and that it was the publication of Hume’s *A Treatise of Human Nature* in 1739–40 which had forced him to call ‘in question the principles commonly received with regard to the human understanding’ (p. 195).<sup>292</sup> Disagreeing with Robert Cleghorn’s assessment of the *Inquiry* as being the definitive statement of Reid’s philosophical principles and of the two *Essays* as ‘popular’ expositions of Reid’s doctrines, Stewart redrew the relationship between them, stating that the two *Essays* were ‘parts of one great work, to which [the] *Inquiry into the Human Mind* may be regarded as the Introduction’ (p. 203). Stewart’s narrative of Reid’s intellectual development in the *Account* was thus an Enlightenment narrative of progress: having apprenticed as a mathematician and Newtonian natural philosopher, Reid progressed to utilising the method perfected by Bacon and Newton to investigate the operations of our external senses, and thence to the examination of the full range of our intellectual and active powers. Stewart’s apparently straightforward narrative structure, however, rests on two unexamined assumptions, namely that a unified identity gave coherence to Reid’s intellectual development and that this identity was that of a ‘philosopher’. But, as this and previous volumes in the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid demonstrate, the question of Reid’s identity as an Enlightened man of letters is far more complex than Stewart would have his readers believe.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>292</sup> Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 142 (II.10), and Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 3.

<sup>293</sup> The question of Reid’s intellectual identity is addressed in Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*.





# THE MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXTS

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# Part One: Reform and Union

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## I

1752.\* 8/V/1, 1r

### Scheme of a Course of Philosophy

- 1 The Elements of Geography so far as they can be delivered in a Historical or Narrative Way Containing
- 1 The General Parts of the Globe. The Zones Climates & the Aspects of the Heavens in them 5
- 2 The Division of the Earth into Land and Water. the Names of Seas Islands Continents Countrys both ancient & Modern.
- 3 A very few of the Most remarkable Things belonging to each Country or City. Such as their being the Seat of such an Empire the birth place of Such a Great Man the Scene of Such a Battle or famous for the Invention of Such an Art. Some Character of this kind ought to be annexed to every Remarkable place which helps the memory and at the Same time conveys the knowledge of many of the Most Remarkable facts. Which Stick best in the Memory when annexed to the place that is Related to them.\* The Books must be mentioned that give the best account either of the Ancient or Modern State of these Countrys & Some Idea of those books given & the same is to be understood with respect to all the Other parts of Learning Contained in this Course\* 10 15
- 
- 4 An Account of the Trade Winds & the most Remarkable things relating to the Weather in Different Countrys also the Most remarkable Ranges of Mountains their height Volcanos Earth Quakes &c 20
- 
- The History of things Under Ground 1 Mettals where & how found 25  
The Propertys of Ores the ways of Refining them The properties of the Several Mettals. 2 Other Mineral Substances & Salts & Fossils of the most common Use & Greatest Value in Life are to be described and their Natural History Given. in as Short an Abstract as can be devised. Glass Porcelain Coal Lime. The diferent kinds and Characters of Stones and earths. Chemical Principles of fossils\* 30
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The Natural History of Soils & of their proper Culture & Manures. The Nature of Plants their Manner of Growth Their Chemical & Anatomical Analysis. General Principles of their Culture. The Division of Plants into Genera & Species

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5

[1v] Animals<.> Their Several Parts 1 for Receiving & Concocting their food. 2 for Secreting the Chyle & Mixing it with the Blood. 3 The Heart & System of blood Vessels 4 The Lungs 5 The Greater & Smaler Glands & their Office 6 The Brain and System of the Nerves. 7 The Muscles and organs of voluntary Motion. 8 The division of Animals into Genera & Species. And the things peculiar to each Skin bones horns Shells feathers Scales &c. 9 Their Different Manners of Generation and educating their Young 10 The Different States some of them pass through. 11 Analogy between the parts of Animals & Vegetables 12 Select Historys of particular Species Such as Horses Black Cattle Sheep & Dogs Beavers Bees Silk worms. 13 Observations on the Instinct of Animals their Sagacity & Tractability. 14 The Advantages that Man has over them all which give him a Dominion over them. 15 Diseases Death & Chymical Resolution of Animals\*

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20

Mechanicks & Common Laws of Motion & Machinery

The Principles of Hydrostaticks. & Pneumaticks

Barometer & other Hydrostatick & Hydraulic Engines<.> Rain Springs

Vapours Thunder Lightning. Heat & Cold<.> Magnetism & Electricity.

25

Phonicks & the Philosophical Principles of Musick. Light & Colours.

Pendulums\*

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At the same time that these parts of Philosophy are taught Plain Geometry from the first three books of Euclid & Algebra as far as Quadratick Equations is to be taught & after the doctrine of Proportion is learnt from Algebra the Sixth book of Euclid is to be Read. The Second book may be demonstrated in the Algebraical way. Then plain Trigonometry the Measuring of Ground & of heights & Distances<.> Next the Mathematical Knowledge of the Globes<.> of Longitudes Latitudes Declinations Right Asscencions &c<.> Then the Projections of the Sphere & if there is time the Principles of Perspective. Spherical Trigonometry Dialing Navigation\* The Constellations. The Methods of finding the Latitude of the Place the Meridian the rising or Setting of Sun or Stars their Declination right ascension<.> Astronomical Instruments & Observations. Mensuration of the Earth by Picart & by

40

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the French in Peru & Lapland<.>\* Astronomy. Geometrical Calculatory Philosophical\*|

While these are Taught progress must be Made in the Mathematics<.> the Most Common properties of Conicks. Projectiles<.> The Analogy between the properties of Curve Lines & of Equations<.> 5  
The Resolution & General Properties of the Higher Equations. the Principles of Fluxions<.> The Method of Exhaustions of Indivisibles & of Prime & Ultimate Ratios. The General Properties of Curve Lines from McLaurins treatise on that Subject\* 10

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Of the Defects of Natural Knowledge & how far these may be Supplied<.> Of the Method of Pursuing Natural Enquiries by Experiments and Observations Illustrated by several Examples<.>\* The Danger & Mischief of Hypotheses.\* 15

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The Other Grand Branch of human Knowledge is the Mind  
The Avenues of Sensation. simple Perception<.> Ideas of Sensible Things how distinguished from their Objects.\* Beauty & Harmony<.>\* Imagination its Laws<.> Memory. Internal feelings<.> first More Simple or primary<.>\* Pain Pleasure<.> Passions<.> Good & bad Humor. 20  
Secondary. Of Approbation and Dislike. Volition<.> Principles of Action Instincts Appetites Passions Habits<.> Moral Sense. Imitation<.> Sense of honour Self love Affections <?> Knowledge belief opinion.\* Avenues of Knowledge Sense Memory Consciousness Secondary perceptions of Beauty Harmony Virtue.\* Testimony.\* Our Knowledges of Causes & Effects and of the Constancy of Nature<.> the Analogy of things. 25  
of Design & final Causes<.>\* Language & Signs<.> Criticism<.> The Effects of Different original Characters<.> of Education of Habits. The powers of our bodies & Minds fitted to our State<.> the Effect of Body & Mind upon each other<.>\* Painting Poetry Action and Pronounciation.\* 30  
Behaviour. Air Exercise Inebriating and Narcotic things. Physiognomy.\* Dreams. Judicial Astrology Omens. Divination\*

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Next to the History of the Human Mind and its Operations & Powers The Knowledge of God and of his Natural Government.\* The Laws 35  
by which he Governs Inanimate Matter Brutes & Men. Our Capacity of Moral Government. The Indications of our being Under it and of our State here being a State of Discipline & Improvement in order to another\*

The Natural Immortality of the Soul.\* 40

Ethicks (Economicks Politicks.\* The Grand Instruments of Govern-  
ment.) Authority acquired by the Opinion of Wisdom(,) of Goodness(,) of Right(,) Courage & Military Skill(,) Eloquence\*

The Scale of Human Life

- 5 Some things are attainable by all Men & make up the Duties of Low Life\*  
To live virtuously keep a Good Conscience towards God and Man to  
provide for ones family by some honest Employment Such as Husbandry  
Manual Arts Traffick. Those who exercise these Employments honestly  
& make profit by them are usefull Members of Society(,) those who  
10 Improve them by new Invention(s) deserve Honour & Publick Reward.  
2 There are Some professions that belong to Middle life & are more  
Honourable.) Publick Instructors in Religion or the Liberal Arts  
Physicians Lawiers Judges|  
[2v] Thirdly there are some Things still of a Higher Degree the Government  
15 of Large bodies of Men by means of Political or Military Skill or  
Eloquence

- The Prerogatives of human Nature or the Chief Excellencies of one Man  
above another. The things which ought to be the objects of Ambition  
20 which claim Honour & Respect from others and make a Man great &  
usefull & raise him above the herd of mankind may I think be reduced  
to these two Classes(,) Power & Virtue. Virtue is the principle of all real  
Excellence Power its instrument(,) Virtue is the Soul & Spirit & Power  
the Organ by which Virtue accomplishes its Ends And Purposes(,) 25  
Virtue without power would be onely of use to its owner(,) Power  
without Virtue is equally apt to produce good or Evil. to be dreadful &  
detestable or amiable & honourable  
Power has various principles that deserve to be particularly Enumerated\*  
1 Riches which is in itself among the lowest & most despicable Species  
30 of power.\* 2 Authority which takes its Rise 1 from Opinion of Merit  
2 from opinion of Right. 3 from Opinion of Divine Commission or  
Authority or of Divine Favour that attends and prospers a Man. Or of  
Interest & Favour with the Great or Many(,) There is also some degree  
of Authority that arises from high Birth or beauty. (4) Strength of Body  
35 & Hardiness of Constitution.  
3 Science Memory Judgment Wit. Good Manners in Proportion to the  
Reality or Importance gives a Man Power  
4 Prudence by which I mean the Habit of Judging right of times  
and opportunities(,) of Men & their principles and Capacities(,) of  
40 knowing when to conceal & when to shew ones own Designs(,) of the



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proper means & Instruments of bring(ing) them to Effect.\* the Arts of Popularity(⟨.⟩) This as a thing very different from mere knowledge

**5** Operative Habits and Skill in Arts

**6** Many Virtues Such as Courage Temperance Meekness Industry are likewise kinds of Power

5

**7** Eloquence\*

A View of the Different Stations in Life & the Qualities of Body & Mind & Fortune necessary to the proper Duties of them.\*

## II

## ABSTRACT

OF SOME

STATUTES AND ORDERS

OF

5 KING'S COLLEGE IN OLD ABERDEEN.

M.DCC.LIII.

With ADDITIONS

M.DCC.LIV.\*|

⟨3⟩
ABSTRACT, &c.

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SECT. I.

*Of the SESSION, and of BURSARIES.*

I.

THE Session of the College shall always begin precisely upon the first Monday of October, and end in May.\*

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II.

EVERY Bursar who does not enter to the College, the first Monday of October, shall pay Six-pence for each Days absence during the first Week, a Shilling for each Days absence during the second Week, and those who do not enter before the third Monday of October, shall be depriv'd.

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III.

THAT the Bursars may be better enabled to support themselves during this long Session, the Masters have resolved to unite the small Bursaries in their gift, as they shall happen to fall vacant, in such manner as none of them shall be under Six Pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence Sterling; and for this purpose have determined,

25

## IV.

THAT there shall be no Competition for Burses at the beginning of the ensuing Session, and that the Bursaries which ought in Course to be then filled up, <4> shall be divided among their present Bursars, in such Proportion as the Masters shall think fit.

5

## V.

As the Funds mortified for Bursaries were certainly intended for the Encouragement of learning; and nothing can be more contrary to the pious Intention of those charitable Donations, than to bestow them upon such as through Poverty, Idleness or Incapacity, do not make sufficient progress in Letters; the Masters have unanimously resolved to deprive every Bursar, who does not make some tolerable Proficiency in his Studies, and to execute this Resolution at the beginning of each Session. And they are sorry to intimate that there is at present, great ground of Complaint against several Bursars upon this account; and therefore do give this publick Intimation, that they may be upon their Guard, and that such as are conscious of their own Ignorance or Incapacity, may apply to some other Business, that the Masters may not have the disagreeable Task of dismissing them with Disgrace.

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## VI.

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How soon the intended Union of the Bursaries can take place, those in the gift of the College shall be presented after a comparative Trial as before; but it is expressly provided, that none shall be admitted as Candidates, but such as are above the lowest Rank, and who besides their Qualifications in point of Genius, can appear in a decent Way, both as to Dress and Behaviour, and have some reasonable prospect of Money or Friends, to enable them to prosecute their Education, and bring them into some reputable Em<5>ployment or Profession in Life; and for this purpose that they bring proper Certificates along with them, without which they will not be admitted to Trial.\*

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30

## SECT. II.

*Of the LODGING of the STUDENTS.*

## VII.

**A**S it hath been found by Experience, that the late Practice of Students lodging and eating in private Houses in different parts of the Town, is attended with many Inconveniencies; they being by that means less under the Eye and Authority of the Masters, having less Access to their Assistance, and that of their fellow Students in the Prosecution of their Studies, being exposed to many Temptations

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from low or bad Company, being moreover for the most part badly accommodated both in Lodging and Diet, and losing a considerable part of their Time in going and returning to their Lodgings, which are often at a distance from the College; therefore the Masters have decreed, that for the future all the Students shall lodge in Rooms within the College and eat at the College Table during the whole Session: And that no Student whatsoever shall be exempted from Obedience to this Statute, without a Dispensation from the Principal or Sub-principal, who are empowered to grant such Dispensations for weighty Reasons to be therein expressed.\*

## VIII.

THE Procurator of the College is appointed forthwith to cause to be fitted up at the publick Charge, a sufficient Number of the College Rooms, for the Accomodation of all the Students, to repair whatever is broken or defaced in the Floors, Walls, Ceilings, Windows or Doors, and to furnish them with Bedsteads, Tables and Chimney Grates, with proper places for holding Coal or other Fewel, and with Locks and Keys where they are wanting, and to cause all the Rooms to be cleaned and white-wash'd, and the Windows painted, against the beginning of the Session.

## IX.

THE Rent of a Room and Closet, of the best sort with a Bed Stead in each, shall not be above Sixteen Shillings Sterl. in the Session: The Rent of a Room and Closet of the second sort, with a Bed Stead in each, shall not exceed twelve Shillings: The Rent of a Room, with one Bed Stead without a Closet, shall not exceed Seven Shillings; and the Students may continue to lodge in their Rooms, during the Vacation, without paying any farther Rent.

## X.

THE Students shall have their Rooms assigned them by the Sub-principal and *Regent* Professors, and no Student shall change his Room without their Permission: The Pupils of each Professor shall be lodged in adjacent Rooms, as far as can be.

## XI.

THAT the Masters may have ready Access to inspect the Behaviour of the Students in their Rooms, it is enacted, that no Student shall have his Doors bolted before Ten at Night, that any of the Masters may have admittance without knocking; and that all the Students shall go to Bed, and have their Fires and Lights put out, before Eleven.

## XII.

THE Sub-principal and *Regents* shall choose two or more Men

Servants, sober and discreet in their Behaviour, who shall serve the Students in their Rooms, make their Beds, wipe their Shoes, fetch them Water, carry their Linen to and from Washing, and shall lodge within the College, and be subject to the Discipline of it, and shall be paid by the Students for their Service during the Session; and no other Servants shall come within the College to serve the Students, without Permission from the Sub-principal and *Regents*. 5

## XIII.

To prevent Accidents that may happen in the Night, one of the Servants that lodges within the College, shall ring one of the great Bells at the Hours of Two and Five each Morning during the Session, and after ringing of the Bell, shall at each of these Hours go round to all the Rooms and Passages, as a Watch. 10

## XIV.

THE Sub-principal and *Regents* shall concert among themselves such Regulations and Expedients, as shall appear to them most effectual for obliging the Students and Servants to keep the Rooms, Stairs, Piazza, Area, and the Passages to the College, clean and decent; and preventing their damaging or defacing their Rooms, Furniture, or any Part of the College; and the *Regents* in their turns shall see to the Execution of these Regulations. <8> 15 20

## XV.

THE *Regents* shall take their turns in their Government of the College, either weekly, as hath been the custom, or daily, as seems to them most convenient, and shall perform publick Prayers every Day at eight in the Morning, visit and *perlustrate*\* the Students Rooms at Night, see the College Gates shut at nine in the Evening, and that none of the Students be then out of the College, and keep the Keys of the College till seven in the Morning. 25

## XVI.

THE Sub-principal and *Regents*, shall take all possible care, that no Student or Servant be admitted into the College, who labours under any noisome or infectious Distemper; and if any Student be seized with any such Distemper, he is to be removed to Rooms in the Town, and properly cared for, till he recover. 30 35

## XVII.

THE Professor of Medicine shall visit and give advice *gratis* to Bursars or other Students, whose Circumstances require it, that shall be taken ill during their Residence at the College. 40



## XXII.

THE Oeconomist shall always serve at Table himself, and shall keep a sufficient Number of other Men Servants of good Behaviour, and qualified to serve at Table, who shall attend in clean and decent Apparel. If the Oeconomist has a Wife sufficiently qualified, she may assist him in Cooking Victuals, Baking, Brewing, or overseeing his Servants, but there shall be no Woman Servant in the Oeconomy.\* 5

## XXIII.

THE Professor who performs the Publick Prayers, shall eat at the College Table at Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper, and sleep within the Colledge, and shall take Notice, not only that the Students have a decent and mannerly Behaviour and Conversation at their Meals, but that they be properly served; that the Provisions be good in their kind, and agreeable to the Bill of Fare contracted for; and that the Room, Vessels and Table-Linen be clean. 10 15

## SECT. IV.

*Of the EDUCATION.*

## XXIV.

THAT the Students may have the benefit of those Parts of Education, which are not commonly reckoned Academical, such as Dancing, Writing, Bookkeeping, French, &c. without losing Time in attending Masters at a distance from the College; the Sub-principal and *Regents*, shall appoint proper Rooms in the College, and proper Hours when these Things may be taught, and shall bespeak Masters of the best Character and Qualifications, for instructing those who choose to attend them.\* 20 25

## XXV.

THE Professor of Greek, and three Professors of Philosophy shall give three Hours to their Pupils on each Monday, Wednesday and Friday, two Hours on each Tuesday and Thursday, and one Hour on Sunday Evening during the Session.\* The Professor of *Humanity*, besides teaching a *Humanity Class*, as is done in other Universities, shall give an Hour in his Profession each Tuesday and Thursday *gratis*, for the benefit of all the Students.\* 30

## XXVI.

THE Masters having taken under their deliberate consideration, whether it is more fit that the Students of Philosophy should, through all the three Years of their Philosophy Course, be under the Care of the same Professor, which has been the Practice in this University hitherto; or if the three Professors of Philosophy should confine themselves, each 35



to a distinct Branch of Philosophy, and the Students pass a Session under each of them successively, as is the Custom in some other Universities;\* they agreed to continue their antient Practice, which though more laborious to the Professors, seems to them more beneficial to the Students: Because, every Professor of Philosophy in this University, is also Tutor to those who study under him, has the whole Direction of their Studies, the training of their Minds, and the Oversight of their Manners; and it seems to be generally agreed, that it must be detrimental to a Student to change his Tutor every Session. It may be reasonably supposed that a Professor, in three Years, may acquire an Acquaintance with the Temper and Genius of his Pupils, and an Authority over them, which may be of great use to them, and yet is not to be expected in the Course of one Session: He must be better able to judge of the Progress they have made in their Studies during the Vacation, and to examine them upon what they have been taught in former Sessions, or make a Recapitulation thereof where it is necessary: And though it may be allowed, that a Professor who has only one Branch of Philosophy for his Province, may have more Leisure to make Improvements in it for the Benefit of the learned World; yet it does not seem at all extravagant to suppose, that a Professor ought to be sufficiently qualified to teach all that his Pupils can learn in Philosophy, in the Course of three Sessions.\* <13>

## XXVII.

THE Professors of Philosophy with the Concurrence of the other Masters, have unanimously agreed to employ much less Time than has been usually done in Universities, in the Logic and Metaphysic of the Schoolmen, which seem chiefly contrived to make Men subtle Disputants, a Profession justly of less Value in the present Age, than it has been in some preceeding ones; and to employ themselves chiefly in teaching those parts of Philosophy, which may qualify Men for the more useful and important Offices of Society.\* They have likewise unanimously agreed that those Parts of Philosophy which are conversant about Objects of Sense ought in the Order of teaching to precede those which have the Mind and its Faculties for their Objects:\* Therefore they have resolved, that after their Pupils have studied Greek under the Greek Professor, the first year of their Philosophy Course is to be employed (besides reading some Greek as usual) in a Course of Mathematics, both speculative and practical, and in an Introduction to all the Branches of Natural History, and to the study of Geography, and Civil History: The second Year their Mathematical Course is to be carried on, along with a Course of Natural and Experimental Philosophy: And the third Year

to be employed in the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Sciences that depend upon it.

## XXVIII.

THE Masters have ordered some Copies of the above Abstract to be printed for the Information of the Students, and those concerned in their Education, and that the several Masters transmit Copies thereof to <14> their learned Acquaintance, or others from whose Judgment and Learning they may expect the best Advice, with respect to the Expedience of these Orders, and whatever farther is necessary for improving the Education of Youth in this University, and rendering it most useful to the publick; and they will very thankfully receive and pay all due Regard to every useful Hint that shall be transmitted them for that Purpose.

*King's College,  
Aug. 17th, 1753.*

*Sign'd in Name of the University  
by*

JO. CHALMERS, Principal.\* <17> 15

SINCE <the> printing of the preceeding Abstract, many Persons of worth and Learning, and some of high Rank and Character, from a generous Concern for the right Education of Youth, have communicated their Sentiments upon this Subject. And the Masters of the University having taken into their serious Consideration, the Observations and Advices that have been suggested to them either by Writing or Conversation, have unanimously agreed to the following Additions.\* 20

## I.

THE Union of the small Burses in the Gift of the College being already compleated, as proposed in the third Statute; there will be a Competition for the vacant Burses annually, upon the first Monday of October, to which none will be admitted as Candidates, but such as bring proper Certificates of their moral Character, and of their being qualified in Terms of Statute sixth. 25

## II. 30

THE seventh Statute is not to be extended to such Students as may lodge in the Houses of any of the Masters of the College; and it is recommended to the Masters that have Families, to give Lodging and Diet to such Gentlemens Sons as choose to live with them rather than in the College.\* 35

## III.

THAT those Students, who shall happen to be taken ill during the Session, may be properly cared for; the common Procurator, with the

Advice of the Professor of Medicine, is appointed to fit up two or more  
<18> of the most commodious and best aired Rooms in the College, into  
which the Sick are to be removed during their Illness. And the Masters  
are to bespeak proper Nurses, who will be ready to attend them, when  
5 it is found necessary.

## IV.

THE Masters taking into Consideration the Opinion of their Cor-  
respondents relating to Statute twenty-fifth, and being sensible of the  
great Importance of classical Learning, and the Loss that Students do  
10 generally sustain by neglecting this Study during their Academical  
Course, have reviewed the said Statute; and, according to the Advices  
which have been communicated to them, do enact, *1mo.* That the Profes-  
sors of Humanity and Greek, besides attending their own Classes, shall  
each of them spend an Hour a Day, in their several Professions, with the  
15 Students in the three Philosophy Classes, for reading and explaining the  
more difficult Latin and Greek Classicks, for pointing out their Genius  
and Characters as Writers, and forming the Students to a just Taste  
for reading and understanding these Authors. *2do.* That no Student in  
Philosophy shall be exeemed\* from attending those Lessons; and that  
20 the Students in the Greek Class shall also attend the separate Hours of  
the Professor of Humanity. *3tio.* As some of their Correspondents, for  
whose Judgment they have the greatest Regard, are of the Opinion,  
that *gratis* teaching is a thing that probably will turn to no Account; in  
compliance with their Advice, the Professor of Humanity is discharged  
25 from giving any lessons *gratis*, as is proposed in Statute twenty fifth, But  
that the <19> Education in this University may be as little expensive as  
possible, the Masters have modified the *Minimum* of the *Honorariums*,  
to be paid to the Professors of Humanity and Greek for this separate  
Hour, at a very low Rate, in consideration of the Numbers that are  
30 obliged to attend in Consequence of this Statute.

## V.

As many of our Correspondents have desired some *Eclaircisement*  
upon the Business of the third Year of the Philosophy Course: By the  
*Philosophy of the Mind*, is understood, An Account of the Constitution  
35 of the human Mind, and of all its Powers and Faculties, whether  
Sensitive, Intellectual, or Moral; the Improvements these are capable  
of, and the Means of their Improvement; of the mutual Influences of  
Body and Mind on each other; and of the Knowledge we may acquire  
of other Minds, and particularly of the supreme Mind. And the *Sciences*  
40 *depending on the Philosophy of the Mind*, are understood to be Logic,

Rhetoric, the Laws of Nature and Nations, Politicks, Oeconomics, the fine Arts and natural Religion.\* The Masters have not thought proper to prescribe a particular Plan to the Professors of Philosophy, either for this, or any other Year of their Course, as each of them have Access to satisfy those concerned, of their particular Plan and Method.\* 5

## VI.

It is statute, that the Masters, before the Session ends, shall concert with one another, their Attendance, during the Vacation; so that there may be always a sufficient Number of them at home, to direct the Studies, and oversee the Morals of those Students who choose to reside at the College during the Summer. 10

## VII.

THE Masters considering, that it may contribute greatly for the Improvement of the Students, to have Access to Collections of natural and artificial Bodies, digested in proper Order, which may exhibit to the Eye, those things that are not so easily conceived or understood by the most accurate Descriptions; they have resolved forthwith, to set apart proper Rooms in the College for a *MUSÆUM*, to be furnished as soon, and as far as the Circumstances of the Society will permit.\* *1mo.* With proper Specimens of Natural Bodies, Fossile, Mineral, Vegetable and Animal; or such Parts and Preparations either anatomical or chymical of those Bodies, as may be most proper for explaining their Structure, Properties and Use. *2do.* With Models of the most useful and curious Instruments and Machines, antient or modern. *3tio.* With Prints or Paintings of those, of which Models are not to be had. *4to.* With the best Instruments for Surveying, Mensuration, Navigation, Astronomy and Optics. They have likewise resolved, as soon as the Funds of the College will permit, to build and furnish a Laboratory for chymical Experiments and Operations, and a Room for anatomical Dissections.\* And tho' the furnishing these Apartments in any considerable Degree of Perfection, must be a Work of Time; yet they have been encouraged to give a Beginning to them, in hopes that Time and Opportunity may favour a publick Design, which is intended, not for Shew, or for gratifying the Curiosity of idle People, the Use that is too commonly made of such Collections, but for the Improvement of the Students in the Knowledge of the Works of Nature, and the most useful Operations of Art. And they hope, that their *Alumni*, in different Parts of the World, and others, who wish well to this University, and the Improvement of natural Knowledge, will contribute some proper Furniture for such Apartments, and be assistant in such way as they see most proper for promoting so good a Design. 40

## VIII.

THE Masters of the University take this Opportunity of returning their Thanks to those who have honoured them with their Countenance and Advice on this Subject. The most material of the above Additions, they very thankfully acknowledge, have been suggested by the Advices which they have received. And as they are encouraged to hope for good Effects of the Statutes already made, both by the Opinion of those who have communicated their Thoughts upon them, and the Experience of the past Session, they hope that such as have a Regard for the Interest of Learning and the right Education of Youth, will continue to transmit what further may occur to them on this important Subject.

*King's College,  
April 6th, 1754.*

*Sign'd in Name of the University  
by*

JO. CHALMERS, Principal.

III

MEMORIALS, &c.

RELATING TO THE

UNION

OF THE

KING's and MARISCHAL

Colleges of ABERDEEN.

1755.

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*King's College, 5th Feb. 1755.*

A N union of the King's and *Marischal* colleges of *Aberdeen* has been often projected; and, if it could be accomplished upon a reasonable plan, it might be of great consequence to education in this part of the kingdom.\* But the attempts that have been made of late, for bringing about this union, seem to give no prospect of success, unless the parties having concern will lay aside their confined and interested views, and give way to a more general and public good.

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THE publication of the following papers is not *a thing of choice*: but the masters of the King's college are obliged to take this method of informing the world more fully of the late projected union; because, in their apprehension, it is *a matter of public concern*, in which the North of *Scotland* and the whole country have a greater interest than any particular society or town. Besides, they are brought under a necessity in this public manner to vindicate their own characters, which have been most falsely and scurrilously aspersed, by those who thro' interest, ignorance, or ill-nature, have been led to do so.

20

THE masters of both colleges, and the magistrates of the town of *Aberdeen*, having entered into a submission to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Findlater*\* for determining the seat of the united college, it was agreed amongst the parties to interchange their memorials, before they were presented to the arbiter. What follows, contains exact copies of these interchanged memorials. This we think is the fairest way of stating the matter. — The spirit of the parties and

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their different views will best appear from their memorials. — No commentary is added. — It is left to those who will take the trouble to read them, to make the proper conclusions.

5 To the memorials there is subjoined a letter from the masters of the King's college to Lord *Findlater*. — For explaining the reason of publishing this letter, it will be observed, that the gentlemen of *Aberdeen* insisted much upon an argument which seemed to have great weight with his Lordship,<sup>†</sup> viz. "That removing the seat of the college from the town of *Aberdeen*, would provoke them to set up private *Academies*; —  
10 that these *Academies* would probably be greatly disaffected to our happy establishment, and so debauch the minds and morals of the youth, &c." — We apprehend that a threatening to set up private *Academies* was of no consequence at all, because the education in the university must be of small account if it does not soon get the better of these. But it  
15 surprized us not a little, to find it suggested, that these *Academies* would probably be disaffected; when it is well known, that <5> by the laws now in force, and the vigilance and authority of well affected magistrates, every such disaffected *Academy* may be easily suppressed.\* And we thought that the proper answer to an argument, for fixing the seat in  
20 the town of *Aberdeen*, drawn from an *imaginary future danger*, was, that an *actual and present evil* of the same kind, attended with all those temptations to *idleness and corruption of morals*, which are inseparable from a great and populous town, is a much stronger reason for removing the seat of the university from that place.

25 THIS argument the masters of the King's college endeavoured to state in the letter which is subjoined. His Lordship did the magistrates of *Aberdeen* the honour to transmit a copy of this letter, *in confidence*, to them. The use that was made of it, was immediately to proclaim the contents of it. Copies of it were handed about, and dispersed in all  
30 corners, both in town and country. We were branded with the names of *Incendiaries* and *Informers*, and such false glosses were put upon it as could have no other tendency, but to render us odious to our country. If any person was hurt by the publication of that letter, it was no fault of ours. It was intended for Lord *Findlater's* perusal only; and we are  
35 well assured, that it was far from his Lordship's intention that any such purposes should have been served by it: and therefore, it is left to the town of *Aberdeen* to account for all that *noise* that it raised, and <6> the

<sup>†</sup> See mem. from the *Marischal* college, about the middle.— Do. from the town of *Aberdeen*, Reason 3d from the present magistrates.\*



*ungenerous abuse* that has been made of his Lordship's confidence, on this occasion.

So many copies of this letter have been handed about, that it is probable it may have undergone some alterations, and therefore it is here subjoined.

To add any thing further would be improper. The length of the memorials will be enough to frighten many from taking them into their hands.

*By appointment of the University,*  
(signed)

*John Chalmers* Principal. <7>

*MEMORIAL from the Principal and Masters of the  
King's College of Aberdeen, unto the  
Right Honourable the Earl of FINDLATER,  
anent the Seat of the united College of Aberdeen.*

**B**Y the union of the two colleges of *Aberdeen*, it is proposed to incorporate the funds of both societies into one common stock, so as to answer the following purposes. *1st*, To make proper endowments for as many professors as the funds will support. *2dly*, To provide lodging for the masters and students.\* *3dly*, To make the discipline and education as perfect as may be. And, *4thly*, To do this in such a manner as may not be detrimental to the present incumbents, or to the common revenue.\* — The only question is, Whether these ends will be best attained by fixing the seat of the united college in *Old* or in *New Aberdeen*. — It is apprehended, that this matter will be determined in the easiest and clearest manner, if the consequences of both are fairly stated and duly examined.

It is well known that the King's college in *Old Aberdeen*, is the noblest and most commodious building for the purposes of education of any in *Scotland*, and is fitted up in proper manner for the accommodation of students, living in a collegiate way.\* — The buildings at present being capable to accommodate in good lodging above 150 students, which it is thought is the greatest number that five masters, *viz.* <8> the three professors of philosophy, and the professors of *Greek* and humanity, can pretend to teach or take the charge of. — Besides the buildings appointed for the philosophy college, there are also in *Old Aberdeen* four good houses for the accommodation of the masters;\* so that nothing is wanted in that place for completing the scheme, so far as

it respects the lodging of the students and masters, but to provide houses for the other seven. And,

5 THIS it is apprehended may be easily effected by the sale of the buildings in the *Marischal* college, which would raise a sum that might provide the wanted houses; so that if the seat of the united college is fixed in *Old Aberdeen*, both masters and students can be accommodated in lodging, without expending any of the united funds, but what arises from the buildings themselves.

10 But if the seat of the united college is fixed in *New Aberdeen*, neither masters nor students can be accommodated in lodging. The buildings in the *Marischal* college are indeed pretty considerable, but they are not finished nor fitted up; neither can they be fitted up, but at an expence far beyond what the revenues of both colleges will bear; and were they put in order, they would contain half the number of students that  
15 the buildings in the King's college can easily admit of. They have no accommodation for an œconomy or a public table, nor have they so much as one house for the masters. ‹9›

20 THE buildings belonging to the King's College could not be raised for 10,000*l. Sterling*; and if they are deserted, they will sell for no more than the value of the materials; so that removing the seat from thence, will be the sinking or annihilating 8 or 9000*l.* of the common stock; at the same time that this noble pile of building will be turned into a *ruin*.

25 But besides the loss to the common stock, the removing the seat from *Old Aberdeen* will be a real injury to the present incumbents in the King's college, — a thing directly contrary to one of the fundamental articles of the projected union: by which it is provided, that none of the present incumbents shall be in a worse situation than if no union had taken place. — To illustrate this, it is to be observed, *1mo*, That many of  
30 the masters in the King's college have houses. — These houses if they are deserted, cannot be sold at near their real value; and since it appears that the united funds cannot afford to build houses in *New Aberdeen*, the unavoidable consequence of translating the masters thither, is, that they must rent houses, and that at a very high rate, probably not under  
35 *15l. Sterling* for each. *2do*, That many of the masters have *glebes*,\* and the college has a considerable property in lands adjacent to the college, by which the masters are well and easily accommodated, and have many things at cheaper rates than if they had no such adjacent property. Besides, if the seat of the college is removed, these lands must fall in their  
40 yearly ‹10› value, and the common revenue must sink proportionally.

3tio, That there is a very considerable difference in the expence of living in *New Aberdeen* above that of living in *Old Aberdeen*; — a difference of expence that exceeds all the proposed additional salary, even after the union is completed: so that by fixing the seat in *New Aberdeen*, neither masters nor students can be accommodated, and the incumbents in the view of *interest*, instead of being benefited by the union, must be considerable losers. 5

It may be proper in the next place, to attend a little to the consequences of the seat with respect to the article of *education*.

AND from what is before observed, it is obvious that the students cannot live in a *collegiate* way in *New Aberdeen*, because there are neither buildings nor funds for erecting buildings for this purpose. 10

It seems likewise to be universally agreed, that an academical education in the middle of a populous town, growing daily in riches and luxury, cannot be carried on to such advantage, as in a pleasant well situated and retired village; nor is it possible by any discipline that can be established, to fix the minds of those of better rank, so as to make them apply to study, when they are surrounded by public diversions to distract and dissipate their thoughts. — When students are boarded and lodged promiscuously in a populous town, they have numberless temptations, to idleness and debauchery of every kind, both with respect to their principles and <11> their morals. They are exposed to bad company in the streets, in their quarters, and are liable to be corrupted by one another. — They have not only frequent opportunities of being enticed and drawn aside to vice, but they have the means of committing it, without any check or controul: the masters see them in the schools, and this is all that is expected from them, and all they think they have to do. It is not possible for them to know, where their students are, and in what manner they are employed, when dispersed over a great town; nor can the masters be said to be accountable either for their principles or for their morals, when they live in this manner. 15 20 25 30

ADD to this, that when the students are not obliged to live in an *academical* and *collegiate* way, but are allowed to board and lodge where they please, those of the lower rank do naturally chuse the quarters where they can live cheapest; the consequence of which is, that they do board and associate themselves with *hirers*, — *stblers*, — *soldiers*, and the very lowest dregs of the people; and upon inquiry, it will appear, that in the *Marischal* college, where they are allowed to board themselves at large, a very considerable number of their students are lodged and associated in this manner. 35 40

THE students do generally attend colleges in this part of the country from fourteen to nineteen years of age, for languages and philosophy; that is at a period of life, when they are very unfit to be their own masters, and where a very <12> strict discipline is necessary, to form  
5 their minds to virtue and to application, and where the greatest care ought to be taken, to remove from them, as much as possible, every temptation to *idleness and to vice*.

SUCH discipline, it is humbly apprehended, can only be established where the students are educated in a *collegiate* way, and are generally  
10 lodged, either in the college or in the masters houses.

It is then only that masters can be said to be accountable for their students; because, by attending to their business, they may, and they ought to know how their students are employed. — They have access to inspect and visit them at all hours, and may have as many checks upon  
15 them as they please.

AN education carried on in this manner is indeed a very laborious task to the master, when compared with his having nothing to do, but to appear so many hours in school, and to have no further thought nor care. — But when the masters take the charge of youth, they ought to  
20 look after them, and the discipline and order of the university ought to be on such a footing as to oblige them to do their duty.

It seems to be a very wise part of the fundamental constitution of the King's college, that the education should be carried on in this way. "*Unanimes collegialiter in una domo vescantur, atque sub uno tecto dormiant & quiescant, ne deinceps delinquendi occasio, & vagandi & transcurrenti materia concedi videatur.*"\* This <13> *important regulation* had been for many years neglected; and the present masters were so sensible of the ruinous effects of deviating from so useful a part of their constitution, that they have, as the noble *Arbiter* well knows, made it in  
25 a manner the basis of their *reformed plan*, to have all their students under the particular tuition of one or more of the masters, and to lodge and eat with in the college; and from experience, they are now fully satisfied of the good effects of it.\*

THE *memorialists* judge it unnecessary to enlarge any farther on the consequence of the seat, with respect to education in general, they only beg leave to take notice of a popular objection that is generally thrown out by the unthinking part of the inhabitants of the town of *Aberdeen*, viz. That the situation of the *Marischal* college in the middle of their town, has been of great advantage to them, with respect to  
30 the education of their children, and that the removing the seat of the united  
35  
40

college to *Old Aberdeen*, will be a very great loss and inconveniency to them.

BUT the *memorialists* must beg leave to consider education as a *public good*, and to think, that as such, it ought to be put on the best footing, without the least regard to so trifling an inconveniency, if it really can be called an inconveniency, to so small a number of individuals. 5

BUT instead of being a loss to the town of *Aberdeen*, a very little reflexion will show, that it will prove a real advantage to its inhabitants, <14> that the college be removed a little out of their sight, because, it will probably lead them to save a good deal of their *own* money and *their childrens* time, which are misspent and misapplied, by the absurd practice of giving boys, that are intended for business, a little smattering of *Latin* and *Greek*. 10

It is well known, that for many years past, it has been the practice of the inhabitants of *Aberdeen* to put their children very early to school, in so much, that they generally come from it about 11 or 12 years of age. They do not think them fit at that age to be put to business, and to be bound as apprentices, and their common way of disposing of them, has been to put them either two years to the *Greek* class, or one year to the *Greek*, and another to the *logic* class. That this has been the common practice will appear from the *albums* of the *Marischal* college; from which it will be seen, what numbers of their children do enter the college, and how few of them pass thro' a regular course. 15

As these boys are generally so very young, and have it not in their view to study letters, so as to be of use to them, it is easy to see that such an education, instead of being any real benefit to them, is only losing so much of the best part of their life, which might be much better employed, in preparing them for business, and at the same time exposes them to habits of *idleness*, which are not easily shaken off. — For, when boys are sent to college, without <15> the least intention to follow out their education, it can never be expected that they will apply themselves heartily to study. Besides, — their idleness and bad example naturally infect others who incline to mind their business, and the *Professor* has the disagreeable task of labouring to teach them what he knows they must and will very soon forget; and what they can never make any real use of in life. 20 25 30 35

It is needless for the *memorialists* to suggest to your Lordship the *absurdity* of such an education, or to adduce arguments to prove, that it will be doing a very considerable service, not only to education in general, but to the town of *Aberdeen* in particular, if by removing the 40

seat of the college, a little out of the sight of the inhabitants of *Aberdeen*, this misapplication of money and time may be some measure prevented, and the *professors*, instead of spending their time in teaching these children and keeping them out of harm's way, (till they grow older and wiser, and become fit for business) may be enabled to employ their labours more suitably in teaching such as are really designed for learning and learned professions.

THE *memorialists* are sorry, that they have been obliged to inroach so far upon your Lordship's patience: they have endeavoured as shortly as they can, to state the consequences of an union, so far as they respect the seat, upon the only principles on which they think an union ought to be projected; and from what they have suggested, they hope it will appear, that <16> the fixing the seat of the united college in *Old Aberdeen*, is the only scheme that can promote the *interests* of all concerned, — the *interest* of the masters, — of the students, — of the education, — and of the town of *Aberdeen*.

AND on the other hand, that the fixing the seat in *New Aberdeen* must be greatly *detrimental*, — to the common revenue, — to the interest of the incumbents, — and to the discipline and order of the university, without which the education can be of no account, — and must be attended with the very unreasonable and ridiculous consequence of laying waste and rendering useless the only building in *Scotland* that is properly fitted up for academical education. — And all this for no other reason, but to save the children of the inhabitants of *Aberdeen* from taking the healthful exercise of a short walk, for about fifteen minutes, from their houses to the schools. — For it is not above fifteen minutes of moderate walking from the King's college to the middle of the town of *Aberdeen*.

THE *memorialists* have nothing in their view, but the interest of education considered as a *public good*, and as a thing designed, not for this or that particular spot, but for the North of *Scotland* and the country in general. — And it is their sincere intention, to have the discipline and education of this university put upon the best footing that the funds and the revenues will permit, so as not to injure any party concerned. <17>

IN this view, they do most cheerfully submit their *interests* unto your Lordship's *arbitration*, in full confidence, of your just taste and thorough understanding, — of your sincere and disinterested attachment to the public good, and of your uncommon candour and integrity to determine what is right, — and they have appointed two of their number to present this *Memorial* to your Lordship, in name of the college; who

will endeavour to answer any questions that your Lordship may see proper to put to them, for any further information, that you may see necessary in this affair.\*

*MEMORIAL from the Masters of the Marischal College,  
to the Right Honourable JAMES, Earl of Findlater and Seafield.* 5

THE Principal and masters of the *Marischal* college judge it to be of great consequence, that in a matter of such importance to learning, as the union of the King's and *Marischal* colleges, every thing should be adjusted in the best manner, they must therefore beg leave to suggest the reasons, which appear to them to have great weight, for determining the seat of the united college to *Aberdeen*. 10

A great number of students in the *Marischal* college, are the children of the inhabitants of *Aberdeen*, who would not attend it, if it were removed to *Old Aberdeen*, and the loss of them would be a great detriment to the united college. <18> 15

MOST of the gentlemen of the North of *Scotland*, having some friends and connexions in the town of *Aberdeen*, who can supply lodging for their sons, and in whom they can confide for inspecting their morals and application, they are determined often by the views of this advantage to give their sons university education, and to send them to this college. 20  
Gentlemen want when they send their sons to the university, that they should receive many parts of genteel education not given there, for which *Aberdeen* supplies the proper masters.\* In it, they have likewise the opportunity of conversation, and of seeing company, and by acquaintance with persons in every way of business, of being prepared in 25  
some manner for any employment they shall chuse; at the same time, they are not exposed to more avocations from study, or temptations to vice than if they were lodged in *Old Aberdeen*, its vicinity putting it in their power to be in *Aberdeen* as often as they please, and even tempting them to waste more time than if they lived in it. If on the other hand, the seat were fixed to *Old Aberdeen*, not only must the foregoing advantages be lost, and the inconveniencies opposite to them incurred; but further, *Aberdeen* being a rich and populous place, private *Academies* will certainly be set up there, as the inhabitants will never submit to put their children from under their own inspection, by boarding them at 30  
the distance of a mile, or to hazard their health by allowing them to walk over at early <19> hours in all kinds of weather in winter. In that 35



case, the disaffected party will, with their usual activity, fondly seize so favourable an opportunity of obtaining teachers of their own principles, by whom youth will run a great risque of being corrupted.\* As *Old Aberdeen* is an inconsiderable village, which affords no accommodation for the students, it would be necessary, in the event of an union, to lodge all the students in the college, and on account of their increased numbers to put severals of them into the same room, by which means they run a great risque of being corrupted in their morals, and interrupted in their studies, notwithstanding all the care the masters could take, it being found by universal experience, that youth never are in such hazard of contracting habits of idleness and vice, as when they have opportunities of herding together unobserved. If the seat were fixed to *Old Aberdeen*, the present buildings of the King's college, tho' much larger than those of the *Marischal* college, would not be sufficient, as it would be necessary to accommodate all the students with lodging in them; whereas if the seat is fixed in *Aberdeen*, there being no such necessity, the present buildings of the *Marischal* college will be sufficient, and in them all the public and teaching rooms are as good, some of them much better and more convenient than in the other college. And the buildings in the King's college could probably be disposed of to more advantage to the public funds of the university than those of <20> the *Marischal* college. Upon the whole, we are fully persuaded that the advantage proposed to be obtained by the union, would be in a great measure disappointed, unless the seat of the college be fixed to *Aberdeen*.

25 November, 1754.\*

*MEMORIAL for the Right Honourable the Earl of FINDLATER, from the Magistrates and Council of Aberdeen, concerning the Union of the two Colleges of Aberdeen, laid before his Lordship as sole Arbiter, for determining the Points underwritten.*

30 **A**NNO 1747, the principals, professors and masters of the two colleges proposed a scheme at that time for an union,\* but the then magistrates, council and principal inhabitants taking the affair under their consideration, resolved, to oppose any union, unless it should be previously stipulate and agreed upon, that the seat of the united college should be within the burgh of *Aberdeen*, which the Principal and masters of the King's college not agreeing to, the scheme was therefore laid  
35 aside: however, the then magistrates and council caused enter into



their records the memorial and reasons underwritten, in order that their successors in office might see the opinion they had of the affair, whereof the tenor follows, viz.

IN the time of popery, long before the reformation, when the Bishop's see was in the city of *Old Aberdeen*, beside the cathedral <21> church thereof, and all the *Canons* and *Prebends* were situate in their manses round the cathedral, they had there a *studium generale*,\* particularly a college of *Theology*; but in the year 1494, bishop *William Elphinston* founded a regular *College* and *University*, such as those in *Bononia*\* and *Paris*, and endued the same with land-rents and ample privileges and immunities, and he and his successors, bishops of *Aberdeen*, were still to be *Chancellors* of the university; but the Principal and professors had, and still have the power of chusing their own successors, and filling up vacancies as they happen, except the Professor of divinity, who is put in by the synod of *Aberdeen* and the college; and the Professor of oriental languages, who is presented by the King.\*

THERE was in the royal burgh of *Aberdeen* in the time of popery several orders of churchmen, as the *Grayfriars*, *Blackfriars*, *Whitefriars*, and *Trinityfriars*; and after the reformation, the town of *Aberdeen* obtained a right to the place, mansion-houses, church-gardens, &c. which was possessed by the *Grayfriars* not only by a grant from the crown, but also by purchasing in several claims and titles which private persons had thereon, which cost the town a good deal of money, as appears by their ancient records, and so they obtained full possession of the same, and uplifted the rents forth of houses and gardens for several years, and applied the same for subsisting poor persons in the town's hospital, until the year 1593, when <22> the Earl of *Marischal* set a project on foot, of founding and erecting a regular *College* within the burgh of *Aberdeen*, and endowing the same with the rents of several lands, particularly those which belonged to the *Black* and *Whitefriars* of the said burgh, whereof he had obtained a grant from King *James VI*.\*

BUT the mansion-houses of the *Grayfriars* were thought to be the most proper place for a seat to the college; and as that was the possession and property of the town of *Aberdeen*, the Earl applied to the then magistrates and council, to see if they would encourage so good an undertaking for the benefit of their town, and make a donation of the *Grayfriars* manses and gardens for a seat to the college, being in the centre of the town.

ACCORDINGLY, the town-council upon the 24th *September* 1593, agreed to resign the said *Grayfriars* place, mansion-houses, kirk and

yard, in favours of the Earl of *Marischal*, to be given by him the said Earl, to be a college, according to the *institution* and *erection* thereof. “The said Earl making the living, rents, revenues and annualrents promised and granted by him as before to the said college, to remain therewith, annexed thereto, according to the *foundation* and *institution*,  
5 and the said college noways to be translated furth of this burgh to any other place; and the premises being performed by the said Earl, the foresaid resignation of the said place to be made in the said Earl’s favours, and no otherwise.”\* <23>

10 THIS act was not unanimous, some of the members of council dissented, and contended that the Town should only make the donation directly in favours of the masters and members of the college, to be holden in all time thereafter of the town-council as *immediate superiors* thereof. However, as the majority was for resigning in favours of the  
15 Earl of *Marischal*, he made an ample foundation and erection of a college, called in all time thereafter, *The Marischal college of Aberdeen*, and the Earl to be undoubted patron thereof.

AFTER the erection of the college, several donations and mortifications were made by private persons to bursars of philosophy at the  
20 said *Marischal* college, and the Provost, baillies and council, were made perpetual patrons of the said bursaries, being about 33 in number, whereof the patronage and management of the monies destinate for that purpose, remains with the magistrates and town-council to this day.\*

25 THEREAFTER donations were made for a Professor of *divinity* in the said college, of whom the Provost, baillies and council had, and still have the nomination and presentation.\* *Anno* 1613, a Professor of *mathematics* was established in the said college by Dr. *Duncan Liddel*, and the Provost, baillies and council got the nomination and presentation of that Professor perpetually in all time thereafter, and the money was  
30 lodged in the town’s hands for paying the salary.\* <24>

AFTERWARDS Mr. *Thomas Reid* Secretary in the *Latin* tongue to King *James VI.* made a foundation for a Bibliothecar in the said college, and gave his books to the town-council of *Aberdeen*, to be deposited by them in the library of the said college; and he likewise gave the council a sum  
35 of money for a salary to a Bibliothecar.\* All these things being joined together, gave the town-council a very great interest and concern in the said *Marischal* college; an evidence whereof, the Provost and baillies upon the last day of December 1619 assisted personally at a visitation of the said college, by *Patrick* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Chancellor, Mr. *Patrick Dun* doctor of medicine, Rector, and Mr. *William Forbes*, doctor  
40

of divinity, Dean of faculty\*, whereat an ordinance was made, that the college-fees payable by the students to the regents, should be conform as they were appointed at a visitation in the King's college, viz. Twenty merks\* for the sons of noblemen and barons, ten pound for the sons of other gentlemen, and the bursars and poor scholars to be taught *gratis*. 5

THERE are many other acts and deeds upon record, showing that the Provost, baillies and council of *Aberdeen* have a great interest in the college; but the foresaid resignation of the *Grayfriars* manses is sufficient to show that the college can never be removed from the town of *Aberdeen*; and by the articles of *union*, it is appointed that colleges and universities should remain in all time coming as they then were. <25> 10

THERE is a project set on foot by the *principals*, *professors* and *masters* of the two colleges for uniting the King's and *Marischal* colleges into one, of purpose to augment their own salaries, and to turn two into one of the smallest bursaries; but as this would occasion great confusion among the several patrons about the presentation of the principals, professors, masters and whole bursaries, so it would invert the intention of the several mortifiers, and discourage mortifications of that kind in time coming; and therefore, the magistrates, council, and principal inhabitants of the royal burgh of *Aberdeen*, have resolved to oppose any such union of the two colleges, unless they made absolutely certain that the seat shall be in this town, for the reasons following, viz. 15

1mo, BY the foresaid resignation made by the town of *Aberdeen* of the *Grayfriars* manses and houses, &c. for being the seat of the *Marischal* college, it is expressly stipulate, that the college shall remain there *for ever*; and it is upon that condition the resignation was made. 20

2do, IT would be an innovation of the several deeds of mortification made for the professors of *divinity* and *mathematics*, also of the 33 bursaries, of all which the *Provost*, *baillies* and *council* are perpetual *patrons*, and have the management of the funds appointed for that purpose, and likewise of the funds for the *Bibliothecar*; and this would be contrary to the 6th act, 1st parl. King *Charles* I. anent pious donations.\* <26> 30

3tio, THE Professor of *divinity* of the *Marischal* college always supplies the place of one of the Town's ministers, which probably would not be done if there were an union of the colleges, and this would be an evident loss to the town. 35

4to, THE Crown has been in use of presenting one of the Town's ministers to be *Principal* of the *Marischal* college, which is a great 40

encouragement for a man of learning to accept the office of the ministry in the burgh of *Aberdeen*.

5           5to, THE town of *Aberdeen* looks upon it as a considerable addition to it *Lustre* and *Dignity*, to have an university situate in the heart of the town, where the Provost, baillies and council have such a great interest and concern, and where the inhabitants children can be taught under the inspection of their parents at a very small expence.

10           As the present magistrates and council found the foregoing memorial and reasons upon record, being the sentiments of their predecessors,\* they thought fit to lay the same before the Earl of FINDLATER, sole *Arbiter* in the submission 'twixt the Town and the colleges, with respect to the seat of the intended united university and the professions, whereof the Town are patrons; and the *present magistrates* and *council* beg leave to represent to the noble *Arbiter*,  
15           that they are of the same sentiments with their predecessors, and that his Lordship will be pleased to look upon the foregoing memorial and <27> reasons in that light, as being the sentiments both of the *former* and *present* magistrates and council, with this farther addition from the present magistrates.

20           1mo, THAT the town of *Aberdeen* is a more fit place in all respects than the *Old Town*, for the seat of the united university, because there are several other points of education to be had in *Aberdeen*, (and not in the *Old Town*) which young gentlemen incline to learn at the same time, along with their college education; and it is the desire as well as  
25           the inclination of their parents that it should be so, being of opinion, that it saves both time and money, that their sons learn as many different branches of education during the time they are at the college as possibly they can. It is notourly known, that several young gentlemen at the *Old Town* college come over daily to *Aberdeen*, in order to receive other  
30           branches of education.

          2do, PERHAPS it may be alleged, that in the town of *Aberdeen* there are too many avocations to the young gentlemen from their studies: to which it is answered, that the *Old Town* students come very frequently over to *Aberdeen* for their diversion, amusement, and curiosity; so that  
35           the avocations from the *Old Town* college are rather more than those from the other: and without any design to give offence, it is found by experience, that young gentlemen profit as much in their studies at the *Marischal* college as at the other. <28>

40           3tio, THE inhabitants of *Aberdeen* are so anxious about having the seat in the town of *Aberdeen*, that if it were to be otherwise, they would

be provoked to set up private *Academies* for the conveniency of their children's education; and there is too great reason to fear such would be greatly disaffected to our happy establishment both in church and state, and so debauch the minds and morals of the youth, and mislead them in their principles of religion and government; which would be of most fatal consequence to the town of *Aberdeen*, and to the North of *Scotland* in general, and which every one that loves his country and the present happy establishment, should endeavour by all means to prevent as far as possible.\* 5

NEXT, as to the professions of divinity and mathematics, the town of *Aberdeen* have a particular interest in them: for in the year 1617, or about that time, Mr. *Patrick Copland* mortified 6000 merks to the town of *Aberdeen* for founding a profession of divinity in the *Marischal* college, and appointed the Provost, baillies and council to be perpetual patrons of his mortification, recommending they should always make choice of a learned *Theologue* and *Linguist*, and a resident in the college, at least in the town of *Aberdeen*; and he was so anxious they should never be disappointed of that patronage, that he added a clause, bearing, "That in case the Earl of *Marischal*, or his heirs, should at any time thereafter found a profession of divinity in the said *Marischal* college, <29> without the advice and consent of the Provost, baillies and council of the said burgh for the time, in that case he ordained, that the Divine who should be input without the advice of the Provost, baillies and council, should have no benefit of his mortification, but that the council should have full and absolute power to bestow and distribute the annualrent thereof to the use of the hospital of the said burgh, and the poor therein, or else to the use of four poor scholars at the said college, as the council should see most expedient, ay and while a *Theologue* be placed in the said college with their consent, secluding thereby the Earl of *Marischal*, his heirs and successors from meddling therewith; and the Provost, baillies and council, to have the absolute right of patronage, and the annualrent to be employed by them as above, and none others, as they will answer to GOD."\*\* 10 15 20 25 30

ANNO 1621 *David Chamberlain* mortified to the same divinity profession 1000 merks, which was delivered to the council of *Aberdeen*.\* 35

So that in terms of these mortifications, when a Professor of divinity of the united college happens to be settled, or presented any other way than by the said Provost, baillies and council, then and in that case, the annualrent of the said 7000 merks must be employed for the use of the hospital of the said burgh, and the poor that shall be therein, or else to 40

the <30> use of four poor scholars, as the council shall see expedient; and therefore in case of an union, the magistrates and council of *Aberdeen* beg leave to insist, that when it is not their tour\* to present a Professor of divinity, they may be at liberty to employ the annualrent of the said 7000  
5 merks in terms of the mortification, ay and until it happen to be their vice\* of presentation. And whereas, it has been the practice for these many years past for the town of *Aberdeen* to employ their Professor of divinity to preach in the town churches once every *Sunday*, but he has no parochial charge, for which they made him up equal with the rest  
10 of the ministers, that is to say, the *Treasurer* made up as much as the annualrent of the foresaid 7000 merks extended to 1000*l. Scots* yearly of money stipend, and a chaldron\* of coals, which has been the ordinary stipend paid to each of the four ministers for these hundred years past.

Now, if the union shall take place, the noble *Arbiter* will be pleased  
15 to *find* that the town of *Aberdeen* will noways be liable for anything else to the Professor of divinity, but for the annualrent of the said 7000 merks, and that only when their tour of presentation happens; and when they do not present, that the said annualrent shall be applied in terms of the mortification. For in all probability, the town must seek for a  
20 fourth minister and pay him a stipend, unless the Professor of divinity of the united college will take his tour of preaching as any of the town's ministers, in which case, <31> the magistrates and council will give the Professor of divinity the annualrent of the foresaid mortification.

NEXT, as to the Professor of mathematics, Mr. *Duncan Liddel* doctor  
25 of medicine mortified 6000 merks for maintenance of a Professor of mathematics in the college of *New Aberdeen*; and the town-council still presents that Professor, and pays yearly to the present Professor of mathematics the sum of 504*l. Scots*, as the produce of the said mortification. And whereas, there is no Professor of mathematics in the King's  
30 college, nor fund for one, whereby, in case of an union, the Professor of mathematics of the *Marischal* college must be the only person serving in that profession, therefore it must necessary follow of course that the right of presentation of the Professor of mathematics shall still remain with the magistrates and council of *Aberdeen* in all time coming; and  
35 they beg leave to insist, that the noble *Arbiter* may determine so in their favours.

LASTLY, as the town-council have a right in the Bibliothecar of the  
*Marischal* college, and pay him his salary, and have always been in  
40 use by virtue of Secretary *Thomas Reid's* mortification, to deliver off to every new presented Librarian the whole books in the library, and to

take his obligation to make the same furthcoming, so the town-council hope the noble *Arbiter* will reserve for their right, and title and power over the Librarian and Bibliothecar as formerly; but they do not claim the right of presentation of <32> the Bibliothecar as it is in the Principal and regents of the *Marischal* college, and the masters of the grammar school. The town of *Aberdeen* pay yearly to the said Bibliothecar 170*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* *Scots* of salary. 5

BUT as to the patronage of the Professor of mathematics, the town-council insists thereon, as there is none of that profession in the King's college; and whereas they have a Professor of civil law and a salary for him, but none of that profession in the *Marischal* college, therefore the King's college insist for the sole presentation of the Professor of law, and consequently, the town-council of *Aberdeen* have equal title to insist for the sole presentation of a Professor of mathematics. 10

WHEN application is made to parliament, it will be proper to ingross an article, that the Principal of the united college shall still be an *actual minister of the established church*, as it is still to be supposed he will be well affected to the constitution; and as he will have no particular profession to execute, perhaps the Town may get an *easy agreement* with him to preach in one of the churches. <33> 15 20

*COPY of a Letter from the Principal and  
Masters of the King's College,  
to the Right Honourable the Earl of FINDLATER.*

My LORD,

THE masters and members of the university and King's college being convened, to receive the report of the deputies sent to wait on your Lordship, and understanding that by your Lordship's *plan*,<sup>†</sup> it was proposed to fix the seat of the united college in the town of *Aberdeen*, we are unanimously of opinion, that this scheme would prove highly inconvenient to all parties, — detrimental to education, — destructive of our peace, — and hurtful to our revenue, and all our secular interests. 25 30

<sup>†</sup> In the letter which his Lordship did the College the honour to write in return to this, he was pleased to acquaint them, that he had not then formed any *plan*; and that they might be very well assured he would do nothing rashly in that matter. The College in their return, acknowledged their mistake, and pointed out what led them into it. 35



OUR *plan of discipline*,<sup>†</sup> (the same *plan* in which we are so happy as to meet with your approbation) will, we presume, soon discover <34> its salutary influence upon the *manners, learning, loyalty* and *religion* of our country: yet this plan we must intirely give up in the event of the  
 5 proposed union, it being impossible to pursue it in the midst of a city crouded with people, of so many different characters, with places of religious worship of so many denominations, the residence of a nonjuring Bishop, and other nonjuring and popish clergy; full of amusements and avocations of so many kinds, and abounding with so many temptations  
 10 to vice and disloyalty.

OUR revenues, which by the measures pursued are greatly improved, must also suffer extremely if that proposed union should take place, by the ruin of our convenient buildings, — the many law-suits in which we should very probably be involved with the town of *Aberdeen*, in defence  
 15 of our just rights and privileges; the want of glebes, gardens, and other accom<35>modations, with the different expence of living, and other disadvantages too many to mention.

UNDER all these disadvantages, your Lordship will please to consider how highly distressing it would prove to this society, should we be laid  
 20 under the hard necessity of petitioning his *Majesty*, our *Chancellor*, for his consent to a thing, which in our consciences we are convinced in its consequences, is hurtful to our *education*, destructive of our *common*

<sup>†</sup> By the *plan of discipline* now established in the *King's college*, the *students* are all obliged to lodge and eat within the college, or in the masters houses, or to have a *licence*  
 25 from the *Principal* or *Subprincipal* for boarding elsewhere.\* By this means they are under the immediate inspection of the *masters* at all hours, and may be called upon and visited by them as often as they please. In the common course of our discipline, every *student* appears in his master's presence at least *nine times* every day, — in the schools, — at their meals, — and in their rooms, — from six in the morning till ten at night; — and their  
 30 fires and lights are extinguished by eleven.

ALONG with their *academical* course, they have the opportunity of being instructed in other parts of education, which are not commonly reckoned *academical*, but in such manner, as the whole is carried on by the direction of the *masters* of the *college*, who provide *Teachers* to attend at stated hours, such as incline and have leisure to learn *Music*,  
 35 *Dancing*, *French*, *English*, &c.\*

THE consequence of this *discipline* is, that it has banished from our society such as were inclined to *idleness* or *vice*, so that we have, at present, perhaps the most regular and diligent set of *students* within the kingdom

THIS is but the second year of this *plan of discipline*, and the good effects of it have so far exceeded the expectations of the *masters*, that they would not, upon any consideration, give it up. — When the present set of *students* have finished their course, their parents, and others concerned in their education, will be best able to judge of it.

*revenues and privileges*; which by a very solemn oath tendered to us at our admission, we are bound to maintain.\*

As we have good ground to believe, that the town of *Aberdeen* is determined to give all the opposition in their power, if the seat is not fixed there,† we must think it very hard, if we, <36> who have a much greater interest than any other party concerned, should be obliged tamely to sacrifice our property and privileges to accommodate them. 5

In the present disposition of the parties, we apprehend that an attempt to procure an act of union would be attended with very bad effects; because in all appearance which-ever way the seat is determined, before an act of parliament can pass, things will come to an open breach betwixt the parties, and instead of union, we should have nothing but disorder and distraction. — In this situation of things, we are humbly of opinion, that it will be highly improper to push this affair any further at present, unless the parties concerned shall come nearer, and understand one another better. 10 15

TIME and some future incident may produce this desirable event. Till then, (*as it cannot injure the interest of any party concerned*) we beg leave to expect from your Lordship's penetration, candor and humanity, that at least we shall be permitted to pursue the ends of our office in the best manner, and to observe that order and discipline, as a separate society; which we can have no prospect of maintaining, in the event of such an union as is now proposed. <37> 20

† Page 20. Mem. Town of *Aberdeen*. "Anno 1747, the magistrates, council, and principal inhabitants, resolved to oppose any union, *unless it should be previously stipulate and agreed upon, that the seat of the united college should be within the burgh of Aberdeen.*" And p. 25. "The magistrates, council, and principal inhabitants of the royal burgh of *Aberdeen*, have resolved to oppose any such union of the two colleges, *unless they are made absolutely certain that the seat shall be in this town.*" And, p. 26. 27. "The present magistrates and council, beg leave to represent to the noble *Arbiter*, *that they are of the same sentiments with their Predecessors: and that his Lordship will be pleased to look upon the foregoing memorial and reasons in that light, as being the sentiments both of the former and present magistrates, and council.*"\* 25 30

THESE paragraphs in the Town's memorial, are placed at such a distance from one another, that we did not at first attend to the *connexion* of them. But upon reading it over more carefully, we saw that they contain a plain *retraction* of the *submission*; and as we were advised, that no act of union would pass unless all parties were agreed, we determined to give up all thoughts of pushing it further, and found ourselves under a necessity of informing his Lordship of the unequal footing we were upon — If the *seat* is given against us, we are concluded. — If it is given for us, the town of *Aberdeen* are determined to oppose us and render an attempt of union abortive, *i.e.* they leave us only the very unequal chance of venturing *All* against *Nothing*. 35 40

WE are extremely sorry for the trouble we have given your Lordship on this occasion, and heartily beg pardon.

WE wish your Lordship and noble family, all prosperity, and that you may long live an ornament of your native country, and a friend to religion, liberty and learning; and with high esteem and respect, we have the honour to continue

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

most obedient and faithful

humble Servants,

December 3d 1754.

(Signed by all the members.)\* <38>

*As several of our correspondents are desirous of knowing the articles of union agreed upon between the two Colleges; it was at first proposed to have subjoined them: but considering the length of the above memorials, we hope they will be satisfied with the following abstract; which will sufficiently point out the general principles upon which we proceeded.*

THE general heads proposed in the *Articles of Union*, were, 1mo. To endue\* as many *professors* as the funds will admit 2do. To adjust the interests of the present Incumbents so as to bring the *Scheme*, as far as it respects the *Education*, immediately into *Execution* and, 3tio. To adjust the interest of the several *Patrons*.

As to the 1st head, upon inquiring into the state of the funds, it appeared that they could endow only *eleven professors*.\* And therefore it was agreed, 1mo. That the united College should consist of a *Principal* and *Professor of Divinity*, of *Law*, *Medicine*, *Mathematics*, *Greek*, *Humanity*, *Oriental Languages*, and three *professors of Philosophy*. 2do. That each of the *professors* should at last have only an addition of 30*l. Sterling per Annum* to his present *salary*. 3tio. That upon the death of any of the present Incumbents, his salary should fall in to the common stock and be divided equally among the survivors, till such time as each should have the proposed addition of 30*l. Sterling*. <39>

As to the 2d. head; it was agreed, that where there were two sets of *professors* opposed to one another, they should either adjust matters betwixt themselves, so as that one of them should give up teaching; or if this could not be done, that they should teach for a year by turns, the

senior member having his choice of the Vice\*; and that the *principals* should officiate in like manner.

*3tio.* As to the interests of the several *Patrons*, that where there are two *Patrons* to one *Profession*, they shall present by turns.

## IV

2/II/1, IV Question⟨.⟩ How far it is allowable to principle Children with Opinions before they are capable of a Rational Enquiry into them.\*

5 Since Opinions have so great an Influence upon the Temper and Manners of Children it seems agreable to Nature to lead them to right Conduct & thereby form good Habits by all Means that have a Natural Tendency that Way. The first principle they discover that resembles Virtue is a sense of Honour and Esteem. which may be cultivate⟨d⟩ by  
10 Opinion that tends to subdue their Natural love of Pleasure and Aversion of Pain that tends to give them self command to fire their Minds with the love of Honour & Vertue to inspire Courage to cherish humanity and Compassion to check ill thoughts Envy Malice and every evil Affection. Every good Man I think would wish his Children to be principled in this  
15 Manner.\*

They will soon acquire practical Principles of one kind or another. To imagine that Children can grow up to years of Understanding without a System of Practical Principles which they have either received from Instructors copied from Companions or been led into by their own  
20 passions and Tempers, is I think a vain Imagination⟨.⟩ It is the Condition of human Nature that we must be carried in Arms till we can walk.\* And it is no less so that we must be guided by Authority both in our Opinions and Actions till we can guide our selves. The Principles of Credulity and Imitation are leading Strings given us by Nature for this Purpose.\*  
25 And right Education consists not in keeping the Mind free from all Opinions till it can give a Reason for them for that is impossible, Nor in leaving it to itself, for that would be to give it up to all the Absurdities that its fears and passions would instill, but to communicate to it such Opinions as may have the most Salutory Influence both for cherishing  
30 good Affections promoting good habits and for assisting the intellectual Powers in their growth and bringing them to perfection.

What hath been said with regard to Children will hold equally with regard to grown people whose Understandings are so weak by Nature or have been so little Cultivated as that they are under a Necessity of  
35 Receiving their Opinions in a great Measure Upon Authority. which is probably the case for the greater part of Mankind

# Part Two: Philosophical Orations

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KINGS/8/1/  
1/1753, 1r

## I

Oratio habita in Auditorio publico Collegij  
Regij Abredonensis 9 April 1753.

Auditores

- 5 [1] Consilium mihi est pauca, debita cum  
verecundia, Iudicio vestro permittere de Legibus  
Philosophandi. Et cum hæc sit Materia a Philosophis  
plerumque intacta, vel lævi manu perstricta eo magis  
Auditorum Doctorum Candorem & Indulgentiam  
10 exposcere æquum est, avia loca, nullius fere trita solo  
peragranti.
- [2] In omni Arte, et in omni quidem Opere consilio et  
Ratione in certum finem destinato, necesse est ut sint Leges  
Artis, Leges Operis ex ipsius Natura & Fine petitæ, quas ultra  
15 citrave rectum verum & utile in illa Arte vel opere nequit  
Consistere. Ita esse in Artibus & Operationibus mechanicis  
Vulgo notum est. Idem obtinere in Artibus Elegantioribus  
Pingendi Cælandi, in Architectura Statuaria Musica  
consentiunt harum Artium periti. Rhetoricæ Compositionis  
et Pronunciationis Leges tradiderunt Rhetores. Artis  
20 Imperatoriæ & Administrationis Politicæ Leges plurimi  
magni Nominis Authores. Et quamvis Poesis divinum  
Afflatum præ se ferat, nihilominus hanc ipsam Legibus  
constringere et divino furore percitis Cancellos opponere  
ausus fuit olim Stagirita & post eum alij cum magno tum  
25 Poetarum tum Philosophorum plausu.
- [3] Imo Summus Poeta omnium Artifex atque Rector  
Omnipotens dum Rerum primordia conderet ipse  
sibi Leges dixit Sapientiæ & Bonitati suæ congruas;  
& Mundum tum Materialem tum Rationalem regere  
30 perstat Legibus Sapientissimis et Benignissimis quarum  
Investigatio Philosophiæ precipua & Nobilissima pars est.
- [4] Cum hæc ita sint minime dubitandum est, Artis  
Philosophandi, quæ maxime omnium Rationem ducem  
proficitur & finem Nobilissimam spectat, non minus  
35 quam aliarum Artium Leges esse ex ipsius Natura & Fine  
petitas; Ad quarum Normam quod ritè fit in Philosophia  
fieri debet; Et quarum ope Iudicium ferre possimus,  
inter tot & tam Dissimilia Philosophantium Systemata



## I

Oration delivered in the public auditorium of  
King's College, Aberdeen, 9 April, 1753\*

My friends,

[1] My aim, about which I am duly diffident, is to place before you for  
your judgement some points regarding the rules for doing philosophy. 5

And since this is a topic that philosophers for the most part either  
leave untouched or consider only briefly, it is all the more reasonable  
for someone passing alone through trackless areas in which almost no  
one has walked, to beseech the openness and indulgence of his learned  
audience. 10

[2] In every art, and indeed in every activity chosen intentionally and  
reasonably for a certain end, there must be laws of the art, laws of the  
activity, laws sought in light of the nature and end of the art or activity.

When an exercise of an art or activity exceeds or falls short of its laws  
then there can be no right, truth or benefit in the art or activity.\* It is well  
known that this is how things are in the mechanical arts and operations. 15

Those accomplished in the more elegant arts of painting, engraving,  
architecture, sculpture and music agree that that is how things are in  
these arts. Rhetoricians have bequeathed laws of rhetorical composition  
and pronunciation. A great many renowned men are authorities on the 20

laws of the art of command and of political administration. And though  
poetry reveals divine inspiration, Aristotle nevertheless once dared to  
delimit even poetry with laws and to put obstacles in the way of those  
stirred to divine passion,\* and others did this after him to the great  
applause of poets and philosophers. 25

[3] Indeed, while the greatest poet, author of all things and omnipotent  
governor,\* was founding the beginnings of everything, he declared  
laws for himself concordant with his wisdom and goodness, and he still  
rules both the material and the rational world with the wisest and most  
generous laws the investigation of which is the chief and most noble 30

part of philosophy.

[4] Since this is the way things are, it should not be at all in doubt that,  
as regards the art of philosophising, which most of all among the arts  
declares reason its guide and looks towards the most noble end, no less  
than as regards all the other arts it has laws which are sought from its 35

very nature and end.\* It is in accordance with these laws as a standard  
that what ought to happen in philosophy customarily does happen, and  
with the help of these laws we can pass judgement, among so many and

& Philosophandi Rationes quid legitime & secundum  
 Artem sit præstitum, quid Secus. Certe nullomodo fieri  
 [1v] potest Philosophiam cujus munus est | tum aliarum  
 Artium tum Naturæ ipsius leges patefacere esse ipsam  
 5 Solutam Vagam & Exlegem<.>  
 [5] Et quidem mirari subit cum cæterarum Artium  
 plerarumque Leges sint communi Consensu Stabilitæ.  
 Nihil fere hujusmodi in Philosophia præstitum esse.  
 Exinde conjicere proclivi est Philosophiam a tot & tantis  
 10 Viris per tam multa Secula perpolitam, vix adhuc Infantia  
 aut pueritiæ saltem Statum excessisse, nec justam Artis  
 mensuram & Proportionis nactam esse. Nam observare  
 licet Artes non Legibus earundem Ortum debere sed  
 e contra Leges ex Artis progressu & provectori Statu  
 15 provenire. Omnes enim Artes ex parvis Initijs paulatim  
 crescere solent donec tandem incrementa haud Spemenda  
 Nactæ, Viri præstanti ingenio, Naturâ et fælici Indole  
 ducibus, Opera Artis egregia et legitima sine Lege  
 præstitere. Et tandem alij ex operibus Artis optimis &  
 20 probatissimis Leges ejusdem patefecere; Quibus Legibus  
 constitutis vera et Legittima opera a Spurijs facile  
 dignoscuntur. Exinde itaque ut jam dictum est Conjectura  
 haud levis capitur Philosophiæ Statum non esse adeo  
 provectorum, quum de Legibus Philosophandi haud  
 25 convenit.  
 [6] Fateor equidem libenter Mathematicam (sive eam  
 Philosophiæ partem sive fidum ejus Comitem & Consiliarium  
 dixeris) hac labe immunem esse Consentiant quippe Mathematici  
 de Legibus Artis suæ. Rejiciunt nempe & damnant tanquam  
 30 Illegitimam omnem Theorematis Demonstrationem quæ  
 propositionibus hactenus demonstratis, aut Axiomatibus seu  
 Communibus Notionibus ab ipsis positis non innitur. Rejiciunt  
 etiam omnem Problematis Solutionem quæ ex Datis vel  
 Postulatis non Confititur. Mathesin itaque paucis hisce Legibus  
 35 innixam ab Antiquis legitime excultam, et a Recentioribus  
 presertim a Celiberrimo Newtono Incrementa humano Ingenio  
 Digna recepisse et fructus uberrimos tulisse agnoscimus.  
 [7] Philosophiam vero quod attinet eam a priscis Seculis  
 in varias Scholas et Hæreses scissam invenimus, quarum  
 40 unaquæque diversam habet philosophandi rationem

such dissimilar systems of philosophers and concepts of philosophising, about what has been legitimately proved according to the art and what has not. Certainly philosophy, whose job is to bring to light the laws of the other arts and of nature itself, cannot itself be free, a wanderer and outside the law.

5

[5] And truly it is to be wondered at that whereas the laws of most of the other arts have been fixed by common consent almost nothing of this kind has been done in philosophy. It may readily be conjectured therefore that philosophy, refined by so many and such great men and through so many ages, has hardly passed beyond the state of infancy or at any rate of childhood, and has not lit upon the correct measure of the art and its proportionateness. For it may be noted that the birth of the arts is not due to their laws but, on the contrary, the laws come about through the progress and more elevated state of the art. For all arts usually grow gradually from small beginnings until at length, after noteworthy advances have been made in them by someone of pre-eminent intellect, and with nature and a fortunate character as his guides, they have delivered up extraordinary works of art which are law-governed but are without law. And at length others, on the basis of the best and most commendable works of art, have brought to light the laws of the art. With the laws in place, true and legitimate works are easily distinguished from spurious ones. Hence, in light of what has now been said, one may conjecture on a rather firm basis that philosophy has not arrived at a very advanced stage because there is no consensus on the laws of philosophising.\*

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[6] Of course, I willingly allow that mathematics (whether you call it part of philosophy or its trusty comrade and adviser) does not suffer from this blemish; mathematicians certainly agree about the laws of their art.\* They certainly reject and condemn as illegitimate every demonstration of a theorem unsupported by propositions that have already been demonstrated or by axioms or common notions that they themselves have posited. They also reject every solution of a problem where the solution is not acknowledged on the basis of propositions already granted or postulated. We therefore recognise that mathematics, grounded in these few laws and refined in an appropriate way by ancient and by modern thinkers, especially by the greatly renowned Newton, has made advances befitting the human mind and has brought forth most abundant fruits.\*

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35

[7] Regarding philosophy, we find it split by former ages into various schools and sects, each one of which has a different way of philosophising and a different system concerning the origin of the world, the

40

Diversum Systema, de Origine Mundi, de Elementis, de  
 Ordine & Causis rerum Naturalium De Deo de Anima  
 humana de bonorum & malorum Finibus de Vita Beata  
 & ut Verbo dicam de omni re notâ & ignotâ, unaquæque  
 5 sua laudans aliena vituperans. Scholæ hæ seu Sectæ  
 a Viris Ingenio et dicendi arte claris plerumque  
 ortæ, quorum Auditores et Sequaces cæca Magistri  
 admiratione ducti, nil ultra proficere ausi, sed Doctrinam  
 10 traditam ornandi & stipandi servili Studio eam sæpe  
 labefactant & corrumpunt. Donec tandem Audentior  
 aliquis Ingenio suo fidens res novas Moliri, et Scholam |  
 [2r] novam condere vel antiquam & pæne Sepultam reficere  
 & excitare satagit. Inter diversas Scholas odium  
 et exitiabile bellum alterius interemptione unicé  
 15 terminandum, & per varia Secula alia ab alia depulsa  
 velut unda pellitur Unda. Atque hic otiosorum hominum  
 lusus & digladiatio Philosophiæ nomine dignatur; quæ  
 his Artibus per tot Secula Mole quidem in immensum  
 excrevit pondere tamen exiguo.  
 20 [8] In tanto certe Acervo Ventilabro opus est ut  
 palea a tritico separata ventis detur Quod equidem  
 Sperare fas esset, si de Legibus Philosophandi  
 conveniret; neque hoc solum sed etiam Hæreses  
 & Sectas in Philosophia condendi Libidinem  
 25 frænare posse et Philosophiam in melius &  
 utilius etsi non in majus promoveri Quam vero  
 Artis Præcepta et Leges ex præstantissimis Artis  
 operibus fælicissime ducantur, quid præcipue  
 in Philosophia et Exemplaris honore dignum  
 30 præstitum sit et qui Legittimam Philosophandi  
 rationem propius adsequi visi sunt paucis  
 dispiciendum.  
 [9] In tres partes Philosophia a Platone & Stoicis  
 dividitur; quarum prima agit de vita & Moribus,  
 35 Secunda de Natura, tertia de disserendi Arte. Primam  
 de vita et Moribus de turpi & honesto multi bene  
 tractarunt illi vero optime non qui argutè & Subtilitate  
 Dialectica de hisce Disserunt, sed qui rerum pondere  
 pectora hominum feriunt & præcordia movent. Poetæ  
 40 etiam hoc sæpe fælicissime adsequuntur qui quid

elements, the order and causes of natural things, God, the human mind, the ends of goods and evils,\* the happy life and, in a word, everything known and unknown, each sect lauding its own doctrines and censuring those of others. For the most part these schools or sects were set up by men renowned for their intellect and their art of speaking. Those attentive to them, their followers, led by blind admiration for their master, did not dare to go any further but, by slavish enthusiasm for embellishing and filling up the doctrine that had been handed down, they often impair and corrupt it, until at length some bolder person, trusting his own intellect, fully dedicates himself to producing new ideas and to establishing a new school or to re-establishing and reinvigorating an old one that had almost been buried. The hate and the destructive war between the various schools could be ended only by the annihilation of one or other of the schools and, as the ages passed, one school is pushed away by another just as one wave is pushed away by another. And this game and this dispute among men of leisure are considered deserving of the title of philosophy, which by such artifices through so many ages has expanded into something that is indeed immense in size but is slight in weight.

[8] For such a heap a winnowing-fork is certainly needed so that the chaff separated from the wheat can be delivered up to the winds, something it would of course be permissible to hope for if there were consensus regarding the laws of philosophising, and it would be permissible not only to hope for this but also to hope that the appetite for establishing philosophical schools and sects could be reined in and that philosophy could be taken forward to something better and more useful even if not greater. How may the precepts and laws of the art be drawn most felicitously from the most exceptional works of the art? What in philosophy should especially be proposed as meriting the honour of being an exemplar to be adopted? And who have been seen to follow more closely a proper way of philosophising? We should devote a few words to a consideration of all this.

[9] Philosophy is divided by Plato and the Stoics into three parts of which the first is concerned with life and ethics, the second with nature and the third with the art of discourse.\* Many have dealt well with the first part, that concerning life and ethics, the shameful and the moral, but the ones who have dealt best with it are not those who have discoursed on these things with acuity and dialectical subtleties, but instead are those who give people a sense of the weightiness of these matters and who move their heart. Often too those poets attain

sit pulchrum quid turpe quid utile quid non plenius  
 et melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicunt. Hæc enim  
 Philosophiæ pars cum sit omnium utilissima & maximi  
 Momenti ad bene beatèque vivendum Dei Benignitate  
 5 non est in occulto ab<d>ita nec tenebris involuta neque  
 in profundo demersa, sed ipsis hominum Cordibus Dei  
 digito inscripta est. Et in hisce optime philosophatur  
 qui hominis probi & virtutis amore percussi sensus  
 internos fælicissimè describit & depingit. In hoc igitur  
 10 Philosophiæ genere multi præclari præcipuus vero  
 me Judice Socrates Atheniensis Philosophiæ decus &  
 ornamentum eximium non doctrina solum sed moribus,  
 qui primus inter Philosophos homines a fastuos<a>  
 disserendi & definiendi de rebus occultis ostentatione  
 15 avocavit et ad bene vivendum adducere conatus est.  
 Apostoli nomine pæne dignus cum doctrina ejus omnis  
 in virtute laudanda & homines ad virtutis studium  
 et numinis Reverentiam cohortandis consumpta est:  
 Atque haud scio an fas erat homini nato ratione duce de  
 20 numinis administratione & de hominum officio plenius  
 aut melius loqui aut veritatem propius attingere. Cum  
 Socrates nihil Scripserit Doctrinam ejus Xenophonte  
 & Platone præcipue acceptam habemus. Prior Magistri  
 Doctrinam puram & Sinceram tradere visus est. De  
 25 Platone vero dubium esse potest an eam magis Facundia  
 Sublimi ornaverit an Feracis et lascivientis Ingenij  
 Phantasmatis Argutijs vitiaverit.]  
 [2v] [10] Post Socratem ejusque Discipulos Platonem  
 Xenophontem Aristotelem Cebetem Thebanum Eschinem.  
 30 Optima de moribus dixere Stoici, quorum Doctrinam tribus  
 libris de Officijs Elegantissime exposuit Cicero. Qui vero  
 vel inter Antiquos vel Recentiores de Virtutis causis Origine  
 & Natura argutius et ultra Communem vulgi Sensum  
 Philosophari conati sunt parum profecerunt et potius rem vulgo  
 35 claram & apertam Philosophicis argutijs obscuram et dubiam  
 reddiderunt. In hac parte tamen Josephus Butlerus Episcopus  
 Dunelmensis palmam præripere visus est.  
 [11] Politicam etiam nobilissimam Philosophiæ partem  
 Socraticæ Scholæ Principes Xenophon Plato Aristoteles haud  
 40 mediocriter tractaverunt. Quamvis hic etiam Plato Ingenio

this goal very effectively who say, more fully and in a better way than  
 do Chrysippus and Crantor, what is beautiful, what is shameful, what  
 is advantageous and what is not.\* For since this part of philosophy is  
 the most useful of all and is of the greatest moment from the point of  
 view of living well and happily, it has, by God's generosity, not been  
 secreted away in a hiding place, nor swathed in darkness nor immersed  
 in the depths, but has been inscribed in the very hearts of men by the  
 finger of God. And the best philosophising on these matters is that of  
 the man who describes and represents most felicitously the internal  
 sensibilities of an honourable man struck by love of virtue. In this  
 kind of philosophy, then, there are many renowned men, but special  
 among them, in my judgement, was the Athenian Socrates, the pride  
 and outstanding adornment of philosophy for his morals and not only  
 for his teaching, who was first among philosophers to call men away  
 from a haughty parade of argument and definition regarding concealed  
 matters, and sought to draw them into living well, and who was almost  
 worthy to be called an apostle since all his teaching was taken up with  
 praising virtue and exhorting men to strive for virtue and to revere the  
 deity.\* And I do not know whether, in virtue of his reason by which he  
 was born to lead, the man's destiny was to speak more fully or better  
 about the governance of the deity or the duty of human beings or to get  
 closer to the truth. Since Socrates wrote nothing, we have received his  
 doctrine from Xenophon and especially from Plato. The former seems  
 to have passed on the master's pure and untrammelled doctrine.\* But as  
 regards Plato it may be doubted whether he adorned the doctrine more  
 with his sublime eloquence or whether he falsified it by the fantastical  
 quibbling of his fertile and luxuriant genius.\*

[10] After Socrates and his disciples Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Cebes  
 the Theban, and Aeschines, the best things concerning morality were said  
 by the Stoics, whose doctrine Cicero expounded very neatly in the three  
 books of the *De officiis*.\* But those of the ancient or modern writers who  
 have tried to philosophise, with greater subtlety and beyond the common  
 sense of the ordinary people, about the causes, origin and nature of  
 virtue, have made too little progress, and instead, by their philosophical  
 subtleties, have made obscure and doubtful a matter that is clear and  
 evident to the ordinary people. Nevertheless, in this field Joseph Butler,  
 Bishop of Durham, seems to have carried off the honours.\*

[11] Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle, the leaders of the Socratic school,  
 have dealt outstandingly with politics, which is indeed the noblest part  
 of philosophy, though here also Plato over-indulged his cleverness.\*

- nimis Indulget. Inter recentiores Machiavellus et Haringtonus & David Humius, Sæculorum præteritorum Experientia & politiarum tum antiquarum tum Recentiorum fato edocti, hanc Philosophiæ partem haud parum promoverunt. Omnes
- 5 vero longo intervallo Superare visus est Illustrissimus Præses Montesequius, Natione Gallus Indole & Studio Britannus: qui omnis Historiæ Eruditione instructus, Judicio acerrimo Sale Attico Brevitate & pondere Dictionis Laconico, Legum, Morum et Politiarum Causas Rationes & Effectus ex humanæ
- 10 Naturæ Principijs luculentissime exposuit. De Britannicis gentibus præcipue bene meritus eo nomine quod nos fortunatos nimium, & Politia beatos, omnes quas vel historia exhibuit vel Imaginatio finxit, antecellenti, bona nostra nosse & æstimare docuit.
- 15 [12] Secunda Philosophiæ pars de Natura Physica appellatur. Et hæc Historiæ Naturali inniti debet. In qua inter Antiquos Aristoteles Theophrastus & Dioscorides fide et diligentia quæ hic præcipue quærentur primi. Plinius Eruditione Varietate & incepti Magnitudine,
- 20 clarus, verum nimium Credulus et idcirco dubiæ fidei. Naturalis Historiæ Capita summo Judicio Delineavit Franciscus Baconus ejusque finem et usum Demonstravit. Quum vero Naturalis Historia justa & plena non sit
- 25 opus unius Ætatis nedum unius hominis optandum esset Philosophos huic operi magis sedulo incubuisse; Exinde enim sperare liceret non solum multa humanæ vitæ commoda & adjumenta sed etiam progressum fæliciter philosophiæ Naturalis quæ Phænomenon Naturalium rationes et Leges tractat.
- 30 [13] Etsi veteres Philosophi fere omnes Physicam tractare conati sunt nihil in hoc genere memoria dignum nobis ab ijs traditum est. Omnia vana ficta & inania non ex Natura Legittima Experientia sed ex Conjectura & Imaginatione Deprompta. Sapientissimus igitur merito
- 35 habendus Socrates, qui Physicam sui temporis lepide derisit & potius non omnino quam fecte & inutiliter de his Philosophari voluit. Summa vero admiratione dignus Hippocrates Cous, qui cum Philosophi ad Naturam rerum Conjecturâ adsequendam frustra incumbere:
- 40 Solus Diviniore Spiritu instructus ex fideli observantia



Among modern philosophers Machiavelli, Harrington and David Hume, thoroughly instructed in the experience of past ages and in the fate of states, both ancient and modern, have greatly advanced this part of philosophy.\* But the very renowned President Montesquieu, French by nationality and British by nature and enthusiasm, can be seen to have surpassed everyone by a considerable distance.\* Erudite about all of history, possessed of penetrating judgement, of Athenian wit and of a Spartan conciseness and weightiness of speech, he has, with the greatest clarity and on the basis of principles of human nature, expounded the causes, concepts and effects of laws, morals and politics. He is especially worthy of being called a Briton because he has taught us very fortunate people, who are blessed with a political state excelling all other political states, whether revealed by history or painted by the imagination, to know and to appreciate these good things of ours.\*

[12] The second part of philosophy deals with nature and is termed 'physics' and this should be grounded on natural history,\* in which, among the ancients, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Dioscorides were foremost because of their credibility and accuracy, which are particularly desirable qualities in this area, and Pliny was famous for his knowledge and variety and for the magnitude of his attempt, but he was too credulous and is therefore of uncertain trustworthiness.\* Francis Bacon delineated with the greatest judiciousness the headings of natural history and demonstrated its aim and usefulness.\* But since a properly and fully constructed natural history is not the work of one era, even less of a single man, one may wish that philosophers would carry through this work with greater diligence. For then one may hope not only for many benefits and aids for human life but also for a more fruitful progress of a natural philosophy that treats of the concepts and laws of natural phenomena.

[13] Even if almost all the ancient philosophers strove to deal with physics nothing of this subject that is worth recording was bequeathed to us by them. All those worthless, fictional and hollow ideas were produced not from nature by legitimate experiment but from conjecture and imagination. Socrates, who entertainingly mocked the physics of his time and chose not to philosophise about physics at all rather than to do so fictionally and uselessly, was therefore quite rightly thought very wise.\* But Hippocrates of Cos is worthy of the greatest admiration. When philosophers were vainly concentrating on conjecture as a way to grasp the nature of things, only Hippocrates, trained by a more divine spirit, delivered up, by dependable observation and many experiments,

et multiplici experientia Medicinæ fundamenta nunquam labefactanda depromsit. Solus inter antiquos Physici nomine dignus & non solum Medicorum princeps sed inter summos Philosophos habendus<.>

- 5 [14] Philosophiæ Naturalis Materiam Tuborum Opticorum  
 [3r] Inventio reddidit | ampliorem; Multa patefaciens ob  
 distantiam aut parvitatem nudis oculis invisâ. Horum ope  
 Cælestium motus a Galileo a Hevelio a Cassinis patre et  
 10 Filio ab Hugenio & Flamstedio fide labore vigilijs maximis  
 impensis regibus dignis observati, ad Astronomiam veram  
 Physicam condendam viam aperuerunt, quam Subodoratus  
 est sagacissimus Keplerus, quamque Geometrarum &  
 Physicorum Princeps Isacus Newtonus, ad eum quem  
 15 omnes suspiciunt apicem perduxit. Atque hæc Newtoni  
 Astronomia Phisica ab exteris Philosophis ægre recepta  
 neque satis intellecta. tandem Minimorum Romanorum  
 Commentario illustrata et observatis nuperis præsertim  
 clarissimi Edm. Halleij Bradleij & Accademicorum  
 20 Gallorum in Laponiam & Peruviam missorum adeo  
 confirmata, ut pertinacissimi manus dare coacti sint.  
 [15] Summum Newtoni Ingenium minimorum in Natura  
 corporum æque ac maximorum legibus detegendis aptum,  
 Radium lucis Reflexiones Refractiones et colores  
 25 experimentis pari diligentia & acumine detectos exposuit.  
 Et revera quicquid in philosophia Naturali profecerunt  
 magni hujus Viri Sequaces, quod equidem pausillum  
 est, qui<.>quid tamen est debetur fere, Questionibus et  
 Conjecturis ab illo modestia singulari et Philosopho digna  
 30 propositis<.>  
 [16] De Disserendi Arte pauca jam dicenda. Dialectica in  
 Scholis dudum usitata, ab Aristot<e>le inventa & perfecta  
 sine Dubio magnum Auctoris Ingenium demonstrat. Et  
 nonnullis fortasse videbitur non alijs Philosophandi Legibus  
 opus esse quam ijs quas Dialectica seu Logica Scholastica  
 35 de recto ratiocinio ponit præsertim quum hæc per multa  
 Secula pro Philosophandi norma & Philosophiæ Radice  
 & Stemmata habita sit et etiam num a multis habeatur,  
 nec quidquam, quibusdam Philosophiæ nomine dignum  
 censetur quod huic Stirpi non innascitur. Quum vero Stirps  
 40 ex fructu dignoscitur, quem quæso fructum tulit hæc per

the unshakable foundations of medicine. The only one of the ancients worthy of the name ‘natural philosopher’, he should be held to be not only the greatest of medical people but also one of the finest philosophers.\*

[14] The invention of optical tubes enlarged the subject of natural philosophy, making visible many things invisible to the naked eye on account of their distance or smallness.\* By means of them the movements of the heavens were observed by Galileo, Hevelius, the Cassinis father and son, Huygens and Flamsteed, with reliability, labour and with vigils that were very long, freely carried out and worthy of kings;\* and they revealed the way to the foundation of the true physical astronomy which the most wise Kepler discovered, and which Isaac Newton, chief of geometers and natural scientists, has brought to the apex that everyone esteems.\* And this physical astronomy of Newton has scarcely been admitted by foreign philosophers and has not been well enough understood. It has at last been illumined by the Commentary of the Roman Franciscans\* and has been confirmed to such an extent by recent observations, especially by the renowned Edmond Halley, Bradley and the French academicians sent to Lapland and Peru, that the most obstinate critics have been forced to surrender.\*

[15] The supreme intellect of Newton, equipped to uncover the laws governing the smallest bodies in nature as well as the largest, has provided, in accounts marked in equal measure by their accuracy and acuity, explanations of reflections of light rays, refractions and colours, uncovered by experiments.\* And in truth, whatever the followers of this great man have achieved in natural philosophy – and indeed it amounts to little – nevertheless, whatever their achievement, it is in general due to queries and conjectures proposed by him with a modesty that is unique and worthy of a philosopher.\*

[16] Some things should now be said about the art of arguing. The dialectic which for a long time was in use in the schools and that was invented and perfected by Aristotle, demonstrates without a doubt its author’s great genius.\* And it will perhaps seem to some that no other laws of philosophising are required besides those which dialectic or scholastic logic sets out for right reasoning, especially as logic has for many centuries been treated as the norm for philosophising and as philosophy’s root and branch, and this is how logic is regarded by many even now. And it is thought by certain people that there is nothing worthy to be called philosophy that is not born of this stock. But since the stock is recognised by its fruit, I beg to know what fruit this stock has

tot Secula. Si verum loqui liceat spinarum Controversiæ &  
 Disputationis feracem agnoscere oportet ast veræ Scientiæ  
 & Inventionum hominibus utilium Sterilem et effetam. In  
 Disputatione quidem Adversarius pertinax Syllogismorum  
 5 compedibus nonnumquam fortius constringitur, ideoque  
 Syllogismum instrumentum bellicum censeo non prorsus  
 inutile, quo in hostem eadem Arte & armis instructum uti  
 fas est. Si vero cum hominibus probis et veri amantibus res  
 sit, aut si rerum naturam, ordinem, & compagem rimari sit  
 10 animus, arma haec inepta onerosa & molesta inveniemus.  
 [3v] Cur ita crediderim rationem unam aut alteram | æquo animo  
 accipite. Primo constat Syllogismum nullomodo utilem  
 esse posse nisi in Apodictico argumentandi genere ubi per  
 unum terminum medium ad conclusionem pervenimus. Ubi  
 15 vero argumenta plura vel Testimonia sunt vel numeranda  
 vel ponderanda Syllogismum deponere necesse habemus.  
 Ideoque si in aliqua Philosophiæ parte certe in Mathematica  
 dialectica opem ferre deberet attamen Mathematici qui  
 omnium consensu rite ratiocinantur apparatus & pompam  
 20 Syllogisticam tanquam inutile impedimentum abjiciunt.  
 [17] Præterea observare licet duo esse Itinera quibus mens  
 humana a rebus notis ad ignota progreditur, unum Descensus  
 quo ab Universalibus propositionibus ad particularia sub ijs  
 contenta itur; alterum huic contrarium quo a particularibus  
 25 adscenditur ad universalia. Prima via facilis est et proclivis  
 neque in ea mens artis auxilijs magnopere indiget sed  
 revocare gradum hic labor hoc opus philosophi Particularia  
 enim in natura rerum prius nota sunt Sensibus, Experientia  
 Testimonio alijs etiam modis. Ex his ad leges Naturæ et  
 30 Axiomata Generalia legitime ascendere, est revera rite et  
 digne Philosophari. Attamen in hoc ascensus itinere Ars  
 Syllogistica est prorsus inepta.  
 [18] Cum itaque Aristotelis Organon Huic Negotio impar  
 esse constaret Novum Organum Scientiarum moliri ausus est  
 35 Franciscus Baconus Vir admirandi Ingenij & ad Philosophiam  
 Naturalem non solum promovendam sed de novo  
 Instaurandum natus. Opus hoc ingenti animo conceptum,  
 ex parte peractum, cætera delineatum reliquit. Neque huc  
 usque ausus est ullus tanti opificis operi perficiendo manum  
 40 admovere. Hic primus Philosophandi Legem unam eamque

produced for so many centuries. Truth to tell, it must be admitted that logic has been fertile in thorns of controversy and disputation but has been sterile and unproductive of true science and inventions useful to human beings.\* In a dispute, indeed, a tenacious adversary is sometimes too tightly constrained by the shackles of syllogisms and I therefore believe that the syllogism is a not entirely useless weapon of war that can rightly be used against an enemy who has received instruction in that same art and those same weapons. But if the dispute is conducted with honest men who love truth, or if one is of a mind to probe the nature, order and connectedness of things, we will find these weapons inappropriate, troublesome and a nuisance. Listen, without prejudice, to the reason why I would put my trust in one idea or another. First, it is well known that a syllogism cannot be in any way useful except in an apodeictic kind of argument where we reach the conclusion via the middle term. But where several arguments or testimonies have to be taken into account or put in the balance, we need to put the syllogism to one side. So, if in some part of philosophy, then assuredly in mathematics dialectic should be of help. But on the other hand, mathematicians who, as everyone agrees, reason in the right way, reject syllogistic ostentation and display as a useless obstacle.\*

[17] In addition, one may observe that there are two ways by which a human mind advances from the known to the unknown. One is a descent by which a move is made from universal propositions to particular propositions subordinate to them. The other, its contrary, is an ascent from particulars to universals. The first way is straightforward and easy and in using it the mind does not much require the help of an art; but to take the reverse step is the task, the work, of the philosopher. For in the nature of things particulars are known first by the senses, by experiment, by testimony, and by other means too. To ascend legitimately from particulars to laws of nature and general axioms is in truth to philosophise properly and worthily. But in this upward journey the syllogistic art is wholly out of place.\*

[18] And since it was plain that Aristotle's *Organum* was not up to this task, Francis Bacon, a man of wonderful genius and suited by nature to the work not just of improving but of restoring natural philosophy anew, was emboldened to work at his *Novum organum scientiarum*. Of this work, conceived by his powerful mind, he left part in a finished state and the remainder in outline form.\* And up to now no one has dared to turn his hand to the job of completing the work of so great an artificer. He was the first to posit a law for philosophising, a law of very great

maximi momenti posuit, cui jam saniores Philosophi  
 assentiunt, vix unus tamen excepto Newtono paruit, hanc  
 nempe Philosophis non ut Poetis licere ex Ingenio suo fabulas  
 de Naturâ rerum comminisci quantumvis verisimiles et sibi  
 5 constantes Philosophiam enim non esse humani Ingenij  
 foetum sed Naturæ ipsius seu Dei operum justam et legitimam  
 Interpretationem<.)

[19] Hic etiam solus docuit quomodo vera hæc Naturæ  
 Interpretatio Experimentis & Inductione Experimentis &  
 10 Naturæ vel Artis rebus gestis innixa sit assequenda. Adeo  
 ut Novum Organum Opus sui generis primum et Ultimum,  
 Naturæ Grammaticam appellari liceat, vel potius magnus  
 ejus Author Naturæ Mystagogus merito dicendus, qui hujus  
 Dei templi Janua<.) reseravit et viam in ejus adyta patefecit.

15 Neque dubium est Newtonum ipsum, summi hujus Viri  
 manu ductum ejusque monitis instructum fælices adeo in  
 Philosophia Naturali progressus fæcisse.

[20] Quæ dicta sunt huc redeunt. Philosophandi non  
 minus quam aliarum artium esse Leges quibus vera  
 20 genuina & nomine digna Philosophia, ab inani fucata  
 et illegittima distinguenda Quamvis hæc Leges non sint  
 adhuc a Philosophis descriptæ nedum communi consensu  
 Stabilitæ, tamen id ex provectiori Philosophiæ statu  
 expectandum, & in magnum Philosophiæ emolumentum  
 25 cessurum. Leges hasce ex Philosophiæ Natura et Fine  
 petendas et per probatissima Philosophandi Exemplaria  
 illustrandas & Confirmandas Hippocratem Coum  
 Socratem Baconem Montesequium Newtonum, quemque  
 in suo genere Artis Philosophandi Apelles & Praxiteles  
 30 habendos quorum Operæ non solum Summa sed etiam  
 maximè sincera & utilia in Philosophia debentur ad quos  
 oculos habere intentos debere qui Philosophandi leges  
 describere velit<.)

[21] Restat adhuc instituti præcipua pars, nonnulla  
 35 scilicet proponer<e), quæ mihi Philosophandi leges  
 habenda videntur cuique enim fas est in re libera  
 sibi leges dicere. Ast hujusmodi aliquid Auditores,  
 conandi, me cupido, nec satis forte quid valeant humeri  
 quid ferre recusent pensanti, mox tenuitatis propriæ  
 40 conscientia suasit, vel audaci cœpto absistere, vel

moment to which the more sensible philosophers give their assent, though hardly one, apart from Newton, has complied with it. The law is that, unlike poets, philosophers are not permitted to make up, out of their own minds, stories about the nature of things, however likely and self-consistent they may be, what with philosophy not being a child of the human mind but a fair and legitimate interpretation of nature itself or of the works of God.\* 5

[19] Bacon was also alone in teaching in what way this true interpretation of nature is to be reached on the basis of experiments and of induction on experiments, and supported by acts of nature or of art. The *Novum organum* is to such a degree the first and last work of its kind that it may be called the grammar of nature; or rather, its great author is worthy to be called the initiator into the mysteries of nature, he who opened this door of the temple of God and brought to light the way into its innermost recesses. And there is no doubt that Newton himself, led by the hand of this most renowned of men and instructed in his counsels, made great advances in natural philosophy.\* 10 15

[20] The points thus far made come to this: No less than as regards the laws of the other arts, there are laws of the art of philosophising by which a true, genuine philosophy, one worthy of the name, is to be distinguished from a worthless, forged and illegitimate philosophy. Though these laws have not hitherto been delineated by philosophers, much less established by common consent, nevertheless this can be expected of a more advanced stage of philosophy, and will in the end be to the great advantage of philosophy, with these laws having to be sought out from the nature and aim of philosophy and to be illustrated and confirmed by means of the most approved examples of philosophising. He who would wish to delineate the laws of philosophising should pay particular attention to Hippocrates of Cos, Socrates, Bacon, Montesquieu and Newton, each deemed an Apelles and a Praxiteles\* in respect of his own kind of art of philosophising, to whose works there are due not only the greatest things in philosophy but also those that are most genuine and useful. 20 25 30

[21] The chief part has yet to be done, namely to propose some cases of what seem to me construable as laws of philosophising. For it is right for everyone, on an unrestricted matter, to declare for himself what the laws are. But though wishing to undertake something of this kind, gentlemen, perhaps without sufficient consideration of how strong my shoulders are and what weight they would refuse to bear, consciousness of my own inadequacy soon persuaded me either to abandon this undertaking or at 35 40

saltem repetitæ cogitationi permittere, et proœmij hujus  
prolixitas optato occasionem dedit, onus viribus impar  
aliquamdiu deponendi.

5 [22] Et quamvis arduum sit hoc Negotium tamen unicuique  
in Rempublicam Philosophicam proponere & rogationem  
ferre fas est.

[4r] [23] Dixi |

10 [24] Candidati Charissimi Priusquam Solennibus Accademiæ  
ritibus inauguremini ex Senatus Accademiæ decreto Juramento  
Solenni obstringendi estis, in fidem erga Religionem  
Reformatam & Gratitude[m] erga Almam Matrem Accademiæ.  
Ideoque sublatis dexteris me conceptis verbis sequimini.

15 [25] Ego coram omniscio & omnipotenti Deo, doctrinam ac  
fidem in Ecclesia Scoticana (quousque ex puro Dei verbo palam  
proponitur) ab omnibus Pontificiorum et quorumcumque aliorum  
Hæresibus longe abhorrentem, unicam & solam Orthodoxam, ad  
extremum usque vitæ habitum sincere professurum me Spondeo juro

20 [26] Insuper Accademiæ huic Almæ Parenti (cui hanc  
Ingenij Culturam debeo) Nutritia uti potero liberaliter  
relaturum me Solenniter promitto

[27] Quod si fidem Sciens ac volens fefellerero arcanorum  
cordis recessuum Scrutatorem Deum ultorem ac vindicem non  
recuso.<.>

25 [28] Ita me adjuvet Deus

[29] Ego eadem auctoritate quam summi ac potentissimi  
Principes huic Universitati amplissimam Indulsere, te A B in  
Artibus Liberalibus et Disciplinis Philosophicis Magistrum  
constituo, creo, proclamo, renuncio: Tibique potestatem facio  
docendi, scribendi, commentandi, omniaque id genus alia  
30 præstandi quæ hic aut alibi uspiam Magistris Artium concedi  
solent — Et in signum manumissionis tuæ Librum hunc  
apertum tibi trado caputque tuum hoc pileo orno, quod ut  
fælix faustumque sit Deum ter optimum maximum præcor —

35 [30] Et ut Ingenij tui Specimen aliquod coram cælebri hoc  
Cœtu edas rogo.



any rate to commit myself to further reflection, and the abundance of this introduction has provided, as I wished, an opportunity to set aside for the time being a task to which my powers are unequal.

[22] And though this labour is difficult, nevertheless it is appropriate that every person bring his proposals and his enquiry to the republic of philosophy. 5

[23] Thank you.\*

[24] My dear candidates, before you graduate, in accordance with the solemn rites of the academy by decree of the senate of the academy, it is required that you be bound by a solemn oath of fidelity to the reformed religion and of gratitude to your alma mater the academy. So, with your right hands raised, follow me in the terms that we use: 10

[25] Before the omniscient and omnipotent God I swear and sincerely promise to profess, to the very end of my days, the doctrine and faith of the Scottish Church (so far as its faith is set forth plainly from the pure word of God), the unique and only orthodox faith, and greatly to abhor all the heresies of pontiffs and of whomsoever else. 15

[26] Furthermore, to this academy my foster-parent (to which I owe this cultivation of my mind) I solemnly promise to give assistance as liberally as my powers will permit. 20

[27] And were I knowingly and voluntarily to break this promise, I would not protest against God, avenger and punisher, who searches in the hidden recesses of the heart.

[28] So help me God.\*

[29] By that most abundant authority that very great and powerful princes have granted to this university, I constitute, create, proclaim, declare you A B\* Master of the liberal arts and the philosophical disciplines. And I bestow on you the power to teach, write, comment and do all the other such things which here or elsewhere are customarily permitted to Masters of Arts. And as a sign of your graduation I hand this open book to you and I adorn your head with this cap and beseech the threefold God most good and most great that it be auspicious and propitious.\* 30

[30] And I request you to present some example of your thinking in the presence of this distinguished company.\* 35

KINGS/8/  
1/1/1756, 1r

## II

## Oratio habita in Auditorio Publico

Collegij Regij April 28 1756

- [1] Iampridem ex hâc Cathēdra, de Legibus  
Philosophandi, paucis disserui. Et quum Animus sit idem  
5 Argumentum jam ulterius prosequi, eorum quæ tum  
dicta sunt capita, summatim accipite. ea vero huc redeunt  
Artium omnium Liberalium Leges esse ex Natura & fine  
uniuscujusque petendas, quas ultra citrave, rectum, verum  
& utile in illa Arte nequit consistere. Ideoque Artis etiam  
10 Philosophandi, quæ maxime omnium Rationem ducem  
profitetur, & finem nobilissimam Spectat, Leges esse  
debere quarum ad Normam quod rite fit in Philosophia  
fieri debet quarumque ope, inter tot Philosophantium  
Systemata et tam dissimiles Philosophandi rationes,  
15 Judicium ferre possimus quid Legittimè & secundum  
Artem sit præstitum, quid secus. Quamvis hæ Leges non  
sint adhuc a Philosophis descriptæ, nedum communi  
consensu Stabilitæ, tamen id ex Proveciore Philosophiæ  
statu expectandum, & in magnum ejus emolumentum  
20 cessurum. Denique leges has ex Philosophiæ Natura  
et fine petendas, & probatissimis Philosophandi  
Exemplaribus, Illustrandas & confirmandas.
- [2] Hisce hactenus positis, restat instituti præcipua  
pars, nonnullas Scilicet et maxime generales  
25 Philosophandi Leges, debita cum Verecundia  
proponere, quibus veram, genuinam, & nomine dignam  
Philosophiam, ab inani, fucata & illegittima discernere  
valeamus. Et quamvis tenuitatis nostræ Conscientia, de  
re ardua, & penè nova disserentem Rubore Suffundit,  
30 neque tamen arroganter hoc a nobis ausum vel  
incœptum existimari velim: cum unicuique certe in  
re Libera, sibi Leges dicere, fas sit, imo unicuique in  
Rempublicam Philosophicam proponere & Rogationem  
ferre, licitum.
- [3] Hoc porro Auditores Doctos monendos velim, non esse  
35 mihi Animum, Leges Particulares & cuilibet Philosophiæ  
parti proprias attingere. Quamvis hoc magnopere  
desideretur. Mathesis quidem, Legibus sibi proprijs, ab

## II

Oration delivered in the public auditorium of  
King's College, April 28, 1756\*

- [1] In a discourse I gave some time ago from this Chair I investigated a few matters regarding the laws of philosophising; and since I propose now to take this argument further, here by way of summary of that earlier discourse are the main points I made then. They come down to this: that the laws of all the liberal arts are to be sought in light of the nature and end of each of those arts. There cannot be right, truth or benefit in an art if the exercise of the art exceeds or falls short of the laws. Hence, as regards the art of philosophising also, which most of all among the arts declares reason its guide and looks towards the most noble end, it ought to have laws. It is in accordance with these laws as a standard that what ought to happen in philosophy customarily does happen, and by means of these laws we can make a judgement among so many and such dissimilar systems of philosophers and ways of philosophising, about what has been proved legitimately according to the art and what has not. Though these laws have not hitherto been delineated by philosophers, much less established by common consent, nevertheless this can be expected of a more advanced stage of philosophy, to philosophy's great advantage at last. In the end these laws have to be sought from the nature and aim of philosophy and to be illustrated and confirmed by the most agreeable examples of philosophising.
- [2] Now that these comments are in place, it is left to me to introduce, with due modesty, the chief part of my argument, namely a proposal of some very general laws of philosophising by which we may succeed in distinguishing between things that are true, genuine and worthy of being called philosophy, and things that are worthless, spurious and illegitimate. And though consciousness of my insignificance makes me blush while speaking of a matter that is both difficult and till now barely touched on, and while I would not want it thought that I have been arrogant in resolving to carry out this task or in initiating it, I initiate it because assuredly, in a free area, it is right for each person to declare the law for himself. Indeed, it is permissible for everyone to propose his enquiry and to take it into the republic of philosophy.
- [3] In addition I would wish my learned audience to know that I do not have it in mind to deal with particular laws proper to any given part of philosophy although that would be a highly desirable task. Mathematics rejoices in laws that have belonged to it from ancient days. Supported

antiquis Seculis gaudet, ideoque, stabili fundamento innixa,  
 debito modo exulta est, & incrementa humano Ingenio  
 digna cæpit. Philosōphiæ etiam Naturalis, Leges proprias  
 Posuit, Gentis & Seculi Decus Newtonus, viam monstrante  
 5 summo Verulamio; adeo ut hisce precipue Auctoribus,  
 Physicam nacti simus, vere sic dictam; non humani ingenij  
 fœtum, quales fuere Aristotelis Telesij Patricij Gilberti  
 Cartesij aliorum, quas cum alijs hominum commentis  
 dies Delevit: talem vero, quæ vera est & legitima Naturæ  
 10 Interpretatio quæ Phænomenis Naturæ, oculis conspicuis,  
 & legibus Philosophandi in ipsa hominum Natura fundatis,  
 innixa, per omne ævum inconcussa manebit, crescet et  
 augebitur humanum genus novis usque inventis beans.  
 [4] Quod ad cæteras Philosophiæ partes attinet, Statum adeo  
 15 provectum & fælicem non videtur eas adhuc esse adeptas  
 verumtamen neque hoc est desperandum, cum de Legibus  
 Philosophandi tum generalibus, tum unicuique parti proprijs,  
 inter Philosophos convenerit. De illis nunc agendum, hisce,  
 vel prætermisissis, vel obiter solum et in transcurso tactis. |  
 [1v] [5] Ne itaque ambiguitas ulla in Vocabulo lateat hoc ponere vel  
 20 postulare liceat. Nempe Philosophi Munus esse, ex Principijs  
 ab ipsa Natura haustis, rectè Ratiocinando, Conclusiones  
 ducere generales, quæ humano genere utiles esse, quæ miserijs  
 & imbecillitati humanæ vitæ opitulari, & humanam sortem  
 25 quoquo modo extollere possint. Ex hac Muneris Philosophici  
 Idea Philosophandi Leges generales, paucas quidem, sed  
 maximi Momenti, & late admodum patentem, proponere &  
 illustrare aggredior. Auditorum Doctorum Indulgentiam  
 exposcens; rem fere integram tractanti.  
 30 [6] Cum igitur Philosophiæ finis sit, humanam sortem  
 promovere, et Dominium hominis in res præferre; exinde  
 Primam Philosophandi Legem ducimus. Questiones nempe  
 omnes & Disceptationes inutiles, ex Philosophia, tanquam  
 eo Nomine indignas, exulare debere. Negari non potest,  
 35 quamvis pudeat dicere, Questiones, Subtiles sæpe quidem,  
 sed vel supra humanum captum positas vel vanas & nullius  
 prorsus ad humanam fælicitatem Momenti, per multa Secula,  
 non Philosophiæ solum venerabile sed sanctius Theologiæ  
 40 Nomen sibi usurpasse. Neque mirum, cum per Seculorum  
 istorum Barbarum, Philosophia a Vita Negotijs & rebus

by a steady foundation it was cultivated in an appropriate way and made advances worthy of the human intellect.\* In addition, Newton, the ornament of humankind and of the age, put forward laws appropriate to natural philosophy, with the renowned Lord Verulam pointing the way,\*  
 5 to such an extent that through these authors especially we have gained physics truly so-called, not a child of the human intellect, such as were the physics of Aristotle, Telesio, Patrizi, Gilbert and of Descartes,\* as well as of others, a physics which time destroyed along with other inventions of men, but rather a physics which is supported by the phenomena of nature, by clear-sightedness, and by the laws of philosophising  
 10 that are grounded in the very nature of humankind.\* It will survive unimpaired through every age, will grow and be augmented, blessing the human race with ever new findings.

[4] As regards the other parts of philosophy, they seem as yet not to have arrived at such an advanced and successful stage. But we should  
 15 not be in despair at this, since philosophers will arrive at a consensus on the general laws of philosophising and also on those peculiar to each part of philosophy. We should now deal with the general laws, with the particular laws either left out or touched on only by the way and briefly.

[5] Lest any ambiguity be hidden in the terms used, it is permissible  
 20 to lay down or set out this requirement: it is of course the function of a philosopher, by reasoning correctly, from principles drawn from nature itself, to draw general conclusions which are of benefit to humankind, are of help against the afflictions and feebleness of human life and could in whatever way enhance the fortune of humankind.\* From this  
 25 concept of the philosophical function I shall now proceed to present and illustrate general laws of philosophising, not many but of great moment, and broadly speaking quite accessible. I ask my learned audience to be patient as I deal with this almost completely new topic.

[6] Since, therefore, the aim of philosophy is to enhance the human lot  
 30 and to enhance humankind's power over things, we draw from this the first law of philosophising, that all unprofitable questions and controversies should certainly be banished from philosophy as unworthy of that name. One cannot deny, though it is shameful to affirm, that questions,  
 35 often indeed subtle but either above human comprehension or empty and of absolutely no significance for human happiness, have for many centuries appropriated not only the revered name of philosophy but also the more sacred one of theology. This is not to be wondered at since, on account of the barbarism of these centuries, philosophy was shut out of life, of commerce and of military affairs, and took refuge in the  
 40

gestis exclusa, in Claustis Monachorum & Theologorum  
 Scholasticorum delituerit & ociosorum hominum Garrulitate  
 & pruritia disputandi de rebus nihili inservire, coacta sit.  
 [7] Jam vero cum Theologi Saniore & peritiores, Theologiam  
 5 depurgare et defæcare didicerint, Quæstiones & Disputationes  
 Theologicas parvi habentes quæ ad virtutem & Pietatem  
 Christianam promovendam nullum momentum habent; Non  
 minus oportet Philosophiæ sordes & rubiginem Detergere,  
 in Cœnobijs per multa Secula calliginosa contractam; ut  
 10 nato Splendori Dignitati & Utilitati restituatur. Qua in  
 Re per utilem sane navasse operam, recentiores quosdam  
 Philosophos, præcipue vero nostrates Baconem & Johannem  
 [attached Lockium, lubenter agnoscimus. | Ast Antiquitatis reverentia  
 sheet] nimia, & majorum Instituta inveterata, sive Romanæ Ecclesiæ  
 15 Tyrannidi & Superstitioni accommodata sive Seculi ingenio,  
 aut Partium Studio, plerasque Scholas Philosophicas haud  
 sivit Impedimenta hæc Philosophiæ excutere. Fælices adeo  
 magis nos in hac Accademia & in paucis alijs agnoscere  
 debemus, & eo nomine gratias Deo Optimo Maximo habere,  
 20 Quod nos libere philosophari, & Fundatoris Sapiaentia, &  
 Religionis Reformatæ Indoles voluit. neque Aristoteli, neque  
 Platoni, neque Thomæ, neque Scoto, nomen dare, aut ullius  
 in verba magistri jurare coacti, aut Scruta & vilia Philosophiæ  
 Nomine Venditare.<.> |  
 [1v] [8] Vera & genuina Philosophia, ut bona Stirps bonum fructum  
 fert, falsa & fucata, vel nullum vel malum. ex fructu itaque est  
 dignoscenda. Secum idcirco reputet Philosophus, Artem suam, non  
 ad fastuosam de rebus <quibuscunque> disserendi ostentationem  
 esse comparatam, non ad Indulgendum Libidini definiendi de rebus  
 30 vel supra humanum captum vel ab humana Sorte et officio prorsus  
 alienis, et ad nos nullomodo pertinentibus, non ad Controversias  
 alendas, aut adversarium in Disputatione prosternendum; non ad  
 Heresin aliquam aut Sectam in Philosophia ornandum & servili  
 studio stipandum, non ad novam Hypothesin condendam. Hisce &  
 35 h<u>jusmodi rebus qui Student non Philosophi sed Sophistæ more  
 Antiquo appellandi: Quorum Fastum & vaniloquentiam Socrates,  
 grecorum Sapientissimus, sæpe adeo lepide derisit. Quorum  
 Doctrinam, Dyonisius Tyrannus fæluciter admodum depinxit  
 dicens esse Verba ociosorum Senum ad imperitos juvenes. Nec  
 40 prætermittendum est Verulamij nostri de tali Philosophia dictum

cloisters of monks and scholastic theologians and was obliged to serve the talkativeness of men of leisure and their itch to dispute about things that do not matter.\*

[7] But now, because theologians more sound and more skilful have learned how to purge and to cleanse theology, holding cheap the theological questions and disputes which have no significance for the enhancement of Christian virtue and piety, it is not any the less necessary to sweep away the meanness and rust of philosophy, accumulated in monasteries through the many dark centuries, so that philosophy may be restored to its original splendour, dignity and usefulness. On this matter we gladly acknowledge that certain modern philosophers, especially our own Bacon and John Locke, have indeed worked energetically to good effect.\* But the excessive respect for antiquity, the deep-rooted precepts of our ancestors, whether accommodated to the tyranny and superstition of the Roman Church, to the spirit of the age, or to the zeal of parties, did not permit the various philosophical schools to rid philosophy of these impediments.\* We should therefore acknowledge that we are more successful in this academy and in a few others, and, in the name of our academy, we should be grateful to God, most good and most great, that he, and also the wisdom of our founder\* and the nature of the reformed religion, meant us to philosophise in freedom and did not mean us to consign ourselves to either Aristotle, Plato, Thomas or Scotus, or to commit ourselves to the words of any master, or to sell frippery and worthless things in the name of philosophy.\*

[8] True and genuine philosophy, like a good stock, bears good fruit; false and deceitful philosophy bears no fruit or bad fruit. It is to be known by its fruit.\* A philosopher should therefore reflect within himself that his art has been organised not for a prideful display of disputing about any topics whatever they be, nor for indulging an appetite for giving definitions of things that are either beyond human apprehension or utterly foreign to human fortune and duties, and in no way related to us, nor for feeding controversies or overcoming a protagonist in a dispute, nor for embellishing a sect or school of philosophy and filling it full of slavish devotion, nor for composing a new hypothesis. Those who busy themselves with these things and with things of this sort should be termed, as in the ancient manner, not philosophers but sophists, whose pride and idle talk were often mocked entertainingly by Socrates, wisest of the Greeks.\* Dionysius the Tyrant portrayed the doctrine of those men very fittingly as the words of lazy old men for ignorant young ones.\* And the very sharp statement that our Lord Verulam made about

- acerrimum. Esse nimirum pueritiam quandam Philosophiæ & habere  
 [2r] quod puerorum | proprium est, ad garriendūm enim promptam esse,  
 ad generandum vero invalidam et immaturam. Controversiarum &  
 Disputationum færacem esse operum vero effœtam.
- 5 [9] Diversum prorsus et altius quid sapit Philosophia sana  
 Hominibus nempe prodesse, mentis humanæ auxilia vera  
 comparare, vires ejus insitas promovere, imperium hominis  
 in se et in alias res proferre: Naturam, Causas, Ordinem,  
 vim & Nexum Rerum indagare, ut omnis Ars & Scientia  
 10 humano generi utilis, vitali quasi Spiritu a Philosophia  
 hausto, crescat & perficiatur.
- [10] Hoc porro observare liceat Legem propositam  
 utilem esse non solum ut innotescat quid in Philosophia  
 tanquam dignum retinendum quid vero ut inutile pondus  
 15 abjiciendum, verum etiam, ut iudicium fiat, quid dignius  
 est et præstantius, quid inferioris loci. Est enim hic ut  
 in alijs rebus, aliud alio præstantius. Sunt minutia in  
 Philosophia, sunt etiam minuti Philosophi; ij vero tales  
 habendi sunt qui Ætatem terunt in rebus etsi non prorsus  
 20 nullius, minoris tamen prætij. Uti Vocabularij Auctor, in  
 Republica literaria locum habere potest, etsi inferiorem Ita  
 qui florum Papilionum aut Cochliarum omnium Vocabula  
 & lituras nosse satagit, si omnino Philosophus, minutus  
 saltem habendus est.
- 25 [11] Secundam Philosophandi Legem, primæ maxime  
 affinem, hanc ponimus. Nullam Scientiam Prudentiam  
 vel Artem humano generi utilem Philosophus a se  
 alienam putet.
- [12] Philosophiam, laudatarum omnium Artium, non  
 30 solum (cum Marco Tullio) procreatricem & quasi  
 Parentem, verum etiam Nutricem & Altricem jure merito  
 dixeris; Ideoque Parens cum prole sua, piam officiorum  
 communionem, & consuetudinem amicam colere debet:  
 Quo quidem non aliud majus utriusque interest. Hoc  
 35 enim fidenter affirmare non veremur, nullum esse certius  
 indicium, fælicis Status, tum Artium & Scientiarum,  
 tum Philosophiæ, quam cum arcta inter eas intercedit  
 Societas & Communio; Et contra Commercio hoc &  
 Societate disruptis necessario sequi Philosophiam vel  
 40 fan<at>icam vel futilem & Sophisticam, Artes vero



such philosophy should not be overlooked, that it is certainly childish and has something appropriate to boys, for it babbles readily but is truly weak and immature in its productions; it is fertile in controversies and disputations but feeble in its works.\*

[9] What a sound philosophy discerns is something different indeed and deeper, how to be of benefit to human beings, how to provide true help for the human mind, how to enhance its innate powers, how to extend the dominion of man over himself and over other things, how to search out the nature, causes, order, strength and interconnectedness of things, so that every art and science useful to humankind, with, as it were, a vital spirit derived from philosophy, will grow and be perfected.\* 5 10

[10] This may be observed in addition, that the proposed law is useful not only because it may be known what should be preserved in philosophy as worthy of it and what should be rejected as dead weight, but also because a judgement may be made as to what is more worthy and more significant and what has an inferior position. For here as in other fields one thing is more significant than another; there are trifling things in philosophy and there are also trifling philosophers. Those should be thought trifling who use up their lifespan on matters which, even if not utterly worthless, are nevertheless of less worth. Just as the author of a lexicon can have a position in the Republic of Letters, even if it is an inferior position, so also someone who fills his life with learning the terms and obsolete words for all the flowers, butterflies or snails, should be considered a trifling philosopher if a philosopher at all.\* 15 20

[11] As the second law of philosophising, we put forward this which has a very close affinity to the first law: that a philosopher should not think alien to himself any science, practical wisdom or art that is useful to humankind.\* 25

[12] You might say, correctly and meritoriously, that philosophy is not only, as Marcus Tullius Cicero says, the progenitor and, so to say, the parent of all the esteemed arts, but is also their nurse and foster-mother.\* And the parent should therefore cultivate a loving mutuality of duties and also a friendly intimacy with her child. There is for each of them nothing else of greater significance than this. For we are not afraid to affirm this confidently, that there is no more sure a sign of a fortunate situation, of arts and sciences on the one hand and of philosophy on the other, than when, with things drawn tight close together, companionship and mutuality arise between them.\* And, on the contrary, we can affirm that if this correspondence and this fellowship have been disrupted then there necessarily follows a philosophy that is either fanatical or futile 30 35 40

claudas Empiricas & Præstigiatrices. Neque hoc de  
artibus solum liberalioribus dictum velim, verum etiam  
de Mechanicis & Quæstuarijs. Sunt enim Phænomena  
naturalia uniuscuiusque Artis, etiam infimarum, fere  
5 propria et vix alibi occurrentia, quæ Causis Rerum &  
Naturæ Viribus indagandis, haud mediocriter utilia  
esse possunt.

[13] Probe hoc perspectum fuit Verulamio Philosophiæ  
instauratore sagacissimo, qui ideo, præcepta tradens, de  
10 Historia Naturali Philosophiæ inservienti, conficienda;  
Summam Diligentiam adhibendam esse docet, ad  
comparandam Historiam non solum Generationum  
Naturalium, sed etiam Artium tum Liberalium tum  
[2v] Mechanicarum. Agriculturæ pecuariæ | tinctoriæ  
15 Vitariæ, Opificiorum Sacchari Pulveris Pyrij Papyri  
& hujusmodi. Neque Philosopho solum observanda  
sunt Experimenta Artium quæ ducunt ad finem Artis,  
sed etiam quæ ullo modo interveniunt. Exempli gratia  
quod Locustæ et cancri crudi, colorem Luteum referant  
20 cocti rubescant, purum ad Mensam, non inutile tamen  
Exemplum est ad Inquirendam Naturam Rubedinis;  
cum idem etiam in lateribus coctis eveniat. Ideoque  
Experimenta Artium Colligenda et ordine disponenda  
non solum ut Artes singulæ melius perficiantur, quod  
25 non leve habendum est; Sed etiam, quod multo majus,  
ut omnium Experimentorum Rivuli, in Philosophiæ  
Pelagus undequaque fluant, & Philosophum tum ad  
causas rerum indagandas, tum ad Opera hominum generi  
utilia invenienda instructiorem reddant. Imo in rebus  
30 vulgatissimis, in rebus vilibus, Illiberalibus, Turpibus,  
Naturam rerum Scrutari, Philosopho non indignum;  
Omnia enim Munda mundis, et, si Lucrum, ex Lotio, boni  
odoris Romano Imperatori visum est, multo magis Lumen  
& informatio videri debent. Ex rebus enim quibuscumque  
35 sive liberis, sive tractando & experiundo tortis oracula  
Naturæ expromere est vere Philosophari.

[14] Hæc de Commercio Philosophiæ cum Artibus vulgaribus dicta  
Sufficient. Quoad Scientias & Artes liberales attinet observare  
liceat has omnes antiquissimis temporibus ut Philosophiæ partes  
40 et nobilissimas quidem habitas. Adeo ut Politicam Rhetoricam

and sophistical, and arts which are lame, unscientific and illusory. And I would wish this said not only in respect of the more liberal arts but also in respect of the mechanical and mercantile arts. For in respect of each and every one of the arts, even the meanest of them, there are natural phenomena belonging as a rule to those arts and scarcely occurring elsewhere, and very useful in the investigation of the causes of things and the powers of nature. 5

[13] This was correctly grasped by Lord Verulam, a most acute innovator in philosophy, who therefore, bequeathing precepts about natural history, precepts requiring completion by one who would be of service to philosophy, teaches that very great diligence has to be applied to a comparison of the history not only of natural productions but also of the arts both liberal and mechanical, the arts of agriculture, cattle breeding, dyeing, glassmaking, the making of sugar, gunpowder, paper and such like.\* And the philosopher should observe experiments not only involving arts which are conducive to the end of his own art, but involving arts which interpose themselves in any way. For example, that locusts and crabs are clay-coloured when raw and become red when cooked is an example of direct relevance to the dining table but is not a useless fact when investigating the nature of redness, since the same thing happens in the case of baked bricks.\* Experiments in the arts should therefore be collected together and set out in an orderly way not only for the sake of better completing the individual arts, which should not be thought a trifling thing, but also, and much more significantly, in order that the small brooks of all the experimenters should flow from wheresoever into the open sea of philosophy and render the philosopher better prepared both for investigating the causes of things and also for devising things of use to humankind. Indeed, as regards very common things, things that are cheap, ungenerous, shameful, it is not unworthy of a philosopher to investigate their nature. For to the elegant all things are elegant, and if profit from urine seemed to be in good odour with a Roman emperor, then by how much more should light and knowledge be seen as things properly held in good odour.\* For to produce the wise utterances of nature from things of whatsoever kind, whether they are produced without hindrance or are squeezed out by pulling them about or by experimenting on them, is truly to philosophise.\* 15  
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[14] These affirmations regarding the connectedness of philosophy and the common arts should be sufficient. With regard to the sciences and the liberal arts\* it may be noted that in ancient days all of these were held to be not just parts, but the noblest parts, of philosophy, to such an extent 40

Medicinam Poēsīn Musicam & quicquid Sapientiæ nomine  
 indigitamus Philosophiæ nomen complexum sit. Hæc vero paulatim  
 in diversos ramos pullulare et in professiones Separatas proprijs  
 vocabulis insignitas, communi Stemmatis nomine deposito. Sic  
 5 Hippocratem Coum accepimus primum medicinam a Philosophia  
 disjunxisse & separatam Professionem constituisse<.> Alijs deinde  
 alias partes detrahentibus vix quicquam majoris pretij Philosophiæ  
 relictum est. De Vocabulis non nobis est animus litem movere,  
 neque separatas Scientiarum & Artium Professiones damnare, cum  
 10 uni vacare multi possint, omnibus perpauca. Hoc tamen tum in  
 Artium et Scientiarum Liberalium Detrimentum maximum, tum in  
 Philosophiæ ignominiam cessisse existimamus, quod, vel hominum  
 vel temporum injuria, per plurima Secula, Artes hæ et Scientiæ,  
 tanquam palmites nobilissimi et maxime frugiferi, a Philosophia  
 15 amputati et suis quasi radicibus consiti sint: non Nomine Solum  
 Parentis & altricis repudiato, quod parum foret, sed nexu et fœdere  
 rupto. Unde evenit ut Artes hæ & Scientiæ nativo sanguine & succo  
 destitutæ degenerare & marcescere visæ sint. Præterea Philosophia  
 nobilissimis ramis orbata & surculis relicta est, truncus ridendus  
 20 et inutile lignum, Stolonibus infæcundis nuditatem suam obtegere  
 satagens. Rem Philosophicam huc deductam | fuisse non adeo  
 [3r] multis abhinc annis nemo nescit qui in historia Philosophica est  
 mediocriter versatus. Adeo ut merito non nemo questus est  
 Dat Galenus opes dat Justinianus honores  
 25 At nos Philosophi turba misella sumus  
 Et revera, Philosophia ista quæ neque reipublicæ  
 administrationi, neque Rhetoricæ, neque medicinæ,  
 neque rei bellicæ, neque nauticæ, neque Commercio  
 inservit, est ridiculum quid Monachis & ociosis hominibus  
 30 relinquendum, quod, inutile cum sit, in honore et pretio  
 esse diu non potest nunquam debet. Vera Philosophia, cum  
 omnibus Scientijs & artibus liberalibus connexa est, et  
 omnium Ele<men>ta in se continet, omnes alit, et mutuo  
 fœdere jungit<.>  
 35 [15] Tertia Philosophandi Lege, vetitum sit Philosopho  
 Poetam agere, aut sacra Vatum Privilegia invadere. Poetis  
 semper licuit quidlibet fingere, dummodo fabulis suis  
 verisimilitudinem quandam, & convenientiam partium  
 conciliare possint. Fabulas itaque apte texere, poetarum  
 40 sit proprium, et Philosopho, hoc sibi vindicare, piaculum

that the name of philosophy encompassed politics, rhetoric, medicine, poetry, music and anything that we indicate by the name of wisdom.\* But bit by bit these grew different branches and separate professions marked by their own terminology, while the common name of the stock was given up. Thus we learn that it was Hippocrates of Cos who first detached medicine from philosophy and established it as a separate profession.\* Thereafter, as a result of others detaching other parts, hardly anything rather valuable remained to philosophy. We are not minded to stir up a controversy about vocabulary nor to condemn the separate professions of the sciences and arts, for many could have the leisure for one of these professions but very few could have leisure for all of them. But we judge that this has very greatly harmed the liberal arts and sciences and has also been to the dishonour of philosophy, because, through the wrong done by men or by the times, for many centuries these arts and sciences, like very noble and especially fruitful branches, have been cut off from philosophy and are plants with, so to say, their own roots. Not only has the name of the parent and nurse been repudiated, which would be of little significance, but the bond and covenant have been destroyed. Hence the outcome is that these arts and sciences, drained of their native blood and sap, seemed to degenerate and grow feeble. In addition, philosophy, deprived of its most noble branches, has been left with young shoots, a trunk to be derided and a piece of useless timber, fully occupied with concealing its nakedness with barren branches. In not many years from now there will be no one tolerably well-versed in the history of philosophy who does not know that philosophy has been reduced to this. Some have therefore rightly lamented: ‘Galen bestows resources, Justinian bestows honours, but we philosophers are a miserable crowd’.\* And in truth that philosophy which serves neither public administration, rhetoric, medicine, military affairs, sailing nor commerce is an absurdity which should be bequeathed to monks and to men of leisure because, since it is useless, it cannot long be honoured and valued, nor should it ever be. True philosophy is tied to all the sciences and the liberal arts, and contains in itself the elements of all of them, nourishes all of them and is united to them by mutual covenant. [15] By the third law of philosophising philosophers are forbidden to act the poet or to enter the holy privileges of the soothsayers. It has always been permissible for poets to make up anything whatever, so long as they could make their stories plausible and make their parts cohere with each other. The skillful weaving of stories is appropriate for poets, but a philosopher who boasts of doing this should atone for it. We

esto. Quicquid est ab humani Ingenij viribus confectum et  
 excogitatum, non Philosophiam sed Poesin dici volumus  
 & illis relinquimus qui in bicipiti Parnasso Somniarunt.  
 Longe enim diversum est Philosophi munus. Dei nempe,  
 5 Summi Poetæ, opera caste interpretari, neque ulla humani  
 ingenij fœtum mixtura, adulterare. Hoc equidem hominis  
 nati su<per>bia & fastui, est perquam ingratum; qui rebus  
 amat imperare potius quam parere, & Naturæ nodos ingenij  
 vi persecare, potius quam cauto & lento processu expedire.  
 10 Proclive itaque est ingenium hominum ad Divinationem  
 quandam & Augurium de Natura rerum ex levi conjectura  
 capiendum; alienum tamen est, et aversum ab humiliore  
 penso rerum ipsarum linguam addiscendi et Sensum  
 interpretandi. Habent etenim omnia dei Opera Sensum  
 15 quendam & loquelam, loquuntur non auribus sed intellectui.  
 Alta qu<i>dem voce et omnibus intellegibili proclamant  
 conditoris sui potentiam Sapientiam & bonitatem. <sed  
 etiam voce leni et lingua non vernacula, studio tamen et  
 labore addiscenda, enarrant quid sint, qua Lege ab Auctore  
 20 sapientissimo condita, quibus viribus prædita, quo nexu  
 inter se sociata, et denique quâ opera, quibus officijs,  
 hominibus prodesse possunt. Linguæ hujus Grammaticam  
 formare, voces construere Analogiam observare, ut  
 sensum ejus tandem assequamur non conjectura vaga sed  
 25 legitima Expositione. Hoc est revera Philosophum agere<.>  
 Summus Verulamius in nominibus rebus imponendis  
 mortalium fœlicissimus, nunquam magis fœlix quam  
 cum Philosophiam Naturæ Interpretationem esse dixit |  
 [3v] neque ut opinor verbo magis apto, vim ejus et Naturam  
 30 assequi licet. Ut Theologi Christiani munus est ex puro dei  
 Verbo Religionis dogmata haurire nec qui<con>quam ex suo  
 aut aliorum ingenio addere ita Philosophi est, hominum  
 Commenta & Divinationes omnes tanquam Apocrypha  
 rejicere & hoc solum tanquam sincerum & divinum  
 35 Amplecti quod dei opera loquuntur et enarrant. Et tamen  
 Philosophis tum antiquis tum recentioribus plerisque hoc  
 fere solenne est conjectis paulisper in res & Exempla oculis  
 vel Experimentis paucis captis Causas Ordinem & Nexum  
 excogitare quæ Phænomenis quodammodo quadret, et hoc  
 40 volunt esse Philosophari. Nihil tamen a Philosophia magis

think that whatever is made up and devised by the powers of the human mind should be termed not philosophy but poetry, which we leave to those who have dreamed on twin-peaked Parnassus.\* For the function of a philosopher is quite otherwise. In truth it is chastely to interpret the works of God, the highest poet, and not to adulterate these works with any admixture of the produce of the human mind.\* This is very unpleasing to the pride and arrogance of one born a human being, who likes to command rather than to obey things, and to sever the knots of nature by the power of his mind rather than to clear them by a cautious and slow process. For that reason, starting from trifling conjecture the mind of men can readily be taken up into a certain divination and augury about the nature of things.\* But the human mind is a stranger to, and is repelled by, the lowlier task of learning the language of things themselves and interpreting their sense. For all the works of God have a certain sense and language, addressing not the ears but the intellect. With a voice that is indeed great and is intelligible to all, they proclaim the power, wisdom and goodness of their creator. But with a soft voice too and with a language not vernacular, though by exertion and hard work it can be learned, they describe what they are, by what law they have been created by their most wise maker, with what powers they have been endowed, by what connecting principle they have been united with each other, and lastly, by what service, by what offices, they can be of benefit to people. To form the grammar of this language, to construct utterances, to observe the analogy, so that in the end we understand the sense of the language, not by inconstant conjecture but in terms of a legitimate account. Truly this is to act as a philosopher. The renowned Lord Verulam, the most successful of mortals in assigning names to things, never produced a happier turn of phrase than when he affirmed that philosophy is the interpretation of nature.\* In my opinion the power and nature of philosophy cannot be captured in a more apt phrase. Just as it is the Christian theologian's function to draw from the pure word of God the dogmas of religion and not to add anything from his own intellect or another's, so also it is the philosopher's function to reject all the fictions and divinations of men as apocrypha, and to esteem as pure and divine only that which the works of God say and recount. And yet for most philosophers, ancient and modern, it has been almost customary practice, after casting an eye briefly over some things and examples or carrying out a few experiments, to think out the causes, order and connection which in some way square with the appearances, and think that this is what philosophising is.\* But there is nothing more

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alienum. Sit Divinatio sit Augurium sit Anticipatio vel quicquid vilis. Philosophia certe non est.

[16] Si vero hæc ita sint, in tanta Scriptorum Philosophicorum mole, quantum est quod nomine

5 dignum videri debeat. Inter tot Philosophorum nomina fidus Naturæ interpret, est equidem rara avis in terris. Hoc tamen honore dignum censemus inter antiquos imprimis Hippocratem Coum Medicorum

10 Principem qui Artis suæ Hypothesibus missis, præcepta, ex observatis et Expertis, caste deprompta, Discipulis tradidit, & iisdem vestigijs insistere docuit. Dein Socratem Atheniensem Philosophiæ decus, Sophistarum sui temporis flagellum. qui

15 pertinentibus, Naturam ducem presse Secutus est, in rebus ignotis vero et ignorantiam suam ingenue fateri promptus, et Sciorum inscitiam patefacere paratus.

[17] Inter recentiores magnum Verulamij ingenium primo Philosophiam ex Naturæ Interpretationem docuit &

20 luculentissime demonstravit in eximio Opere Novum Organum Scientiarum dicto huiusque Interpretationis regulas ex parte exposuit. Huic tandem post Seculi decursum Philosophorum turba ægre consentire videtur.

Vix unum tamen reperies excepto Newtono qui non aliquando furtim in Hypotheses fictas relabatur.

25 [18] Quarta Lege cautum volumus ni Philosophus communes Notiones subvertere Satagit, ni se & Artem suam vulgo Ludibrium præbere velit. Sunt enim non in Mathesi solum sed in omnibus rebus humanis,

30 κοινὰ ἐννοιαὶ Axiomata vel communes notiones, doctis pariter & indoctis Philosophis & Idiotis notæ, quæ ex ipsa humanæ naturæ constitutione assensum rapiunt, quibusque omnis vitæ ratio vertitur; quibus Sublatis consilia humana velut ægri somnia nec modum nec

35 finem habere possunt, & omnia susque deque agi necesse est. Notiones hæc omni Philosophia et antiquiores & stabiliores sunt, altis radicibus in humana Natura defixis. Adeo ut Philosophicis Machinis, has evellere insanum sit & vanum incæptum. vel enim veræ sunt hæc & certæ vel

40 tota hominum vita somnium est et delirium. Et Ridiculum



foreign to philosophy. Whether it be divination, augury, preconception or whatever else that is worthless; it is assuredly not philosophy.

[16] If indeed things are thus, there is very little in a great number of philosophical writings that should seem worthy of the name. Among so many names of philosophers a trustworthy interpreter of nature is truly a rare bird in the world.\* We suggest that, among the ancients, foremost among those worthy of this honoured name is Hippocrates of Cos, most eminent of doctors, who bequeathed to his pupils the principles of his art, having drawn them purely from observations and experiments after rejecting hypotheses, and who taught his pupils to follow the same tracks.\* We suggest that the next person worthy of this honoured name is Socrates the Athenian, ornament of philosophy, scourge of the Sophists of his day, who, in matters concerning virtue, morals and the duties of humankind, followed nature his guide with precision, but in matters unknown he promptly and openly admitted his ignorance and was ready to display the ignorance of those who had a smattering of knowledge.\*

[17] Among modern thinkers the eminent intellect of Lord Verulam was the first to teach that philosophy is the interpretation of nature and he showed this with very great clarity in an extraordinary work entitled the *New Instrument of the Sciences*, and revealed in part the rules of this interpretation. Finally, after a century has gone by, a crowd of philosophers seem to agree, unwillingly, with this man. But, apart from Newton, you will find hardly one who will not sometimes slide back into hypotheses that have been made up.

[18] In accordance with the fourth law we wish the philosopher to be careful not to spend all his time undermining common notions, lest he publicly expose himself and his art to mockery. For there are not only in mathematics but in all human affairs, *koinai ennoiai*, axioms or common notions known equally to the educated and the uneducated, to philosophers and the ignorant, notions which by the very constitution of human nature take hold of our assent, and on which every concept of life rests.\* If these common notions are lifted out of the picture then human projects, like a sick man's dreams, can have neither limit nor outcome, and necessarily nothing done is of any consequence. These notions, with their roots deep and firm within human nature, are more ancient and more stable than all philosophy, to such an extent that to eradicate these notions by philosophical tricks would be a mad and vain attempt. For these notions are true and certain or else the whole life of human beings is a dream and a derangement. And, of course, philosophical

sane Spectaculum omnibus quibus sanum sincipit  
semper præbebit Subtilitas Philosophica cum communi  
hominum sensu composita. Qui igitur cum Zenone  
motum impossibilem esse demonstrare velit. Qui cum  
5 Hobbeo nullum natura discrimen esse turpis & honesti  
contendit, Qui cum Davide Homio Sensibus Memoriae  
testimonio Demonstrationi nullam fidem esse habendam;  
Qui mundum hunc initium habere potuisse omnino sine  
causa. Qui inquam hæc et talia opinionum Monstra inani  
10 Subtilitate fulcire conatur. hunc non Philosophari sed  
vel ludere vel insanire censendum est. Quicumque cum  
communi hominum Sensu certamen inierit. Strenuum  
imo invictum adversarium se nactum sciet, cui tandem  
[4r] manus dare oportebit | nemo enim ex tali certamine victor  
15 nemo sine dedecore abibit.<.>

[19] 5 Denique Philosophiam non solum communibus  
notionibus non inimicam, sed etiam ijs Superstructam &  
inedificatam esse volumus. Ratiocinium omne Legittimum  
ex datis et concessis Principijs fieri necesse est. Mathematici  
20 hoc probe perspecto, Axiomata primo loco ponunt, tanquam  
totius Scientiæ Basis et fundamentum, quo Sublato corrui,  
quo vero posito inconcussum manet, Ædificium ingens,  
humani ingenij Decus, Sublimi feriens Sidera Vertice.<.>

Quod in Mathesi diu omnium Consensu obtinuit, idem in  
25 Astronomia Physica, summus Newtonus primo ausus est,  
eam scilicet tribus vel quattuor communibus Notionibus  
inædificare, quas Philosophandi Regulas nuncupavit.  
Regulæ hæ, omnibus qui Philosophiam Newtonianam  
degustarunt notæ, axiomata sunt, non Mathematica sed  
30 Physica, atque hisce & Phænomenis sensibus perceptis,  
tanquam duabus solido Adamante columnis, innititur  
quicquid sanum & sincerum in Physica hucusque  
compertum est Ut in unaquaque Philosophiæ parte, sint  
quædam prima, & communi hominum Sensui proxima,  
35 quibus cætera, toto pondere incumbunt & adeo arcte  
coherent, ut quod olim Marcus Tullius de Geometria idem  
de alijs omnibus Philosophiæ partibus dici possit nempe si  
prima dederis danda sunt omnia. Et uti Euclidis Axiomata ad  
totam Mathesin sustinendam sufficiunt, ita nifallar Newtoni  
40 Philosophandi Regulæ, Physicæ toti sufficient, nec unquam

subtlety, when placed alongside the common sense of humankind, will always look absurd to everyone of sound mind. Accordingly, who, along with Zeno, would want to demonstrate that motion is impossible?\*

Who, along with Hobbes, holds that there is no difference in nature between the shameful and the moral?\*

Who, along with David Hume, contends that one should not put one's faith in the senses, memory, testimony, demonstration?\*

Who maintains that this world could have had a beginning entirely without a cause?\*

I say that he who tries, with worthless subtlety, to sustain these things and other opinions of like monstrosity, should be deemed not to be philosophising but to be at play or to be crazy. Anyone who enters into competition with the common sense of humankind will learn that he has met with an opponent who is quick, indeed invincible, to whom he will at last have to surrender, for no one will leave such a competition as the victor, no one will leave it without dishonour.

[19] Fifthly and lastly, we want philosophy not only not to be hostile to common notions but in addition to be constructed and built on them; it is necessary for every item of valid reasoning to arise from principles that are granted and assented to. Having discerned this law with great clarity, mathematicians place axioms first of all as the basis and foundation of the whole science, which fails if the foundations fail but which remains unshakable once the foundations are in place, an immense construction, the pride of the human intellect, striking the stars with its head raised.\* This same law which, with everyone's agreement, has long obtained in mathematics, the renowned Newton first dared to use in physical astronomy, that is, by constructing the science on three or four common notions which he termed rules of philosophising.\* These rules, known to everyone who has tried out the Newtonian philosophy, are physical not mathematical axioms, and on these as well as on phenomena perceived by the senses, as if on two pillars of solid steel, there sits everything sound and correct that is found in this man's physics, so that every part of his philosophy has certain principles that are primary and that are most like the common sense of human beings, on which everything else is resting its full weight.\* So narrowly connected are these principles that the very thing that Cicero once said about geometry: 'If the first principles be granted then so should all the others', may indeed be said about all the other parts of philosophy.\* And as Euclid's axioms are sufficient to sustain the whole of mathematics, so also, if I am not misled, Newton's rules of philosophising are sufficient for the whole of physics, and no others will ever be needed. But as

alijs opus erit.> Quod vero ad Phænomena attinet, hominum industria, Observatione & Experimentis occupata, nova semper suppeditabit, unde Physica, Stabili fundamento jam nixa, & novis Indies subsidijs aucta, caput usque attollet.

5 [20] Quod igitur primo in Mathesi, dein in Physica præstitum est, cum magno harum Scientiarum & humani generis emolumento, idem in alijs Philosophiæ partibus præstari exoptamus, eas nimirum communibus Notionibus & Phænomenis ordine superstrui. Neque mihi, sæpius hæc  
10 animo volventi, causa aliqua comperta est, quæ hoc vetat sperare. Sunt enim Axiomata, sunt Phænomena Ethica & Politica, non minus quam Physica quibus omne rectum Ratiocinium in ijs Scientijs nititur. Quid igitur vetat, has etiam Philosophiæ partes, veram & legittimam Scientiæ  
15 formam nancisci, quâ velut Ariadnes filo earum Labrinthos et ambages retexere, & magis recto & certo itinere ad su<m>ma earum fastigia progressus facere liceat.>

[21] Hæc sunt Auditores quæ de Legibus Philosophandi generalibus vestrâ indulgentiâ fretus proponere ausus sum quæque vestro Iudicio permitto, si quid rectius novistis candidi impartimini si non his mecum utimini.

[22] Dixi |

[4v] [23] Candidati Charissimi

[24] Cum peracto curriculo Philosophico, Accademiæ Moderatores, gradus in Artibus Honore, vos dignos censuerint. Priusquam Solennibus Accademiæ ritibus inauguremini ex Senatus Accademici decreto Juramento solenni obstringendi estis, in Fidem Religionis Christianæ & Gratum animum erga Almam Matrem Accademiæ.  
25 Me itaque conceptis verbis præeuntem, pia mente et voce clara, sublatis dextris sequimini.>

[25] Ego coram omniscio & omnipotenti Deo Doctrinam & Fidem Christianam, ex puro dei verbo haustam, ab Ecclesiæ Romanæ Hæresibus & Superstitione longe abhorrentem, sincere profiteor.  
30

[26] Insuper Accademiæ huic almæ Parenti (cui hanc Ingenij culturam debeo) Nutritia uti potero liberaliter relaturum me Solenniter promitto.>

[27] Ita me adjuvet Deus.

regards the phenomena, people's diligence, taken up with observations and experiments, will always provide new things. Hence, physics, now resting on an unshakable base and augmented each day by auxiliary forces, will constantly lift up its head.

[20] What has been shown, therefore, first in mathematics, then in physics, to the great benefit of these sciences and of the human race — that they will be constructed in due order upon common notions and upon the phenomena — will, we fervently hope, be shown in the other parts of philosophy. And though I have frequently turned these matters over in my mind, no cause for abandoning this hope has been uncovered. For there are axioms and there are phenomena in ethics and politics no less than in physics on which every sound argument in these sciences rests.\* What then prohibits these parts of philosophy too from lighting upon a true and legitimate form of science by which, as was done with Ariadne's thread, one may unravel their labyrinths and meandering tracks, and make progress via a more straight and sure route to their highest slopes?\*

[21] These are matters, gentlemen, which, trusting to your indulgence, I have dared to present concerning the general laws of philosophising, and which I give up to you for your judgement. If you know a more accurate account, be open and share it. If not, use these laws with me.

[22] Thank you.

[23] My dear candidates,

[24] Now that, with the philosophical curriculum completed, the moderators of the academy have judged you worthy of graduating with honours in arts, before you graduate, by decree of the senate of the academy, in accordance with the solemn rites of the academy you must be bound by a solemn oath of fidelity to the Christian religion and of gratitude to your alma mater the academy. So, with your mind in a Godly state and your voice clear and with your right hand raised, follow me as I dictate the prescribed words:

[25] Before the omniscient and omnipotent God I sincerely profess the Christian doctrine and faith drawn from the pure word of God, and profess my great abhorrence of the heresies and superstitions of the Roman Church.

[26] Furthermore, to this academy my foster parent (to which I owe this cultivation of my mind) I solemnly promise to give assistance as liberally as my powers will permit.

[27] So help me God.

- [28] Ego eadem Auctoritate quam summi ac Potentissimi Principes huic Universitati amplissimam indulgere, Te A. B. in Artibus Liberalibus & Disciplinis Philosophicis — Magistrum, creo, constituo, proclamo, renuncio. tibi que Potestatem facio, docendi, 5 scribendi, commentandi, omniaque id genus alia præstandi, quæ hic aut alibi uspiam Magistris Artium concedi solent. — Et in signum manumissionis tuæ Librum hunc apertum tibi trado: caputque tum hoc pileo orno, quod ut fælix faustumque sit Deum optimum Maximum præcor.
- 10 [29] Et ut ingenij tui Specimen aliquod coram cælebri hoc cœtu edas. rogo<.>

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[28] By that most abundant authority which very great and powerful princes have granted to this university, I create, constitute, proclaim, declare you A. B. Master in the liberal arts and the philosophical disciplines. And I bestow on you the power to teach, write, compose and do all the other such things which here or anywhere else are customarily permitted to Masters in Arts. And as a sign of your graduation I hand this open book to you and I adorn your head with this cap and beseech God most good and most great that it be auspicious and propitious. 5

[29] And I request you to present some example of your thinking in the presence of this distinguished company.\* 10

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## III

1759

- [1] Pauca, de Intellectu humano, ejusque primis & simplicissimis operationibus, hoc tempore proponere, & Docti hujus Coetus Judicio & Candori permittere, animus est.
- 5 [2] Olim equidem suspicabar, jam vero pro comperto habeo, Intellectus humani Philōsōphīam, quamvis ab excellentibus ingenijs, hoc & superiori seculo exculta fuerit; tamen huc usque tenebris obvolutam esse; et Hypothesibus, atque humani ingenij Idolis, potius quam accurata operationum intellectus
- 10 Analyysi innixam. Cur ita credam partim ex dicendis constabit, interea, omnibus, in hac parte Philosōphīæ modice versatis, notum est, Dogmata ubique recepta, de Idēis, de Judicio, de Apprehensione, non solum subtilitatibus nodosis implexa esse, sed etiam paradoxa sæpe, & a communi hominum sensu
- 15 abhorrentia, atque Scepticorum Acatalepsīæ, quam sanæ et utili Scientiæ, magis amica.
- [3] Hinc sine dubio factum est, quod cordati homines, quæstiones et disputationes abstractas, quas vulgo metaphysicas appellant, & quæ ab intellectus humani
- 20 Philosophia pendent, parum plerumque sapiunt, utpote quarum neque fructum aliquem expectant, neque exitum sperant. Imo experientia compertum est, viros acutissimos, qui intellectus operationes subtilius rimati sunt, plerumque vel Scepticos factos esse, vel tela scepticis idonea
- 25 fabricasse.<>
- [4] Ex hisce Indicijs, suspicionem haud levem oriri oportet, statum hujus Philosōphīæ partis, non esse fælicem: Et idcirco, Axiomata vulgata, de Ideis, de Judicio, de Apprehensione, utcunque a Philosophis pro indubitatis
- 30 recepta, non esse temere admittenda; sed accurato examini denuo subjicienda, nequid falsi, vel ambigui ijs subsit, quod homini veritatis cupido negotium facessere, & velut ignis fatuus in sterilem & inamenam Scepticismi solitudinem seducere possit.
- 35 [5] Per Apprehensionem intellegunt Philosophi nudum rei cujusvis conceptum, absque ulla affirmatione vel negatione: Apprehensiones sæpe uno, sæpe pluribus verbis exprimuntur; ut Mare, Mare tranquillum, Mons præaltus, rupibus asper nive



## III

1759\*

- [1] My present aim is to put forward a few ideas concerning the human understanding and its first and most simple operations and to submit them to the judgement and candour of this learned company.
- [2] I used to suppose but now know for a certainty that though the philosophy of the human understanding has been refined by eminent thinkers in this century and the last one, up to now it has been wrapped in darkness and has rested on hypotheses and on idols of the human mind rather than on accurate analysis of the operations of the understanding.\* Why I should believe this will depend in part upon what is about to be said. Meanwhile it is known, by everyone who is to some extent familiar with this part of philosophy, that dogmas about ideas, judgement and apprehension have been received everywhere not only intertwined with knotty subtleties but also often paradoxical and repugnant to the common sense of human beings, and more a friend to the acatalepsy of the Sceptics\* than to sound and useful science.
- [3] Without doubt this is why it has come about that wise people for the most part know little about the abstract questions and disputations that are generally termed metaphysics and that depend on the philosophy of the human understanding, for from these questions and disputations they do not expect fruits nor hope for an outcome. Indeed, it has been discovered by experience that very intelligent men who have probed with too much subtlety the operations of the human understanding have for the most part either become sceptics or made weapons fit for sceptics.
- [4] On the basis of these pieces of evidence there must arise a far from slight suspicion that the state of this part of philosophy is not auspicious. And for this reason generally known axioms about ideas, judgement and apprehension, no matter that they have been accepted by philosophers as indubitable, ought not to be blindly admitted; they should instead be exposed anew to careful consideration, in case there should be in them something false or obscure that could be troublesome to someone eager for truth and, like a will-o'-the-wisp, could lead him away into the barren and dismal loneliness of scepticism.
- [5] By 'apprehension' philosophers understand the mere concept of anything, whatever it be, without any affirming or denying. Apprehensions are often expressed with one word, and often with more than one, such as 'sea', 'calm sea', 'very high mountain, uneven, rocky and

obductus; & similia, quæ cum neque affirmant aliquid neque  
 negent non propositiones, sed termini appellantur, vel simplices  
 vel magis compositi. Ea vero intellectus operatio, quæ aliqua  
 [1v] affirmatione vel negatione enunciat, Judicium dicitur. Ita | vir  
 5 Sapiens, est Terminus apprehensionem simplicem significans sed,  
 Vir Sapiens est qui pauca loquitur, est Propositio, Judicij signum.  
 [6] Ut Apprehensio sæpe pluribus, ita Judicium sæpe uno  
 verbo continetur præcipue in sermone Græco & Latino.  
 Ita, diruit, ædificat, mutat, sunt tres propositiones, totidem  
 10 verbis expressæ. Observandum tamen nos non Terminos  
 solum sed etiam Propositiones simpliciter apprehendere  
 posse absque Judicij Operatione; nemo enim est etiam  
 ex vulgo qui non scit aliud esse Propositionem aliquam  
 intellegere seu apprehendere, aliud, de ea Judicium ferre,  
 15 & veram esse vel falsam credere. Adeo ut Apprehendere,  
 idem sit atque intellegere, concipere, imaginari; ast  
 Judicium ferre, est assentiri vel dissentire, scire, credere,  
 opinari.>

[7] Huc usque cautè satis, dilucidè, & inoffenso pede  
 20 Philosophi procedere videntur. Neque culpandi sunt qui  
 Apprehensionis et Judicij Definitionem Logicam non tradunt;  
 culpandi potius, qui Actus vel facultates mentis simplices,  
 Definitione logica terminare ausi sunt. Ut enim Albedini,  
 Extensioni, Durationi & similibus, compositionis omnino  
 25 expertibus Definitio non competit; et si cui ignaro quid  
 hæc verba valeant, exponere velimus, hoc fieri oportet,  
 aut per verba Synonima, aut per periphrasin, aut oculis  
 vel menti exhibendo id quod volumus; idem omnino de  
 Apprehensione de Judicio imo et de Ratiocinio dicendum:  
 30 diversi sunt et dissimiles mentis actus & facultates, quæque  
 sui generis. Uti cæcus natus, quid sit Albedo nunquam ulla  
 definitione intellegere potest, ita nemo unquam intelleget  
 quid sit Apprehensio, quid Judicium, quid Ratiocinium  
 qui omnibus hisce facultatibus non est præditus, atque  
 35 operationum earum non est sibi conscius. Quamvis enim  
 Judicium Apprehensionibus terminatur, non inde sequitur  
 hoc esse compositum quid ex illa, aut ejus modificationem,  
 ut Philosophi nonnulli volunt.> Quamvis etiam Ratiocinium  
 sine Judicio esse non potest, tamen Ratiocinium seu illatio  
 40 non est Judiciorum compositio aut Modificatio sed aliquid

snow-covered', and similar expressions which, since they neither affirm nor deny anything are called not propositions but terms, either simple or composite.\* But that operation of the understanding which is expressed by an affirming or denying is termed a judgement. Thus 'wise man' is a term signifying a simple apprehension but 'A man who says few things is wise' is a proposition, the sign of a judgement.\* 5

[6] Just as apprehension is often comprised of several words, so also a judgement is often comprised of one, particularly in Greek and Latin speech. Thus *diruit* (it is destroying), *aedificat* (he is building), *mutat* (it is changing), are three propositions expressed in as many words. But it should be observed that we can have a simple understanding not only of terms but also of propositions without the operation of judgement. For even among the ordinary people there is no one who does not know that it is one thing to understand or grasp a proposition, and another thing to pass judgement on the proposition and to believe it to be true or believe it to be false. For this reason, to apprehend is the same thing as to understand, to conceive to imagine, but to pass judgement is to assent or dissent, to know, to believe, to opine.\* 10 15

[7] Up to here philosophers seem to advance with enough care, with clarity and without tripping up. And those who do not bequeath a logical definition of apprehension and judgement should not be blamed. Rather the blameworthy ones are those who have dared to fix with a logical definition the limits of simple acts or faculties of the mind. For it is inappropriate to define whiteness, extension, duration and such like things that are not in the least composite. And if we want to explain these terms to someone who is ignorant of what they mean, this has to be done either by synonymous terms or by periphrasis or by pointing out to the eyes or the mind what we mean. Entirely the same thing should be said about apprehension and judgement and indeed about reasoning too. The acts and faculties of the mind are diverse and dissimilar, each being a kind of its own. Just as someone born blind can never understand by means of any definition what whiteness is, so also no one would ever understand what is apprehension, what is judgement and what is reasoning, who is not provided with all these faculties and is not conscious of these operations within himself.\* For although judgement terminates in apprehensions, it does not follow from this that a judgement is somehow composed of an apprehension or is a modification of one, as some philosophers want to say.\* In addition, although there can be no reasoning without judgement, nevertheless reasoning or inference is neither a composition nor a modification of judgements but something 20 25 30 35 40

- diversi generis: Credere enim & ratiocinari, propositioni  
 assentiri & ex alia aliam deducere, sine dubio non idem  
 sunt, neque ejusdem generis operationes. Liceat harum  
 intellectus operationum Discrimen illustrari, similitudine  
 5 ducta a re maxime familiari Extensione scilicet corporum.  
 Tria novimus esse extensorum genera lineam superficiem et  
 solidum. Superficies lineis terminatur, non tamen est linearum  
 modificatio neque intercedit ulla ratio inter superficiem &  
 lineam<.) Solidum superficiebus terminatur, tamen non est  
 10 superficiei modificatio sed diversum Extensionis genus. Simili  
 modo se habent tres intellectus Operationes. |  
 [8] Hoc itaque ratum esse volumus Apprehensionem  
 Judicium et Ratiocinium, tres esse diversas prorsus  
 Intellectus humani operationes, quæque, sui Generis  
 15 non minus quam Olfactus Gustus & Auditus; atque  
 Naturam & Differentiam harum Operationum, non esse  
 definitione logica explicandas sed conscientia ipsarum  
 percipiendas.  
 [9] Atque hoc eo magis observandum, quod Philosophi  
 20 vel non satis id animadvertisse videntur, vel aliter omnino  
 sensisse. Ioannes Lockius vir & de Philosōphīa et de  
 humano Genere optime meritis, innuit, non sine Iactantia  
 quadam inventoribus condonanda, se primum ostendisse,  
 quid sit Judicium; de quo tum Philosophi tum Idiotæ  
 25 quotidie loquuntur, neminem ante se ejus Definitionem  
 dedisse.  
 [10] Multum sane apud me valent Lockij nomen &  
 Auctoritas; vereor tamen ne vir acutissimus Definitione  
 hanc animae facultatem obscuriorem reddiderit, & multis  
 30 erroribus ansam præbuerit. Quid sit Judicium, omnes  
 probe & distincte noscimus si non quæras; at si quæras  
 quid sit, hærent etiam Philosophi. Ita est in omnibus rebus  
 simplicibus & sui generis, & ita esse oportet. Cum enim  
 Definitio omnis ex genere et Differentia definiti constet,  
 35 ipsius Generis nulla potest esse Definitio, nisi sit Species  
 altioris cujusdam et simplicioris Generis<.)  
 [11] Utcunque audiamus quid sit Judicium secundum hunc  
 Philosophum<.) Est inquit perceptio convenientiæ vel discrepantiæ  
 Idearum. Hic quærere liceat quid per perceptionem velit. Oportet  
 40 enim ut Perceptio hic significet vel Apprehensionem simplicem

of a different kind. For to believe and to reason, to assent to a proposition and to deduce one proposition from another, are undoubtedly neither the same thing nor operations of the same kind. It may be allowed that the distinction between these operations of the understanding can be illustrated by means of its resemblance to something very familiar, viz. the extension of bodies. We know that there are three kinds of extended thing, a line, a surface and a solid. A surface terminates at lines but is not a modification of lines and there is no proportion of a surface to a line. A solid terminates at surfaces, but is not a modification of a surface but is a different kind of extension. In a similar way, there are three operations of the understanding. 5

[8] We wish therefore that these points be agreed: (i) that apprehension, judgement and reasoning are three utterly different operations of the human understanding, each one of these being of its own kind no less than are smell, taste and hearing; and (ii) that the nature and distinctive features of these operations cannot be accounted for in a logical definition but must be perceived by consciousness of the operations themselves.\* 15

[9] And this fact is the more to be taken note of because philosophers seem either not to have sufficiently taken note of it or to have taken an entirely different view of the matter. John Locke, a man of the highest merit as a philosopher and as a human being, has signalled, not without a certain bragging which is to be forgiven in innovators, that he was the first to have revealed the essence of judgement, of which philosophers and lay people say daily that nobody before themselves has given a definition. 20 25

[10] Locke's name and authority are very highly valued by me, but I am afraid that this very acute man has made this faculty of mind more obscure by his definition, and has ushered in many errors. Everyone knows accurately and distinctly what a judgement is if you do not ask. But if you ask what it is, even philosophers are perplexed. That is how it is in the case of everything that is simple and of its own kind, and that is how it should be. For since every definition rests on the genus and specific difference of what is defined, there cannot be a definition of a genus, unless the genus is a species of a certain higher and more simple genus.\* 30 35

[11] We should, however, hear what judgement is, according to this philosopher. It is, he says, the perception of the agreement or disagreement of ideas.\* Here it is permissible to ask what he means by 'perception'. For 'perception' here must signify either simple apprehension or the 40

vel Judicium convenientiæ Idearum. Si vero Apprehensionem significet, inde sequetur, judicium esse speciem vel modificationem Apprehensionis, quod communi hominum sensui repugnat, neque uspiam ab hoc Philosopho disertis verbis affirmatur.

5 [12] Si vero Perceptio Judicium significet. Definitio hæc accuratissimum Lockium minime sapiet. Nunquam enim dixisset Judicium esse Judicium de convenientia vel discrepantia Idearum. Hinc ni fallar satis patet, virum clarissimum vel sensisse Judicium esse Apprehensionis  
10 simplicis Speciem, vel certe non satis animadvertisse has operationes esse omnino diversi generis.

[13] De Ideis postea agemus, interea observare liceat mirum videri, virum adeo perspicacem non vidisse, quod secundum ipsius Systema Judicia ferre possumus non solum de  
15 convenientia vel discrepantia Idearum sed etiam de multis alijs, exempli gratia, de existentia tum Idearum tum rerum quarum sunt Imagines, de convenientia aut discrepantia rerum quas Ideæ nobis exhibent, & de convenientia vel discrepantia rerum cum Ideis, unde Ideæ ab illo dicuntur vel veræ vel falsæ<.>

20 [14] Bene notat hic Philosophus alibi, multa esse quæ  
[2v] definiri | non possunt, et merito reprehendit definitionem temporis seu durationis ab Aristotele traditam. Vereor ne hæc ejus Definitio Judicij eidem obnoxia sit censuræ<.>

[15] Humius Philosophus recentior et audacior, metaphysico  
25 acumine et ingenio insignis, in tractatu de Natura humana, et in tentaminibus Philosophicis diserte docet, Judicium nil aliud esse, quam Apprehensionem fortem et vividam: Audacter pro more suo affirmans Sensationem Imaginationem, Memoriam & fidem seu persuasionem,  
30 quum idem habent objectum, idem esse, gradu tantum inter se differre. Adeo ut Æsopi fabulas credere nil aliud sit, quam fortem & vividam earum Ideam habere; has fabulas vero intellegere & non credere, est debilem et languid<a>m earum habere Ideam. Si quæratís Auditores quo Argumento nitatur delirium hoc Philosophicum? En Habitis. Qui fabulas credit, inquit, easdem omnino Ideas in mente habet quas ille qui solum intellegit. nullo modo igitur inter se differunt intellegere & credere, nisi quod dum credimus Ideæ sunt magis vividæ, dum intellegemus languidiores. Miror  
35 Philosophum hic substitisse. Argumentum ejus ulterius nos  
40

judgement about the agreement of ideas. But if it signifies apprehension it follows from this that judgement is a species or modification of apprehension, which is incompatible with the common sense of humankind, nor is this explicitly affirmed anywhere by this philosopher.

[12] But if ‘perception’ signify judgement, this definition would not at all have the flavour of Locke’s great carefulness. For he would never have said that a judgement is a judgement of the agreement or disagreement of ideas. Hence, if I am not wrong it is clear enough that this renowned man either thought judgement a species of simple apprehension, or assuredly did not sufficiently notice that these operations are of totally different kinds. 5 10

[13] We shall deal with ideas hereafter. Meanwhile it may be observed that it seems surprising that such a perceptive person did not see that according to his own system we can pass judgement not only on the agreement or disagreement of ideas but also on many other things, for example, on the existence both of ideas and of the things of which the ideas are images, on the agreement or disagreement of the things which ideas present to us and on the agreement or disagreement of things with ideas, on account of which ideas are termed true or false by him.\* 15

[14] Elsewhere this philosopher notes well that there are many things that cannot be defined, and correctly reproves the definition of time or duration that was bequeathed by Aristotle.\* I am afraid that Locke’s definition of judgement is exposed to the same censure. 20

[15] The philosopher Hume, more recent, more audacious and renowned for his metaphysical acuity and understanding, clearly teaches, in his *Treatise of Human Nature* and in his *Philosophical Essays*, that judgement is nothing other than a strong and lively apprehension and boldly affirms in his own way that when sensation, imagination, memory and belief or conviction have the same object they are the same and differ from each other in degree only.\* Hence to believe Aesop’s fables is nothing other than to have a strong and lively idea of them, but to understand them without believing them is to have a weak and faint idea of them. If you should ask, gentlemen, on what argument this philosophical folly rests, here is the answer: he says that the person who believes the fables has exactly the same ideas in his mind as does the person who merely understands them. Understanding and believing, therefore, are in no way different from each other except for the fact that our ideas are more vivid while we are believing and more faint while we are understanding.\* I wonder why the philosopher stood firm here. His argument leads us further in this way: a person who believes a story 25 30 35 40

ducit, hoc modo, Qui fabulam veram esse credit easdem  
Ideas habet atque ille qui credit esse falsam, ideoque credere  
aliquid verum esse & credere falsum idem sunt re ipsa gradu  
tantum differunt prout Ideæ sunt fortiores vel languidiores.

5 Et hic certe nos docere debuisset Philosophus num Ideæ  
cujuslibet Propositionis fortiores sunt, quum creditur esse  
vera, an quum creditur esse falsa. Difficile est equidem talia  
opinionum monstra serio refellere.

10 [16] Si quis dixisset Motum esse Magnitudinis gradum,  
ridendus esset non refutandus neque minus absurdum dicere  
mihi videtur, qui Judicium vult esse Apprehensionis gradum.  
In re itaque tam aperta hoc solum observasse sufficit:  
Mentem humanam, circa idem objectum, facultates seu actus,  
15 omnino diversos exercere posse. Irae et Amoris, Intellectus  
& voluntatis, idem potest esse Objectum, non tamen  
inde sequitur, Iram esse Amoris gradum, vel Voluntatem  
Intellectus. Eodem modo, propositionem eandem possumus  
vel nude concipere, vel de ea Judicium ferre, verane sit an  
20 falsa dubia an certa utilis an inepta. Neque minus distincte &  
clare distinguuntur hæc duæ Operationes quam Intellectus a  
voluntate vel Auditus ab Odoratu.

[17] Hæc dicta sufficiant de distinctione Apprehensionis  
a Judicio re equidem satis facili et perspicua, si non  
Philosophico pulvere obducta & telis araneis implicita  
25 fuisset.

[18] Philosophorum turba docet Apprehensionem simplicem  
triplicis esse generis. Sensationem scilicet Imaginationem &  
Intellectum purum. Verum hanc divisionem non esse accuratam  
aut ex natura rei petitam suspicor. Primo enim quamvis, quid per  
30 Sensationem volunt, satis forte intellegitur; eas nempe mentis  
operationes quæ mediantibus Sensibus externis exercentur, visu  
scilicet auditu & cæteris; tamen mihi videtur, has operationes,  
Judicia potius esse quam apprehensiones simplices. Doctum  
hunc Cœtum, oculis cernere nequeo, quin et presentiam ejus  
35 credam, et verecundia commovear. Sensus sunt testes rerum,  
eorum testimonium, natura Interprete intellegimus, eademque  
natura Duce huic testimonio assensum præbemus firmissimum.  
[3r] Eadem opera rem sensibilem apprehendimus, et id esse  
credimus, quod sensus testantur, nullo alio argumento, quam ipsa  
40 sensatione, freti. In omni sensatione igitur est Apprehensio non



to be true has the same ideas as one who believes it to be false, and so to believe that something is true and to believe that that same thing is false are the same as regards the object itself. They are different only in degree according as the ideas are stronger or weaker. And assuredly the philosopher ought to have informed us here whether the ideas of any given proposition are stronger when it is believed to be true or when it is believed to be false. It is indeed difficult to disprove in all seriousness such monstrous opinions. 5

[16] If someone said that motion is a degree of magnitude, he would be laughed at, not refuted, and someone who said that judgement is a degree of apprehension would, it seems to me, be saying something no less absurd. In a matter that is so evident, therefore, it is enough if just this point is noticed, that the human mind, in respect of the same object, can exercise faculties or acts that are totally different. One and the same thing can be an object of anger and love, of understanding and will, but it does not therefore follow that anger is a degree of love, or that will is a degree of understanding. In the same way, in respect of one and the same proposition we can merely conceive it or can pass judgement on it as to whether it is true or false, doubtful or certain, useful or useless. These two operations are no less distinctly and clearly differentiated than are understanding from will or hearing from smell. 10 15 20

[17] Let these points regarding the distinction of apprehension from judgement be sufficient, a distinction that would assuredly be sufficiently simple and plain if it had not been overlain with philosophical dust and ensnared in spiders' webs. 25

[18] A crowd of philosophers teach that there are three kinds of simple apprehension, namely, sensation, imagination and pure understanding.\* But I surmise that this division is neither exact nor derived from the nature of simple apprehension. For first, although it is perhaps well enough understood what they mean by sensation, viz., these operations of the mind, sight, hearing and so on, which are exercised by means of the external senses, nevertheless it seems to me that these operations are judgements rather than simple apprehensions. I cannot see this learned gathering with my eyes without believing in its presence and being moved by diffidence. The senses are witnesses of things, with nature as interpreter we understand their testimony, and with that same nature as guide we give a very firm assent to this testimony. By the same act we apprehend a sensible thing and believe it to exist, because the senses bear witness and we trust to no other argument than sensation itself. Hence in every sensation apprehension is not simple but is conjoined with 30 35 40

simplex, sed cum Iudicio & Fide conjuncta. Unde notare licet,  
 quam parum cum Natura conveniat, Philosophorum fere omnium  
 Doctrina, cum docent, Apprehensionem simplicem, primam  
 esse Intellectus Operationem, postea, mentem apprehensiones  
 5 suas componere, & sibi invicem comparare, unde Iudicia  
 fiunt. Revera quamvis hæc Operatio sit simplicissima non  
 tamen est prima. Cum enim Sensatio prior sit Imaginatione,  
 ex dictis liquet, Iudicium prius esse Apprehensione Simplici.  
 Non igitur Iudicia formamus ex Apprehensionibus simplicibus  
 10 per compositionem: potius dicendum ex Iudicijs naturalibus  
 Apprehensiones simplices formari per Analysin seu  
 Resolutionem; non secus atque in corporibus naturalibus fit,  
 quae ex Sale, aqua, terra, & alijs elementis simplicibus constant,  
 tamen hæc elementa, non separata nobis exhibet natura, arte  
 15 postea componenda, sed in corporibus concretis mixta et  
 composita præbet, arte et Analyysi chymica discernenda.  
 [19] Ad Imaginationem quod attinet, et Intellectum purum  
 hi ita a Philosophis distinguuntur ut in Imaginatione sit  
 Phantasma vel Imago rei in Cerebro, at in Intellectu puro,  
 20 nulla sit talis Imago. Hanc Distinctionem, mera Hypothesi  
 inniti palam est, Quis enim quæso Phantasmata rerum esse  
 in cerebro novit; quis unquam Argumento vel certo vel  
 etiam probabili talia Phantasmata esse ostendit?  
 [20] Missa itaque hac Divisione ut parum accurata et Vanâ  
 25 Hypothesi innixâ, transeo ad Doctrinam Philosophorum de  
 Natura et modo Apprehensionis<.>  
 [21] Vetus est Opinio, ab omnibus quantum scio Philosophis  
 antiquis et recentioribus recepta; Mentem humanam Objecta  
 externa et absentia non immediate percipere, sed per Imagines  
 30 quasdam aut similitudines, in Mente depictas, quas Ideas  
 vocant. Quicquid cogitant homines, quacunque de re iudicant,  
 vel ratiocinantur, Ideas in ipsa Mente existentes immediatum  
 et proximum volunt esse cogitationis objectum. Rerum  
 omnium Ideas ab eterno in mente divina fuisse asseruit Plato:  
 35 Malbranchius philosophus acutissimus, ejusque sequaces  
 volunt nos omnia percipere in Deo, Ideas in mente Divinâ  
 [3v] contemplando | quatenus eas nobis patefacere vult. Cæteri  
 Ideas per quas res percipimus in ipsa humana mente esse  
 existimant. Sine Ideis nullam esse perceptionem consentiunt  
 40 omnes Platonici Peripatetici Cartesiani Malbranchius Lockius

judgement and belief. Hence, it may be noted how little the doctrine of almost all philosophers accords with nature, when they teach that simple apprehension is the first operation of the understanding, that the mind then brings its apprehensions together, and compares them with each other, and from that comparison judgements arise. In truth, although this operation is very simple it is not the first; for since sensation comes before imagination, it is evident from what has been said that judgement is prior to simple apprehension. Hence we do not form judgements from simple apprehensions by composition, but rather it should be said that simple apprehensions are formed from natural judgements by analysis or resolution. The situation is not otherwise in the case of natural bodies, which consist of salt, water, earth and other simple elements; nature however does not exhibit these elements to us as separate and to be compounded thereafter by artifice, but instead presents them mixed up and composed in concrete bodies, to be separated out by artifice and chemical analysis.\*

[19] As regards imagination and pure understanding, these are distinguished by philosophers in this way, that in the imagination there is a phantasm or image of a thing in the brain, but in the pure understanding there is no such image.\* That this distinction rests on a mere hypothesis is evident, for who, I ask, knows that there are phantasms of things in the brain? Who has ever shown by a certain or even a probable argument that there are such phantasms?

[20] And so, having dismissed this division as being very inexact and based on a vain hypothesis, I pass on to the doctrine of the philosophers about the nature and mode of apprehension.

[21] There is an old opinion accepted, so far as I know, by all philosophers ancient and modern, that the human mind perceives external and absent objects not immediately but via certain images or likenesses depicted in the mind which they term 'ideas'. Whatsoever human beings are thinking, whatever thing it is about which they are judging or reasoning, philosophers mean that the ideas existing in the mind itself are the immediate and proximate object of thought.\* Plato declared that ideas of all things have existed from eternity in the divine mind.\* That most acute philosopher Malebranche and his followers maintain that we perceive all things in God by contemplating ideas in the divine mind to the extent that he wishes to disclose those ideas to us.\* The other philosophers judge that the ideas through which we perceive things are in the human mind itself. All Platonists, Peripatetics, Cartesians, Malebranche, Locke, Berkeley and Hume agree that without ideas there

Barclaius Humius. Hæc Idearum Doctrina recentiorum de  
 Intellectu humano Philosophantium, utramque paginam  
 implet. Magno molimine disputatum est, an Ideæ sint innatæ,  
 an Sensu & Reflexione acquisitæ; an dentur Ideæ abstractæ  
 5 & generales an vero omnes sint singulares; multa traduntur  
 de Ideis claris et obscuris, distinctis et confusis, adequatis &  
 inadequatis, veris et falsis, simplicibus & compositis, realibus  
 et Phantasticis; omne Judicium, omnis Scientia et ratiocinatio  
 10 nil aliud esse docetur, quam Idearum comparatio & relationum  
 inter eas perceptio. Verba esse non rerum sed Idearum signa,  
 et tandem eo deventum est (neque mirum videri debet) ut  
 magni etiam nominis inter Philosophos viri, nihil esse in rerum  
 Natura præter Ideas contendant.

[22] In tanto de Īdeis strepitu earum Existentiam in  
 15 dubium vocare, audax fortasse et temerarium facinus  
 nonnullis videbitur. Utcunque cum hæc Doctrina sit  
 omnino Philosophis propria, et hominibus sanæ Mentis  
 qui Philosōphiâ numquam imbuti sunt prorsus ignota, imo  
 paradoxa admodum et a communi vulgi Sensu aliena: quid  
 20 sit, unde orta, quo fundamento nixa, & quo nos ducat,  
 modeste inquirere et cum debita auctoritati Philosophicæ  
 verecundia, neque illicitum, neque Philosopho indecorum  
 opinor.

[23] Earum Rerum quæ Menti obversantur, quædam sunt  
 25 in ipsa Mente, ut Cogitatio, Adpetitus, Affectio, & cæteræ  
 mentis operationes; quædam vero sunt extra Mentem ut,  
 Sol, Luna, Sidera errantia et inerrantia, & quicquid in rerum  
 Natura est nobis notum, præter nosmet ipsos, præter mentem  
 ipsam scilicet, ejusque Operationes et Accidentia. Neque  
 30 solum Res amplectitur mens humana quæ actu existunt  
 sive extra nos sive in ipsa Mente, sed etiam multa quæ  
 jam non sunt, præterita scilicet & futura, imo possibilia  
 quæ nec sunt nec umquam fuerunt menti nunnunquam  
 obversantur, ut Mons aureus, vel Mare lacteum. Tot tantisque  
 35 viribus præditam animam, divinæ particulam Auræ, deo  
 natam, & cognatam, jure dixere antiqui Philosophi. qui  
 vero Dialecticam excoluere, non satis esse rati, has animæ  
 humanæ facultates extollere atque admirari; earum Rationem  
 reddere, & Phenomenon Intellectus Explicationem quandam  
 40 excogitare, sui muneris esse existimabant. Hinc Idearum

is no perception. This doctrine of ideas by moderns philosophising about the human understanding could fill both sides of this sheet. It has been very strenuously disputed whether ideas are innate, whether they are acquired by sense and reflection, whether there are abstract and general ideas or whether indeed all ideas are singular.\* Many things are taught about clear and obscure ideas, distinct and confused ones, adequate and inadequate, true and false, simple and composite, real and imaginary.\* We are taught that every judgement, every act of knowing and piece of reasoning, is nothing other than a comparison of ideas and a perception of the relations between them, and that words are signs of ideas not of things;\* in the end it should not be surprising that it has come to this, that great men, even renowned, among philosophers, contend that there is nothing in the nature of things except ideas.\*

[22] In such a loud noise about ideas, to call their existence into doubt will perhaps seem to some to be foolhardy and a rash piece of villainy. But since this doctrine is wholly the property of philosophers, and is entirely unknown to people of sound mind who have never received instruction in philosophy, and is indeed completely contradictory and foreign to the common sense of ordinary people, I think that it is neither impermissible nor discourteous to a philosopher, to enquire, with due modesty in the presence philosophical authority, what the doctrine is, from what it has arisen, on what foundation it rests, and to where it is leading us.

[23] Some of the things that appear to the mind are in the mind itself, such as thinking, longing, being affected and the other operations of the mind. But other things observed are outside the mind, such as the Sun, the Moon, the wandering stars, the fixed stars, and whatever in reality is known to us except for us ourselves, that is, the mind itself, its operations and accidents. Nor does the human mind encompass only things that actually exist whether outside us or in the mind itself; it also embraces things that do not now exist, namely past things and future things. And, furthermore, possible things which neither exist nor ever have existed sometimes appear to the mind, such as a golden mountain or a milky sea. Ancient philosophers have rightly said that the mind, provided with so many and such mighty powers, is a particle of divine breath, arisen from God and akin to him. But those who have carefully cultivated dialectic have judged it insufficient to extol and admire these faculties of the human mind; they have judged it their duty to give an account of them and to think up some kind of explanation of the phenomena of the understanding. Thus was born the theory of ideas.

Theōria nata est.> Hoc itaque pro dato & concesso |  
 [4r] assumere; Mentem, ex sua Naturæ, conscientia suarum  
 operationum præditam esse, adeo ut percipere possit quicquid  
 in se est, hæc nempe, nil aliud esse volunt, præter Mentis  
 5 ipsius modificationes, quarum ex sua Natura conscia esse  
 debet. Quo vero modo, res externas, longo forte intervallo  
 distantes, præteritas etiam quæ jam non sunt amplecti aut  
 percipere possit, hæc est difficultas hic nodus vindice dignus,  
 10 cujus solvendi gratia Ideæ adinventæ sunt et magno consensu  
 usque a Platonis Ætate receptæ. ita enim, omnis perceptio, in  
 conscientiam resolvitur; quum Idearum, quæ in ipsa Mente  
 sunt, et omnia externa adumbrant, conscij esse possimus.  
 [24] Aristotelis & Peripateticorum opinio fuit, omnes  
 15 quæ in mundo sunt res, species sui intelligibiles semper  
 emittere; has species in intellectum passivum impressas  
 & retentas, Ideas esse quarum ope Mens res externas  
 percipit. Recentiores vero, Duce & Magistro celeberrimo  
 Cartesio, species intelligibiles a rebus emissas, ut fictam  
 Hypothesin rejiciunt, Ideas tamen in Mente retinendas  
 20 censent, utpote in omni perceptione et memoria  
 necessarias. Omnisque intellectus humani Philosophia a  
 Cartesio Malbranchio Lockio Barclaiio Davide & Henrico  
 Humijs tradita, hisce Ideis nititur.  
 [25] Utcūque, cum in rebus Philosophicis non  
 25 Auctoritates sed rationes sint ponderandæ, liceat pace  
 tantorum Nominum, hanc Idearum Hypothesin, accuratius  
 in Examen revocare, quod eo magis necessarium, quoniam  
 hactenus, ex auctoritate & traditione Philosophica recepta,  
 potius quam rationibus solidis comprobata esse videtur.  
 30 [26] Primo itaque quum hæc Idearum Doctrina, inventa sit  
 ut facilius solventur Perceptionis & Memoriae Phænomena,  
 observare liceat, plurima esse Naturæ Phænomena, quorum  
 rationem reddere non valet humani ingenij tenuitas, imo  
 nunquam valebit.  
 35 [27] Phænomeni rationem reddere nil aliud est, quam ostendere,  
 tale Phænomenon, ex nota aliqua Naturæ Lege, sequi. Ipsarum  
 vero Naturæ Legum, nulla ratio dari potest, præter voluntatem  
 supremi omnium conditoris. Ita, in Mundo materiali; cur omne  
 40 corpus sit extensum, impenetrabile, iners, mobile, nulla ratio  
 seu causa Physica assignari potest, hac sola contentos nos esse

Hence they assumed this to have been granted and conceded, that the mind by its nature is provided with a consciousness of its operations, to the extent that it can perceive whatever is in itself. They declare indeed that these things are nothing besides modifications of mind itself, of which, by its nature, it should be conscious. In what way the mind could encompass or perceive external things that are far distant, or perceive past things which do not now exist — this is a difficulty, a knot that merits a liberator. It was in order to untie it that ideas were discovered and there has been extensive agreement about them ever since Plato's day. For this is how every perception has been reduced to consciousness, since we can be conscious of ideas which are in the mind and represent all external things. 5 10

[24] It was the opinion of Aristotle and the Peripatetics that all things in the world always radiate intelligible species of themselves, that these species are impressed into the passive understanding and retained there, that they are ideas by whose aid the mind perceives external things.\* Modern philosophers, with the renowned Descartes as their leader and teacher, reject as a fictional hypothesis intelligible species that have radiated from things. But they think that ideas must be retained in the mind in as much as ideas are necessary in every perception and recollection. And every philosophy of the human understanding, bequeathed by Descartes, Malebranche, Locke, Berkeley, David Hume and Henry Home, is grounded in these ideas.\* 15 20

[25] But since as regards philosophical matters it is not authorities but arguments that should be weighed, let us, with due respect to such great reputations, call this hypothesis of ideas more precisely to account, which is all the more necessary because thus far the theory of ideas seems to have been accepted on the basis of philosophical authority and tradition rather than tested by solid arguments. 25

[26] First, therefore, since this doctrine of ideas was invented so that the phenomena of perception and memory should be more readily opened up, one may observe that there are very many phenomena of nature of which the human mind, because of its slightness, is not able to give an account, nor will ever be strong enough to do so. 30

[27] To give an account of a phenomenon is nothing other than to show that such a phenomenon follows from some known laws of nature. But no account can be given of the laws of nature themselves except the will of the supreme founder of all things. So, as to why every body in the material world is extended, impenetrable, inert, movable, no physical reason or cause can be assigned. We must be content with this alone, 35 40

oportet quod rerum conditor hanc esse Naturam corporum voluit.  
 Quicunque horum Phænomenoon rationem reddere conabitur,  
 Philosophiam non adaugebit, sed vanis Hypothesibus perturbabit.  
 [28] Ita etiam, multa sunt ad Mentem pertinentia quorum  
 5 rationem reddere frustra conabimur. Quomodo mens cogitet,  
 [4v] quomodo Cogitationum | et operationum suarum sit conscia, nos  
 omnino fugit. Nulla hypothesi explicare valebimus aut rationem  
 reddere harum facultatum. Quid igitur si de Perceptione rerum  
 externarum & memoria Præteritarum idem sit dicendum?  
 10 Quid si hæc etiam facultates sint primæ & simplices non ex  
 alijs compositæ neque ad alias reducendæ, sed a Deo optimo  
 maximo mentibus insitæ, secundum leges & intra limites ab eo  
 præscriptas exercendæ? Sunt enim in Mente non minus quam  
 15 in mundo Materiali, principia prima, quorum nulla ratio reddi  
 potest; sunt alia secunda, ex his orta & in ea debita analysi  
 resolvenda. Idearum doctrina, sine ulla manifesta ratione ponit,  
 Perceptionem & Memoriam non esse primarias facultates, sed  
 ex alia ortas, nempe ex conscientia idearum quæ in ipsa Mente  
 20 sunt. Ponit hæc Doctrina, sine ulla manifesta ratione, omnem  
 hominem quasi in camera obscura inclusum, nil extra percipere;  
 sed Imagines solum rerum seu Ideas in sua camera depictas;  
 ponit etiam has Ideas seu Imagines rerum externarum &  
 Præteritarum in Mente existere, quod nullo argumento constat.  
 Talibus autem Hypothesibus fides non temerè est adhibenda,  
 25 præcipue quum communi hominum sensui adeo adversentur.  
 [29] Revera Naturæ Phænomena non ex Hypothesibus,  
 sed ex Naturæ legibus experientia Notis explicanda esse,  
 saniores Philosophi jam agnoscunt. Et quamvis solenne  
 fuerit tum antiquis tum recentioribus Hypotheses ex ingenio  
 30 suo excogitare, quæ Phænomenis quodammodo quadrent, et  
 has Philosophiæ nomine venditare; nihil tamen a Philosophia  
 vera magis alienum. Divinare hoc est, non philosophari.  
 [30] Peripateticorum Species intellegibiles, & Ideæ  
 mentibus impressæ ejusdem Hypothesis partes sunt; iisdem  
 35 fundamentis innixæ, et arcto federe inter se conjunctæ.  
 Quo jure igitur quave injuria Cartesius ejusque sequaces  
 recentiores alterâ parte hujus Hypothesis missa & rejectâ  
 alteram retinuerint ipsi videant.  
 [31] Secundo inquirendum, an concessa Idearum  
 40 Hypothesi, Perceptio & Memoria commode inde solventur



that the founder of things willed this to be the nature of bodies. Whoever tries to give an account of these phenomena will not extend philosophy but will agitate it with vain hypotheses.\*

[28] So also we shall strive in vain to give a rational account of many of the things that pertain to the mind. How the mind thinks, how it is conscious of its thoughts and operations, entirely escape us. No hypothesis will enable us to explain or to give an account of these faculties. So, should not the same thing be said of the perception of external things and the recollection of past things? What if these faculties also are primary and simple, not composed of, nor reducible to, other things, but placed in minds by God who is most good and most great, and to be exercised according to laws and within limits prescribed by him? For in the mind no less than in the material world there are first principles of which no account can be given. There are other, secondary principles, born of these first principles, and reducible to them by due analysis. The doctrine of ideas affirms, without any obvious argument, that perception and memory are not primary faculties but arise from another faculty, in fact from consciousness of ideas which are in the mind itself. This doctrine affirms, without any obvious argument, that every person, as if in a camera obscura, perceives nothing outside but only images or ideas of things depicted in his camera. It also affirms that these ideas or images of external and of past things exist in the mind, but does not establish this with any argument. But faith in such hypotheses should not be casually maintained, particularly as they are so contrary to the common sense of humankind.\*

[29] In truth, sounder philosophers acknowledge that the phenomena of nature should be explained on the basis not of hypotheses but of laws of nature known from experience. And although ancient and modern philosophers would commonly think up, out of their own minds, hypotheses which in a way are on all fours with the phenomena, and palm off these hypotheses as philosophy, nothing is more foreign to true philosophy. This is divining, not philosophising.

[30] The Peripatetics' intelligible species and ideas impressed on minds are parts of the same hypothesis, resting on the same foundations and linked to each other in the same close compact. Descartes and his modern followers should therefore notice with what justice or with what injustice, having given up and rejected one part of the hypothesis, they have retained the other.\*

[31] Secondly, it should be asked whether, if the hypothesis about ideas is granted, perception and memory will thereby be more readily

et explicentur. Nodus solvendus hic est; Quomodo mens, res  
 externas, longo forte intervallo distantes, imo et præteritas  
 percipere possit. Hoc ita fit, inquit Philosophus. Ideæ sunt,  
 in mente presentes, rerum externarum & præteritarum  
 5 representamina, mens harum Idearum conscia, mediantibus  
 ijs res externas & præteritas percipit. Dato jam quod sint  
 Ideæ rerum in mente, quarum mens est conscia: Qua Arte  
 quæso aut quibus Indicijs, scire vel etiam augurare potest  
 mens, has Ideas esse aliarum rerum Representamina.  
 10 [32] Mente percurro, quot modis una res aliam possit  
 [5r] representare | sive ut Vicarius, sive ut Imago vel Effigies sive ut  
 Signum, nihil tamen proficio. Interdum Ideas concipio tanquam  
 Rerum vicem gerentes et personam Sustinentes; sed auctoritatem  
 earum desidero, neque ullibi litteras mandatorias invenio.  
 15 Interdum Ideas tanquam Imagines aut Effigies rerum concipio;  
 tum vero Difficultates et numero et pondere augentur. Multa enim  
 sunt quorum nulla Imago aut Similitudo concipi potest. Quid sit  
 Imago soni vel Saporis vel Odoris vellem dicerent Philosophi<.>  
 [33] Quod ad eas res attinet quibus competit Figura et  
 20 Extensio et color, harum Imagines in tabula depictas, facile  
 concipio; sed qua Arte in Mente inextensa, et immateriali,  
 depingi possunt, intellectum meum superat.  
 [34] Si denique ponam cum Aristotele, intellectum quendam  
 25 passivum, in quo tanquam in camerâ obscurâ imagines recipiuntur;  
 gravissima difficultate adhuc premor. Qua enim Divinatione edocean,  
 formas has in camera mea obscura depictas esse representamina;  
 Quomodo edocean formas præsentis & menti impressas res  
 preteritas aut externas adumbrare. Revera hæc Idearum Hypothesis  
 nodum nullum solvit complures eosque difficillimos nectet.  
 30 [35] Ponamus postremo Ideas res representare, tanquam  
 Signa; sic verba et Scripturam omnia exprimere notum est.  
 Sit ergo Intellectus Ideis instructus, non tanquam camera  
 obscura cum imaginibus depictis, sed tanquam liber scriptus  
 vel impressus, multa externa, præterita, et futura nos edocens.  
 35 Neque hoc Nodum solvit, quis enim hunc Librum nobis  
 interpretabitur: Si homini barbaro qui nunquam de litteris  
 audivit, librum ostenderis, litteras signa esse nescit, multo  
 magis quid significant<.> Si quem lingua ignota alloquere, verba  
 tua tibi fortasse signa sunt illi vero nihil significant. Signa,  
 40 sine interpretatione nihil valent. Si itaque Ideæ signa essent

resolved and explained. This is the knot that is to be loosened: in what way can the mind perceive external things that are far distant and also perceive past things? A philosopher says that the knot is loosened in this way. There are ideas present in the mind, representatives of external things and of past things. The mind, conscious of these ideas, perceives by means of them external things and past things. Granted now that there are in the mind ideas of things and that the mind is conscious of these ideas; I ask, by what art or by what signs the mind can know or even surmise that these ideas are representatives of other things? 5

[32] In my mind I go over the many ways in which one thing can represent another, whether as a deputy, an image, a likeness or a sign, but I make no headway. Sometimes I conceive ideas as being in place of things and as acting a role. But I want to know their authority for doing this, and I do not find anywhere any letter certifying their mandate. Sometimes I conceive ideas as images or as likenesses of things, but then difficulties are increased in number and weight. For there are many things of which no image or likeness can be conceived. I would like philosophers to say what is the image of a sound or a taste or a smell.\* 10 15

[33] As regards things which have figure, extension and colour, I readily conceive the images of these things painted in a picture, but it is beyond my understanding by what art such things can be depicted in the unextended and immaterial mind.\* 20

[34] Finally, if like Aristotle I affirm that there is a certain passive understanding in which, as in a camera obscura, images are received, I am overwhelmed by a very grave difficulty. For by what divination am I instructed that these forms represented in my camera obscura are representatives? How am I instructed that present forms impressed on my mind are sketches of past or of external things? In truth this hypothesis about ideas loosens no knot, and ties up several that are very difficult. 25

[35] Let us suppose, lastly, that ideas represent things as signs. It is known that words and writing express all things in this way. Let the understanding, therefore, be instructed in ideas, not like a camera obscura with images portrayed, but like a written or printed book, teaching us about many things that are external, past and future. But this does not untie the knot, for who will interpret this book for us? If you were to show the book to a barbarian who had never heard of letters, he will not know that the letters are signs. Even less will he know what they signify. If you speak to someone in an unknown language, your words are perhaps signs for you but for him they signify nothing at all. Signs without meaning are worth nothing. Hence, if ideas were signs of 30 35 40

rerum, revera Ars interpretandi Ideas, esset humanæ Sapientiæ principium & fons; et tamen de tali Arte, nec Philosophi, nec Grammatici nec Critici nec Juridici immo nec somniorum Interpretes unquam somniavere. Ex dictis nifallar patet Idearum

5 Hypothesin Perceptionis et memoriæ Difficultates augere, nullo modo minuere; ideoque ad harum facultatum Phænomena

[5v] explicanda | aut Solvenda minime esse idoneam.

[36] Quamvis probatio incumbat ijs qui Ideas esse asserunt, tamen observare liceat, earum nullum Indicium

10 neque vestigium mihi serio investiganti apparere.

[37] Memini me Campanæ majoris Sonitum semihoram abhinc audivisse. Si nunquam in Philosophia edoceri mihi contigisset sine dubio existimassem ipsum campanæ Sonitum præteritum et jam non existentem, menti meæ immediate

15 obversari, neque me medio aliquo seu Idea indigere putassem, quo sonus præteritus menti representetur, quamdiu memoria præditus sum. At Philosophi me docent, rem præteritam, immediate aut per se, mente observari non posse: Ideam esse seu Imaginem soni in Mente mea presentem, quam

20 mens immediate contemplatur, & quæ sonum præteritum representat. Perpendamus aliquantisper, quid sit hæc soni imago. Quum in ipsa mente sit ejusque conscij simus, secundum Philosophos, sine dubio probe notasse debet. Et tamen, me intus circumspiciens, diligentissima inquisitione

25 hanc Soni imaginem invenire nequeo, imo ne quidem quid sit concipere. Sono nil simile novi præter sonum. Quid itaque sit vel qualis res hæc Soni imago in mente concipere nequeo. Sive Ideam dicas cum Platone, sive speciem intellegibilem cum Aristotele sive Phantasma, quid hæc verba valeant nescio.

30 Si cum Humio dicas, Ideam soni, esse aliquid a sono non aliter distinguendum, nisi quod sit magis debile & languidum: Nugas has esse oportet, quis enim nescit se de sono cogitare posse quum ne vel debilissimum sonum percipit.

[38] Si quis dicat per Ideam soni Philosophos nil aliud velle quam memoriam soni seu actum Mentis quum

35 soni reminiscitur; hoc equidem probe intellego & hujus actus me conscium, fateor. Sed si hoc solum volunt per Ideam Soni, cui bono quæso tot vocabula difficilia et dura, quum usitata & nota rem fælicius exprimunt.

40 Philosophum certe non decet rem facilem et vulgi captui

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things, the art of interpreting ideas would truly be the origin and spring of human wisdom. But neither philosophers, nor grammarians, nor critics, nor lawyers, nor even interpreters of dreams, have ever dreamed of such an art. From the foregoing, if I am not wrong, it is plain both that the hypothesis about ideas increases, not decreases, the difficulties regarding perception and memory, and that it is therefore not at all suitable for explaining or clarifying the phenomena of these faculties. 5

[36] Although it is for those who assert that ideas exist to prove that they do, nevertheless it may be observed that no sign or trace of ideas has been visible to me who am an earnest investigator.\* 10

[37] I recall hearing the sound of a quite big bell half an hour ago. If it had never happened that I received instruction in philosophy, I would undoubtedly have judged that the past and no longer existent sound of the bell was appearing immediately to my mind. I would not think that I needed some medium or idea by which the past sound would be represented to my mind, as long as I was possessed of a memory. But philosophers teach me that the past thing cannot be observed by the mind immediately or of itself; that it is an idea or image of a sound present in my mind, which the mind contemplates immediately and which represents a past sound. Let us consider for a moment what this image of a sound is. Since it is in the mind itself and we are conscious of it, it ought undoubtedly to have been very well known, according to the philosophers. And yet, looking around within myself, after a most diligent investigation I cannot find this image of a sound, nor even conceive what it is. I know nothing like a sound except a sound, and so I cannot conceive what this image-of-a-sound in my mind is, or what kind of thing it is. Whether, with Plato, you call it an idea, or, with Aristotle, an intelligible species or a phantasm, I do not know what these words mean. If, with Hume, you say that the idea of a sound is something not otherwise distinguishable from a sound except for being a more faint and languid sound, this must be a jest, for who does not know that he is able to think about a sound when he perceives not even the very faintest sound. 15 20 25 30

[38] If someone were to say that by the idea of a sound the philosophers mean nothing other than the recollection of a sound or the act of mind when it remembers a sound, I would understand this very well and I admit to being conscious of this act. But if this is all that they mean by an idea of a sound, I ask what good purpose is served by so many difficult and hard terms, when well-used and well-known terms express the same thing more happily. It is assuredly not right for a philosopher 35 40

accommodatam, verbis obscuram, & difficilem reddere.

Si itaque Idea cujusvis rei nil aliud significet quam  
 mentis actum quum de illa re cogitat, sive memoria  
 sit sive perceptio sive imaginatio, optandum fuisset  
 5 Philosophos ita dixisse; Imo potius optandum Vocabulis  
 Idearum Phantasmatum Imaginum Specierum &  
 similibus eos nunquam usos fuisse, sed vulgari Idiomati  
 contentos cum de rebus, omnibus notis & familiaribus  
 loquuntur. |

[6r] [39] Sed revera non hoc volunt Philosophi, nam in hoc omnes  
 consentiunt Ideam non esse Mentis Actum sed Objectum. non ipsam  
 cogitationem sed rem de qua immediate cogitamus. Tales autem  
 Ideas in mente mea invenire non possum, imo ne quidem concipere.

[40] Neque minus difficile mihi videtur Idearum usum  
 15 concipere quam Naturam. Ideæ inquit Philosophi, sunt  
 immediatum cogitationis objectum. Igitur, quod vulgus  
 objectum vocat, remotius et mediatum; Idea ejus, proximius  
 & immediatum est cogitationis objectum. Ita Idea Soni quem  
 memini proximius est objectum, ipse Sonus remotius. Hanc  
 20 distinctionem me nequaquam intellegere fateor. Omnem  
 cogitationem, atque meditationem de re aliqua esse oportet.  
 Ea vero res quæcunque sit de qua cogitamus, objectum  
 vel materies cogitationis dicitur. Cum hæc ita sint, omne  
 cogitationis objectum æque immediatum objectum mihi  
 25 videtur: Neque intellegere possum quid sit ope Medij de re  
 aliqua cogitare. Non equidem diffiteor, rerum quæ mente  
 observantur varios esse nexus, similitudines & fœdera, atque  
 intellectum, naturali quodam impetu ferri, ab uno quovis  
 meditationis objecto, in alia huic cognata vel connexa. Sic a  
 30 Galileo Linceo, mens facile transit ad Satellites Jovis, ab eo  
 primo detectos. Hic vero, quam primum mens ab Astronomo  
 ad corporum cœlestium meditationem transiverit, hæc  
 corpora non minus immediatum sunt cogitationis objectum  
 quam antea fuit Astronomus. Omne igitur mentis objectum,  
 35 immediatum esse videtur; et quamvis sit nexus et ordo  
 earum rerum quæ mentem subeunt, de omnibus suo Ordine  
 immediate cogitamus; quid enim sit per medium cogitare,  
 captum meum prorsus superat.

[41] Verisimile est Philosophos hic (ut sæpe fit) quod  
 40 in motu corporum evenit id temere nimis ad animæ

to use words to make obscure and difficult something that is easy and can be adequately comprehended by ordinary people. And so, if an idea of something or other signifies nothing other than an act of mind when the mind thinks about that thing, whether the act be a remembering, or a perceiving, or an imagining, that is what philosophers should have elected to say. Indeed, it would have been better if they had elected never to use such terms as ideas, phantasms, images, species and so on, but had been satisfied with ordinary language when speaking about things known by and familiar to everyone.\* 5

[39] But, in truth, this is not what philosophers mean by 'idea', for they all agree on this, that an idea is not an act of mind but an object of it, not the very thinking but the thing about which, in an unmediated way, we think. But I cannot find such ideas in my mind nor even conceive them. 10

[40] It appears to me to be no less difficult to conceive a use for ideas than to conceive their nature. Ideas, say philosophers, are an immediate object of thought. Hence, what ordinary people call an object is more remote and is mediated. The idea of what ordinary people call an object is the more proximate and the unmediated object of cognition. So the idea of a sound which I recollect is the more proximate object, and the sound itself is the more remote object. I admit that I can make no sense of this distinction. All thinking and considering must be about something. The thing, whatever it be, that we are thinking about is called the object or matter of thinking. Since that is how things are, it seems to me that every object of thinking is equally an immediate object. Nor can I understand what it is to think about something with the aid of an intermediary. Nor indeed do I deny that, regarding the things observed by the mind, there are various links, likenesses and harmonies, and that the understanding is borne along by a certain natural impulse from any object of thought whatever to others which are cognate or connected with the first. For example, the mind moves easily from the moons of Jupiter to the lynx-eyed Galileo who was the first to detect them.\* Here indeed as soon as the mind has made the passage from the astronomer to thinking about the heavenly bodies, these bodies are no less an immediate object of thought than the astronomer was previously. Every object of mind therefore seems immediate, and although there is a connection and order of these things which suggest themselves to the mind, we think about all things in their order immediately. For what it is to think about something via an intermediary is beyond my comprehension. 15 20 25 30 35

[41] It is probable that here, as is often done, philosophers have been too casual in ascribing what happens in the movement of bodies to the 40

cogitationes traxisse; omnibus notum est, vim motricem, vel immediate corpori movendo applicari posse, vel per corpora intermedia communicari; nulla vero ratio suadet, idem in cogitatione fieri, atque hanc mentis vim, medij  
5  
interventu, objecto applicari posse.

[42] Si denuo quærat is auditor, quo argumento inducti Philosophi, unanimo adeo consensu affirmant, Ideas esse in mente; perceptionis et Memoriam Media; dicam, quantum eorum scripta revolvendo mihi perspicere licuit. Animam  
[6v] humanam aiunt | ut et omne aliud Ens ibi solum agere posse ubi est & quando est. Sive igitur Perceptionem dicas, Actionem rei perceptam in mentem sive mentis in rem perceptam, oportet ut una sint, et loco & tempore ut objectum immediate percipiatur; aliter enim se mutuo  
15  
afficere nequeunt. Si vero objectum externum sit vel præteritum, medium aliquod esse oportet, menti præsens & conjunctum quod Ideam dicimus quodque mentem immediate afficere possit.

[43] Tota igitur Idearum Fabrica huic Principio tanquam Basi incumbit, quod nempe Perceptio et Memoria, sint Actiones mentis in objecta, vel objecti in Mentem, quæ conjunctionem quandam & contiguitatem mentis et Objecti requirunt. De hoc Principio duo breviter observare liceat.  
20

[44] Primo Actionis vocabulum, ambiguum esse, et rebus toto genere differentibus applicari. Actiones dicuntur esse corporum in corpora, quando se mutuo trahunt, premunt vel percutiunt. In hisce corporum Actionibus, vel contiguitatem necessariam esse, vel medium corpus, vulgo creditur, recte an secus non jam quæro. Actiones etiam dicuntur esse Mentis, cum res aliqua percipitur, vel reminiscitur, amatur, vel odio habetur: Sed Mentis Actiones cum Actionibus corporum, nihil  
30  
habent commune, nisi nomen neque ullo Argumento constat, in his Actionibus necessariam esse, contiguitatem mentis et objecti, sive quoad locum sive quoad tempus.

[45] Adeo ut argumentum hoc, sit revera petitio principij, omnemque vim suam debeat prejudicio vulgari supra animadverso, quod nempe ea quæ corporibus propria sunt, ad mentem immaterialem temere nimis et absque ratione, pertinere volumus. Ex hoc fonte oritur quod vulgus hominum, speciem humanam  
40  
Deo et angelis tribuit; hinc, Philosophi per multa secula, animæ



thoughts of the mind. Everyone knows that a motive power can either be applied immediately to the body to be moved, or be communicated via intermediate bodies. But there is no persuasive argument that the same thing occurs in the case of thinking, and that this power of mind can be applied to an object through the intervention of an intermediary.\* 5

[42] If, gentlemen, you should again ask on the basis of what argument philosophers have been led into a unanimously agreed affirmation that ideas are in the mind, intermediates for perception and memory, I shall reply in so far as I have been able to ascertain the answer after repeated study of their writings. They say that, as with every other being, the human mind can only act where it is and when it is. So whether you say that perception is the perceived thing's action on the mind or the mind's action on the perceived thing, the mind and the object must be together in place and in time in order that the object may be perceived immediately, because they cannot otherwise affect each other. But if the object be external or past, there has to be some intermediary, present to and conjoined with the mind which we term an idea, and which can affect the mind immediately. 10 15

[43] Hence the whole framework of ideas rests on this principle as a basis, that perception and memory are indeed actions of a mind upon objects or actions of an object upon a mind, actions which require a certain conjunction and contiguity of mind and object. Two things may briefly be noted regarding this principle. 20

[44] First, the word 'action' is ambiguous and is applied to things of wholly different genera. Actions are said to be by bodies on bodies when they attract each other, press each other or hit each other. It is commonly believed that in these actions of bodies there is either a necessary contiguity or there is an intermediate body. Whether this is believed rightly or otherwise I do not now enquire. There are also said to be actions of the mind, when something is perceived, remembered, loved or hated. But actions of the mind have nothing in common with actions of bodies except the term, nor is there any argument to show that in these actions there is a necessary contiguity, whether spatial or temporal, between mind and object.\* 25 30

[45] This is so much case that this argument is indeed a *petitio principii*, and that it owes its force to the common prejudice noted above that, too casually and without reason, we want to attribute to the immaterial mind properties of bodies. This is the source of ordinary people's attribution of a human species to God and to angels. It is for this reason that philosophers have for many centuries attributed a fiery or airy nature to 35 40

humanæ, naturam igneam vel aeream tribuere; hinc etiam,  
 Intellectus operationes et corporum actiones, ejusdem esse generis,  
 & ijsdem legibus subjici volumus. Neque revera mirum adeo  
 videri debet, Philosophos tam diu consensisse, in Opinione quæ  
 5 innititur prejudicio in quod, ingenium humanum est adeo proclive.  
 [46] Præter<ito> quod in hoc Argumento ponitur, locum,  
 animæ immateriali, non minus quam corporibus competere,  
 quamvis hoc, ut minimum dicam, incertum prorsus est.  
 [47] Secundo Argumentum hocce pro Idearum existentia  
 10 allatum, siquid probat nimium probat, vel enim nos cogit  
 Peripateticorum species intellegibiles, jam per totum orbem  
 [7r] derisas, revocare, vel Scepticis | omnino dare manus, nec  
 quidquam in rerum natura esse credere præter Ideas, quarum  
 jam conscij sumus. Si enim demus objectum externum percipi  
 15 non posse sine medio menti contiguo vel conjuncto: nonne  
 quæso oportet medium hocce objecto etiam conjugi? Sine  
 dubio: aliter neque mens, objectum, neque objectum, mentem  
 afficere potest. Nullomodo in se mutuo agere possunt nisi  
 medium utrique extremo sit conjunctum, et ab uno ad aliud  
 20 transeat vel se extendat, absque ullo hiatu. Ideæ in mente  
 delitescunt, neque objectum tangunt. Uti navis, dente tenaci  
 anchoræ, non potest retineri, quando rudens non est anchoræ  
 alligata sed in navis penentrali jacet conglomerata; ita non  
 minus absurdum videtur mentem objectum afficere vel ab eo  
 25 affici, Ideæ ope, quæ in mente est, objectum vero non tangit.  
 Aristoteli hoc probe perspectum fuisse videtur, qui idcirco  
 Ideas seu Species ab objecto emissas esse voluit.  
 [48] Ideoque Idearum Doctrina sine Speciebus intellegibilibus  
 non solum Hypothesis est, sed Hypothesis mutila rei solvendæ  
 30 inepta<.> Dico præterea, rejectis his Speciebus intellegibilibus,  
 Idearum Doctrinam omnia in Scepticismi Voragine demergere.  
 Nam in hac hypothesi, Ideæ præsentis non solum immediatum,  
 sed unicum, sunt Intellectus objectum. Abrupto enim nexu  
 Idearum cum rebus, omnia præterita, omnia externa evanescent,  
 35 velut ægri somnia; Ideæ instantis momenti omnia sunt; de alijs  
 rebus quibuscunque nihil constabit; neque Scientia, nequidem  
 opinio probabilis relinquetur in mente humana.  
 [49] Quamvis vero hæc sit (uti mihi videtur) genuina &  
 inevitabilis consequentia doctrinæ Idearum prout a Cartesio  
 40 & recentioribus traditur; tamen vel Cartesium ipsum vel

the human mind. It is also for this reason that we suppose that operations of the mind and actions of bodies are of the same genus and subject to the same laws. Nor indeed, therefore, should it seem remarkable that for such a long time, philosophers have been in agreement on an opinion that is based on a prejudice to which the human mind is so inclined. 5

[46] I leave aside the fact that in this argument it is laid down that an immaterial mind has a location no less than bodies do, though this is, to say the least, wholly uncertain.\*

[47] Secondly, if this argument put forward in support of the existence of ideas proves anything it proves too much, because it forces us either to revive the intelligible species of the Peripatetics which are now mocked throughout the world, or to give in entirely to the sceptics and to believe that besides ideas there is nothing in reality of which we are now conscious. For if we should allow that an external object cannot be perceived without an intermediary that is contiguous with or is conjoined to the mind, then must not this intermediary also, I ask, be conjoined to the object? It should without doubt, since otherwise the mind cannot work on the object nor the object work on the mind. They cannot mutually act on one another in any way unless the intermediary is conjoined to each extreme,\* and it passes or stretches from one extreme to the other without any hiatus. Ideas are hidden in the mind and do not touch an object. Just as a ship cannot be secured by mean of the firm hook of an anchor when the rope is not tied to the anchor but lies entangled inside the ship, so also it seems no less absurd that a mind can work on an object or be worked on by it in virtue of an idea which is in the mind but does not touch the object. This consideration seems to have been well noted by Aristotle who supposed in consequence that ideas or species radiated from the object.\* 10 15 20 25

[48] Hence the doctrine of ideas without intelligible species is not just a hypothesis but a maimed hypothesis not fit to resolve the problem. I say in addition that once intelligible species have been rejected the doctrine of ideas sinks everything in a pit of scepticism, because on this hypothesis present ideas are not just the immediate, but the sole, object of the understanding. For once the bond between ideas and things is destroyed, all things past and all things external disappear like a sick person's dreams. All things are ideas of the present moment. As regards all else whatsoever, there will be nothing sure, there will be no knowledge, nor even a probable opinion remaining in the human mind. 30 35

[49] Although this is indeed, as it seems to me, a genuine and inevitable outcome of the doctrine of ideas as bequeathed by Descartes and modern writers, nevertheless it would be most unjust to charge with scepticism 40

Malbranchium vel Lockium hujus Systematis fautores,  
 Scepticismi insimulare, iniquum prorsus esset. Cordatos hos  
 viros & Religionis vinculum & humani generis Amor, &  
 communis sensus vis cohibuit, neque vel se vel alios in hoc  
 5 Scepticismi Barāthrum pessundare sivit. Berklaius equidem,  
 Mundi materialis existentiam cum Ideis consistere non posse  
 perspexit, & luculentissime Demonstravit; Ideoque mundum  
 materialem missum fecit, quod absque dispendio imo  
 magno cum emolumento Religionis fieri posse existimavit.  
 10 Quoad cætera, communi hominum Sensui se tradidit,  
 quamvis, renitenti suâ Idearum Doctrinâ. Agnoscit enim se,  
 mentis humanæ, aliorum Spirituum & Supremi Numinis  
 nullam in Mente habere Ideam, & tamen horum Existentiam  
 certo scire. Quod si de Supremi Numinis & de Aliorum  
 [7v] Spirituum | existentia ratiocinari possumus sine Idæis, quidni  
 etiam de alijs rebus? Vellem hoc nos docuisset vir eximius:  
 Vereor enim ne in hac re parum sibi constet.<.>  
 [50] Primus tandem Idearum Doctrinam ad umbilicum  
 perduxit, eamque omnibus suis consequentijs stipatam, et  
 20 Scepticismi perditissimi dote cumulatam, audacter amplexus  
 est Humius supra laudatus; atque hanc Doctrinam, summa  
 ingenij & acuminis vi adornatam, in tractatu de Natura  
 humana & in tentaminibus Philosophicis, pro humanitate  
 sua, humano generi commendavit. Systema Humiana, apte  
 25 satis sibi coheret, Idearum vero Hypothesi, toto pondere  
 incumbit, adeo ut sublata hac Hypothesi, corrui protinus,  
 fastuosum hoc Scepticismi hodierni Propugnaculum.  
 [51] Candidati Dilecti  
 [52] Peracto jam Curriculo Philosophico, Accademiae  
 30 Moderatores, gradus in Artibus Honore, vos dignos  
 Censuere. Priusquam vero Solemnibus Accademiae ritibus  
 Inauguremini, ex Senatus Accademici decreto, Juramento  
 solenni obstringendi estis, in Fidem Religionis Christianæ,  
 et gratum animum erga Almam Matrem Accademiā.  
 35 Me itaque conceptis verbis vobis pensatis præeuntem, pia  
 mente & voce clara sublatis dextris sequimini.  
 [53] Ego coram omniscio et omnipotenti Deo, Doctrinam  
 & Fidem christianam, ex puro Dei verbo haustam, ab  
 Ecclesiae Romanæ hæresibus et Superstitione longe  
 40 abhorrentem, sincere profiteor.

Descartes himself or Malebranche or Locke, promoters of this system. The tie of religion, love of the human race and the power of common sense have restrained these wise men and have not permitted them or others to perish in this chasm of scepticism.\* Berkeley indeed ascertained that the existence of the material world cannot be compatible with ideas and he demonstrated this with very great clarity. For that reason, he gave up the material world, which he judged could be done without loss, indeed with great benefit, to religion. Regarding other topics, he surrendered himself to the common sense of humankind, although that was in opposition to his doctrine of ideas, since he acknowledges that he has in his mind no idea of the human mind, of other spirits and of the supreme divinity and yet he acknowledges that he knows with certainty of their existence. But if, without ideas, we can reason about the existence of the supreme divinity and about the existence of other spirits, then why not about other things too? If only that distinguished man had informed us about this, because I fear that on this matter, he is too little in agreement with himself.\*

[50] Lastly, Hume, who was praised earlier, is the first person who guided the doctrine of ideas through to its centre, boldly welcomed it with all its attendant consequences and heaped high with an endowment of a most wretched scepticism; and, conformably with his humanity, he commended to the human race this doctrine, adorned with the very great power of his talent and acuity, in the *Treatise of Human Nature* and the *Philosophical Essays*. The Humean system is suitably and sufficiently self-consistent, but it lies with all its weight on the hypothesis of ideas. Hence with the destruction of the hypothesis the system, this proud fortress of present-day scepticism, immediately falls.\*

[51] My dear candidates

[52] Now that, with the philosophical curriculum completed, the moderators of the academy have judged you worthy of graduating with honours in arts, before you graduate, by decree of the senate of the academy, in accordance with the solemn rites of the academy you must be bound by a solemn oath of fidelity to the Christian religion and of gratitude to your alma mater the academy. So, with your mind in a Godly state and your voice clear and with your right hand raised, follow me as I dictate the well-pondered words:

[53] Before the omniscient and omnipotent God I sincerely profess the Christian doctrine and faith drawn from the pure word of God, and profess my great abhorrence of the heresies and superstition of the Roman Church.

[54] Insuper Accademiæ huic almæ parenti, cui hanc Ingenij culturam debeo, Nutritia uti potero, liberaliter Relaturum me — Sollenniter promitto<.>

[55] Ita me adjuvet Deus.

- 5 [56] Ego eadem Auctoritate, quam summi ac potentissimi Principes, huic Universitati amplissimam indulgere, Te A. B.<.> in Artibus liberalibus & Disciplinis Philosophicis, Magistrum creo, constitu<o>, proclamo, renuncio; tibi que potestatem facio, docendi scribendi commentandi, omniaque
- 10 id genus alia præstandi, quæ hic aut alibi uspiam, Magistris Artium concedi solent — Et in signum manumissionis tuæ Librum hunc apertum tibi trado: caputque tuum hoc pileo orno; quod ut fælix faustumque sit Deum Optimum Maximum præcor<.>
- 15 [57] Et ut Ingenij tui specimen aliquod coram cælebri hoc Cœtū edas. Rogo

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[54] Furthermore, to this academy my foster parent, to which I owe this cultivation of my mind, I solemnly promise to provide support in return as liberally as my powers will permit.

[55] So help me God.

[56] By that most abundant authority that very great and powerful princes have granted to this university, I create, constitute, proclaim, declare you A.B. Master in the liberal arts and the philosophical disciplines. And I bestow on you the power to write, teach, study and take upon yourself all the other such things which here or elsewhere are customarily permitted to Masters in Arts. And as a sign of your graduation I hand this open book to you and I adorn your head with this cap and beseech God most good and most great that it be auspicious and propitious. 5 10

[57] And I request you to present some example of your thinking in the presence of this distinguished company.\* 15

KINGS/8/  
1/1/1762, 1r

## IV

1762

- [1] Triennium est, ex quo, quædam de Intellectu humano, ex hac Cathedra proponere, & auditorum doctorum Judicio  
5  
5 permittere ingressus sum: idem Argumentum jam iterum  
moliri, et ulterius prosequi animus est.
- [2] In limine vero ingenue fatendum, atque etiam dolendum, intellectum, cujus vis et acumen, veritatis indagandæ, et e tenebris educendæ; est unicum instrumentum; ipsūm  
10  
10 crassa occultatum esse et circumfusum caligine, quam  
humani ingenij acies penetrare vix potest: nullamque esse  
Philosophiæ partem, in qua explicanda, plus operæ atque  
olei perdidere, tam antiqui quam recentiores.
- [3] Ut oculus quoquoersus prospiciens, se ipsum non  
15  
15 cernit, ita intellectus, rebus externis intentus et occupatus,  
sibi latet; vix unquam, vel non sine summo labore &  
difficultate, in se, suasque operationes aciem convertens.
- [4] Inde fit sine dubio, quod cum complures Physicæ  
20  
20 partes, Astronomia scilicet, Mechanica, Hydrostatica,  
Optica, Chemia, solido Fundamento exstructæ, incrementa  
indies recipiant, humano ingenio digna, neque amplius  
de earum principijs inter eruditos ambigitur; tamen  
Philosophorum placita de Perceptione, de Judicio, de Ideis,  
omnia fere obscura, dubia, subtilitatibus nodosis implicita,  
25  
25 paradoxa, et a communi hominum sensu abhorrentia, atque  
Scepticorum Acatalepsiæ, amica.
- [5] Inde etiam factum est, quod cordati & bonæ mentis  
30  
30 viri, Questiones et Disputationes de ijs rebus, quæ ex  
humani Intellectus fabrica pendent, quasque metaphysicas  
vulgo appellant, despectui habeant, neque fructum inde  
expectantes neque exitum sperantes: Imo acutissimorum  
ingeniorum exemplo moniti vereantur ne harum rerum  
inquisitio Subtilior, in Scepticorum castra ducat.
- [6] Ex hisce indicijs, suspicio gravis oritur  
Philosophorum placita de Ideis, de Perceptione de  
35  
35 Judicio, | utcunque communi consensu recepta, non esse  
temere admittenda. Hinc me dudum incessit cupido,  
hæc accurato examini denuo subjiciendi, nequid falsi  
vel ambigui ijs subsit quod veritati obesse, et velut ignis
- [1v]



## IV

1762\*

[1] Three years have passed since, from this chair, I set out to expound certain points concerning the human understanding, submitting them to the judgement of this learned audience. I now intend to construct the same argument again and to carry it forward. 5

[2] But at the outset it should be admitted, freely but sorrowfully, both that the understanding, a unique instrument, through its power and sharpness, for investigating the truth and drawing it from the dark, has itself been concealed and surrounded by a dense darkness which the acuity of the human mind is hardly able to enter, and also that there is no part of philosophy on whose exposition ancient and modern philosophers have expended so much effort and trouble to so little effect. 10

[3] Just as the eye that is looking all round about does not see itself, so also the understanding, directed towards and busy with external things, lies concealed from itself, hardly ever, or not without very great effort and difficulty, turning its sharpness on itself and on its operations. 15

[4] Hence, without doubt, it comes about that, since several parts of physics which have been constructed on a firm foundation, namely astronomy, mechanics, hydrostatics, optics and chemistry, daily benefit from incremental steps worthy of the human mind, there is no more uncertainty among the knowledgeable as regards the principles of these parts of physics;\* but the opinions of the philosophers on perception, judgement and ideas are almost all of them obscure, dubious, entwined in knotty subtleties, paradoxes and both abhorrent to the common sense of humankind and also friendly to the ignorance of the sceptics. 20 25

[5] Hence it has also come about that wise and well-intentioned men have contempt for questions and disputes about those matters which depend on the frame of the human understanding and which ordinary people call metaphysics, expecting no profit from those questions and disputations nor having hope of a result. Indeed, mindful of the example of the most acute minds they are afraid that a more subtle investigation of these matters would lead to the sceptics' camp. 30

[6] This information gives rise to a deep suspicion that the opinions of philosophers regarding ideas, perception and judgement, in whatever manner allowed by common accord, should not lightly be granted. Hence it has been my wish for a long time to submit these opinions anew to careful investigation, in case there should lurk in them something false or ambiguous which is prejudicial to the truth, and like a 35

fatuus in sterilem et tristem Scepticismi solitudinem nos  
detorquere valeat.

- [7] Hunc campum ingressum, et in re ardua & obscura,  
nova proferentem, auditorum doctorum candorem et  
5 indulgentiam, exposcere æquum est, si, ut sæpe fit,  
inceptui honesto, nec Philosopho indigno, excidere  
visus fuere. Et si, in re Scholastica, lingua et vocabulis  
Scholasticis, latinis auribus ingratis, uti cogar, hanc  
veniam, in tali materia, æquos auditores daturos spero.
- [8] Satis notum est, Scriptores de Intellectu, tres esse ejus  
10 operationes, statuere: Quarum prima, est Apprehensio simplex,  
quæ termino, vel simplici vel composito exprimitur. Terminum  
autem vocant quicquid propositionis sive subjectum est sive  
prædicatum. Secunda intellectus operatio Judicium dicitur, id est  
15 sententia vel opinio, quod propositione affirmante vel negante  
significatur. Tertia Discursus vel Ratiocinatio, qui Syllogismo  
vel propositionum serie enunciatur. Quod præterea doceant  
Apprehensionis simplicis tria esse genera, Sensationem scilicet,  
Imaginationem et Intellectum purum; Sensationi & Imaginationi  
20 tribuentes Imagines rerum corporearum in cerebro.
- [9] Quod a Platonis usque ætate, omnes consentiant,  
intellectum, res externas, aut præteritas, non immediate  
percipere, & per se, sed intervenientibus Ideis, Speciebus,  
Formis vel Phantasmatis in Mente, vel in cerebro, quæ  
25 rerum vicem gerunt. Ideas hasce, in omni perceptione  
et in omni meditatione et discursu, immediatum esse  
intellectus objectum. Intellectum, natura vacuum,  
et omni operationi ineptum, donec Ideis instruat,ur,  
tanquam cogitationis materie, quas vel a Sensibus  
30 accipit, vel Reflexione in suas operationes. Quod Ideas,  
sive Sensationis, sive Reflexionis, mens, memoria  
condat, postea componat, dividat, inter se conferat, et  
convenientiâ quavis vel discrepantiâ inter Ideas percepta,  
Judicia formari.
- [10] Haec Philosophorum placita utpote omnibus nota,  
35 carptim breviterque perstringere sufficit. Plurima vero hic  
ficta et naturæ haud consentanea videntur.]
- [2r] [11] Primo, quod Apprehensionem simplicem arctis  
40 adeo limitibus coerceant, et ad Terminos solum non vero  
ad propositiones extendant. Quamvis enim Judicium

will-o'-the-wisp has the power to turn us aside into the sterile and sad solitude of scepticism.

[7] It is reasonable for someone who has entered this field and is presenting new ideas on a hard and obscure topic to request the openness and indulgence of his learned audience if, as is often the case, he should appear to fall short in an honourable enterprise, one not unbecoming a philosopher. And if, on a scholarly matter, I have to use scholarly language and Latin terminology that grate on the ear, I hope that my generous audience will be indulgent on such a topic as this. 5

[8] It is well enough known that writers on the understanding have judged it to have three operations, the first of which is simple apprehension, which is expressed by a simple or composite term. But they call whatever is either a subject or predicate of a proposition a term. The second operation of the understanding is called a judgement, that is, a pronouncement or opinion which is signified by an affirmative or a negative proposition. The third operation is a discourse or a reasoning, which is expressed by a syllogism or by a series of propositions. In addition, they teach that there are three kinds of simple apprehension, namely, sensation, imagination and pure understanding; they attribute images of corporeal things in the brain to sensation and imagination.\* 10 15 20

[9] From the time of Plato to the present day everyone has agreed that the understanding perceives external things or past things not immediately or of themselves but via intervening ideas, species, forms or phantasms in the mind or in the brain, which take the place of things; they agree that these ideas, in every perception, in every act of thinking something over and in discursive acts, are the immediate object of understanding, and agree that the understanding is by nature a void and is unfitted for any operation until it is provided with ideas as the matter of thought which it receives from the senses or from reflection on its operations. It is also well enough known that the mind places ideas, whether of sensation or of reflection, in the memory, thereafter combines them, divides them and compares them with each other; and that judgements are formed by way of some sort or other of agreement or disagreement perceived between ideas.\* 25 30

[10] In as much as these judgements of the philosophers are known to everyone, it is enough to be brief and selective regarding them. Indeed, very many of them now seem fictions and hardly consonant with nature. 35

[11] They seem so, first, because philosophers restrict 'simple apprehension' to such tightly constrained limits and assign that phrase to terms alone and not at all to propositions. For though a judgement is 40

nunquam in Termino versetur sed in propositione; nihil vetat Apprehensionem simplicem esse vel Termini, vel Propositionis vel etiam propositionum seriei. Quis est enim etiam ex vulgo adeo hæbes, quin cernat, aliud esse propos(iti)onem vel orationem intellegere, id est simpliciter apprehendere, aliud sententiam ferre verane sit an falsa. Hinc constat, Terminos apprehensioni soli, propositiones vero tum apprehensioni tum iudicio subijci; Imo nunquam fit de propositione iudicium quod non sit cum apprehensione propositionis conjunctum.

[12] Secundo, quum in Sensatione et in Imaginatione imagines esse docent in Cerebro vel in Sensorio; Quomodo quæso hoc compertum habent? Quis unquam imagines rerum in cerebro dissecto invenit? Quis unquam vel certo indicio vel etiam verisimili argumento imagines in cerebro esse ostendit. Ficta sunt hæc igitur & nulla ratione constantia ideoque Philosophis indigna.

[13] Novimus equidem, imagines esse rerum visarum in fundo oculi; et quâ lege, per radiorum lucis refractionem, formentur, demonstrare possumus: Has imagines vero non mente percipi, neque intellectus immediatum esse objectum, vel inde constat quod in morbo qui Amaurosis dicitur vel Gutta serena, imagines sint in fundo oculi satis distinctæ, non tamen a mente cernuntur. Inde etiam patet quod uniuscujusque rei oculis visæ duæ sint imagines, in utroque oculo una, mens tamen non duas imagines sed unam rem cernit.

[14] Neque verisimile est has imagines in cerebrum penetrare, cum opacum sit in radijs lucis impervium.

[15] Non diffitemur equidem, radios lucis, tunicam retinam, Choroiden, nervumque opticum his conjunctum, quodammodo afficere; modo tamen Philosophis et Idiotis pariter ignoto.

[16] Neque diffitemur, hanc nervi optici affectionem cujuscunque sit generis, cum mentis perceptione quam visionem nuncupamus arctâ naturæ lege sive Domini Optimi Maximi voluntate conjungi. Hactenus tuto progredimur experientia Duce, neque ultra in hæc naturæ arcana penetrare humanæ sortis est. Quod cæteros Sensus spectat, ne vel levissimum est indicium, imagines rerum perceptarum vel in sensuum | organis vel in cerebro formari.

[2v]

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never situated in a term but in a proposition, nothing prohibits a simple apprehension being an apprehension of a term or of a proposition or even of a series of propositions. For who among ordinary people is so stupid that he cannot see that it is one thing to understand a proposition or sentence, that is, simply to grasp it, and another thing to pass judgement on whether it is true or false? It follows from this that terms are objects of apprehension alone, but propositions are objects of both apprehension and judgement. Indeed, no judgement is made about a proposition if the judgement is not conjoined with apprehension of the proposition.\* 5 10

[12] Secondly, when philosophers teach that in the case of sensation and imagination there are images in either the brain or the sensorium, I ask how they have ascertained this. Who ever found images of things in a dissected brain? Who ever showed either by a sure sign or by a probable argument that there are images in the brain? They are therefore inventions, not at all persisting existents, and are therefore unworthy of philosophers.\* 15

[13] We certainly know that images of things that are being seen are at the back of the eye and we can demonstrate by what law they are formed by the refraction of rays of light. But that these images are not perceived by the mind and are not the immediate object of the understanding is ascertained by this, that in the illness called amaurosis or gutta serena, there are sufficiently distinct images at the back of the eye but they are not discerned by the mind. It is therefore also plain that in respect of anything whatever seen by the eyes there are two images, one in each eye, and yet the mind does not see two images but one thing.\* 20 25

[14] And it is not probable that these images should enter the brain, because it is dark and does not permit light rays to pass through.

[15] Of course we do not deny that in a certain way light rays affect the retinal tunic, the choroid and the optic nerve that is connected to them, but light rays affect them in a way equally unknown to philosophers and to ordinary people. 30

[16] And we do not deny that this effect on the optic nerve, whatever kind of effect it may be, is connected to the perception of the mind which we call vision, whether by a narrow law of nature or by the will of God most good and most great. Up to this point we progress safely with experience as our guide but, as human beings, it is not our destiny to enter into these mysteries of nature. As regards the other senses, there is not even the least sign that images of perceived things are formed either in the organs of sense or in the brain.\* 35 40

[17] Imagines igitur in cerebro vel sensorio, sive in  
 sensatione sive in Imaginatione peragenda, sunt humani  
 ingenij figmentum; quod poetico fortasse vel rhetorico  
 ornatui est satis accommodatum: quum vero Philosophicis  
 5 rationibus sit prorsus ineptum, ijs relinquimus qui in  
 bicipiti parnasso somniavere.

[18] His maxime affinia sunt Philosophorum omnium  
 placita de Ideis, cum Apprehensionem fieri volunt ope  
 Idearum vel Specierum in mente existentium, quae res  
 10 nobis representant earumque vicem gerunt, et quae in omni  
 cogitatione immediatum intellectus sunt objectum.

[19] Plato rerum omnium Ideas esse statuit, aeternas  
 et immutabiles, omnemque scientiam in his versari,  
 mentemque supremam quum mundum hunc condidit et  
 15 fabricavit, has ideas tanquam exemplar respexisse.

[20] Platonis sententiam de Ideis aeternis saepe redarguit  
 Aristoteles; ipse tamen docuit, Species rerum omnium tam  
 sensibilibium quam intellegibilium, ex rebus quasi evolantes,  
 & intellectui impressas, sensationis et intellegentiae  
 20 instrumenta esse. Epicuri Scholam in eadem fere fuisse  
 sententia docet Lucretius; ita enim in Libro quarto de  
 natura rerum suaviter canit dum pessime philosophatur.

Nunc age quae moveant animum res accipe, et unde  
 Quae veniunt, veniant in mentem, percipe paucis.  
 25 Principio hoc dico, rerum simulacra vagari  
 Multa modis multis, in cunctas undique parteis  
 Tenuia, quae facile inter se junguntur in auris  
 Obvia cum veniunt, ut aranea bracteaque auri.  
 Quippe etenim multo magis haec sunt tenuia textu,  
 30 Quam quae percipiunt oculos visumque lacessunt;  
 Corporis haec quoniam penetrant per rara; cientque  
 Tenuem animi naturam intus sensumque lacessunt.  
 Centauros itaque, et Scyllarum membra videmus,  
 Cerbereasque canum facies, simulacraque eorum  
 35 Quorum morte obita, tellus amplectitur ossa;  
 Omne genus quoniam passim simulacra feruntur,  
 Partim, sponte sua, quae fiunt aere in ipso,  
 Partim quae varijs ab rebus cumque recedunt,  
 Et quae consistunt ex horum facta figuris.

[17] Hence, images in the brain or in the sensorium, whether these latter are engaged in sensing or in imagining, are a figment of the human mind. The figment may be well enough consonant with poetic or rhetorical decoration, but since it is absolutely inappropriate to philosophical arguments we leave it to those who have dreamed on the double-peaked Parnassus.\* 5

[18] The opinions of all philosophers concerning ideas have a great affinity to these matters, since the philosophers maintain that apprehension comes about by means of ideas or of species existing in the mind, ideas which represent things to us and are in their stead, and which are the immediate object of the understanding in all thinking. 10

[19] Plato decided that there are eternal and immutable ideas of all things, that every science is focused on them and that when the supreme mind established and made this world it considered these ideas as an exemplar.\* 15

[20] Aristotle often contradicted Plato's judgement concerning eternal ideas; but he himself taught that the species of all things whether sensible or intelligible, flying out, so to say, from things and being impressed upon the understanding, are instruments of sensing and understanding.\* Lucretius teaches that the school of Epicurus had almost the same belief, for in *De rerum natura*, book IV, in the course of philosophising very badly, he sings sweetly as follows: 20

Now farther, (my DELIGHT) my MUSE will show  
 What Things do move the MIND, and whence they flow:  
 First then, thin IMAGES fill all the Air, 25  
 Thousands on ev'ry Side, and wander there.  
 These, as they meet, in various Dance will twine,  
 As Threads of GOLD, or subtile SPIDER'S Line:  
 For they are thin; for they are subt'ler far  
 Than finest Things that to the Sight appear. 30  
 These pass the Limbs; no narrow Pores controul;  
 They enter thro', and strike the airy Soul.  
 Hence 'tis, we think we see, and hence we dread  
*CENTAURS* and *SCYLLAS*, *CERBERUS*'s monstrous Head.  
 And many empty SHADOWS of the DEAD. 35  
 For various IMAGES fly ev'ry where;  
 Some rise from Things, and some are form'd in Air  
 By chance: and some from these combin'd appear.  
 The IMAGE of a *CENTAUR* never flew

Nam certe ex vivo Centauri non fit imago  
 Nulla quoniam fuit talis natura animalis.  
 Verum ubi equi atque hominis casu convenit imago  
 Hærescit facile extemplo, quod diximus ante  
 5 Propter subtilem naturam, et tenuia texta |  
 [3r] Cætera de genere hoc eadem ratione creantur  
 Quæ, cum mobiliter summa levitate feruntur  
 Ut prius ostendi, facile uno commovet ictu,  
 Quælibet una animum, nobis subtilis imago  
 10 Tenuis enim mens est et mire mobilis ipsa<.>

[21] Haec de Speciebus e rebus evolantibus et simulacris  
 vagantibus opinio, ad Cartesij usque tempora invaluisse  
 videtur. Quo duce et magistro recentiores Species  
 intelligibiles e rebus emissas re<j>iciunt. Ideas tamen seu  
 15 species in mente ret<in>endas censent, utpote in omni  
 perceptione & cogitatione necessarias, unde in mentem  
 veniant parum solliciti. Omnis operationum intellectus  
 doctrina a Cartesio, Malbranchio Lockio Berkleio Humio  
 tradita, Ideis nititur. Imo fidelissimus naturae Interpres  
 20 Newtonus, gentis et seculi decus, quo nemo Hypotheses  
 in Philosophia magis vituperavit, nemo adeo sedulo  
 vitare conatus est, in hanc tamen Hypothesin improviso  
 labitur, et quasi secundo anni defluit; Hanc questionem,  
 modeste, pro more suo in fine Opticis proponens ‘Annon  
 25 Sensorium Animalium est locus cui Substantia sentiens  
 adest, et in quem sensibiles rerum Species per nervos et  
 cerebrum deferuntur, ut ibi præsentis a præsentis sentiri  
 possint. Et Annon ex Phænomenis constat esse Entem,  
 incorporeum, vivente<m,> intellegentem, omnipresentem,  
 30 qui in spatio infinito tanquam sensorio suo, res ipsas  
 intime cernat, penitusque perspiciat, totasque intra se  
 præsens præsentis complectatur; quarum quidem rerum,  
 id quod in nobis sentit et cogitat, imagines tantum ad se  
 per organa sensuum delatas, in sensoriolo suo percipit et  
 35 contuetur.<.>’  
 [22] Quum vero in rebus Philosophicis neque antiquitatis  
 reverentia, neque magnorum Nominum Auctoritas tantum valeat,  
 quantum, rationum et argumentorum pondera, hanc opinionem,  
 de Idearum seu imaginum in mente existentia, libere expendere



From living *CENTAURS*; never Nature knew,  
 Nor bred such Animals: But when, by Chance,  
 An *IMAGE* of a *MAN*, in various Dance,  
 Did meet a *HORSE*, they both combin'd in one:  
 And thus all monstrous *IMAGES* are shown: 5  
 These airy *IMAGES*, extremely thin,  
 Pass thro' the *LIMBS*, and strike the *SOUL* within:  
 They move with Ease; the *SOUL* is apt to move,  
 And take Impression from the weakest Shove.  
 That thus 'tis done, is certain<.>\* 10

[21] This opinion about species flying out from things and about similitudes roving around seems to have grown in strength until Descartes' day. With him as guide and master, modern philosophers spurn intelligible species emanating from things. But they think that there must be ideas or species maintained in the mind since they are necessary for all perceiving and thinking; where they come from into the mind is something that modern philosophers care about too little. Every doctrine bequeathed by Descartes, Malebranche, Locke, Berkeley and Hume concerning the operations of the understanding depends upon ideas. Indeed Newton, that most trustworthy interpreter of nature, an ornament of his race and of his era, than whom no one has been more critical of hypotheses in philosophy, and who has been more assiduous than anyone at avoiding them — even he has unexpectedly lapsed into this hypothesis and, so to say, floated away downstream, in posing this question, modestly as was his manner, at the end of the *Opticks*: 'Is the sensorium of animals not the place to which the sentient substance is present, and to which the sensible species of things are carried via the nerves and the brain, so that what are present there could be sensed by the sentient being who is present? And is it not certain from the phenomena that there is an incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipresent being who, in the infinite space that is his sensorium, discerns things themselves most profoundly and perceives them most deeply, and grasps, within himself qua present, these things present to him in their totality; as regards these things, that which senses and thinks within us perceives and reflects upon just the images, which are in our own little sensorium and which are borne down through the organs of the senses?''\* 15 20 25 30 35

[22] But since in philosophical matters neither respect for antiquity nor the authority of great names is alone worth as much as the authority of reasons and arguments, we have willingly dared to consider this opinion

- ausi fuimus, atque hanc materiam fuse tractavimus. Neque jam vacat argumenta repetere quibus ostendere conati fuimus præjudicatam esse hanc opinionem, nec unquam a Philosophis solidis argumentis confirmatam, sed potius pro concesso
- 5 habitam: Exinde ortum duxisse, quod proclive admodum sit ingenium humanum, mentis operationes, actionibus corporum in se mutuo similes fingere: Hinc vocabula fere omnia in omni lingua intellectus operationes significantia a corporum actionibus desumpta esse; ut Apprehensio Comprehensio | Conceptus
- [3v] Imaginatio et similia.
- [23] Hinc etiam quum in rebus corporeis oporteat rem apprehensam, apprehendenti esse contiguam et conjunctam, et rem conceptam concipienti; idem in mentis Operationibus fieri temere colligimus, vocabulis usitatis et præjudicio naturali
- 15 abrepti. Eodem præjudicio ductos Philosophos, ad Cartesij usque tempora animæ humanæ naturam igneam vel aeream tribuisse.
- [24] Quum vero rem attentius consideranti appareat, animæ et corporis naturam prorsus diversam esse, eorumque
- 20 operationes omnino dissimiles, non temere concludendum, dissimilia adeo, iisdem legibus subjici; neque ullo argumento constare, cogitationem de rebus remotis vel præteritis immediate non fieri, sine Idea vel imagine vicaria, menti impressa.
- 25 [25] Quamvis nos lateat, quomodo rerum cogitatio mentem subeat, non ideo fingendas esse Hypotheses. Bellum esse, et Philosopho dignum, confiteri se nescire quod nesciat, potius quam fictis Hypothesibus, Philosophiam contaminare. Non minus nos latere quomodo
- 30 mens res sibi presentes cernat aut quibus oculis contueatur; et si, quod haec Hypothesis ponit, Myops sit, adeo ut objecta longinqua sine Idearum perspicillo cernere non valeat.
- [26] Hypothesis hujus consequentia dura et rationi incongrua. Quid enim est imago rei immaterialis cui neque forma neque figura competit? Quid est imago rei materialis menti incorporeæ et inextensæ impressa? Quid est de re aliqua cogitare non immediate sed
- 35 medij ope? Quomodo nobis innotescit Ideas non suam sed aliarum rerum personam sustinere et exemplar
- 40

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about the existence of ideas or images in the mind and we have dealt with this topic at length. There is not now space to repeat the arguments with which we tried to demonstrate that this opinion is premature, that it has never been confirmed by philosophers deploying valid arguments but rather has been taken for granted; and, furthermore, that the opinion arises from the human mind's strong proclivity to invent a similarity between the operations of the mind and the actions of bodies. Hence in every language almost all words signifying operations of the mind are derived from actions of bodies, words such as apprehension, comprehension, concept, imagination and so on.\* 5

[23] So also, since as regards bodily things it is necessary that the thing apprehended be contiguous and conjoined with what apprehends it, and the conceived thing be contiguous and conjoined with what conceives it, we — drawn by the customary use of words and by natural prejudice — blindly say the same thing about the operations of the mind. Philosophers, led by the same prejudice until Descartes' time, have ascribed a fiery or an airy nature to the human mind. 10

[24] But since it is obvious to one who considers the matter attentively that the nature of mind and the nature of body are very disparate, and that their operations are totally dissimilar, it should not be concluded, in a casual manner, that these dissimilar things are subject to the same laws. Nor should it be affirmed on the basis of any argument that thinking about distant things or past things cannot be done immediately without a mediating idea or image that has been impressed on the mind. 20

[25] Though the way in which thought about things comes into the mind is concealed from us, hypotheses should not on that account be invented. It is good and is worthy of a philosopher to admit to not knowing what one does not know rather than to sully philosophy with invented hypotheses. Nor is it less concealed from us in what way the mind discerns things present to it or with what eyes it looks at them; and if, as this hypothesis proposes, the mind must be myopic, to that extent it lacks the strength to see distant objects without ideas *qua* telescope.\* 25

[26] This hypothesis has a difficult consequence, one not consonant with reason. For what is the image of something immaterial that has neither form nor figure? What is the image of something material that is impressed upon an immaterial and unextended mind? What is it to think about something not immediately but by way of something mediating? How do we come to know that ideas are in the mind not in their own person but as representing other things and are exemplars of these other 30 35 40

esse? Quomodo Idearum una rem præsentem, alia propinquam, alia longinquam; una præteritam, alia futuram; una rem existentem, alia imaginationis figmentum nobis exhibet?

5 [27] Postremo hanc Hypothesin in Scepticorum Acatalepsian recta nos ducere ostendimus. Sublato enim commercio mentis et rerum, Ideæ jam in mente existentes, non immediatum solum, sed unicum sunt intellectus objectum: Omnia externa, omnia præterita, velut ægri somnia, evanescent: de rebus  
10 ipsis nec Scientia ne quidem opinio probabilis relinquitur in mente humana.]

[4r] [28] Hanc Idearum consequentiam, quatenus mundum materialem spectat, luculentissime demonstravit et amplexus est Berkleius. Quod cetera spectat; solertissimus Humius eidem fundamento, systema Scepticum perditissimum instruxit; quod Idearum Hypothesi toto pondere incumbit, hac vero sublata corrui protinus.

[29] Quum vero hæc argumenta contra Idearum in mente existentiam antea fuse tractaverimus ijs jam non immoramur.<.> Quod si jam quærat, num igitur Ideæ vocabulum sit prorsus a Philosophis abjiciendum? Hoc minime oportere duco. Vocabula enim usitata, facilius explicantur quam immutantur. Ideæ vocem valde  
20 ambiguum esse, facile percipiet, qui scripta Philosophica attento animo perlegerit. Primo enim nonnunquam, Ideam rei habere, nihil aliud est, quam, de ea re cogitare. Secundo, mea rei cujusvis Idea, significat, id quod de natura rei concipio, sive verum sit sive falsum. Ita  
25 rustici fortasse Idea Lunæ, est corpus planum, rotundum, sesquipedale. Astronomi vero Idea Lunæ est corpus Sphæricum, sole Illuminatum, octavæ circiter terræ parti magnitudine æquale. Tertio, Ideæ nomen, nonnunquam tribuitur, humani Ingenij fœtibus, quæ re ipsa nunquam  
30 extiteret. Ita Mori Utopia, vel Haringtoni Oceana, rerum publicarum Ideæ, dicuntur. Vocabulum ita usurpari nil vetat. Si vero, Ideæ nomine, significetur, Imago rei cujusvis, vel in mente vel in cerebro, quæ intellectus immediatum objectum est qu<u>m mens de illa re cogitat;  
35 has Ideas, fictam esse Philosophorum Hypothesin  
40

things? How does one idea represent to us a present thing, another idea something close by and another something distant, one idea represent to us something past and another something future, one represent to us an existing thing and another a figment of the imagination?

[27] Finally, we made it plain that this hypothesis leads directly to the acatalepsy of the sceptics.\* For with the destruction of the interconnection between mind and things, ideas now existent in the mind are not just the immediate, but the only objects of the understanding. All external things, all past things vanish like a sick man's dreams. There remains in the human mind neither scientific knowledge nor probable opinion of things themselves. 5 10

[28] Berkeley demonstrated with very great clarity, and welcomed, this consequence of the hypothesis of ideas so far as the hypothesis has a bearing upon the material world.\* As regards the remaining matters on which the hypothesis has a bearing, the very ingenious Hume constructed on the same foundation a most wretched sceptical system that lies with its full weight on the hypothesis of ideas, and with the destruction of the hypothesis the system is straight away ruined.\* 15

[29] Since indeed we have already dealt at length with these arguments against the existence of ideas in the mind, we shall not linger over them now. What if it should now be asked whether the term 'idea' should therefore once and for all be thrown out by philosophers? I consider that it certainly should not. For the common meanings of terms are more easily expounded than are their meanings when these have been changed. Someone who has attentively read through philosophical writings will readily see that the term 'idea' is very ambiguous. For first, sometimes to have an idea of a thing is nothing other than to be thinking about the thing. Secondly, my idea of anything whatever signifies what I conceive to be the nature of the thing, whether my conception be true or false. For example, a countryman's idea of the Moon is perhaps that it is a flat, round body a foot and a half wide. But an astronomer's idea of the Moon is that it is a spherical body, lit by the Sun, and equal in magnitude to about an eighth of the Earth.\* Thirdly, the noun 'idea' is sometimes applied to progeny of the human mind which have never existed in reality. Thus More's Utopia or Harrington's Oceana are said to be ideas of commonwealths.\* There is nothing to stop the word being deployed in that way. But if the noun 'idea' signifies an image of something, whatever it be, whether in the mind or the brain, which is an immediate object of the understanding when the mind thinks about that thing, then I believe that these ideas are a hypothesis invented by 20 25 30 35 40

existimo scepticis amicam, sed sanæ et utili Scienciæ  
impedimentum<.)

[30] Missa itaque Idearum doctrina, ad alia  
Philosophorum de Apprehensione placita jam transeo.

5 [31] Quum igitur Apprehensionem triplicem esse volunt,  
Sensationem, Imaginationem et Intellectum purum: hæc  
distinctio, omnino naturæ rei incongrua esse videtur. Si  
enim, in Imaginatione nulla sit Imago in Cerebro, quod  
hactenus ostendere conatus sum, evanescit distinctio  
10 inter Imaginationem et Intellectum purum. Si quis vero,  
absurdum putet, imaginationem sine imagine esse; sciat  
se verbo decipi, et eodem jure colligeret, intellectum  
apprehendere non posse sine manu, vel concipere, sine  
gravide utero.]

[4v] [32] Sensationem vero non esse simplicis Apprehensionis genus  
rei natura suadet. In omni enim Sensatione conceptio est non  
nuda et simplex, ut in imaginatione, sed cum assensu et fide  
conjuncta. Dum solus in cubiculo foco assideo, auditorum cœtum  
imaginatione fingere possum, sine ullo assensu vel Judicio: Quum  
20 vero ex hac Cathedra, doctum hunc cœtum oculis cerno, fieri non  
potest quin et præsentem credam, et verecundia commovear.

[33] Sensus sunt testes rerum perceptarum, testimonium  
hoc Natura interprete intellegimus, eique, eadem Natura  
duce, assensum præbemus firmissimum. Idem etiam  
25 dicendum, de memoria rerum præteritarum. In hac  
enim mentis operatione non minus quam in Sensatione,  
apprehensio non simplex est sed cum Judicio, id est, fide &  
assensu conjuncta. Apprehensionis simplicis itaque unicum  
genus agnoscimus Imaginationem<.)

30 [34] Unde etiam notare licet, quam parum cum natura  
conveniat, Apprehensionem simplicem primam esse intellectus  
operationem. Mentem, primo Ideis instrui, postea has inter se  
conferendo, Judicia formare. Quum enim Imaginationi prior  
sit Sensatio ex dictis liquet Apprehensioni simplici priorem  
35 esse Apprehensionem cum judicio et fide conjunctam. Non  
igitur Judicia formantur ex Apprehensionibus simplicibus  
per compositionem potius dicendum has ex Judicij primis &  
naturalibus formari per Analysin seu resolutionem.

40 [35] De judicij natura ejusque ab Apprehensione discrimine  
pauca jam dicenda restant. Vereor enim ne in hac re quod

philosophers, a hypothesis that is a friend to sceptics but an obstacle to sound and useful knowledge.\*

[30] So, having rejected the doctrine of ideas, I now turn to other teachings by philosophers concerning apprehension.

[31] Whereas, then, they hold that there are three kinds of apprehension, namely sensation, imagination and pure understanding, this distinction seems to be wholly at odds with the nature of apprehension.\* For if, in imagining, no image is in the brain, something that I have up to now been attempting to establish, then the distinction between imagining and pure understanding evaporates. But if someone were to think it absurd that there be imagining without an image, he should know that he is being deceived by the word, and that, from that same principle he would infer that the understanding cannot grasp without a hand, nor can it conceive without a laden womb. 5 10

[32] Indeed, reality persuades us that sensation is not a kind of simple apprehension. For in all sensation conception is not bare and simple, as it is in imagination, but is conjoined with assent and belief. While I sit alone by the fireplace in my bedroom, I can, without any assent or judgement, conjure up in my imagination a gathering of listeners. But when from this chair I see this learned gathering with my eyes, I cannot but believe it to be present, and I am moved to diffidence.\* 15 20

[33] The senses are witnesses of things that have been perceived. With nature as interpreter we understand this testimony and, with that same nature as guide, we give our firmest assent.\* The same thing should also be said about our recollection of things that happened in the past. For in this operation of the mind, no less than in sensation, apprehension is not simple but is combined with judgement, that is, it is conjoined with belief and assent. We acknowledge therefore that the only kind of simple apprehension is imagination. 25

[34] Hence we may also note that it is hardly consonant with nature that simple apprehension should be the first operation of the understanding, that first the mind is provided with ideas and then, by bringing the ideas together, it forms judgements. For since sensation is prior to imagination it is evident from the foregoing that apprehension conjoined with judgement and belief is prior to simple apprehension. Judgements, therefore, are not formed from simple apprehensions by composition. Rather it should be said that simple apprehensions are formed from primary and natural judgements by analysis or resolution.\* 30 35

[35] As regards the nature of judgement and the difference between it and apprehension, there is not much left to say. For I am afraid that 40

ab indoctis distincte satis intellegitur, Philosophi obscurum reddiderint dum explicare et definire conantur quod definiri nequit. Si enim quod omnino simplex est, et sui generis, persecare, aperire, et definire coneris, irritus erit conatus, veritati obesse, nunquam vero prodesse potest. Si quis albedinem definire, et quomodo a colore cæruleo differat explicare voluerit, numquid proficiet? Certe rem oculis claram, verbis obscuram reddet. Eodem modo, si quæras, quid sit iudicium sententia, opinio, et quomodo a simplici apprehensione distinguantur? Nemo non hoc probe intellegit, conscientia harum operationum edoctus. Si vero de explicatione & definitione sataget, tenebris densissimis, rem sua luce perspicuam occultabit, et nubem pro Junone amplectetur.

[5r] [36] Quod equidem in hac ipsa re duobus Philosophis acutissimis accidisse videtur. Iohanni Lockio & Davidi Humio. Prior iudicium affirmat esse perceptionem convenientiæ vel discrepantiæ Idearum. Atque huic Definitioni magna pars Tentaminis de Intellectu humano et quidem Doctrinæ de intellectu jam vulgo receptæ innititur. Liceat itaque hanc Definitionem attentius expendere. Mihi enim videtur tam in Genere peccare quam in Differentia.

[37] Primo in Genere. Innuit enim Perceptionem esse Genus cuius species est iudicium. Quid vero est perceptio? hæc certe non minus imo magis Definitione indiget quam iudicium. Sine dubio aliquem intellectus actum significat. Quem vero? Non iudicium, hoc enim est ipsum definiendum. Non Apprehensionem simplicem nisi iudicium sit Apprehensionis simplicis genus. Ponamus itaque quod solum restat Perceptionem hic usurpari tanquam vocabulum generale omnes Intellectus operationes complectens et sic Definitio huc redibit. iudicium est operatio quædam intellectus de convenientia vel Discrepantia Idearum. Ita vero iudicium ab Apprehensione simplici non distinguetur. Nam antea ostensum fuit propositiones sive de convenientia Idearum sive de alia quavis re non solum iudicio sed etiam simplici apprehensioni subjici. Hæc de genere Definitionis.

[38] Quod Differentiam Spectat. Querere licet an iudicium in convenientia et discrepantia Idearum et in



this subject, which is clearly enough understood by the uninstructed, has been darkened by philosophers who seek to expound and to define the indefinable. For if you try to dissect, open up and define what is entirely simple and of its own kind, the attempt will be useless; it might be an impediment to the truth but could never promote it. If someone wanted to define whiteness and to explain in what way it is different from azure he would surely not make any progress. He will assuredly darken with words what is light to the eyes, and likewise if you were to ask what a judgement, a decision and an opinion are and in what way they are different from a simple apprehension. No one, informed by his consciousness of these operations, does not properly understand the differences. But if he is busy producing explanations and definitions, he will hide in the deepest darkness what is clear by its own light, and will embrace a cloud instead of Juno.\*

[36] Indeed this seems to have befallen two very acute philosophers, John Locke and David Hume in respect of this same topic. The former affirms that judgement is the perception of the agreement or disagreement of ideas, and a large part of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* and indeed a large part of Locke's doctrine, now generally accepted, on the understanding, depends on this definition.\* Let us therefore consider the definition quite closely. For it seems to me to be wrong in respect of its genus and its specific difference.

[37] First as regards its genus: the definition indicates that perception is the genus of which judgement is a species. But what is perception? Assuredly this requires a definition no less than does judgement, indeed the requirement is greater in its case. Undoubtedly it signifies some act of the understanding. But what act? Not a judgement, for this is the very thing that requires definition; nor the act of simple apprehension unless judgement is the genus of simple apprehension. Let us posit, therefore, the only alternative left, that perception is here deployed as a general term covering all the operations of the understanding, and that the definition of judgement will therefore come down to this, that judgement is a certain operation of the understanding concerning the agreement or disagreement of ideas. Judgement is therefore not different from simple apprehension. For it has already been shown that propositions, whether they concern the agreement of ideas or concern anything else whatever, are objects not only of judgement but also of simple apprehension. All these points concern the genus in the definition of judgement.

[38] As regards the specific difference: it may be asked whether judgement is about the agreement and disagreement of ideas and about

nulla alia re versetur? Si in hac sola, me miserum! cum  
 neque anima mea sit Idea; neque, socij, Amici, parentes,  
 propinqui patria sint ideæ; neque mundus, neque mundi  
 conditor et rector sapientissimus sint Ideæ; de hisce,  
 5 de eorum existentia, attributis, relationibus, nullum erit  
 iudicium nihil constabit nihil compertum erit ne quidem  
 verisimile! An vero ita sensit Lockius? Absit. Talia  
 opinionum monstra, viro præstantissimo, de patria de  
 humano genere de religione christiana optime merito  
 10 attribuere iniquum prorsus et indignum esset. In idearum  
 hypothesin incaute devectus, principia de Intellectu  
 posuit huic hypothesi consentanea. Quod si perspectum  
 habuisset hanc hypothesin et hæc ejus principia horrendis  
 [5v] adeo | consequentijs fœta esse, scientiæ virtuti religioni  
 15 contrarijs, sine dubio vir optimus suspecta habuisset  
 et severius expendisset. Quom vero hæc opinionum  
 monstra avidè amplectitur Humius; ijs fruatur, per me  
 licet neque invideo. Sed jam transeo ad ipsius Humij  
 Definitionem Judicij<.>

20 [39] Affirmat hic vir acutissimus, audacter pro more suo,  
 Apprehensionem et Judicium ejusdem esse generis, neque  
 aliud ijs interesse quam quod hoc fortius illa debilius  
 animum percellit: Sensationem memoriam Fidem, et  
 imaginationem Gradu tantum non genere differre prout  
 25 Ideæ sunt fortiores vel debiliores. Qui igitur Æsopi fabulam  
 legens fortiter ideis percellitur fabulæ fidem habet, qui  
 debilius, intellegit non credit. Ita enim ratiocinatur hic  
 Philosophus. Qui credit et qui solum intellegit easdem Ideas  
 in mente habet, nullum igitur discrimen erit nisi in Idearum  
 30 vi vel debilitate<.>

[40] Videtis Auditores hoc etiam delirium Philosophicum  
 ex eadem Idearum Hypothesi progenitum, digna equidem  
 parente proles. Vellem dixisset hic Philosophus acutissimus  
 quid judicij contrarijs intersit. Eædem enim sunt Ideæ<.> Ideæ  
 35 etiam in utrisque fortes erunt, cum judicia forment. Sequitur  
 quantum mihi constat contraria Judicia idem esse non gen<ere>  
 tantum sed gradu.

[41] Sed revera hujusmodi deliramenta ridenda potius sunt  
 quam refutanda. Itaque in re tam aperta hoc solum observasse  
 40 sufficit. Intellectum circa idem objectum operationes exercere

nothing else. If it is only about the agreement and disagreement of ideas then dear me! for my mind is not an idea, nor are my colleagues, friends, parents, relatives or native land ideas. And the world and the creator and very wise governor of the world are not ideas. As regards these things, their existence, attributes and relations, there will be no judgement, nothing will be agreed, nothing will be discovered, not even with the status of a likelihood. Is this really what Locke had in mind? Far from it. It would be truly unfair and also unworthy to attribute to this very deservedly renowned man such monstrous opinions about his native land, the human race, the Christian religion. Without paying due attention he was drawn to the hypothesis of ideas and proposed principles of the understanding compatible with this hypothesis. If he had seen that this hypothesis and its principles had such horrendous consequences which were contrary to knowledge, virtue and religion, this finest of men would undoubtedly have regarded the hypothesis as suspect and been more stern in his judgement of it.\* But since Hume enthusiastically embraces these monstrous opinions, let him enjoy them.\* I do not stand in his way nor am I envious. But I come now to Hume's own definition of judgement.

[39] This most acute man affirms, boldly as is his way, that apprehension and judgement belong to the same genus, that they do not differ except for the fact that judgement strikes the mind more strongly and apprehension strikes it more feebly, and that sensation, memory, belief and imagination differ in degree only, not in kind, according as the ideas are stronger or fainter. So someone reading one of Aesop's fables who is struck forcibly by the ideas believes the fable, whereas someone who is struck more feebly understands the fable but does not believe it. For this is how Hume argues. He who believes has the same ideas in his mind as has the person who only understands; there will therefore be no difference except in the strength or weakness of the ideas.\*

[40] You will see, my friends, that this philosophical delirium too is an offspring of that same hypothesis of ideas, a worthy descendant of its parent.\* Would that this most acute philosopher had said what the difference is between contrary judgements. For the ideas are the same, and the ideas are strong in both of them, for they form judgements. It follows, so far as I can tell, that contrary judgements are the same not only in kind but also in degree.

[41] But in truth such follies should be mocked rather than disproved. Hence in such an evident case it is enough to have observed just this, that the understanding can perform very diverse operations in respect of

prorsus diversas. Ut amoris et odij idem potest esse objectum non tamen inde sequitur odium esse amoris gradum ita eadem propositio vel nude ab intellectu concipitur, vel de ea sententia fertur verane sit an falsa. Toto genere discrepant hæ  
5 operationes, non minus quam auditus a visu. Unusquisque propria conscientia edoctus earum naturam et discrimen distincte cernit. Quum vero simplices sint et sui generis Definiri nequeunt.

[42] Alia sunt Philosophorum Dogmata alias fortasse  
10 si Deus voluerit expendenda. Hæc autem dicta intellegi velim non animo calumniandi Philosophiam vel Philosophos quod procul a me abest. Sed ut rejectis in hac Philosophiæ parte non minus quam in Physica, vanis humani ingenij figmentis, sive ab  
15 antiquis sive a recentioribus, sive incaute a veri et virtutis amantibus, sive consulto ab alijs confictis, veriora et utiliora his Substituantur. Quod sperare fas est si intellectum humanum Dei opus eximium cognitu equidem difficillimum sed cognitione  
20 dignissimum, mente pura et præjudicijs vacua perscrutemur.

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the same object. Just as one and the same thing can be an object of both love and hate though it does not therefore follow that hate is a degree of love, so also one and the same proposition can be simply conceived by the understanding, or can be judged to be true or false. These operations are totally different in kind, no less than hearing is different 5  
from sight. Every single person, instructed by his own consciousness, sees distinctly their nature and difference. Since they are truly simple and each one of them is the only one of its kind they cannot be defined.\*

[42] There are other dogmas of philosophers, perhaps, God willing, to be considered elsewhere. I want these dogmas to be understood, but 10  
not because I intend that philosophy or philosophers be calumniated; that is far from my intention. Instead I have it in mind that, with these empty figments of the human mind ejected from this part of philosophy no less than from physics, whether these figments are by the ancients or the moderns, whether received in an unguarded way by lovers of truth 15  
and virtue, or deliberately made up by others, truer and more useful doctrines should be put in place of these figments. It is to be hoped that this will happen if, with a mind that is pure and cleared of prejudices, we investigate the human understanding, the most outstanding work of God, in truth the most difficult thing to think about but most worthy of 20  
our thought.\*

Part Three:  
Statistical Account of the  
University of Glasgow

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STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

UNIVERSITIES OF SCOTLAND.

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NUMBER I.

5

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

*Transmitted by PROFESSOR G. JARDINE,\* in the Name of the  
PRINCIPAL and PROFESSORS of the UNIVERSITY.*

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INTRODUCTION.

10 To give a distinct account of the University of Glasgow, it is necessary  
to distinguish two periods of its existence, in which its constitution  
and appearance were extremely different; — the period before the  
reformation from Popery, and that which followed it; to which may be  
subjoined, the present state of the University, with such alterations, in  
the mode of conducting education, as the improvements in literature,  
15 and the state of society, have suggested. <2>

## I. HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

*Origin.* — At the request of King JAMES II. Pope NICOLAS V. granted a Bull,\* constituting a “*studium generale, tam in theologia, et in jure canonum et civili, quam in artibus, et in quacunq̄ licita facultate,*”\* to continue in all time to come in the city of Glasgow; as being a notable place, and fit for the purpose, by the temperature of the air, and the plenty of all kinds of provisions for human life: and, by his apostolical authority, ordained, That its doctors, masters, readers, and students shall enjoy all the privileges, liberties, honours, exemptions, and immunities granted to the *studium generale* of his city of BONONIA.\* He likewise appointed WILLIAM TURNBULL,\* then bishop of Glasgow, and his successors in that see, to be the rectors, called chancellors, of the said *studium*; and to have the same authority over the doctors, masters, and scholars, as the rectors have in the *Studium Bononiense*. — This Bull is dated at Rome the 7th of the month of January 1450, and the fourth year of his pontificate.\*

*Establishment.* — By the care of the bishop and his chapter, a body of statutes was prepared, and an university established, in the year 1451:\* consisting, besides the chancellor, of a rector, doctors, and masters of the four faculties, who had taken their degrees in other universities; and students, who, after a course of study and examination, prescribed by their several faculties, might be promoted to academical degrees. — That this institution might open with the greater celebrity, the bishop had procured and published a Bull from the Pope, granting an *universal indulgence* to all faithful Christians, who should visit the cathedral church of Glasgow, in the year 1451.\* — We {3} have no account of the solemnity and ceremony of the first establishment; but it appears that DAVID CADZOW, licentiate in canon-law, and canon of Glasgow, was the first rector, (probably appointed by the bishop), and that he was, by election, continued in 1452.\* There are more than 100 members mentioned, as incorporated by him in these two years; and most of them not young men, but secular or regular ecclesiastics, canons, rectors, vicars, and presbyters, abbots, priors, and monks. ANDREW STEWART, brother to King James II. was incorporated in 1456, being then sub-dean of Glasgow.\*

*Exemptions.* — The clergy would perhaps be the more disposed to attend the University, as, while they were incorporated members, they were, by royal charters and acts of Parliament, exempted from all taxes and public burdens. And Bp. TURNBULL, in the year 1453, ordained, That the beneficed clergy in his diocese, who were regents or students

in his university, or willing to study while they were teachable, should, upon asking his licence, be exempted from residence in their cures, providing they took care to have the religious offices duly performed.\*

5 *Royal Charter.* — King JAMES II. in the year 1453, at the request of Bp. Turnbull, granted a charter in favour of the University of Glasgow; by which the rector, the deans of the faculties, the procurators of the *four nations*, the masters, regents, and scholars, studying in the said University, providing they be not prelates, as well as the beadals, writers, stationers, and parchment-makers, are exempted *ab omnibus*  
10 *tributis, muneribus, exactionibus, taxationibus, collectis, vigiliis, et pedagiis, aliquo modo infra regnum nostrum statuendis et levandis.\**

*Privileges and Powers.* — The same privilege was renewed <4> by subsequent sovereigns, and confirmed by acts of Parliament. And even in taxes of an 8th part of all ecclesiastical livings, for the defence of the  
15 nation against an invasion of the English, the clergy in the University of Glasgow, on pleading their privilege, were exempted. This right, of exemption from taxation, was pleaded by this University before the Lords of Council and Session, on the 20th of November 1633, and was sustained.\*

20 To these privileges, which the bishops of Glasgow obtained from the Crown and Parliament, they added others which were in their own power, in consequence of the ample civil and criminal jurisdiction, which they possessed within their own diocese; to wit, The privilege of buying, selling, and transporting provisions, within the jurisdiction  
25 of the bishop, free of tolls and customs; — the fixing the rent of houses or lodgings, possessed by persons belonging to the University, by a jury, the one half citizens, the other half persons belonging to the University; — the obliging the magistrates of Glasgow, upon their election, to swear that they shall observe, and cause to be observed, the  
30 immunities, liberties, and statutes of the University; — the granting the rector the next place, in precedence to the bishop, in all ceremonies and processions; — the granting the privileges of incorporated members to all the servants of the University; — the *self-denying* clause in the chancellor's oath, and which still makes a clause in it, — "*Se nihil in academiæ negotiis sine moderatorum et magistrorum assentione tentaturum;*"\* — and particularly, the granting to the rector, at first, the jurisdiction in all civil and pecuniary questions, respecting members  
35 of the University, and in crimes less atrocious; and afterwards, the extending it to all causes and crimes whatsoever: — The power, also, of inflicting ecclesiastical censure, even that of excommunication. <5>  
40



*Capital Trial.* — There is, however, only one instance on record of a capital trial before the rector's court; and that so late as the year 1670. That year, ROBERT BARTOUNE, a student, was indicted for murder, before Sir WILLIAM FLEEMING, rector; but was acquitted by the jury.\*

## II. ANCIENT CONSTITUTION.

5

THE constitution of this learned body will appear, by taking a view of the parts into which it was divided, and the powers and obligations of each.

I. *Election of Office-Bearers, &c.* — The whole incorporated members, students, as well as doctors and masters, were divided into four parts, called the *Quatuor Nationes*, according to the place of their nativity.\* The whole realm of Scotland, and the Isles, was distinguished into four districts, under the names of *Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Albany, and Rothesay*. A meeting of the whole University was annually called, on the day next after St. Crispin's day.\* This meeting was called the *Congregatio Universitatis*.\* and, being divided into the four nations, each nation, by itself, chose a procurator and an intrant; and the intrants, meeting by themselves, made choice of a rector and a *deputatus*\* of each nation, who were assistants and assessors to the rector.

*Functions.* — The *rector* and *deputati* had several functions. 20

1st, They were judges in all civil and criminal causes, wherein any member of the University was a party. Every member, who either sued or answered before any other court, was guilty of perjury, and incurred the penalty of expulsion. The ecclesiastics in the University, to whatever diocese they belonged, could not be called before their rural deans. <6> 25

2dly, All members were incorporated by the rector and *deputati*, after taking an oath to obey the rector and his successors, to observe the statutes, and preserve the privileges of the University, and not to reveal its secrets to its prejudice, to whatever station they should arrive. 30

3dly, The rector and *deputati* were the council of the University; who deliberated upon, and digested all matters to be brought before the congregation of doctors and masters. And the determinations of the doctors and masters, in such cases, were accounted, in respect of authority, next to the statutes. — Sometimes the *congregatio universitatis* was called occasionally for weighty matters; such as, the making or repealing of statutes, or for an embassy to the higher powers, in name of the University. In such cases, each nation chose three or four *deputati*, 35

who were joined with the rector and his *deputati*, to transact the business committed to them.

Two other office-bearers were chosen annually, on the morrow after St. Crispin's day; — a *bursarius*,\* who kept the university-purse, and accounted for what he received and expended; and a *promotor*,\* whose office was to see that the statutes were observed, and to bring delinquents before the rector's court, which had power to enforce the statutes, or to dispense with them in cases that were not declared to be indispensable.

II. *Faculties*. — A second division of the University was into its different *faculties*. The Pope's Bull mentions four by name; to wit, *Theology*, *Canon Law*, *Civil Law*, and *the Arts*. All others are comprehended in a general clause, *et in quacunque licita facultate*.\* — In the dark ages, the professions of theology, canon and civil law, were called the three learned professions; as being the only professions in which learning was expected or thought necessary. They fitted men for the most honourable and lucrative employments; for the highest dignities in the church; for the councils of kings; for the offices of judges at home; and of ambassadors to foreign courts. To train men to eminence, in these professions, was the first intention of universities. The Arts, under which was comprehended logic, physics, and morals, were considered as a necessary introduction to the learned professions; and, therefore, a necessary part of study in every university.

*Their Plan*. — The plan, upon which universities were incorporated by the Popes, was very like to that of incorporated towns and boroughs, and perhaps was borrowed from it. The university corresponds to the whole incorporation of the borough: the different faculties to the different companies of the trades, or crafts, into which the borough is divided. A company is a smaller incorporation, subordinate to that of the borough: has the power of choosing its own head, or deacon; and an authority over those who are in the course of being trained to the same craft. The companies, in the incorporated towns, were anciently called *collegia*, or colleges; and the whole incorporation, comprehending all the companies, was called the *universitas* of that town. These names were, by analogy, applied to corporations of the learned professions, and at last appropriated to them. — The word used in Pope NICOLAS' Bull is not *universitas* but *studium generale*; and the university of Bononia he calls *Studium Bononiense*: but, in the charter of King JAMES II. in 1453, we have — *Alma universitas Glasguensis, filia nostra dilecta*.\*

*Government*. — The government of a faculty was very similar to that of the University. Each faculty had its own statutes, determining

the time of study, and the exercises and examinations requisite for attaining degrees in that faculty. Each chose annually its own dean, its own *bursarius*, and some times four *deputati* as a council to the dean. — We know very little of the three higher faculties in this University, as there is no record extant, either of their statutes or of their transactions. There are only two memorandums relating to them in the University record. In the first we are told, that, on the 29th of July 1460, the venerable DAVID CADZOW, then rector of the University, began, in the chapter house of the predicant friars,\* the clergy and masters being there convened, to read the rubric in the canon law, *de vita et honestate clericorum*;\* and that he continued according to the pleasure of the hearers: and that, on the same day, and in the same place, WILLIAM DE LEVENAX began a title in the civil law.\* But we are not told how long it pleased the hearers that these lectures should be continued. — In another memorandum we are told, that, on the 23d of March, in the year 1521, ROBERT LILE,\* bachelor in theology, and prior of the convent of predicant friars in Glasgow, began, *pro forma*, to read a lecture, on the fourth book of the sentences,\* in the monastery; in presence of the rector, dean of faculty, and the rest of the masters; JOHN ADE,\* professor of theology, and provincial of the order of Scotland, presiding at the time.

III. *Degrees*. — A third division was according to the academical degree of every member. The highest degree in theology, canon and civil law, was that of *Doctor*; and in the arts, that of *Master*. In some universities, *Masters of Arts* are called *Doctors of Philosophy*; but in most they are distinguished, by the name of *Master*, from those who have the highest degree in any of the higher faculties. A master, however, might be chosen to be rector, or a *deputatus*, as well as doctor. — In all the faculties, there were two degrees by which a man rose to the highest: These were Bachelor and Licentiate. The degree of Licentiate, as well as that of Doctor or Master, was conferred only by the chancellor or vice-chancellor. The requisites to all the degrees was a certain time of study, and the having heard certain books prelected upon, and certain exercises and examinations: in Bachelors of the Arts 15 years of age, and in Masters 20. It was forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to give any man the title of Master, by word or writing, who had not attained that degree; and the penalty was still more heavy if any man took it to himself before he had lawfully obtained it. — Academical degrees were considered as of *divine* institution, (probably because instituted by Popes, who were thought to be inspired by the Holy Ghost); and,

therefore, the chancellor or vice-chancellor conferred them *authoritate divina, et in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti*.\*

5 IV. *Teaching*. — The last division we shall mention, is into *teachers*, and those who *were taught*. — On this part of the constitution the records, that are extant, leave us much in the dark. We know that four  
10 faculties were established; because, in the oath taken by masters of arts, they swore to promote peace among the four faculties, especially with the faculty of theology. A school of canon law is mentioned as being in disrepair, and to be repaired out of the university purse; and it appears  
15 that degrees were conferred both in that faculty and in theology. — ANDREAS DE GARLIES, *Doctor in Medicinis*, was incorporated in 1469;\* but his name is never mentioned again, nor any thing else that relates to medicine. It is probable, therefore, that there was no faculty of medicine, nor any teaching in that science.\* — Of the teaching in the  
20 faculty of arts we have more full information, from two manuscripts in parchment; — one of which contains the statutes of that faculty, and it conclusions; and the other the minutes of its meetings, and transactions, from 1451 to 1509, <10> and from 1535 to 1555. These manuscripts were transcribed by order of the University in 1769.\*

25 *Pædagogium*. — Some years after the University was founded, many of the students were young men, to whom tuition, as well as teaching, was necessary; and, therefore, provision was made, that they should live and eat in one house, which was called *Pædagogium*, or the College of Arts; where they were taught and governed by certain masters, who  
30 were called *Regentes in Artibus*.\* This college was at first on the south side of the Rotten-row,\* and probably was a part of the property of the bishop and chapter; but afterwards a tenement was bequeathed, by Lord HAMILTON,\* for the College of Arts, where the college now stands.

35 *Regents*. — At first there were three regents in the arts; to wit, ALEXANDER GEDDES, a Cistercian monk, DUNCAN BUNCH, and WILLIAM ARTHURLIE.\* Afterwards we find sometimes two, and sometimes but one. It seems to have been the most laborious, and least coveted office in the University. Besides teaching and presiding in disputations *omni die legibili*,\* they lived within the College, eat at a common table with  
40 the students of arts; visited the rooms of the students before 9 at night, when the gates were shut, and at 5 in the morning; and assisted in all examinations for degrees in arts. In the beginning of every session, they proposed to the faculty the books they intended to prelect upon, and had their permission. — There was no salary for this office for many years; and the fees, paid by the hearers, were very small. Twice we find

a regent presented by the chancellor, and one of these he turned off for insufficiency in two or three years. Once the faculty turned one out for insufficiency, and put two in his place, with power to choose a third, with the consent of the faculty, if they found it proper. All that had this office, excepting two, continued in it but a few years; and very often one who was not a member of the faculty was called to this office, and made a regent immediately upon being incorporated. From these particulars, it is probable that there was no competition, either for this office, or for the patronage of it; but rather some difficulty to find persons qualified who were willing to take it.

*Books.* — The books which students were obliged to hear read, before taking the degree of Bachelor, were prescribed by statute. They were, *Porphyrie's Introduction to certain books of Aristotle*, and *Petrus Hispanus*.\* The fee to be paid for hearing each was also fixed. — When they had these, and the other requisites, they were presented by their regent to a meeting of the Faculty, which by statute was appointed to be held annually the day after *All-Saints*.\*

*Examinations.* — When they were found to have all the *requisita*, or wanted only such as the faculty saw cause to dispense with, four examiners, called *temptatores*,\* were elected, to examine them, within ten days. Of the four *temptatores*, two were regents, (when there were two), and the other two non regents. The examiners, after examination, wrote, signed, and sealed their report; which contained not only the name of those whom they found worthy, but their order, according to their merit; and, in this order, the dean conferred the degree of *Bachelor of Arts*. — The examiners, when they were chosen, took an oath to make a faithful report, and not to reveal the secrets of the examination. The candidates were also sworn not to reveal the secrets of the examination; nor to show any resentment, by word or deed, against any fellow candidate, by whom they had been refuted in the course of the examination. — The examination for the degrees of *Licentiate* and of *Master* was carried on in the same way.

*Obligation.* — In the oath taken by one who took the degree of Master, he came under an obligation *de lectura ad biennium*;\* but this, which implied not only his continuing his studies in the College for two years, but his giving lectures during that time, was very often dispensed with upon paying a fine.

*Lectures.* — The statutes of this faculty suppose that every master is to give prelections; for they enjoin, that, on the day in which the dean is chosen, the masters, according to their seniority, shall name the book

upon which they are to prelect; and that, if two masters choose the same book, the senior be preferred, unless there be so many hearers that both may prelect, on the same book, at the same time, in different schools. But, in the minutes of faculty, there is no mention of any such lectures  
 5 being proposed, or given by any master but the *magistri regentes*.\*

The manner of teaching, and of hearing, is, by the statutes, ordained to be the same as in *Bononia* and in *Pisa*. In many other things, the practice of some one of the foreign universities is made the rule; but those of England are never mentioned.

10 *Discipline*. — Corporeal punishment was sometimes inflicted upon students in the College of Arts. For some faults the statutes order the punishment to be inflicted *caligis laxatis*.\*

*Property*. — It may appear strange, that this University was founded without any property in lands, houses, or rents. It came into the world  
 15 as *naked* as every individual does. — The <13> *congregatio universitatis* was always held at the cathedral. Sometimes the doctors and masters met at the convent of the Dominicans, or Predicators as they were called. All the lectures we find mentioned in theology, canon or civil law, were read there. — There was an university purse, into which  
 20 some perquisites, paid at incorporation, and at examinations, and promotions to degrees, were put. From this purse caps of ceremony were furnished, after some years: but to defray the expence of a silver rod or mace, to be carried before the rector at certain solemnities, it was found necessary to tax all the incorporated members; and on that  
 25 occasion we are told that DAVID CADZOW, who was then rector, gave 20 nobles.\*

Two or three chaplainries were bequeathed, under the patronage of the University, by some of its first members. The duty of the chaplain  
 30 was to perform certain masses, at such an altar, for the souls of the founder and his friends; for which he had a small annuity. These chaplainries were commonly given to some of the regents of the College of Arts; perhaps because they were the poorest of the sacerdotal order in the University. — This patronage and this purse, as far as appears, were  
 35 all the property which the University ever possessed. Nor does it appear that the faculties of theology, canon or civil law, ever had any property. The individuals had rich livings through all parts of the nation; abbacies, priories, prebends, rectories, and vicarages: but the community had nothing. Its privileges were the inducement to bring rich ecclesiastics  
 40 into a society, in which they lived at ease, free of all taxes, and subject to no authority but that of their own rector.

The *College of Arts*, however, being perhaps thought the most useful part of the whole, and entitled to public favour, as entrusted with the education of youth, soon came to have <14> some property. In the year 1459, JAMES Lord HAMILTON bequeathed to Mr. DUNCAN BUNCH, principal regent of the College of Arts, and his successors, regents, for the use of the said college, — a tenement, with the pertinents, lying on the north side of the church and convent of the Predicators, together with 4 acres of land in the Dow-hill.<sup>†\*</sup> — From this time we find the purse of the faculty of arts, which appears to have been heavier than that of the University, employed in repairing and adding to the buildings of the College; furnishing rooms for the regents and students; and things necessary for the kitchen, and a common table. 5 10

In the year 1466, another tenement, adjoining to the College, was bequeathed by Mr. THOMAS ARTHURLIE.\* — By this time, many of the students of arts were the youth of the nation, whose good education was a matter of importance to the public. They were distinguished, according to their rank, into sons of noblemen, of gentlemen, and of those of meaner rank; and, in the expence of their education, were taxed accordingly. 15

Such, as far we can learn, was the constitution of the University of Glasgow before the Reformation. There is reason to think, that, when the zeal in favour of a new institution began to cool, the three higher faculties gradually declined into inactivity. 20

*Defects.* — From the year 1490, we find frequent complaints, of masters not attending university meetings; of statutes having fallen into disuse; of bachelors and licentiates not proceeding in their degrees; of the jurisdiction of the University not being respected. Sometimes, at the election of a rector, not one of the *nation of Albany* was present; and once, none either of *Albany* or of *Teviotdale*. — There seems only to have been one dean in the University for some time before the Reformation, to wit, the dean of the faculty of arts; and, therefore, it is probable the other faculties had no meetings. In the later minutes of the University he is called *Decanus Facultatis*, without addition; whereas, 25 30

<sup>†</sup> In this deed, the regents and students are required, every day after dinner and after supper, to stand up and pray for the souls of JAMES Lord HAMILTON, founder of the college; of EUPHEMIA his spouse, Countess of Douglass;\* of his ancestors and successors; and of all from whom he has received any benefit, for which he has not made a proper return. 35



more early, he is always *Decanus Facultatis Artium*.<sup>†</sup> This style, of *Dean of Faculty of the University*, which we see was a considerable time before the Reformation, continues to be used to this day; there being only one dean of faculty in that University, who is considered not as the head of one particular faculty, but in the light of an university officer, as the rector is.

There seem to have been two obvious defects in the ancient constitution of the University. The first, That no salaries were provided for regular lectures in the high faculties. It was not to be expected, that the laborious work of teaching should be performed by those who could not live by it; and who could not, by their industry and eminence in their profession, rise to some degree of respect proportioned to what their talents and learning might have raised them in another line of life. — The second defect — That there was not sufficient power over the University to remedy disorders, when these became general, and infected the whole body. The chancellor had, by his oath already mentioned, divested himself of the power which the Pope's Bull gave him; and neither royal nor parliamentary visitations, so frequent afterwards, were then introduced.

<sup>†</sup> This conjecture is confirmed by a notorial instrument of the foundation of a chaplainry, by Mr. THOMAS LEISS,\* while he was on a sick-bed, but sound in his mind. This instrument was taken, the 8th day of March, in the year 1529, before respectable witnesses, five of whom signed it with the notary. In it the notary says, *Constituit dominum rectorem Universitatis Glasguensis, decanum facultatis ejusdem, indubitatos patronos*.\* From this, it appears that only one dean existed at that time in the University, or was expected to exist; and we know that a dean of the faculty of arts was chosen annually till the year 1555.

<sup>‡</sup> Whatever were the causes of declension in this University before the Reformation, the annals of literature mention very few of its members, who made any considerable figure in the learned world. One, however, deserves to be mentioned. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON, who had been a canon of Glasgow, and had borne the offices both of rector of the University, and dean of the faculty of arts, was eminent in the knowledge both of the canon and civil law.\* He was made Bishop of Aberdeen, and Chancellor of Scotland; and was employed in several embassies to foreign courts — He founded the UNIVERSITY of OLD ABERDEEN, in the year 1496. And, either from the experience of what he had seen in the University of Glasgow, or from a deeper knowledge of human nature, he supplied, in his university, both the defects we have observed in that of Glasgow: for he gave salaries (not illiberal for the times) to those who were to teach theology, canon and civil law, medicine, languages, and philosophy, and pensions to a certain number of poor students; and likewise appointed a visitorial power, reserving to himself, as chancellor, and to his successors in that office, a dictatorial power, to be exercised occasionally according to the report of the visitors.

JAMES BEATON,\* the last popish archbishop of Glasgow, deserves also to be mentioned with honour. His fidelity in depositing every thing he carried away, that belonged to the archbishopric or to the University, in the convent of the Carthusians, or in the Scotch



## III. HISTORY AFTER THE REFORMATION.

THE reformation in religion, established by act of Parliament in the year 1560, brought the University of Glasgow almost to annihilation. The dignitaries of the church and convents, of whom its doctors and masters were composed, were no more. The chancellor, JAMES BEATON, fled to France; and carried with him the plate of the cathedral, with the bulls, charter, and rights, both of the see and of the University; which he deposited partly in the convent of the Carthusians, and partly in the Scotch College at Paris,\* (where they lately were), to be restored when Popery should be re-established. — It ought to be observed, to the honour of that college, that they have always been ready to give extracts from the originals deposited with them, as well as to gratify the curious by the inspection of them. The late Principal GORDON,\* of that college, made a present to the University of Glasgow of a copy of the chartulary of the chapter of Glasgow, notorially attested.\*

All that was now to be seen of the University was that small part, called the *College of Arts*, or *Pædagogium*; the least in dignity, though perhaps not the least useful. This small part, with its small property, probably much impaired by the confusion of the times, and the loss of rights, — remained as a relic of the ancient University, and the seed of a reformed University; dependent for its subsistence and growth on future benefactions. — The rich fabric of the popish hierarchy, in Scotland, was pulled down with more zeal than prudence, by a fierce nation, long oppressed, and little accustomed to regular government. All who had power or interest scrambled for the wreck. The Crown, the nobility, and the cities, were enriched by it: some *crumbs* came, by second hand, to the universities. <18>

*Q. Mary's Charter.* — The first who had compassion on the University of Glasgow, in its depressed state, was the famous and the unfortunate Queen MARY. In a charter granted by her, and to which her privy seal is appended, dated the 13th of July 1560; there is the following

College at Paris, was never questioned. His political ability appears by his having been appointed one of the Scottish ambassadors, at the court of France, for settling the articles of the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin; his having been again appointed her ambassador at that court, and continuing in that office from the time of the Reformation till her death; and, after that tragic event, his being appointed King JAMES's ambassador at the same court, and holding that office till the time of his own death in 1603, when King JAMES came to be king of England. — This archbishop left several monuments of his learning in manuscript, which are preserved in the Scotch College at Paris, to which he bequeathed the greatest part of his effects at his death.

narrative: — “Forasmuch as, within the citie of Glasgow, ane colledge and universitie was devysit to be hade, &c. of the whilke colledge ane part of the scoles and chalmers being *bigget*, the rest thairof, alsweil dwellings as provision for the poor bursars and maisters to teach, ceasit; swa that the samyn appearit rather to be the decay of ane university, nor onie ways to be reckonit ane establisht foundation.”\* Therefore, for the zeal she bore to letters, &c. she founds five poor children bursars within the said college, to be called in all times to come *bursars of her foundation*; and for their *sustentation* she gives, to the masters of the said college and university, the manse and kirk of the Friars Predicators, with 13 acres of ground adjacent; and several other rents and annuities therein named, which had belonged to the said friars.†

*Burgh Charter.* — The next benefaction, made to this college, is contained in a charter granted by Sir JOHN STEWART of Mynto,\* provost, with the baillies, council, and community of the city of Glasgow, in the year 1572; and ratified by the Parliament the same year.\* They, considering that, be〈19〉sides other detriment their town sustained, their schools and colleges were utterly ruined; and their youth, who were wont to be trained to probity and good morals, left to be corrupted by idleness and wantonness: and, being earnestly desirous to remedy so great an evil, by the exhortation, counsel, and aid of the most respectable Master ANDREW HAY,\* rector of the church of Renfrew, and vice-superintendent, and rector for the time, of their University of Glasgow, — resolved to restore, renew, and give new foundation to the *Pædagogium Glasguense, quod pro sumptuum inopia pene corruerat, et in quo, pro nimia paupertate, disciplinarum studia extincta jacebant*.\* For this purpose, they annex to the said College, and to the regents and students after named residing within it, being 15 persons in all, “for their honest and commodious sustentation, all and sundry the lands, tenements, houses, biggings, kirks, chapels, yards, orchards, crofts, annual rents, fruits, duties, profits and emoluments, mails, obit-silver, and anniversaries whatsoever; which pertained to whatsoever chappels, altarages, prebendaries, founded in whatever kirk or college within the said city; or of the places of all the friars of the same city, according

† The name of *bursar*, or *bursarius*, was anciently given to the treasurer of an university or of a college, who kept the common purse of the community. We see that, in Queen Mary’s time, this name had come to be given to poor students, probably because they were pensioners on the *common purse*. Her gift is the first we have met with, that was destined particularly for the support of a certain number of such poor students; whom she appoints to be called *bursars of her foundation*.

to the gift made to them by the Queen, under the great seal, the 26th March 1566.\* They likewise will and declare, That the said college, the 15 persons before mentioned, and all others who shall be students in the same, and their servants, shall be exempted *ab omni jurisdictione ordinaria; necnon ab omnibus customis, exactionibus pedariis, intra civitatem nostram impositis, vel imponendis*.\* — It is understood to be in consequence of this charter, that the magistrates of Glasgow, or a deputation from them, still continue annually to inspect the accompts of the old revenue of the college, in which the particulars of this donation were comprehended; though the greatest part of it, which consisted of small ground annuals, is now lost. <20>

One might think, that, when to the former revenue of the college were added these donations of Queen MARY, and of the city of Glasgow, it must have been completely endowed for the maintenance of 15 persons; yet it was soon found necessary to increase the revenue, and to diminish the number of persons to be maintained by it. For although the property of the Dominican friars in Glasgow, was certainly very considerable before the Reformation; yet all that the college could make effectual of that, and all their funds taken together, amounted only, by their rental, to L. 300 Scotch money.†

A more effectual benefaction was made to this poor society, in the year 1577, by King JAMES VI. in his minority, with the advice and consent of the Earl of Morton, regent of the kingdom.\* That was the rectory and vicarage of the parish of Govan,\* of which the incumbent was lately dead; and the value reckoned about 24 chalders.\* It was found, however, that the late incumbent had, before his death, given a 19 years lease of the temporality to a friend; and that friend had transferred his right to a man in power. By this, and some other

† The reason why donations, in appearance liberal, turned out to so small account, was, partly, that the popish ecclesiastics, secular and regular, though their form of worship was totally abolished through the whole nation, continued to enjoy their temporalities for life, subject to a taxation of a third part to the Crown, out of which the clergy of the reformed church were to be maintained; partly, that those incumbents, during their life, practised many arts to alienate their revenues to laymen, either from friendship or for their own profit, by pretended feu-contracts, perpetual or long leases, and many other means, which their private interest, their regard to relations, or their hatred of the new religion, suggested.

Some of these pretended alienations, made to the hurt of the College, were afterwards reduced and annulled by the courts of law, some by arbitration. Probably many more might have been reduced; but that very often the subject was *too small* to bear the expense of a law-suit, or the man in possession *too powerful* to be sued by the College.

incumbrances, all that the College could draw from it, for about 20 years, was only 300 merks yearly.\*

#### IV. MODERN CONSTITUTION.

5 *New Royal Charter.* — With this gift King James gave a *charter of foundation* to the College; which, in its most essential articles, has continued in force to this day. It is commonly called the *nova erectio*;\* all subsequent changes being superstructures upon this foundation. The charter proceeds upon this narrative: *Intelligentes quod annua proficua et reditus collegii, seu Pedagogii Glasguensis, tam exigua sunt, ut hoc*  
 10 *nostra ætate minime sufficientia sint ad sustentandum principalem, magistros, regentes, bursarios, et officarios necessarios, in quovis collegio; nec ad adminiculandum sustentationi et reparationi ejusdem.\** And afterwards — *Dum animum nostrum adjecerimus ad colligendas reliquias academiæ Glasguensis; quam præ inopia languescentam, ac*  
 15 *jam pene confectam reperimus.\** — The persons founded by this charter are 12; a principal, 3 regents, 4 bursars, an *æconomus* or steward, a cook, a porter, and a servant to the principal.

*Establishment.* — The principal was to teach theology one day, and Hebrew and Syriac the next alternately, through the week;  
 20 and to preach in the church of Govan on Sunday. Of the regents, one was to teach Greek and rhetoric; another, dialectics, morals, and politics, with the elements of arithmetic and geometry; and the third, who was also sub-principal, was to teach all the branches of physiology and geography, chronology and *astrology*. The principal to be presented by  
 25 the Crown; the regents to be elected by the rector, dean of faculty, and the principal. The regents were not, as was the custom of other Scottish universities, to carry on their <22> students through the three years course; but to keep by one profession: so that the student had a new regent every year. The bursars were to be maintained for three years and  
 30 a half within the College; that being the time required in the Scottish universities for acquiring the degree of Master of Arts. — The steward was to collect the whole revenues, and to provide all necessaries for the college table; and to give an account, every day to the principal and regents, of his disbursements. — The rector, the dean of faculty, and  
 35 the minister of Glasgow, are authorised to visit the college four times in the year; to examine and authenticate the public accounts; and to see that all things be carried on according to the intention of this foundation, and to correct what was not.

*Privileges and Exemptions.* — All donations formerly made to the College, by whatsoever person or persons, of whatsoever rank, are ratified. And the whole revenue, formerly belonging to, or now granted, the King declares and ordains, for him and his successors, — shall be enjoyed by the said college, free from any taxation of a third part, or any other taxation whatsoever; any law, custom, act, or ordinance of Parliament, notwithstanding. Finally, he wills and declares, That the College and University of Glasgow shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities, by his ancestors, by him, or any other way, granted to any university in his kingdom, — as freely, peaceably, and quietly, as if it had enjoyed them from ancient times before the memory of men. — This charter was ratified by the King, after he came to the years of majority; and confirmed by act of Parliament in the year 1587.\*

*Government.* — In Glasgow, the whole property and revenue pertaining to the University is vested in the College; and is administrated by a meeting of the principal and professors, commonly called *the College Meeting*, and very often, though perhaps with less propriety, *the Faculty Meeting*. The record of this meeting is visited and authenticated by the rector, dean of faculty, and the minister of the High Church of Glasgow. Other business of the University, besides matters of revenue, and the discipline of the students, is managed in what is called *an university-meeting*, or *senate*; in which the rector and dean of faculty sit, along with the principal and professors. — Indeed, besides the college, all that remains of the University is a chancellor, rector, and dean. We see that the *Nova Erectio* supposes their existence; but makes no change with regard to their powers, except in giving the two last, together with the minister of Glasgow, a visitorial power over the college. — The rector and dean are chosen annually; much in the same manner as they were from the first foundation of the university. The rector always names the principal and professors to be his assessors; and, with them, occasionally forms a court of law, for judging in pecuniary questions, and less atrocious crimes, wherein any member of the University was party. The University has always maintained its exemption from all jurisdiction of the city magistrates, but not of the sheriff or Court of Session.

This may suffice for a general view of the *constitution* of the University, since the reformation from Popery. As to the state of its *revenues* during that period, it has been much indebted both to our princes and to subjects. Its declension before the reign of James VI. was not more remarkable than its progress since that period. From the small beginning,

derived from the bounty of that prince, it continued to prosper to the æra of the Restoration; having, at that time, besides a principal, 8 professors, a librarian, with a tolerable library, the number of its bursars increased, and an additional number of other <24> students of all ranks. A renewal  
 5 of the fabric (which had been ruinous) was begun and carried on, with great enlargement, in an elegant manner for the time; but not finished.

#### V. DONATIONS.

SOON after the new foundation, in the year 1581, the archbishop gave to the College the customs of the city of Glasgow, by which it  
 10 was enabled to found a fourth regent. A new body of statutes was formed about this time, which are extant.\* By them it appears that the principal and 4 regents were put to very hard and constant labour; and the students kept under very strict discipline. Of the regents, the first and highest was professor of physiology, and sub-principal; the second  
 15 was professor of moral philosophy; the third of logic and rhetoric; and the fourth of Greek. Their salaries rose in gradation; and when any of the higher offices became vacant, those who were in the lower were commonly advanced a step; and the new chosen regent had the profession of Greek for his department.

In this state the College continued for a long time; excepting that,  
 20 in the year 1621, by a meeting of the visitors, in which the archbishop was present, the principal was freed from the duty of preaching in the church of Govan.\* A minister was appointed to have the pastoral charge of that parish, to whom a stipend was provided out of the teinds of the  
 25 parish; the patronage of the church being reserved to the University, and the minister being obliged “to read some public lecture in the common schools of the College, as shall be prescribed to him by the officers of the University, and masters of the College.”\* This change they were enabled to make, from having, by an act of Parliament, in the year 1616,\*  
 30 been vested in the tithes of the parishes of Kilbride and Ren<25>frew; burdened with the payment of stipends to the ministers of these two parishes, which are modified by the act; and likewise burdened with the life-rent of the persons, who were at that time titulars of these tithes.  
 — In the year 1637, it appears, that a master or professor *humaniorum  
 35 literarum*, commonly called *professor of humanity*, had been founded.†\*

† In the year 1637, a meeting of the visitors, the archbishop being present, appointed Mr. ROBERT MAYNE,\* then professor of logic, to be professor of medicine, and to give

In the year 1641, CHARLES I. by his signature, gave to the College the temporality of the bishopric of Galloway; reserving to himself the power of burdening it with the sum of L.100 sterling, to any person he should name. This gift was confirmed by an act of Parliament the same year.\* — The office of chancellor of the University becoming vacant, 5  
by the abolition of *Episcopal government* in the church, JAMES Marquis of HAMILTON was chosen chancellor, and was the first lay man who bore that office.\* After him, WILLIAM Earl of GLENCAIRN was chosen, in the year 1660.\*

Though the greatest part of the masters submitted with reluctance 10  
to the government of OLIVER CROMWELL, and wished a restoration of the monarchy, under proper limitations, the principal, Mr. PATRICK GILLESPIE,\* was a zealous republican; and, by the interest he had with Oliver, obtained great favours for the University. The Protector and his council renewed all its immunities and privileges; adding that of printing 15  
bibles, and all sorts of books belonging to the liberal sciences, and licensed by the University. He confirmed <26> all former foundations, mortifications, and donations made in its favour, particularly that of the bishopric of Galloway; to which he added the vacant stipends of the parishes which had been in the patronage of the bishop of Galloway, for 20  
seven years to come; and also, in perpetuity, the revenues of the deanry and sub-deanry of Glasgow. This last gift, however, was accompanied with several limitations and restrictions, by which the college had not the possession of the subjects while his power lasted; and, his acts being 25  
rescinded at the Restoration, it fell of course, and had no effect.

The re-establishment of Episcopal government in the church, after the restoration of Charles II. gave a severe check to the prosperity of the University; by depriving it at once of the best part of its revenue, to wit, that of the bishopric of Galloway. Before arrangements could be made, suited to this impoverished state, a great debt was contracted. Of 30  
the eight professions which had been established, three were sunk; and those that remained were reduced to a very short allowance. The college now consisted of a principal, a professor of theology, and 4 regents; a very scanty revenue, sunk in debt, and a large fabric unfinished.

A visitation of the universities was appointed by Parliament in 35  
the year 1664.\* The noblemen, gentlemen, and clergy, who visited

lectures in that science. At the same time, the professor of Greek was advanced to the profession of logic; the professor of humanity, to the profession of Greek; and a new professor of humanity was chosen.



the College of Glasgow, after a strict examination of their revenue, report, "That the sum of three thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds Scotch, yearly, will be necessar to be speedily provided for unto the University, or otherways it must quickly decay and ruine."<sup>†</sup>

5 Besides this, they found it had a great load of debt; and that many profes<27>sions were wanting which it ought to have, but cannot for the present possibly have for want of revenue. In this report the visitors were unanimous.\*

10 In this state the University remained till after the Revolution. It is true, that, in this interval, it received several considerable donations and mortifications: but these were all appropriated, by the donors, either to the carrying on of the building, or to the foundation of bursars; and were faithfully applied to these purposes. So that it must have required great economy in the professors, as well as great lenity in their creditors, to  
15 preserve them from bankruptcy, during this long interval.

In the year 1693, each of the Scottish universities obtained a gift of L.300 a-year out of the bishops rents in Scotland.\* The sum payable to the University of Glasgow, was allocated upon the income of the archbishopric of Glasgow; and soon after, still better to secure the payment,  
20 the College obtained a lease of the whole rent of the archbishopric for 19 years, which lease has from time to time been renewed by the Crown.\*

The University began now to raise her head, after a long period of depression, by debt and poverty, and by the diminution of her professors.  
25 The exertions which were made about this time were encouraged by the great number of her students. Principal STIRLING, in his diary, says, that in the year 1702 the students of theology, Greek, and philosophy, amounted to upwards of 402.\* The great demand for clergymen, to fill the vacant benefices, immediately after the establishment of the Pres-  
30 byterian government, occasioned the attendance of a greater number of students about the beginning of this century, than at any former period.

In the year 1706, the profession of humanity was revived; and Mr. Andrew Ross was appointed professor.\*

35 In the year 1708, her Majesty Queen ANNE was pleased <28> to grant the University L. 210 sterling yearly, payable out of the Exchequer: one part of which was appropriated for salaries to a professor of anatomy

<sup>†</sup> The visitors of the College of Glasgow were, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Galloway; of the nobility, Hamilton, Montrose, Argyle, Kilmarnock, Cochran: besides gentlemen and clergy.



and botany, and to a professor of oriental languages; and another part of it for augmenting the salaries of the principal and professors, according to a scheme of division mentioned in the deed.\* This gift has been renewed by all the subsequent sovereigns.

The gift of L. 300 *per annum*, by King WILLIAM, was for some time directed to be applied for extinguishing the college debts, and supporting four bursars. By a subsequent deed of Queen Anne, in the year 1713, part of it was continued for the said purposes; and the remainder appropriated for salaries to a professor of civil law, and a professor of medicine.\*

His Majesty King GEORGE I. was pleased to grant, out of the rents of the archbishopric, a new gift of L.170 *per annum*; which was appropriated for a salary to a professor of *ecclesiastical history*, and for augmenting the smaller salaries of the other professors.\* — By these royal donations, the whole of the rent paid by the College, for the lease of the archbishopric, is exhausted; and regular accompts thereof are transmitted to the Exchequer.

Since that time there has been one profession added to this University, by the bounty of King GEORGE II.

ALEXANDER MACFARLANE, Esq. of Jamaica, had erected an astronomical observatory in that island, for his own use. At his death, he bequeathed his astronomical *apparatus* to the College of Glasgow, on condition that they should build an observatory, and appoint an observer. The College very readily accepted the condition, and built an observatory; and, in the year 1760, his Majesty was pleased to grant a presentation to Dr. ALEXANDER WILSON, to be professor of *practical astronomy* and observer, with a salary of L.50 yearly out of the Exchequer.\* <29>

It will not be expected, that we should enumerate the donations made by subjects — of books or prints to the public library, or money to purchase books; — of money for prizes to the more deserving students in the several classes; — of money for the carrying on the buildings; — of money, or land, for the foundation of bursars in philosophy, in theology, and in medicine. The names of many of these benefactors are now little known, but in the annals of the University of Glasgow — where they will always be preserved. Some may be mentioned, whose attention to the interest of this society does them honour. Among these are, ANNE Duchess of HAMILTON; RABINA Countess of FORFAR; WILLIAM Earl of DUNDONALD; the Duke of CHANDOS; the Duke of MONTROSE; Dr. I LEIGHTON, Archbishop of Glasgow; and BOULTER,

Archbishop of Armagh. Of commoners — Mr SNELL, Dr. WILLIAMS, Dr. WALTON, and the late Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER, are distinguished by the largeness of their donations.\*

## VI. PRESENT STATE.

5 FROM the foregoing statement, it appears that the ancient constitution of the University of Glasgow, in the distribution of sciences and modes of teaching, as well as in the form of its government, was very similar to that of all the other universities of Europe. The alterations which it has undergone, in later times, are such as might be expected from  
10 the changes of opinion with respect to literary objects, and from other varying circumstances. The progress of knowledge, and the increasing demand for literature, have produced many additional departments of science, to those which were originally thought worthy of a particular teacher. What is called the *curriculum*, or ordinary course of public  
15 education, comprehends at present five branches, the Latin and Greek languages, logic, moral philosophy, and natural philosophy. These branches are understood to require the study of five separate sessions.

During their attendance upon these courses of languages and philosophy, and particularly before they enter the class of natural philosophy,  
20 the students are expected to acquire a knowledge of mathematics and algebra, for which there is a separate professor, and which is understood to be subservient to natural philosophy and to many of the practical arts. — There is also a professor of practical astronomy, whose business is to make observations, for the improvement of that great branch of  
25 physics. — After the course of general education, above-mentioned, a provision is made for what are called the three learned professions, divinity, law, and medicine. For the peculiar education of churchmen there are four professors; — the principal, who is *primarius* professor of theology, and has, besides, the superintendence of the whole University; and the respective professors of theology, of oriental languages, and of  
30 church-history. This last is also lecturer in civil history.

In *law* there is only one professor.

There are, by the constitution, no more than two professors allotted to the faculty of *medicine*; to wit, a professor of the theory and practice  
35 of medicine, and a professor of anatomy and botany. But the University, out of its funds, and with the assistance of private donations, has made an annual provision for three additional lecturers; in chemistry, in materia medica, and in midwifery.

The University has now the prospect of a great and important addition being soon made to the faculty of medicine. The late Rev. Dr. WALTON, of Upton in Huntingdonshire, about 20 years ago, in a tour to Scotland, visited the University of Glasgow; and, approving of its constitution, and mode of conducting education, gave to the University L.400 sterling; the interest of which, at his death, he appropriated for the support of a medical student during the course of his education. About 5 years ago the same generous benefactor mortified (sunk) the additional sum of L.1000 sterling, at his death, to the University; for the purpose of supporting a lecturer in any branch of medicine, or of science connected with medicine, which the University should judge most expedient or necessary. By the Doctor's death, which happened about three years ago, both these donations now take effect.\*

Miss CHRISTIAN BRISBANE, sister of the late Dr. BRISBANE, professor of medicine in this University, mortified the sum of L.1000 sterling; the interest of which she appropriated for the support of a medical student, two years at this University, and another two years at any other celebrated school of medicine in Britain, or on the Continent, as the University shall direct.\*

The late celebrated Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER, of London, formerly an *alumnus* of this University, and, during the whole of his life, warmly attached to its interests, bequeathed to the University, at his death, the whole of his *Musæum*, one of the most valuable collections in Europe, of natural history, medals, anatomical preparations, books, &c. When this collection has continued a certain number of years at London, he has, by his will, directed it to be carried to the University of Glasgow. And, for the purpose of building a house for the reception of this noble donation, and establishing such new professions in medicine as the University should judge expedient, he bequeathed L.8000 sterling, bearing interest from his death; the one half of which he directed to be applied for the support of the said *Musæum*, while it continues in London — the other, to increase the principal sum, till the period arrive, when both principal and interest shall be appropriated, by the University, for the above-mentioned purposes specified in the deed of donation.\*

*Infirmary.* — The progress of a medical school, in this University, has been hitherto much retarded by the want of an *Infirmary* in Glasgow. But there is at present a prospect of that obstacle being immediately removed. A very considerable sum of money has been lately raised, by voluntary subscription, for the purpose of erecting and supporting an infirmary in Glasgow. A royal charter has been obtained, and a grant

from the Crown, of the site of the Archbishop's Castle, for the buildings; which, according to a beautiful design, given by the late Robert Adam, Esq. are now finished.\*

5       *Appointments of the Professors.* — The principal, and the professors of church history, law, medicine, anatomy and botany, and astronomy, are nominated by the King. The professors of theology, oriental languages, humanity, Greek, logic, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, and mathematics, and the lecturers on chemistry, materia medica, and midwifery, are nominated by the College. — The average number  
10 of students of all denominations, attending the different classes, is considerably above 600.

*Salaries, &c.* — From the state of the university funds, the professors are allowed very moderate salaries; so as to depend chiefly for subsistence upon the *honorariums*, or fees of their students. This, it is believed,  
15 has greatly promoted their zeal and their diligence in their several professions.\* — In seminaries of literature, possessed of rich endowments, and where there is access to large ecclesiastical benefices, by seniority, <33> the business of lecturing has generally gone into disuse, or been reduced to a mere matter of form; as few persons are willing to labour,  
20 who, by doing little, or by following their amusement, find themselves in easy and comfortable circumstances. The department of teaching is likely, in such a case, to be devolved upon the junior members of the society, who discharge the office of private tutors; and who, from the moment they enter upon their office, are ready to consider it as a passing  
25 state, and to look forward to that period when they shall, in their turn, be freed from the drudgery of teaching. In such circumstances when neither the tutor nor pupil is under the immediate eye of the public, instead of struggling for distinction and superiority, in their respective stations, they will be too apt to indulge the laziness, and to gratify the peculiar  
30 humour of each other. In the Scottish universities, and particularly that of Glasgow, where the professors have no benefices in the church, nor any emoluments of any kind independent of their labour, nor any thing that can be called preferment within their reach, that radical defect in the conduct of education is altogether removed. There is likely to grow  
35 up with them, in these circumstances, a habitual liking to their objects and occupations, and that interest and zeal, in the discharge of their duty, which are most likely to call forth the activity and industry of their pupils.

40       It may be thought, perhaps, that, as necessity is the parent of labour, it would be a still greater improvement, that professors in colleges

should have no salaries at all. This would be indisputable, if all other employments were left to the natural profit which they can produce, and were not peculiarly rewarded by fixed appointments from the public. But if one trade, or art, is allowed a bounty, another must, upon this account, have also some compensation. The peculiar premiums given by Government to other professions, particularly to the church and the law, seem to require, that, for maintaining some kind of balance, a degree of similar encouragement should be given to the teaching of the liberal arts and sciences. Without this, a private academy can seldom collect a sufficient number of well qualified teachers, so as to prevent a single individual from undertaking too many branches, and becoming what is vulgarly called a *Jack of all trades*.\*

*Time of Lecturing, &c.* — The uniform assiduity of the professors in the University of Glasgow, and the length of time which they employ in lecturing, will afford an illustration of these remarks. The annual session for teaching, in the University, begins, in the ordinary *curriculum*, on the tenth of October; and ends, in some of the classes, about the middle of May, and in others continues to the tenth of June. The lectures, in all the other branches, commence on the first of November, and end about the beginning of May. The class of botany begins on the first of May.

During this period, the business of the College continues without interruption. The professors of humanity, or Latin, and of Greek, lecture and examine their students, receive and correct exercises, three hours every day, and four hours for two days every week: The professors of logic, moral philosophy and natural philosophy, two hours every day, and three hours during a part of the session; excepting on Saturdays, when, on account of a general meeting of the public students, there is only one lecture given. The other professors lecture, in general, one hour every day: The professor of mathematics, two hours every day, except on Saturdays: The professor of law, in his public department, two hours. The professor of practical astronomy gives no public lecture. <35>

*Advantages of Public Lecturing.* — In those universities where the professors are uniformly employed in lecturing, it may be expected that the matter of their lectures will correspond, in some measure, to the general progress of science and literature in their several departments. A professor, whose consequence and livelihood depend upon the approbation given by the public to his lectures, will find it necessary to study the principal authors upon the subject: he will imbibe, in some degree, the taste of the age in which he lives, and avail himself of the increase of knowledge and new discovery: he will find it expedient to

model his instructions in the manner most likely to suit the purposes, and to promote the interest of his students. By going frequently over the same subject, he has a chance to correct the erroneous opinions which he might formerly have admitted; and, according to the scale of his understanding, to attain the most liberal and comprehensive views of his science. If he is possessed, at the same time, of taste and abilities, he can hardly avoid acquiring an enthusiastic attachment to the objects of his profession, and an ardent desire of propagating those improvements in it which appear to him of importance.

In colleges where no lectures are given, and where the reading and prelecting on certain books, in a private manner, make the chief object of the teacher, the same dispositions and views will seldom occur. The professor, having little temptation to study, in any particular manner, that science with which he is *nominally* connected, will be apt to possess but a superficial knowledge of it, and to have little zeal in communicating new ideas or discoveries concerning it. In such a situation, the prejudices and contracted views of literature, which formerly prevailed, and which were natural upon the immediate revival of letters, may remain to the present day; and the name of *scholar* be restricted to a mere <36> proficient in the Greek and Roman languages, the *vehicles* only of taste and knowledge: the pursuits of philosophy may be regarded as idle and chimerical; and every attempt to dissipate the clouds of ancient ignorance, or to correct the errors and prejudices of a former period, may be reprobated as a *dangerous innovation*.

The distribution of science, and the course of lectures, formerly established in all the universities of Europe, were almost exclusively adapted to the education of churchmen, and proceeded upon a much more limited state of knowledge than that which obtains at present. To accommodate instruction, therefore, to the purposes and views of the nation at large, and to render the academical course useful in every situation, it is frequently necessary, in those universities where any part of the old plan is retained, that the professors should now treat their respective subjects in a different manner, and that what is comprehended under particular branches should be greatly varied and expanded.

*Latin.* — In the University of Glasgow, the students, who attend the humanity lectures, are supposed to have acquired the elements of the Latin tongue, in public or private schools; and the professor is employed in reading, explaining, and prelecting upon such Roman authors, as are most suited to carry on their progress in that language. To a class of

more advanced students, the professor reads a course of lectures on the peculiarities and beauties of the Roman language, on the principles of classical composition, and on Roman antiquities.

*Greek.* — In the ancient state of the University, it was probably not usual for any person to study under the professor of Greek, until he had acquired some previous knowledge of <37> the Greek language. But, as Greek is now seldom regularly taught in public schools, the professor is under the necessity of instructing a great number in the very elements of that language. To a second set, who have made some proficiency in that respect, he is employed in reading, explaining, and prelecting upon those classical authors, from an acquaintance with whom his hearers are most likely to imbibe a knowledge of Greek, and, at the same time, to improve their taste in literary composition. To a still more advanced set of students, he also delivers a course of lectures on the higher branches of Greek literature, introducing a variety of disquisitions on the general principles of grammar, of which the regular structure of that language affords such copious illustration.

*Philosophy.* — In the threefold distribution of PHILOSOPHY, in the academical course, logic has, in general, preceded the other two in the order of teaching, and has been considered as a necessary preparation for them. Before the student entered upon the subjects of moral and natural philosophy, it was thought proper to instruct him in the art of reasoning and disputation; and the syllogistic art, taken from the analytics of Aristotle,\* was, for many years, considered as the most effectual and infallible instrument for that purpose. It was supposed to afford a mechanical mode of reasoning, by which, in all cases, truth and falsehood might be accurately distinguished. But the change of opinions on the subjects of literature, and on the means of comprehending them, has occasioned a correspondent alteration in the manner of treating this part of the academical course. The present professor, after a short analysis of the powers of the understanding, and an explanation of the terms necessary to comprehend the subjects of his course, gives a historical view of the rise and progress <38> of the art of reasoning, and particularly of the syllogistic method, which is rendered a matter of curiosity by the universal influence which for a long time it obtained over the learned world: and then dedicates the greater part of his time to an illustration of the various mental operations, as they are expressed by the several modifications of speech and writing; which leads him to deliver a system of lectures on general grammar, rhetoric, and belles lettres. This course, accompanied with suitable exercises and



specimens, on the part of the students, is properly placed at the entrance to philosophy: no subjects are likely to be more interesting to young minds, at a time when their taste and feelings are beginning to open, and have naturally disposed them to the reading of such authors, as are necessary to supply them with facts and materials for beginning and carrying on the important habits of reflection and investigation.\*

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*Moral Philosophy.* — The lectures in the MORAL PHILOSOPHY class consist of three principal divisions. The first comprehends natural theology; or the knowledge, confirmed by human reason, concerning the being, perfections, and operations of God. The second comprehends ethics; or enquiries concerning the active powers of man, and the regulation of them, both in the pursuit of happiness, and in the practice of virtue; and, consequently, those questions that have been agitated concerning good and evil, right and wrong. The third comprehends natural jurisprudence, or the general rules of justice, which are founded upon the rights and conditions of man; whether considered as an individual, or as a member of a family, or as a member of some of those various forms of government which have arisen from the social combinations of mankind.\* <39>

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*Natural Philosophy.* — The lectures in NATURAL PHILOSOPHY comprehend a general system of *physics*; and are calculated, in like manner, to keep pace with those leading improvements and discoveries, in that branch of science, by which the present age is so much distinguished. The theoretical and experimental parts make the subjects of two separate courses. The apparatus for conducting the latter is believed not to be inferior to any in Europe.\*

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*Mathematics.* — The professor of MATHEMATICS has three separate courses. The first comprehends the elements of geometry and algebra; the second, the higher parts of those sciences; the third, the general principles of geometry and astronomy. To teach the application of the speculative doctrines to the various practical arts, makes a very important object in this useful department of education.

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*Theology.* — In the faculty of THEOLOGY, the respective professors of theology, church history, and oriental languages, deliver a system of lectures on natural and revealed religion, on the history of the church, and on the Hebrew language. In this faculty, no *honorarium*, or *fee*, is paid by the students. If this regulation had been extended to all the sciences, it would probably have been fatal to academical activity; but, being limited to a single branch, it has been counteracted by the influence of the general industry and exertion which pervade the society. No



deficiency, therefore, is imputable to the professors in this department, either with respect to their zeal in teaching, or with respect to those liberal and tolerating principles which are so conformable to the spirit and genius of Christianity.

*Law.* — The improvement of LAW, in this University, <40> seems 5  
to have excited less attention from Government than that of the other sciences, as this profession was not established till a late period, and as no provision has hitherto been made for dividing this branch of education among separate professors. The want of competition appears to have had the usual effects; and the custom of lecturing in Latin was 10  
longer retained in this, than in the other sciences. The predecessor of the present professor was the first who prelected on *Justinian's Institutes* in English; and this example has, for many years, been followed in the prelections upon the Pandects.\* It may be mentioned, as a strong instance of prepossession in favour of ancient usages, that, upon this last 15  
innovation, the Faculty of Advocates made application to the University of Glasgow, requesting “that the old practice of teaching the civil law, in Latin, might be restored.”\* — The professor of law, besides lecturing regularly upon the Institutes and Pandects of Justinian, delivers annually a course of lectures on the principles of civil government, including a 20  
particular account of the British constitution; and, every second year, a course of lectures on the law of Scotland to which is now added a course of lectures on English law.\*

*Medicine.* — The professors and lecturers, in the medical department, it would appear, have been less limited than those in some of the other 25  
parts of literature, by the effect of old institutions and prejudices. They have thus been enabled to accommodate their lectures to the progress of knowledge and discovery; and to those high improvements which have, of late years, been introduced into all the sciences connected with the art of medicine. The progress of botany and natural history, and the 30  
wonderful discoveries in chemistry, have now extended the sphere of these useful branches beyond the mere purposes of the physician, and have rendered a compe<41>tent knowledge of them highly interesting to every man of liberal education.

*Improvements.* — The University of Glasgow, as has been already 35  
observed, was anciently possessed of a jurisdiction similar to that of the other universities of Europe, and exercised a similar discipline and authority over its members. A great part of the students were accommodated with lodgings in the College, and dined at a common table, under the inspection of their teachers. While this mode of living continued, 40

almost every thing was the subject of restrictions and regulations. But, for a long time, this practice has been discontinued, and the severity of the ancient discipline has been a good deal relaxed. The lodgings in the college rooms, after the disuse of the common table, became less  
5 convenient, and, at present, no students live within the College, but a few of considerable standing, whose regularity of conduct is perfectly known and ascertained.

These deviations from the ancient usage were introduced from the experience of many inconveniencies attending it. The common table,  
10 by collecting a multitude of students so frequently together, afforded encouragement and temptations to idleness and dissipation; and, though the masters sat at table along with the students, yet few advantages of conversation could be attained. Contrivances were fallen upon to remedy that defect, by appointing one of the students (generally a  
15 bursar, or servitor) to read a portion of Scripture, or of some useful book, while the rest of the students were at table. But this practice, it is obvious, in such circumstances, was more likely to bring ridicule upon the subjects, or at least to occasion indifference or contempt, than to be productive of improvement. Besides, from a general alteration in the  
20 habits and manners of the people, the academical <42> rules, in these matters, were found troublesome both to the teachers and the students. Hence, attendance at the common table became a kind of drudgery to the masters, from which they endeavoured to escape, or to which they submitted in their turns with reluctance; while the students procured dispensations, or permissions to have their commons in their own apart-  
25 ments. This latter was found to be a source of expense and dissipation, not more unfriendly to literature than to morals. The common table, it is said, became a source of mismanagement and imposition, which could not easily be remedied.

This change in the mode of living has been attended with much  
30 comfort and satisfaction to all the members of the University, by superseding many strict regulations, and of course rigorous penalties, which, in the former situation, had been thought necessary: neither has it produced any bad effect upon the manners and behavior of the students.  
35 When teachers are attentive to perform their duty, and discover an anxiety to promote the interests of their scholars, who are above the age of mere boys, it requires very little authority to enforce respect and propriety of behavior. The most certain and effectual mode of discipline, or rather the best method of rendering discipline in a great measure  
40 useless, is by filling up regularly and properly the time of the student,

by interesting him in the objects of his studies and pursuits, and by demanding, regularly and daily, an account of his labours.

*Boarding.* — In the present state of the University of Glasgow, such of the students, as can afford the expence, frequently live in the families of the Principal and Professors; where they have, together with the opportunity of prosecuting their studies, the advantages of proper society and private tuition.\* <43> It is, at the same time, in the power of every professor, to be acquainted with the behavior, the application, and the abilities of almost every one of his students. And the knowledge of this is likely to be much more effectual in exciting their exertions, and producing regular attention to their studies, than the endless penalties, which may be contrived, for every species of misdemeanour. A complicated and rigorous discipline, extending to innumerable frivolous observances, can hardly fail, in this age, to become contemptible; and, if students are treated like *children*, it is not to be expected that they will behave like MEN.

*Weekly Meeting.* — Every Saturday there is a general meeting of all the public, or *gowned* students, which is attended by the Principal and their respective Professors. A Latin oration is delivered by the higher students, in their turns: after which, all smaller matters of discipline are discussed. By this weekly meeting, the whole of the students are brought, in a more particular manner, under the inspection of their teachers; and a good opportunity is regularly afforded of mutual information, respecting the studies and deportment of their scholars.

*Tests not required.* — No oaths, or subscriptions, or *tests* of any kind, are required of students, at their admission to the University; as it is deemed highly improper that young persons, in prosecuting a general course of academical education, should bind themselves to any particular system of tenets or opinions.

*Bursaries.* — Besides the salaries, bestowed upon professors, additional encouragement has been often given to universities, by the mortification of certain funds for the maintenance of <44> students; as also by requiring that a certain attendance shall be given, in those seminaries, by such as obtain academical degrees, accompanied with various exclusive privileges.

It has of late been remarked, that such institutions and regulations, though intended to promote the interest of those incorporated societies, have proved, in some degree, hurtful to them, by forcing an attendance from a greater number of students, and consequently tending to supersede the industry and abilities of the respective teachers.\* But the

number of this description of students, commonly called *bursars*, at the University of Glasgow, cannot have any considerable tendency of this nature, as their *honorariums* make but a small part of the professor's income; and, it must not be overlooked, that the payment of fees to the professors supposes that lectures are to be given: so that this establishment encourages, at least, the practice of lecturing, however it may tend to produce carelessness in the performance. One good effect of it is obvious. Several of these bursaries are in the gift of the College; so that the Principal and Professors have it in their power to bestow them upon students of superior genius and industry, but who have not the means of prosecuting their studies. — The character of a bursar does not, in the University of Glasgow, carry with it any external marks of servility, or degradation of any kind. Several names might be here mentioned, that would do great honour to the University, who were supported, during the course of their studies, by funds appropriated for that purpose.

The foundation by Mr. SNELL deserves particularly to be mentioned, as perhaps one of the largest and most liberal in Britain. That gentleman, in the year 1688, bequeathed a considerable estate in Warwickshire for the support of *Scotch students* at BALIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, who had studied for some years at the University of Glasgow. By the rise in the <45> value of lands, and the improvements which have from time to time been made on that estate, that fund now affords L. 70 *per annum*, for ten years, to each of ten exhibitioners.\* Another foundation, at the same College, of L. 20 *per annum*, to each of four Scotch students, though under a different patronage, is generally given to the Glasgow *exhibitioners*;\* so that four of them have a stipend of L. 90 *per annum*, continuing for ten years. The University have the sole nomination or appointment of these exhibitioners.

*Rules for obtaining Degrees.* — The candidates, for degrees in arts, are, by express regulations, obliged to attend the hours of lecture, and the separate hours of examination, in the *curriculum*, or public course already mentioned; and the laws of the church oblige all students to pass the same *curriculum*, before they can be inrolled students of theology. But no such qualification is requisite for entering upon the study of law, or medicine. Such students, in short, as are not upon any public foundation, or who do not intend to qualify themselves for the church, may attend any of the lectures which they think most suited to their views; though, in case of their deviating from the *curriculum*, they have not the benefit of the regular examinations and exercises of the public students.

The rules, for conferring degrees, were formerly much the same in the University of Glasgow as in the other ancient universities. In those days, when the art of disputation was considered as the ultimate object of academical education, the candidates were obliged, after a certain standing, or residence at the University, to compose and print a thesis, and to defend it in a public syllogistic disputation. But experience discovered that mode of trial to be inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended. It, by degrees, degenerated into a mere matter of form and ceremony. The same subjects of disputation, the same arguments of attack and defence, were preserved and handed down among the students; the public disputations were not attended: — so that degrees became not the rewards of abilities and diligence, but merely the marks of standing, or residence at the University. These circumstances gave occasion for a material change, in the rules for conferring degrees, in the University of Glasgow. The composing and defending a thesis have now become optional, on the part of the candidate. The same standing is still required; and the candidates for degrees in arts are obliged to undergo a minute examination, in the Greek and Roman classics, in the different branches of philosophy which compose the *curriculum*, and by each of the professors in their respective branches: an examination which, in the manner it is conducted, gives the best opportunity of judging of the proficiency and literature of the candidates.

*Degrees in Theology and Law.* — Degrees in theology, having no privileges in the church attached to them, under the Presbyterian form of government, are, without any regard to standing in the University, conferred on clergymen respectable for their abilities and literature. — Degrees in law are either bestowed upon eminent men, as marks of respect; or upon students of a certain standing, after a regular examination of the candidate. — The University of Glasgow admits students who have passed a part of their academical course in other universities, *ad eundem*,\* as it is commonly called: that is, whatever part of their academical course is finished at any other university, upon proper certificates, is admitted, as a part of their standing, in the University of Glasgow; so that, without again beginning their course, they can pass forward to degrees, and be enrolled students of theology. <47>

*Medical Degrees.* — Degrees in medicine are conferred, after having finished the medical course, at the University; or, upon proper certificates of having finished it at some eminent school of physic: but the candidates are obliged to undergo both a private and public examination, on all the different branches of medicine, before they can receive that

honour. It is very common also for them, though not absolutely required, to defend a thesis in the common hall.

5 *Prizes.* — The institution of PRIZES, or rewards of literary merit, either in books or medals, to students, during the course of their education, has now been tried for many years in the University of Glasgow, and has been attended with the best effects. Every effort has been made to correct the common defects and irregularities in the distribution of prizes, and to render the competition fair and equal. Subjects of competition are prescribed, calculated to give scope to every kind of genius, and accommodated to the standing of the different students.\*

10 *Library.* — The University LIBRARY, to which all the students have easy access, is a large and valuable collection of books, among which are many now become very scarce. As it was founded about two centuries ago, it is enriched with many early editions; and proper attention has been paid, from time to time, to supply it with the more elegant and improved productions of the Press, particularly in the classical departments. The funds, which are destined for its support and increase, are considerable; and many private donations of books have been made to it from time to time. It was of late greatly enriched, in the mathematical department, by the library of the late celebrated Dr. ROBERT SIMSON, professor of mathematics.\* By the ingenuity of the late <48> Dr. WILSON and Sons, type-founders, and the care and accuracy of the late Messrs. FOULIS, printers to the University,\* the Library contains some of the most elegant editions of many valuable books. It will soon receive an important addition, by a collection of many rare and splendid editions of books, in all the different departments of science, but particularly in the medical department, bequeathed by the late Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER.\*

25 *Antiquities.* — In an adjoining apartment, the College has placed a number of *mile-stones*, *altars*, and other *remains of antiquity*, which have been discovered in the ancient Roman wall between the Forth and the Clyde.\*

30 *Worship.* — During the session, there is public worship every Sunday in the College chapel. Three or four preachers are annually appointed, out of the number of those students who continue at the University after they have received their licence. The principal, and such of the professors as have been ordained, or have received licences, occasionally preach in the College chapel during the session.\*

35 *Landed Property, &c.* — The College, though in some measure surrounded by the houses of the town, is possessed of more than 20 acres of ground adjacent to its buildings. Upon the most distant part of

this ground, and upon a small eminence, is erected the OBSERVATORY, properly fitted up, and supplied with the most improved instruments for the purposes of the professor of practical astronomy. The College buildings, though not splendid, are neat and commodious. The principal and all the professors possess convenient houses, contiguous to the other public buildings. These buildings are surrounded by a *garden* of about ten acres, appropriated to <49> the use of the members of the University, and some part of it for exercise to the younger classes of students. 5

## VII. CONCLUSION.

UPON the whole, this University, after experiencing many revolutions and turns of fortune, has, by favourable conjunctures, and by the bounty of the sovereign and of the public, been raised to prosperous circumstances; and has, as an academical foundation, become possessed of some conspicuous advantages: — *Its local situation*, in the neighbourhood of an industrious city, and at some distance from the capital; by which it is not exposed to the dissipation arising from a number of amusements; nor too remote from the topics of speculation suggested by the progress of philosophy, and the interesting business of society: — *The state of its revenue*, sufficient, with economy, in the management of the society, to promote useful improvements; but not so large as to be productive of idleness, and the luxury of learned indolence: — *Its institutions and government*, by which no sort of monopoly is created in favour of particular sects, or particular branches of science; but persons of all persuasions are at liberty to follow that course of study, which they find suited to their various pursuits and prospects: — Lastly, *Its moderate discipline*, endeavouring to regulate the behaviour of the students by a regard to interest and reputation, more than by *authority*; and substituting the anxious watchfulness of a parent, in place of the troublesome and vexatious interpositions of a prying and perhaps unpopular magistrate. <50> 10  
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### *Additions and Corrections.*

*Infirmary.* — The medical school in this University was long retarded by the want of an Infirmary at Glasgow. But that obstacle is now completely removed. In the year 1790, a voluntary subscription was opened, for the purpose of erecting, and supporting an Infirmary, in this place, for the western districts of Scotland. This scheme met with 35

the most liberal encouragement, from the charitable and well-disposed, in the city of Glasgow, and in the adjoining counties, and was in particular much promoted by the activity and influence of the members of the University. In the year 1791, upon the petition of the subscribers, a  
5 royal charter was obtained from the Crown, together with a grant of the scite of the Archbishop's Castle and Garden, for the purpose of erecting the buildings. During the years 1792 and 1793, the buildings were erected, according to a most beautiful design given by the late Robert Adam Esq. architect, at an expence of about 8000l.: And it is believed,  
10 that, in point of situation, good air, abundance of water, and convenient accommodation for the patients, this Infirmary is not excelled by any other establishment of the same kind in Britain. The Infirmary was opened for the reception of patients on the 8th December 1794; and since that time, the beneficial and salutary effects of it have been so  
15 much felt, that it is now considered as a public benefit and blessing to this part of the country. Among other advantages, the number of medical students is greatly increased since it was opened; and there is every reason to believe, that this institution will contribute, in a great degree, to the further extension and improvement of the medical school  
20 in this University.\*

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# Part Four: Biography

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## I

<555>

*Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons, communicated by Dr. Thomas Reid, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, a Nephew of the late Dr. David Gregory Savilian Professor at Oxford.*

Some account of the family of the Gregorys at Aberdeen, is given 5  
in the Life of the late Dr. John Gregory prefixed to his works, printed  
at Edinburgh for A. Strahan and T. Cadell, London, and W. Creech,  
Edinburgh, 1788, in four small 8vo volumes.\*

Who was the author of that Life, or whence he had his information, 10  
I do not know. I have heard it ascribed to Mr. Tytler the younger, whose  
father was appointed <555> one of the guardians of Dr. John Gregory's  
children.\* Some additions to what is contained in it, and remarks upon  
it, is all I can furnish upon this subject.

Page 3. I know nothing of the education of David Anderson of 15  
Finzaugh.\* He seems to have been a self-taught Engineer. Every public  
work which surpassed the skill of common artists, was committed to  
the management of David. Such a reputation he acquired by his success  
in works of this kind, that with the vulgar he got the by-name of *Davie*  
*do a' thing*, that is in the Scottish dialect, *David who could do every*  
*thing*. By this appellation he is better known than by his proper name. 20  
He raised the great bells into the steeple of the principal church: he cut  
a passage for ships of burden through a ridge of rock under water, which  
crossed the entrance into the harbour of Aberdeen.\* In a long picture  
gallery at Cullen House, the seat of the earl of Findlater, the wooden  
ceiling is painted with several of the fables of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. 25  
The colours are still bright, and the representation lively. The present  
earl's grandfather told me that this painting was the work of David  
Anderson my ancestor, whom he acknowledged as a friend and relation  
of his family.\*

Such works, while they gave reputation to David, suited ill with his proper business, which was that of a merchant in Aberdeen. In that he succeeded ill; and having given up mercantile business, from a small remainder of his fortune began a trade of making malt; and having  
5 instructed his wife in the management of it, left it to her care, and went into England to try his fortune as an engineer; an employment which in his own country he had practised gratuitously. Having in that way made a fortune which satisfied him, he returned to Aberdeen, where his wife had also made money by her malting business.

10 After making such provision for their children as they thought reasonable, they agreed that the longest liver of the two should enjoy the remainder, and at death should bequeath it to certain purposes in the management of the magistrates of Aberdeen.

The wife happened to live longest, and fulfilled what had been  
15 concerted with her husband. Her legacies, well known in Aberdeen, are called after her name *Jane Guild's Mortifications*, a mortification in Scots law signifying a bequeathment for some charitable purpose.\* They consist of sums for different purposes. For orphans, for the education of boys and girls, for unmarried gentlewomen, and for widows;  
20 and they still continue to be useful to many in indigent circumstances. She was the daughter of Dr. Guild a minister of Aberdeen.\* Besides her money, she bequeathed a piece of tapestry, wrought by her own hand, and representing the history of queen Esther, from a drawing made by her husband. The tapestry continues to ornament the wall of the  
25 principal church.\*

In the same page it is said that Alexander Anderson, professor of mathematics at Paris, was the cousin-german of David above-mentioned.\* I know not the writer's authority for this: I have always heard that they were brothers; but for this I have only family tradition.

30 P. 4. It is here said that James Gregory was instructed in the Elements of Euclid by his mother, the daughter of David Anderson.\*

The account I have heard differs from this. It is, that his brother David, being ten or eleven years older, had the direction of his education after their father's death, and, when James had finished his course of  
35 philosophy, was at a loss to what literary profession he should direct him. After some unsuccessful trials, he put Euclid's Elements into his hand, and finding that he applied to Euclid with great avidity and success, he encouraged and assisted him in his mathematical studies.

This tradition agrees with what James Gregory says in the preface  
40 to his *Optica Promota*; where after mentioning his advance to the 26th

proposition, he adds, *Ubi diu hæsi omne spe progrediendi orbatus, sed continuis hortatibus et auxiliis fratris mei Davidis Gregorii, in Mathematicis non parum versati (cui si quid in hisce Scientiis præstitero, me illud debere non inficias ibo) animatus, tandem incidi &c.\** Whether David had been instructed in mathematics by his mother, or had any living instructor, I know not. 5

P. 5, 6. In these two pages I think the merit of Gregory compared with that of Newton in the invention of the catoptric telescope, is put in a light more unfavourable to Newton than is just. Gregory believing that the imperfection of the dioptric telescope arose solely from the spherical figure of the glasses, invented his telescope to remedy that imperfection. Being less conversant in the practice of mechanics, he did not attempt to make any model. The specula of his telescope required a degree of polish and a figure which the best opticians of that age were unable to execute. Newton demonstrated that the imperfection of the dioptric telescope arose chiefly from the different refrangibility of the rays of light; he demonstrated also that the catoptric telescope required a degree of polish far beyond what was necessary for the dioptric. He made a model of his telescope; and finding that the best polish which the opticians could give, was insufficient, he improved the polish with his own hand, so as to make it answer the purpose, and has described most accurately the manner in which he did this. And, had he not given this example of the practicability of making a reflecting telescope, it is probable that it would have passed as an impracticable idea to this day.\* 10 15 20

P. 11. To what is said of this James Gregory might have been added, that he was led by analogy to the true law of Refraction, not knowing that it was discovered by Des Cartes before (see Preface to *Optica Promota*); and that in 1670 having received in a letter from Collins, a Series for the Area of the Zone of a Circle, and as Newton had invented an universal method by which he could square all Curves Geometrical and Mechanical by Infinite Series of that kind; Gregory after much thought discovered this universal method, or an equivalent one.\* Of this he perfectly satisfied Newton and the other mathematicians of that time, by a letter to Collins in Feb. 1671.\* He was strongly solicited by his brother David to publish his Universal Method of Series without delay, but excused himself upon a point of honour; that as Newton was the first inventor, and as he had <557> been led to it by an account of Newton's having such a method, he thought himself bound to wait till Newton should publish his method. I have seen the letters that passed between the brothers on this subject.\* 25 30 35 40

With regard to the controversy between James Gregory and Huygens, I take the subject of that controversy to have been, not whether J. Gregory's Quadrature of the Circle by a converging series was just, but whether he had demonstrated, as in one of his propositions he pretended to do, That it is impossible to express perfectly the Area of a Circle in any known Algebraical form, besides that of an infinite converging series. Huygens excepted to the demonstration of this proposition, and Gregory defended it; neither of them convinced his antagonist, nor do I know that Leibnitz improved upon what Gregory had done.\*

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10 P. 12. David Gregory of Kinardie deserved a more particular account than is here given.

It is true that he served an apprenticeship to a mercantile house in Holland, but he followed that profession no longer than he was under authority, having a stronger passion for knowledge than for money. He returned to his own country in 1655, being about 28 years of age, and from that time led the life of a philosopher. Having succeeded to the estate of Kinardie by the death of an elder brother, he lived there to the end of that century.\* There all his children were born, of whom he had thirty-two by two wives.\*

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20 Kinardie is above 40 English miles north from Aberdeen, and a few miles from Bamf, upon the river Diveron.\* He was a jest among the neighbouring gentlemen for his ignorance of what was doing about his own farm, but an oracle in matters of learning and philosophy, and particularly in medicine, which he had studied for his amusement, and begun to practise among his poor neighbours. He acquired such a reputation in that science, that he was employed by the nobility and gentlemen of that county, but took no fees. His hours of study were singular. Being much occupied through the day with those who applied to him as a physician, he went early to bed, rose about two or three in the morning, and, after applying to his studies for some hours, went to bed again and slept an hour or two before breakfast.

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30 He was the first man in that country who had a barometer; and by some old letters which I have seen, it appeared, that he had corresponded with some philosophers on the continent about the changes in the barometer and in the weather, particularly with Mariotte the French philosopher.\* He was once in danger of being prosecuted as a conjurer by the Presbytery on account of his barometer. A deputation of that body having waited upon him to enquire into the ground of certain reports that had come to their ears, he satisfied them so far as to prevent the prosecution of a man known to be so extensively useful by his knowledge of

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medicine. — About the beginning of this century he removed with his family to Aberdeen, and in the time of queen Anne's war\* employed his thoughts upon an improvement in artillery, in order to make the shot of great guns more destructive to the enemy, and executed a model of the engine he had conceived. I have conversed with a clock-maker in Aberdeen who was employed in making this model;\* but having made many different pieces by direction without knowing their intention, or how they were to be put together, he could give no account of the whole. After making some experiments with this model, which satisfied him, the old gentleman was so sanguine in the hope of being useful to the allies in the war against France, that he set about preparing a field equipage with a view to make a campaign in Flanders, and in the mean time sent his model to his son the Savilian professor,\* that he might have his and Sir Isaac Newton's opinion of it. His son shewed it to Newton, without letting him know that his own father was the inventor. Sir Isaac was much displeas'd with it, saying, that if it tended as much to the preservation of mankind as to their destruction, the inventor would have deserved a great reward; but as it was contriv'd solely for destruction, and would soon be known by the enemy, he rather deserved to be punished, and urg'd the professor very strongly to destroy it, and if possible to suppress the invention. It is probable the professor followed this advice. He died soon after, and the model was never found.\*

When the rebellion broke out in 1715, the old gentleman went a second time to Holland, and returned when it was over to Aberdeen, where he died about 1720, aged 93.

He left an historical manuscript of the Transactions of his own Time and Country, which my father told me he had read.\*

I was well acquainted with two of this gentleman's sons, and with several of his daughters, besides my own mother.\* The facts above-mentioned are taken from what I have occasionally heard from them, and from other persons of his acquaintance.

P. 14. In confirmation of what is said in this page, that the two brothers David and James were the first who taught the Newtonian philosophy in the Scotch Universities; I have by me a *Thesis*, printed at Edinburgh in 1690, by James Gregory, who was at that time a professor of philosophy at St. Andrews, and succeeded his brother David in the profession of mathematics at Edinburgh. In this *Thesis*, after a dedication to Viscount Tarbet, follow the names of twenty-one of his scholars who were candidates for the degree of A.M. then twenty-five positions or *Theses*. The first three relate to logic, and the abuse of it

in the Aristotelian and Cartesian philosophy. He defines logic to be the art of making a proper use of things granted, in order to find what is sought, and therefore admits only two *Categories* in logic, viz, *Data* and *Quæsitæ*. The remaining twenty-two positions are a compend of Newton's Principia. This *Thesis*, as was the custom at that time in the Scotch universities, was to be defended in a public disputation, by the candidates, previous to their taking their degree.\*

The famous Dr. Pitcairn was a fellow student and intimate companion of these two Gregories, and during the vacation of the college was wont to go north with them to Kinardie, their father's house.\*

David Gregory was appointed a preceptor to the duke of Gloucester, queen Anne's son; but his entering upon that office was prevented by the death of that prince in the eleventh year of his age.\*

P. 19. D. Gregory's Euclid\* is said to have been wrote <558> in prosecution of a design of his predecessor Dr. Bernard, of printing the works of all the antient mathematicians.\* This design ought to have been ascribed to Savile, who left in charge to the two professors of his foundation, to print the mathematical works of the antients, and I think left a fund for defraying the expence.\* Wallis did something in consequence of this charge; Gregory and Halley did a great deal; but I think nothing has been done in this design by the Savilian professors since their time.\*

P. 20. Besides what is mentioned, Dr. Gregory left in manuscript a Commentary on Newton's Principia, which Newton valued, and kept by him for many years after the author's death. It is probable that in what relates to astronomy, this commentary may coincide in a great measure with the author's astronomy, which indeed is an excellent Commentary upon that part of the Principia.\*

P. 24. This David Gregory published in Latin, a very good compend of arithmetic and algebra, with the title *Arithmeticae et Algebrae Compendium, in Usum Juventutis Academicæ*. Edinb. 1736.\* He had a design of publishing his uncle's Commentary on the Principia, with extracts from the papers left by James Gregory his grand uncle; but the expence being too great for his fortune, and he too gentle a solicitor of the assistance of others, the design was dropped. His son David, yet alive, was master of an East India ship.\*

P. 40. To the projectors of the society at Aberdeen,\* ought to have been added John Stewart professor of mathematics in the Marischal college at Aberdeen. He published an explanation of two treatises of Sir Isaac Newton, viz, his Quadrature of Curves, and his Analysis by

Equations of an infinite number of terms. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Reid's.\*

Another of the first members of that society was Dr. David Skene, who, besides his eminence in the practice of medicine, had applied much to all parts of natural history, particularly to botany, and was a correspondent of the celebrated Linnæus.\* 5

Dr. John Gregory and Dr. David Skene were the first who attempted a college of medicine at Aberdeen. The first gave lectures to his pupils in the theory and practice of medicine, and in chemistry; the last, in anatomy, materia medica, and midwifery, in order to prepare them for attending the medical college at Edinburgh.\* 10

T. R.

*The following additional lines by Mr. James Millar,  
Professor of Mathematics, Glasgow.\**

Another instance of the prevalence of mathematical genius in the family of Gregory or Anderson, whether produced by an original and inexplicable determination of the mind, or communicated by the force of example, and the consciousness of an intimate connection with a reputation already acquired in a particular line, is the celebrated Dr. Reid, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow; a nephew, by his mother, of the late Dr. David Gregory, Savilian professor at Oxford.\* 15 20

This gentleman, well known to the public by his moral and metaphysical writings, and remarkable for that liberality, and that ardent spirit of enquiry, which neither overlooks nor undervalues any branch of science, is peculiarly distinguished by his abilities and proficiency in mathematical learning. The objects of literary pursuit are often directed by accidental occurrences. And apprehension of the bad consequences which might result from the philosophy of the late Mr. Hume, induced Dr. Reid to combat the doctrines of that eminent author; and produced a work, which has excited universal attention, and seems to have given a new turn to speculations upon that subject. But it is well known to Dr. Reid's literary acquaintance, that these exertions have not diminished the original bent of his genius, nor blunted the edge of his inclination for mathematical researches; which, at a very advanced age, he still continues to prosecute with a youthful attachment, and with unremitting assiduity. 25 30 35

5 It may farther be observed, of the extraordinary family above mentioned, that Dr. James Gregory,\* the present learned professor of physic and medicine in the university of Edinburgh, is the son of the late Dr. John Gregory, upon the memoirs of whose life the above remarks have been written by Dr. Reid; the said James has lately published a most ingenious work, intituled, *Philosophical and Literary Essays*, in 2 volumes 8vo, Edinb. 1792;\* and he seems to be another worthy inheritant of the singular genius of his family.



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II

SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER  
OF THE LATE

THOMAS REID, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW;

5

WITH  
OBSERVATIONS ON THE DANGER OF  
POLITICAL INNOVATION,

From a Discourse delivered on 28th. Nov. 1794, by *Dr. Reid*,  
before the Literary Society in Glasgow College.

10



GLASGOW,

*Reprinted in the Courier Office, from the Glasgow Courier,*

FOR J. M'NAYR & CO.

1796.\*

⟨3⟩

SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER  
OF THE LATE  
THOMAS REID, D.D.

5 Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, who  
died on the seventh day of October, in the year one thousand seven  
hundred and ninety-six, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

10 His ingenious and elaborate works, especially his *Inquiry* into the  
*Human Mind* and his *Essays* on the *Intellectual* and the *Active Powers*  
of *Man*, are noble and lasting monuments of his eminent abilities, his  
deep penetration, and his extensive learning. By unravelling sceptical  
perplexities, overturning ill-founded hypotheses, and resting every  
conclusion on evident principles, he has brought about a memorable  
revolution in the Philosophy of Human Nature. His character, through  
15 life, was distinguished by an ardent love of truth, and an assiduous pursuit  
of it in various sciences; by the most amiable simplicity of manners,  
gentleness of temper, strength of affection, candour and liberality of  
sentiment, which displayed themselves in the habitual exercise of all  
the social virtues; by steadiness, fortitude and rational piety. It need not  
20 be ⟨4⟩ added, that those who were acquainted with this illustrious man,  
admired his superiority, and rejoiced in his friendship.

*Glasgow Courier, Oct. 8, 1796.\**

*To the Editor of the Glasgow Courier.*

Sir,

25 I read with great pleasure the just and characteristick tribute lately  
paid in your paper to Dr. Reid. The following sketch was finished before  
I saw the other, and some think it also might be published without  
impropriety. When such a *Man* falls, more than one Friend may be  
expected to record his worth, and deplore his loss.

I am, &c.

30

LUCIUS.\*

DR. REID'S merit as a Teacher and an Author is very generally known.  
He was unquestionably one of the profoundest Philosophers of the age,  
and although some, who think it a proof of weakness to differ from Mr.  
Hume, have slighted the speculations of Dr. Reid, and undervalued the

mathematical precision which he laboured to introduce, his inquiry into the senses, will, probably be coeval with our language. It is founded on facts, which <5> must continue to interest men while their constitution continues unchanged. If any part of this admirable work were to be selected as the most ingenious, I should quote the inquiry into the eye, into single and double vision.\* His other works are of a more popular cast: In all of them, however, we find accurate arrangement, candid argument, with illustrations so clear and copious, as evince a correct knowledge of the subject. 5

Neither his great acquirements, nor the success of his works, slackened his pursuit of new knowledge. He studied the late improvements in Chemistry,\* he observed the great political events which have happened,\* and contemplated those with which the time seems pregnant, with the keen interest of one just entering on life. Age, indeed, and a native love of truth, gave *him* a degree of impartiality, which is now as rare in politics as it has always been in theology, so that he spoke of every thing like a superior being who had purified his perceptions without impairing his humanity. 10 15

He venerated *Religion*; not the noisy contentious systems which lead men to hate and persecute each other, but the sublime principle which regulates the conduct by controuling the selfish, and animating the benevolent affections. When vilified <6> by intemperate Philosophers, he made no reply, being satisfied with having stated what he thought the truth;\* and, when outraged by zealots who most falsely call themselves Christians, he bore the outrage meekly, using no terms either of complaint or reproach.\* 20 25

He was, to the last moment, free from that morose, querulous temper, which has been deemed inseparable from age. Instead of repining at the prosperity or enjoyments of the young, he delighted in promoting them; and, after having lost all his own Family except one Daughter,\* he continued to treat Children with such condescension and benignity, that some very young ones noticed the peculiar kindness of his eye. Every scheme which promised to improve human nature, or to alleviate human misery, found in him the most ardent support. He was uncommonly active in establishing the Infirmary at Aberdeen, and he was an early, vigorous, uniform promoter of that in Glasgow.\* Besides a very liberal subscription, he seldom visited the Infirmary without leaving a new mark of his good will. 30 35

I should blush to say any thing now that could offend *Dr. Reid*, were he alive to read it, but I can affirm, without adulation, that I never knew 40

a brighter example of extensive erudition without <7> pedantry;\* of profound and successful research without arrogance or conceit; of piety without superstition; of steady friendship, and benevolence, warm, enlightened and active, stained by no caprice, by no weak predilections.

5 His end accorded with the wisdom and goodness of his former life. He used sometimes to say, "I am ashamed of living so long after having ceased to be useful," though at that very time, he was acquiring or communicating useful knowledge. During his last illness, which was severe,\* he complained of nothing but the trouble that he gave his affectionate Family; and he looked to the grave as a place, not of rest  
10 merely, but of triumph.

His late compositions contained allusions to his own decay, allusions the more affecting to his Friends, because they seemed the genuine offspring of his feelings, and were expressed with all the dignity of  
15 virtue. Last winter, in the Literary Society of Glasgow, he read an ingenious discourse on the Muscles;\* and, after stating, from his own experience, the effects produced on them by age, he concluded thus: "May I be permitted to mention, that it was the experience of some of these effects of old age on the muscular motions that led my thoughts to  
20 this speculation, which, as it is <8> owing to the infirmities of age, will, I hope, be heard with the greater indulgence. It is both pleasant and useful to contemplate with gratitude, the wisdom and goodness of the Author of our being, in fitting this machine of our body so admirably to the various employments and enjoyments of life."

25 "The structure is admirable as far as we are permitted to see it in this infancy of our being. And the internal structure which is behind the veil, that limits our understanding, and which gives motion to the whole, is, in a manner most wonderful, though unknown to us, made subservient to our volitions and efforts."

30 "This grand work of nature, like the Fruits of the Earth (all admirable in their kind) has its maturity, its decay, and its dissolution. Like them, also, in all its decay, it nourishes a principle within which is to be the seed of a future existence. Were the *Fruit* conscious of this, it would drop into the earth with pleasure, in the hope of a happy Resurrection.  
35 This hope, by the Mercy of God, is given to all good men. It is the consolation of old age, and more than sufficient to make its infirmities sit light."\*

Glasgow, Oct. 14th. 1796.\*<9>

ON THE DANGER OF  
POLITICAL INNOVATION,

From a Discourse delivered on the 28th. November, 1794, before  
the Literary Society in Glasgow College, by Dr. REID.\*

There are two questions in politics which are perfectly distinct, and  
which ought never to be confounded. The first is, what is that form, or  
order, of political society, which, abstractly considered, tends most to  
the improvement and happiness of man? The second is, how a form of  
government which actually exists, and has been long established, may  
be changed, and reduced to a form which we think more eligible? 5

The second question is difficult in speculation, and very dangerous in  
practice: dangerous, not only to those who attempt it, but to the society  
in general. 10

Every change of government is either sudden and violent, or it is  
gradual, peaceable and legal. 15

A violent change of government, considering the means that must be  
used to effect it, and the uncertainty of the issue, must be an object  
of dread to every wise, and every humane man. It is to wrest power  
from the hands of those who are possessed of it, in the uncertain hope  
of our being able, and the more uncertain hope, that, after a violent  
convulsion, it shall fall into hands more to our mind. The means of  
effecting such a change are, plots, conspiracies, sedition, rebellion, 20  
civil war, bloodshed and massacre, in which the innocent and the guilty  
promiscuously suffer.

If we should even suppose that a total and sudden change of govern-  
ment could be produced without those violent means: that, by a miracle,  
those in power and office, should voluntarily lay down their authority,  
and leave a nation to choose a new form of government: suppose also,  
that, by another miracle, foreign enemies should not take the advantage  
of this state of anarchy, what would be the consequence? A very small  
state like an ancient Greek city, when they banished their tyrant, might  
meet and consult for the common good. The issue of this consultation  
commonly was, to choose a wise and disinterested man who was  
superior to themselves in political knowledge, and to give him power to  
model a government for them. And this was perhaps the wisest method  
they could take. For a good model of government can never, all at once,  
<11> be invented by a multitude, of which the greater part is ignorant: 30  
and of the knowing, the greater part is led by interest or by ambition.\* 35

A great nation, however, cannot meet together to consult. They must therefore have deputies chosen by different districts. But previous to this, the number and limits of the districts, the qualifications of the electors and candidates, and the form and method of election, must be ascertained. How these preliminaries are to be fixed when all authority is dissolved, and the nation in a state of anarchy, is a question I am not able to resolve.

Supposing, however, this difficult point to be happily settled, and the electors of a district met to choose a deputy; is it to be supposed that all, or the greater part, of the electors are to be determined by a pure and disinterested regard to the good of the nation? He surely knows little of human nature, who would admit such a supposition. We know, from long experience, how such elections proceed. The poor electors must have their bellies or their purses filled, their burdens lessened, or their superiors mollified. The rich must have their private attachments and friendships gratified, or good deeds done, or promised, or expected. There may, no doubt, be electors, both knowing and perfectly disinterested; but the proportion they bear to the <12> whole, I am afraid, is too small to be brought into estimation.

Such being the electors, Who are to be candidates? It were to be wished that they should be the wisest and best men of the district; but this is rather to be wished than expected. It is evident they must be men, who have it in their power and in their inclination, to offer the inducements by which a majority may be gained. Without this, their pretensions would be laughed at.

To pass over these things; suppose an assembly of deputies met and a constitution of government determined, unanimously, or by a majority; whether this constitution is to be imposed upon the nation by a despotic authority of the deputies; or to be again submitted to the choice of the people, I cannot pretend to determine, nor shall I enumerate the dangers that may arise from one of these ways or the other. After all the favourable suppositions I have made, it seems to me, that to bring such a government to a firm and settled condition must be the work of a century. For, we may observe, that the stability of a government, if it be at all tolerable, depends greatly on its antiquity. Customs and manners by which we and our forefathers, for many generations, have been governed, acquire an <13> authority and a sanctity, independent, upon their reasonableness and utility. To this disposition of human nature, I think, it is owing, rather than to climate, or to any peculiarity in the genius of the people, that very

imperfect forms of government, when, by a mild administration, they have continued for many generations, and acquired the authority of antiquity, continue to subsist after they become very tyrannical.\* When intolerable grievances are felt, that produce sedition, they are imputed, not to the form of government, but to the fault of those who administer it. Thus, in Turkey, a sedition is quelled by the sacrifice of a Vizier, a Mufti, or sometimes of a Sultan, without any attempt to alter the form of government. Into this reverence for the ancient form of government, I think, we must likewise resolve that maxim, admitted by all political writers, that when an ancient government is overturned, either by conquest or by internal disorder, the safest way to establish a new one, is to keep, as much as possible, to the old forms of procedure, and the old names of officers.\*

What I have said hitherto relates to violent and sudden changes of the form of government, and the conclusion from the whole is, that such changes are so dangerous in the attempt, so uncertain in the issue, and so dismal and destructive in the means by which they are brought about, that it must be a very bad form of government indeed, with circumstances very favourable to a change concurring, that will justify a wise and good man in putting a hand to them. It is not with an old government as with an old house, from which the inhabitant who desires a new one, may remove with his family and goods, till it be pulled down and rebuilt; if we pull down the old government, it must be pulled down about our ears, and we must submit to the danger of having the new built over our heads.

But there may be changes that are not sudden and violent, but gradual, peaceable and legal. New laws and ordinances wisely contrived, may remedy the defects of a constitution, remove grievances and promote general happiness. This must be granted: yet so limited is the wisdom of man, so short his foresight, that new laws, even when made with the best intention, do not always produce the effect expected from them; or they bring unforeseen inconveniences that do more than counterbalance their good effects. For this reason, even such changes ought not to be rashly made; but with good advice and for weighty causes. Surely every man who has the skill and ability to mend the constitution, by such peaceable means, merits the blessings of a nation. And every constitution, in proportion as it gives scope for such amendments, by allowing due liberty of printing and petitioning, and by giving the people a share in the legislature, is in the way of having its defects supplied, and its errors corrected.\*

We have the comfort to think, that in this respect, as in many others, the *British Constitution* excels all others we know.\* The change made at the Revolution in 1688 was violent indeed, but necessary. It affected only one branch of the legislature, and, by the good providence of God, was brought about, with fewer of the evils that commonly attend such Revolutions, than could have reasonably been expected.\* Since that time, we have had no Revolution, but such gradual and peaceable changes, by new laws, as have improved the constitution, and greatly promoted the prosperity of the nation —

— The relation between a government and its subjects, like that of marriage, or of parent and child, is strong and important. It is a relation instituted by the Author of nature, as, without government, men must be savages. To preserve and strengthen this sacred tie, concerns the honour and the interest of both parties. The duties are reciprocal. Protection and the benefit of laws on one hand; respect, submission, and defence in time of danger, on the other.\* Whatever is excellent in the constitution ought to be the boast and the glory of the subject; as we glory in the virtues of our near relations. If we see, or think we see, imperfections in the constitution, or in the government, we ought to consider, that there never was a perfect human government on earth; we ought to view such defects, not with a censorious and malignant eye, but with that candour and indulgence with which we perceive the defects of our dearest friends. It is only atrocious conduct that can dissolve the sacred tie.\* While that is not the case, every prudent and gentle mean should be used to strengthen and confirm it. As he is a good friend or neighbour with whom we can live in peace, amity, and the exchange of good offices; so is it a good government under which we can “lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.”\*

*Glasgow Courier, Dec. 18, 1794.\**



## III

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## ACCOUNT

OF THE

## LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

THOMAS REID, D.D. F.R.S. EDIN.

5

LATE PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

[Read at different Meetings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the year 1802.]\*

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## ACCOUNT

OF THE

## LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

THOMAS REID, D.D.

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## SECTION I.

*From Dr Reid's Birth till the date of his latest Publication.*

THE life of which I am now to present to the Royal Society a short account, although it fixes an æra in the history of modern philosophy, was uncommonly barren of those incidents which furnish materials for biography. It was spent in the obscurity of a learned retreat, remote from the pursuits of ambition, and with little solicitude about literary fame; — unembellished even by that epistolary intercourse with the world, which has formed the relaxation of many studious men, and in which they have themselves transmitted to posterity the most faithful and pleasing portraits of their own characters. After the agitation, however, of the political <400> convulsions which Europe has witnessed for a course of years, the simple record of such a life may derive an interest even from its uniformity; and, when contrasted with the events of the passing scene, may lead the thoughts to some views of human nature, on which it is not ungrateful to repose.

Thomas Reid, late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, was born on the 26th of April 1710, at Strachan in Kincardineshire, a country parish situated about twenty miles from Aberdeen, on the north side of the Grampian Mountains.

His father, the Reverend Lewis Reid, was minister of this parish for fifty years. — He was a clergyman, according to his son's account of him, respected by all who knew him, for his piety, prudence, and benevolence; inheriting from his ancestors (most of whom, from the  
5 time of the Protestant establishment, had been ministers of the church of Scotland), that purity and simplicity of manners which became his station; and a love of letters, which, without attracting the notice of the world, amused his leisure, and dignified his retirement.\*

For some generations before his time, a propensity to literature, and  
10 to the learned professions, — a propensity which, when it has once become characteristic of a race, is peculiarly apt to be propagated by the influence of early impressions and associations, — may be traced in several individuals among his kindred. One of his ancestors, James Reid, was the first minister of Banchory-Ternan after the Reformation;  
15 and transmitted to four sons a predilection for those studious habits which formed his own happiness.\* He was himself a younger son of Mr Reid of Pitfoddels, a gentleman of a very ancient and respectable family in the county of Aberdeen.\*

James Reid was succeeded as minister of Banchory by his son  
20 Robert.\* — Another son, Thomas, rose to considerable distinction, both as a philosopher and a poet; and seems to have wanted neither ability nor inclination to turn his attainments to the best advantage. After travelling over Europe, and maintaining, as was the custom of  
25 his age, public disputations in several universities, he collected into a volume the theses and dissertations which had been the subjects of his literary contests; and also published some Latin poems, which may be found in the collection, entitled *Delitiæ Poëtarum Scotorum*. On his return to his native country, he fixed his residence in London, where he was appointed secretary in the Greek and Latin tongues to King James  
30 the First of England, and lived in habits of intimacy with some of the most distinguished characters of the period. — Little more, I believe, is known of Thomas Reid's history, excepting that he bequeathed to the Marischal College of Aberdeen a curious collection of books and manuscripts, with a fund for establishing a salary to a librarian.\*

Alexander Reid, the third son, was physician to King Charles the  
35 First, and published several books on surgery and medicine. The fortune he acquired in the course of his practice was considerable, and enabled him (beside many legacies to his relations and friends) to leave various lasting and honourable memorials, both of his benevolence and of his  
40 attachment to letters.\*

A fourth son, whose name was Adam, translated into English, Buchanan's History of Scotland. Of this translation, which was never published, there is a manuscript copy in the possession of the University of Glasgow.\*

A grandson of Robert, the eldest of these sons, was the third minister of Banchory after the Reformation,\* and was great-grandfather of Thomas Reid, the subject of this memoir.†

The particulars hitherto mentioned, are stated on the authority of some short memorandums written by Dr Reid a few weeks before his death.\* In consequence of a suggestion <403> of his friend Dr Gregory,\* he had resolved to amuse himself with collecting such facts as his papers or memory could supply, with respect to his life, and the progress of his studies; but, unfortunately, before he had fairly entered on the subject, his design was interrupted by his last illness. If he had lived to complete it, I might have entertained hopes of presenting to the Public some details with respect to the history of his opinions and speculations on those important subjects to which he dedicated his talents; — the most interesting of all articles in the biography of a philosopher, and of which, it is to be lamented, that so few authentic records are to be found in the annals of letters. All the information, however, which I have derived from these notes, is exhausted in the foregoing pages; and I must content myself, in the continuation of my narrative, with those indirect aids which tradition, and the recollection of a few old acquaintance, afford; added to what I myself have learned from Dr Reid's conversation, or collected from a careful perusal of his writings.

His mother, Margaret Gregory, was a daughter of David Gregory Esq. of Kinnairdie, in Banffshire; elder brother of James Gregory, the inventor of the reflecting telescope, and the antagonist of Huyghens.\* She was one of twenty-nine children; the most remarkable of whom was David Gregory, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and an intimate friend of Sir Isaac Newton.\* Two of her younger brothers were at the same time Professors of Mathematics; the one at St Andrew's, the other at Edinburgh; and were the first persons who taught the Newtonian philosophy in our northern universities.\* The hereditary worth and genius which have so long distinguished, and which still distinguish, the descendants of this memorable family, are well known to all who have turned their attention to Scottish biography; but it is not known so generally, that through the female line, the same characteristical

† Appendix, Note (A).

endowments have been conspicuous in various instances; and that to the other monuments which illustrate the race of the Gregorys, is to be added *the philosophy of Reid*.\*

5 With respect to the earlier part of Dr Reid's life, all that I have been able to learn amounts to this, That, after two years spent at the parish-school of Kincardine, he was sent to Aberdeen, where he had the advantage of prosecuting his classical studies under an able and diligent teacher; that, about the age of twelve or thirteen, he was entered as a student in Marischal College; and that his master in philosophy, for three  
10 years, was Dr George Turnbull, who afterwards attracted some degree of notice as an author; particularly, by a book, entitled, Principles of Moral Philosophy, and by a voluminous treatise (long ago forgotten) on Ancient Painting.† The sessions of the College were, at that time, very short, and the education (according to Dr Reid's own account)  
15 slight and superficial.\*

It does not appear, from the information which I have received, that he gave any early indications of future eminence. His industry, however, and modesty, were conspicuous from his childhood; and it was foretold of him, by the schoolmaster who initiated him in the first  
20 principles of learning, "That he would turn out to be a man of good and well-wearing parts;" a prediction which touched, not unhappily, on that capacity of "patient thought," which so peculiarly characterized his philosophical genius.

His residence at the University was prolonged beyond the usual term,  
25 in consequence of his appointment to the office of Librarian, which had been endowed by one of his ancestors about a century before. The situation was acceptable to him, as it afforded an opportunity of indulging his passion for study, and united the charms of a learned society, with the quiet of an academical retreat.\*

30 During this period, he formed an intimacy with John Stewart, afterwards Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College, and author of a Commentary on Newton's Quadrature of Curves.\* His predilection for mathematical pursuits, was confirmed and strengthened by this connection. I have often heard him mention it with much pleasure, while he  
35 recollected the ardour with which they both prosecuted these fascinating studies, and the lights which they imparted mutually to each other, in their first perusal of the *Principia*, at a time when a knowledge of the

† Appendix, Note (B).

Newtonian discoveries was only to be acquired in the writings of their illustrious author.\*

In 1736, Dr Reid resigned his office of librarian, and accompanied Mr Stewart on an excursion to England. They visited together London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and were introduced to the acquaintance of many persons of the first literary eminence. His relation to Dr David Gregory procured him a ready access to Martin Folkes, whose house concentrated the most interesting objects which the metropolis had to offer to his curiosity. At Cambridge he saw Dr Bentley, who delighted him with his learning, and amused him with his vanity; and enjoyed repeatedly the conversation of the blind mathematician, Saunderson; a phenomenon in the history of the human mind, to which he has referred more than once, in his philosophical speculations.\*

With the learned and amiable man who was his companion in this journey, he maintained an uninterrupted friendship till 1766, when Mr Stewart died of a malignant fever. His death was accompanied with circumstances deeply afflicting to Dr Reid's sensibility; the same disorder proving fatal to his wife and daughter, both of whom were buried with him in one grave.\*

In 1737, Dr Reid was presented, by the King's College of Aberdeen, to the living of New-Machar in the same county; but unfortunately the minds of his parishoners were to such a degree inflamed against him (partly by the aversion then so prevalent in Scotland to the law of patronage, and partly by the intemperate zeal of one of his predecessors), that, in the first discharge of his clerical functions, he had not only to encounter the most violent opposition, but was exposed to personal danger.\* His unwearied attention, however, to the duties of his office; the mildness and forbearance of his temper, and the active spirit of his humanity, soon overcame all these prejudices; and, not many years afterwards, when he was called to a different situation, the same persons who had suffered themselves to be so far misled, as to take a share in the outrages against him, followed him, on his departure, with their blessings and tears.

Dr Reid's popularity at New-Machar (as I am informed by the respectable clergyman<sup>†</sup> who now holds that living), increased greatly after his marriage, in 1740, with Elizabeth, daughter of his uncle, Dr George Reid, physician in London.\* The accommodating manners of this excellent woman, and her good offices among the sick and

<sup>†</sup> The Reverend William Stronach.

necessitous, are still remembered with gratitude; and so endeared the family to the neighbourhood, that its removal was regarded as a general misfortune. The simple and affecting language in which some old men expressed themselves on this subject, in conversing with the present minister, deserves to be recorded. “We fought *against* Dr Reid when he came, and would have fought *for* him when he went away.”\*

In some notes relative to the earlier part of his history, which have been kindly communicated to me by the Reverend Mr Davidson, minister of Rayne, it is mentioned as a proof of his uncommon modesty and diffidence, that long after he became minister of New-Machar, he was accustomed, from a distrust in his own powers, to preach the sermons of Dr Tillotson and of Dr Evans.\* I have heard also, through other channels, that he had neglected the practice of composition to a more than ordinary degree, in the earlier part of his studies. The fact is curious, when contrasted with that ease, perspicuity, and purity of style, which he afterwards attained. From some information, however, which has been lately transmitted to me by one of his nearest relations, I have reason to believe, that the number of original discourses which he wrote, while a country clergyman, was not inconsiderable.\*

The satisfaction of his own mind was probably, at this period, a more powerful incentive to his philosophical researches, than the hope of being able to instruct the world as an author. But, whatever his views were, one thing is certain, that during his residence at New-Machar, the greater part of his time was spent in the most intense study; more particularly in a careful examination of the laws of external perception, and of the other principles which form the groundwork of human knowledge. His chief relaxations were gardening and botany, to both of which pursuits he retained his attachment even in old age.

A paper which he published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the year 1748, affords some light with respect to the progress of his speculations about this period. It is entitled, *An Essay on Quantity, occasioned by reading a Treatise, in which Simple and Compound Ratios are applied to Virtue and Merit*; and shews plainly, by its contents, that, although he had not yet entirely relinquished the favourite researches of his youth, he was beginning to direct his thoughts to other objects.\*

The treatise alluded to in the title of this paper, was manifestly the “Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of *Beauty* and *Virtue*,” by Dr Hutcheson of Glasgow.\* According to this very ingenious writer, the *moment* of public good produced by an individual, depending partly on

his *benevolence* and partly on his *ability*, the relation between these different moral ideas may be expressed in the technical form of algebraists, by saying, that the first is in the compound proportion of the two others. Hence, Dr Hutcheson infers, that “the *benevolence* of an agent (which in this system is synonymous with his *moral merit*) is proportional to a fraction, having the moment of good for the numerator, and the ability of the agent for the denominator.”\* Various other examples of a similar nature occur in the same work; and are stated with a gravity not altogether worthy of the author. It is probable, that they were intended merely as *illustrations* of his general reasonings, not as *media* of investigation for the discovery of new conclusions; but they appeared to Dr Reid to be an innovation which it was of importance to resist, on account of the tendency it might have (by confounding the evidence of different branches of science) to retard the progress of knowledge. The very high reputation which Dr Hutcheson then possessed in the Universities of Scotland, <411> added to the recent attempts of Pitcairn and Cheyne to apply mathematical reasoning to medicine, would bestow, it is likely, an interest on Dr Reid’s Essay at the time of its publication, which it can scarcely be expected to possess at present.\* Many of the observations, however, which it contains, are acute and original; and all of them are expressed with that clearness and precision, so conspicuous in his subsequent compositions. The circumstance which renders a subject susceptible of mathematical consideration, is accurately stated; and the proper province of that science defined in such a manner, as sufficiently to expose the absurdity of those abuses of its technical phraseology which were at that time prevalent. From some passages in it, there is, I think, ground for concluding, that the Author’s reading had not been very extensive previous to this period. The enumeration, in particular, which he has given of the different kinds of *proper quantity*, affords a proof, that he was not acquainted with the refined, yet sound disquisitions concerning the nature of *number* and of *proportion*, which had appeared almost a century before, in the *Mathematical Lectures* of Dr Barrow; nor with the remarks on the same subject introduced by Dr Clarke in one of his controversial letters addressed to Leibnitz.\*

In the same paper, Dr Reid takes occasion to offer some reflections on the dispute between the *Newtonians* and *Leibnitzians* concerning the measure of forces. The fundamental idea on which these reflections proceed, is just and important; and it leads to the correction of an error, committed very generally by the partizans of both opinions; that, of mistaking a question concerning the comparative advantages of two

*definitions*, for a difference of statement with respect to a *physical fact*. It must, I think, be acknowledged, at the same time, that the whole merits of the controversy are not here exhausted; and that the honour of placing this very subtle and abstruse question in a point of view calculated to reconcile completely the contending parties, was reserved for M. D'Alembert.\* To have fallen short of the success which attended the inquiries of that eminent man, on a subject so congenial to his favourite habits of study, will not reflect any discredit on the powers of Dr Reid's mind, in the judgment of those who are at all acquainted with the history of this celebrated discussion.

In 1752, the Professors of *King's College* elected Dr Reid Professor of Philosophy, "in testimony of the high opinion they had formed of his learning and abilities."\* Of the particular plan which he followed in his academical lectures, while he held this office, I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory account; but the department of science which was assigned to him by the general system of education in that university, was abundantly extensive; comprehending <413> Mathematics and Physics, as well as Logic and Ethics. A similar system was pursued formerly in the other universities of Scotland; the same individual then conducting his pupils through all those branches of knowledge which are now appropriated to different teachers: — And where the professor happened fortunately to combine those various accomplishments which distinguished Dr Reid in so remarkable a degree, it cannot be doubted that the unity and comprehensiveness of method, of which such academical courses admitted, must necessarily have possessed important advantages over that more minute subdivision of literary labour which has since been introduced. But as public establishments ought to adapt themselves to what is ordinary, rather than to what is possible, it is not surprising, that experience should have gradually suggested an arrangement more suitable to the narrow limits which commonly circumscribe human genius.

Soon after Dr Reid's removal to Aberdeen, he projected (in conjunction with his friend Dr John Gregory) a literary society, which subsisted for many years, and which seems to have had the happiest effects in awakening and directing that spirit of philosophical research, which has since reflected so much lustre on the north of Scotland. The meetings of this society were held weekly; and afforded the members (beside the advantages to be derived from a mutual communication of their sentiments on the common objects of their <414> pursuit) an opportunity of subjecting their intended publications to the test of friendly criticism.



The number of valuable works which issued nearly about the same time, from individuals connected with this institution, more particularly the writings of Reid, Gregory, Campbell, Beattie, and Gerard, furnish the best panegyric on the enlightened views of those under whose direction it was originally formed.\*

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Among these works, the most original and profound was unquestionably the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, published by Dr Reid in 1764. The plan appears to have been conceived, and the subject deeply meditated, by the Author long before; but it is doubtful, whether his modesty would have ever permitted him to present to the world the fruits of his solitary studies, without the encouragement which he received from the general acquiescence of his associates, in the most important conclusions to which he had been led.\*

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From a passage in the dedication, it would seem, that the speculations which terminated in these conclusions had commenced as early as the year 1739; at which period the publication of Mr Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* induced him, for the first time (as he himself informs us), "to call in question the principles commonly received with regard to the human understanding."\* In his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*, he acknowledges that, in his youth, he had, <415> without examination, admitted the established opinions on which Mr Hume's system of scepticism was raised; and that it was the consequences which these opinions seemed to involve, which roused his suspicions concerning their truth. "If I may presume" (says he) "to speak my own sentiments, I once believed *the doctrine of Ideas* so firmly, as to embrace the whole of Berkeley's system along with it; till finding other consequences to follow from it, which gave me more uneasiness than the want of a material world, it came into my mind more than forty years ago, to put the question, What evidence have I for this doctrine, that all the objects of my knowledge are ideas in my own mind? From that time to the present, I have been candidly and impartially, as I think, seeking for the evidence of this principle; but can find none, excepting the authority of philosophers."\*

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In following the train of Dr Reid's researches, this last extract merits attention, as it contains an explicit avowal, on his own part, that, at one period of his life, he had been led, by Berkeley's reasonings, to abandon the belief of the existence of *matter*. The avowal does honour to his candour, and the fact reflects no discredit on his sagacity. The truth is, that this article of the Berkleian system, however contrary to the conclusions of a sounder philosophy, was the error of no common mind.

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Considered in contrast with that theory of <416> materialism, which the excellent Author was anxious to supplant, it possessed important advantages, not only in its tendency, but in its scientific consistency; and it afforded a proof, wherever it met with a favourable reception, of an understanding superior to those casual associations, which, in the apprehensions of most men, blend indissolubly the phenomena of thought with the objects of external perception. It is recorded as a saying of M. Turgot (whose philosophical opinions in some important points approached very nearly to those of Dr Reid),<sup>†</sup> That “he who had never doubted of the existence of matter, might be assured he had no turn for metaphysical disquisitions.”\*

As the refutation of Mr Hume’s sceptical theory was the great and professed object of Dr Reid’s *Inquiry*, he was anxious, before taking the field as a controversial writer, to guard against the danger of misapprehending or misrepresenting the meaning of his adversary, by submitting his reasonings to Mr Hume’s private examination. With this view, he availed himself of the good offices of Dr Blair, with whom both he and Mr Hume had long lived in habits of friendship. The communications which he at first transmitted, consisted only of detached parts of the work; and appear evidently, from a correspondence which I have perused, to have conveyed a very imperfect idea of his general system. In one of Mr Hume’s letters to Dr Blair, he betrays some want of his usual good humour, in looking forward to his new antagonist. “I wish,” says he, “that the Parsons would confine themselves to their old occupation of worrying one another, and leave Philosophers to argue with temper, moderation, and good manners.”\* After Mr Hume, however, had read the manuscript, he addressed himself directly to the Author, in terms so candid and liberal, that it would be unjust to his memory to withhold from the public so pleasing a memorial of his character.

“By Dr Blair’s means, I have been favoured with the perusal of your performance, which I have read with great pleasure and attention. It is certainly very rare, that a piece so deeply philosophical is wrote with so much spirit, and affords so much entertainment to the reader; though I must still regret the disadvantages under which I read it, as I never had the whole performance at once before me, and could not be able fully to compare one part with another. To this reason, chiefly, I ascribe some obscurities, which, in spite of your short analysis or abstract, still seem to hang over your system. For I must do you the justice to own,

<sup>†</sup> See, in particular, the article *Existence* in the *Encyclopédie*.\*

that when I enter into your ideas, no man appears to express himself with greater perspicuity than you do; a talent which, above all others, is requisite in <418> that species of literature which you have cultivated. There are some objections which I would willingly propose to the chapter, *Of Sight*, did I not suspect that they proceed from my not sufficiently understanding it; and I am the more confirmed in this suspicion, as Dr Blair tells me, that the former objections I made had been derived chiefly from that cause. I shall therefore forbear till the whole can be before me, and shall not at present propose any farther difficulties to your reasonings. I shall only say, that if you have been able to clear up these abstruse and important subjects, instead of being mortified, I shall be so vain as to pretend to a share of the praise; and shall think, that my errors, by having at least some coherence, had led you to make a more strict review of my principles, which were the common ones, and to perceive their futility.”

“As I was desirous to be of some use to you, I kept a watchful eye all along over your style; but it is really so correct, and so good English, that I found not any thing worth the remarking. There is only one passage in this chapter, where you make use of the phrase *hinder to do*, instead of *hinder from doing*, which is the English one; but I could not find the passage when I sought for it. You may judge how unexceptionable the whole appeared to me, when I could remark so small a blemish. I beg my <419> compliments to my friendly adversaries, Dr Campbell and Dr Gerard; and also to Dr Gregory, whom I suspect to be of the same disposition, though he has not openly declared himself such.”\* —

Of the particular doctrines contained in Dr Reid’s *Inquiry*, I do not think it necessary here to attempt any abstract; nor indeed do his speculations (conducted as they were in strict conformity to the rules of inductive philosophizing) afford a subject for the same species of rapid outline, which is so useful in facilitating the study of a merely hypothetical theory. Their great object was to record and to classify the phenomena which the operations of the human mind present to those who reflect carefully on the subjects of their consciousness; and of such a history, it is manifest, that no abridgment could be offered with advantage. Some reflections on the peculiar plan adopted by the Author, and on the general scope of his researches in this department of science, will afterwards find a more convenient place, when I shall have finished my account of his subsequent publications.

The idea of prosecuting the study of the human mind, on a plan analogous to that which had been so successfully adopted in physics by

the followers of Lord Bacon, if not first conceived by Dr Reid, was at least first carried successfully into execution in his writings. An attempt had long <420> before been announced by Mr Hume, in the title-page of his *Treatise of Human Nature*, to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects; and some admirable remarks are made in the introduction to that work, on the errors into which his predecessors had been betrayed by the spirit of hypothesis; and yet it is now very generally admitted, that the whole of his own system rests on a principle for which there is no evidence but the authority of philosophers; and it is certain, that in no part of it has he aimed to investigate by a systematical analysis, those general principles of our constitution which can alone afford a synthetical explanation of its complicated phenomena.\*

I have often been disposed to think, that Mr Hume's inattention to those rules of philosophizing which it was his professed intention to exemplify, was owing in part to some indistinctness in his notions concerning their import. It does not appear, that, in the earlier part of his studies, he had paid much attention to the models of investigation exhibited in the writings of Newton and of his successors: and that he was by no means aware of the extraordinary merits of Bacon as a philosopher, nor of the influence which his writings have had on the subsequent progress of physical discovery, is demonstrated by the cold and qualified encomium which is bestowed on his genius, in one of the most elaborate passages of the *History of England*.\* <421>

In these respects, Dr Reid possessed important advantages; familiarized, from his early years, to those experimental inquiries, which, in the course of the two last centuries, have exalted Natural Philosophy to the dignity of a science; and determined strongly, by the peculiar bent of his genius, to connect every step in the progress of discovery with the history of the human mind. The influence of the general views opened in the *Novum Organon*, may be traced in almost every page of his writings; and, indeed, the circumstance by which these are so strongly and characteristically distinguished, is, that they exhibit the first systematical attempt to exemplify, in the study of human nature, the same plan of investigation which conducted Newton to the properties of light, and to the law of gravitation. It is from a steady adherence to this plan, and not from the superiority of his inventive powers, that he claims to himself any merit as a philosopher; and he seems even willing (with a modesty approaching to a fault) to abandon the praise of what is commonly called *genius*, to the authors of the systems which he was anxious to refute. "It is genius," he observes in one passage, "and not

the want of it, that adulterates philosophy, and fills it with error and false theory. A creative imagination disdains the mean offices of digging for a foundation, of removing rubbish, and carrying materials: leaving these servile employments to the drudges in science, it plans a design, and raises a fabric. Invention supplies <422> materials where they are wanting, and fancy adds colouring, and every befitting ornament. The work pleases the eye, and wants nothing but solidity and a good foundation. It seems even to vie with the works of nature, till some succeeding architect blows it into ruins, and builds as goodly a fabric of his own in its place.”\* 5 10

“Success in an inquiry of this kind,” he observes farther, “it is not in human power to command; but perhaps it is possible, by caution and humility, to avoid error and delusion. The labyrinth may be too intricate, and the thread too fine, to be traced through all its windings; but, if we stop where we can trace it no farther, and secure the ground we have gained, there is no harm done; a quicker eye may in time trace it farther.”\* 15

The unassuming language with which Dr Reid endeavours to remove the prejudices naturally excited by a new attempt to philosophize on so unpromising, and hitherto so ungrateful a subject, recalls to our recollection those passages in which Lord Bacon — filled as his own imagination was with the future grandeur of the fabric founded by his hand — bespeaks the indulgence of his readers, for an enterprise apparently so hopeless and presumptuous. The apology he offers for himself, when compared with the height to which the structure of physical knowledge has since at<423>tained, may perhaps have some effect in attracting a more general attention to pursuits still more immediately interesting to mankind; and, at any rate, it forms the best comment on the prophetic suggestions in which Dr Reid occasionally indulges himself concerning the future progress of moral speculation. 20 25 30

“Si homines per tanta annorum spatia viam veram inveniendi et colendi scientias tenuissent, nec tamen ulterius progredi potuissent, audax procul dubio et temeraria foret opinio, posse rem in ulterius provehi. Quod si in *via* ipsa erratum sit, atque hominum opera in iis consumpta in quibus minime oportebat, sequitur ex eo, non in rebus ipsis difficultatem oriri, quæ potestatis nostræ non sunt; sed in intellectu humano, ejusque usu et applicatione, quæ res remedium et medicinam suscipit.”† — “De nobis ipsis silemus: de re atuem quæ agitur, petimus, 35

† Nov.Org. 94.\*

Ut homines eam non opinionem, sed opus esse cogitent; ac pro certo habeant, non sectæ nos alicujus, aut placiti, sed utilitatis et amplitudinis humanæ fundamenta moliri. Præterea, ut bene sperent; neque Instaurationem nostram ut quiddam infinitum et ultra mortale fingant, et animo concipiant; quum revera sit infiniti erroris finis et terminus legitimus.”† <424>

The impression produced on the minds of speculative men, by the publication of Dr Reid’s *Inquiry*, was fully as great as could be expected from the nature of his undertaking. It was a work neither addressed to the multitude, nor level to their comprehension; and the freedom with which it canvassed opinions sanctioned by the highest authorities, was ill calculated to conciliate the favour of the learned. A few, however, habituated, like the author, to the analytical researches of the Newtonian school, soon perceived the extent of his views, and recognised in his pages the genuine spirit and language of inductive investigation. Among the members of this university, Mr Ferguson was the first to applaud Dr Reid’s success; warmly recommending to his pupils a steady prosecution of the same plan, as the only effectual method of ascertaining the general principles of the human frame; and illustrating happily, by his own profound and eloquent disquisitions, the application of such studies, to the conduct of the understanding, and to the great concerns of life.\* I recollect, too, when I attended (about the year 1771) the Lectures of the late Mr Russell, to have heard high encomiums on the Philosophy of Reid, in the course of those comprehensive discussions concerning the objects and the rules of experimental science, with which he so agreeably diversified the particular doctrines of physics.\* — Nor must I omit this opportunity of paying a tribute to the memory of my old friend, Mr Stevenson, then Professor of Logic; whose candid mind, at the age of seventy, gave a welcome reception to a system subversive of the theories which he had taught for forty years; and whose zeal for the advancement of knowledge prompted him, when his career was almost finished, to undertake the laborious task of new-modelling that useful compilation of elementary instruction, to which a singular diffidence of his own powers limited his literary exertions.\*

It is with no common feelings of respect and gratitude, that I now recall the names of those to whom I owe my first attachment to these studies, and the happiness of a liberal occupation, superior to the more aspiring aims of a servile ambition.

† Instaur. Mag. — Præfat.\*

From the University of Glasgow, Dr Reid's *Inquiry* received a still more substantial testimony of approbation; the author having been invited, in 1763, by that learned body, to the professorship of Moral Philosophy, then vacant by the resignation of Mr Smith.\* The preferment was in many respects advantageous; affording an income considerably greater than he enjoyed at Aberdeen; and enabling him to concentrate to his favourite objects, that attention which had been hitherto distracted by the miscellaneous nature of his academical engagements. It was not, however, without reluctance, that he consented to tear himself from a spot where <426> he had so long been fastening his roots; and, much as he loved the society in which he passed the remainder of his days, I am doubtful if, in his mind, it compensated the sacrifice of earlier habits and connections. 5 10

Abstracting from the charm of local attachment, the University of Glasgow, at the time when Dr Reid was adopted as one of its members, presented strong attractions to reconcile him to his change of situation. Robert Simson, the great restorer of ancient geometry, was still alive; and, although far advanced in years, preserved unimpaired his ardour in study, his relish for social relaxation, and his amusing singularities of humour.\* Dr Moor combined with a gaiety and a levity foreign to this climate, the profound attainments of a scholar and of a mathematician.\* In Dr Black, to whose fortunate genius a new world of science had just opened, Reid acknowledged an instructor and a guide; and met a simplicity of manners congenial to his own.\* The Wilsons (both father and son) were formed to attach his heart by the similarity of their scientific pursuits, and an entire sympathy with his views and sentiments.\* Nor was he less delighted with the good-humoured opposition which his opinions never failed to encounter in the acuteness of Millar, — then in the vigour of youthful genius, and warm from the lessons of a different school.\* Dr Leechman,\* the friend and biographer of Hutcheson, was the official head of the College; and <427> added the weight of a venerable name to the reputation of a community, which he had once adorned in a more active station.† 15 20 25 30

Animated by the zeal of such associates, and by the busy scenes which his new residence presented in every department of useful industry, Dr Reid entered on his functions at Glasgow, with an ardour not common at the period of life which he had now attained. His researches concerning the human mind, and the principles of morals, which had 35

† Note (C).



occupied but an inconsiderable space in the wide circle of science, allotted to him by his former office, were extended and methodised in a course, which employed five hours every week, during six months of the year:\* the example of his illustrious predecessor, and the prevailing  
5 topics of conversation around him, occasionally turned his thoughts to commercial politics; and produced some ingenious essays on different questions connected with trade, which were communicated to a private society of his academical friends:\* his early passion for the mathematical sciences was revived by the conversation of Simson, Moor, and the  
10 Wilsons; and, at the age of fifty-five, he attended the lectures of Black, with a juvenile curiosity and enthusiasm.\* <428>

As the substance of Dr Reid's lectures at Glasgow (at least of that part of them which was most important and original) has been since given to the public in a more improved form, it is unnecessary for me  
15 to enlarge on the plan which he followed in the discharge of his official duties. I shall therefore only observe, that beside his Speculations on the Intellectual and Active Powers of Man, and a System of Practical Ethics, his course comprehended some general views with respect to Natural Jurisprudence, and the fundamental principles of Politics.\*  
20 A few lectures on Rhetoric, which were read, at a separate hour, to a more advanced class of students, formed a voluntary addition to the appropriate functions of his office, to which, it is probable, he was prompted, rather by a wish to supply what was then a deficiency in the established course of education, than by any predilection for a branch  
25 of study so foreign to his ordinary pursuits.\*

The merits of Dr Reid, as a public teacher, were derived chiefly from that rich fund of original and instructive philosophy which is to be found in his writings; and from his unwearied assiduity in inculcating principles which he conceived to be of essential importance to human  
30 happiness. In his elocution and mode of instruction, there was nothing peculiarly attractive. He seldom, if ever, indulged himself in the warmth of extempore discourse; nor was his manner of <429> reading calculated to increase the effect of what he had committed to writing. Such, however, was the simplicity and perspicuity of his style; such the gravity  
35 and authority of his character; and such the general interest of his young hearers in the doctrines which he taught, that by the numerous audiences to which his instructions were addressed, he was heard uniformly with the most silent and respectful attention. On this subject, I speak from personal knowledge; having had the good fortune, during a considerable  
40 part of winter 1772, to be one of his pupils.\*



It does not appear to me, from what I am now able to recollect of the order which he observed in treating the different parts of his subject, that he had laid much stress on systematical arrangement.\* It is probable, that he availed himself of whatever materials his private inquiries afforded, for his academical compositions; without aiming at the merit of combining them into *a whole*, by a comprehensive and regular design; — an undertaking, to which, if I am not mistaken, the established forms of his university, consecrated by long custom, would have presented some obstacles. One thing is certain, that neither he nor his immediate predecessor ever published any general *prospectus* of their respective plans; nor any *heads* or *outlines* to assist their students in tracing the trains of thought which suggested their various transitions. <430>

The interest, however, excited by such details as these, even if it were in my power to render them more full and satisfactory, must necessarily be temporary and local; and I therefore hasten to observations of a more general nature, on the distinguishing characteristics of Dr Reid's philosophical genius; and on the spirit and scope of those researches which he has bequeathed to posterity, concerning the phenomena and laws of the human mind. In mentioning his first performance on this subject, I have already anticipated a few remarks which are equally applicable to his subsequent publications; but the hints then suggested were too slight, to place in so strong a light as I could wish, the peculiarities of that mode of investigation, which it was the great object of his writings to recommend and to exemplify. His own anxiety, to neglect nothing that might contribute to its farther illustration, induced him, while his health and faculties were yet entire, to withdraw from his public labours; and to devote himself, with an undivided attention, to a task of more extensive and permanent utility. It was in the year 1781, that he carried this design into execution, at a period of life (for he was then upwards of seventy) when the infirmities of age might be supposed to account sufficiently for his retreat; but when, in fact, neither the vigour of his mind nor of his body seemed to have suffered any injury from time.\* The works which he published not many years afterwards, afford a sufficient proof of the assiduity with which he had availed <431> himself of his literary leisure; his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* appearing in 1785; and those on the *Active Powers* in 1788.

As these two performances are, both of them, parts of one great work, to which his *Inquiry into the Human Mind* may be regarded as the Introduction, I have reserved for this place whatever critical reflections

I have to offer on his merits as an author; conceiving that they would be more likely to produce their intended effect, when presented at once in a connected form, than if interspersed, according to a chronological order, with the details of a biographical narrative. <432>

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## SECTION II.

*Observations on the Spirit and Scope of Dr Reid's Philosophy.*

I HAVE already observed, that the distinguishing feature of Dr Reid's Philosophy, is the systematical steadiness, with which he has adhered in his inquiries, to that plan of investigation which is delineated in the  
10 *Novum Organon*, and which has been so happily exemplified in physics by Sir Isaac Newton and his followers. To recommend this plan as the only effectual method of enlarging our knowledge of nature, was the favourite aim of all his studies, and a topic on which he thought he could not enlarge too much, in conversing or corresponding with his younger  
15 friends. In a letter to Dr Gregory, which I have perused, he particularly congratulates him, upon his acquaintance with Lord Bacon's works; adding, "I am very apt to measure a man's understanding, by the opinion he entertains of that author."\*

It were perhaps to be wished, that he had taken a little more pains to  
20 illustrate the fundamental rules of that logic, <433> the value of which he estimated so highly; more especially, to point out the modifications with which it is applicable to the science of mind. Many important hints, indeed, connected with this subject, may be collected from different parts of his writings; but I am inclined to think, that a more ample  
25 discussion of it in a preliminary dissertation, might have thrown light on the scope of many of his researches, and obviated some of the most plausible objections which have been stated to his conclusions.

It is not, however, my intention at present, to attempt to supply  
30 a *desideratum* of so great a magnitude; — an undertaking which, I trust, will find a more convenient place, in the farther prosecution of those speculations with respect to the Intellectual Powers which I have already submitted to the public. The detached remarks which follow, are offered merely as a supplement to what I have stated concerning the nature and object of this branch of study, in the Introduction to the  
35 *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.\*

The influence of Bacon's genius on the subsequent progress of physical discovery, has been seldom fairly appreciated; by some writers almost entirely overlooked; and by others considered as the sole cause

of the reformation in science which has since taken place. Of these two extremes, the latter certainly is the least wide of the truth; <434> for, in the whole history of letters, no other individual can be mentioned, whose exertions have had so indisputable an effect in forwarding the intellectual progress of mankind. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that before the æra when Bacon appeared, various philosophers in different parts of Europe had struck into the right path; and it may perhaps be doubted, whether any one important rule with respect to the true method of investigation be contained in his works, of which no hint can be traced in those of his predecessors. His great merit lay in concentrating their feeble and scattered lights; — fixing the attention of philosophers on the distinguishing characteristics of true and of false science, by a felicity of illustration peculiar to himself, seconded by the commanding powers of a bold and figurative eloquence. The method of investigation which he recommended had been previously followed in every instance, in which any solid discovery had been made with respect to the laws of nature; but it had been followed accidentally, and without any regular, preconceived design; and it was reserved for him to reduce to rule and method what others had effected, either fortuitously, or from some momentary glimpse of the truth. It is justly observed by Dr Reid, that “the man who first discovered that cold freezes water, and that heat turns it into vapour, proceeded on the same general principle by which Newton discovered the law of gravitation and the properties of light. His *Regulæ Philosophandi* <435> are maxims of common sense, and are practised every day in common life; and he who philosophizes by other rules, either concerning the material system or concerning the mind, mistakes his aim.”\*

These remarks are not intended to detract from the just glory of Bacon; for they apply to all those, without exception, who have systematized the principles of any of the arts. Indeed, they apply less forcibly to him, than to any other philosopher whose studies have been directed to objects analogous to his; inasmuch as we know of no art, of which the rules have been reduced successfully into a didactic form, when the art itself was as much in infancy as experimental philosophy was when Bacon wrote. — Nor must it be supposed, that the utility was small of thus attempting to systematize the accidental processes of unenlightened ingenuity, and to give to the noblest exertions of Human Reason, the same advantages of Scientific Method, which have contributed so much to ensure the success of genius in pursuits of inferior importance. The very philosophical motto which Reynolds

has so happily prefixed to his *Academical Discourses*, admits, on this occasion, of a still more appropriate application: “Omnia fere quæ præceptis continentur ab ingeniosis hominibus fiunt; sed casu quodam magis quam scientia. Ideoque doctrina et animadversio adhibenda est, ut ea quæ interdum sine ratione nobis occurrunt, semper <436> in nostra potestate sint; et quoties res postulaverit, a nobis ex præparato adhibeantur.”\*

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But although a few superior minds seem to have been in some measure predisposed for that revolution in science, which Bacon contributed so powerfully to accomplish, the case was very different with the great majority of those who were then most distinguished for learning and talents. His views were plainly too advanced for the age in which he lived; and, that he was sensible of this himself, appears from those remarkable passages, in which he styles himself, “The servant of posterity,” and “bequeaths his fame to future times.”\* — Hobbes, who, in his early youth, had enjoyed his friendship, speaks, a considerable time after Bacon’s death, of experimental philosophy, in terms of contempt; influenced probably, not a little, by the tendency he perceived in the inductive method of inquiry, to undermine the foundations of that fabric of scepticism which it was the great object of his labours to rear.\* Nay, even during the course of the last century, it has been less from Bacon’s own speculations, than from the examples of sound investigation exhibited by a few eminent men, who professed to follow him as their guide, that the practical spirit of his writings has been caught by the multitude of physical Experimentalists over Europe; — truth and good sense descending gradually, in this as in other instances, by the force of imitation and of early <437> habit, from the higher orders of intellect to the lower. In some parts of the Continent, more especially, the circulation of Bacon’s philosophical works has been surprisingly slow. It is doubtful, whether Des Cartes himself ever perused them; and, as late as the year 1759, if we may credit Montucla, they were very little known in France.\* The introductory discourse prefixed by D’Alembert to the *Encyclopédie*, first recommended them, in that country, to general attention.\*

The change which has taken place, during the two last centuries, in the plan of physical research, and the success which has so remarkably attended it, could not fail to suggest an idea, that something analogous might probably be accomplished at a future period, with respect to the phenomena of the intellectual world. And accordingly, various hints of this kind may be traced in different authors, since the æra of Newton’s

discoveries. A memorable instance occurs in the prediction with which that great man concludes his *Optics*; — “That if Natural Philosophy, in all its parts, by pursuing the inductive method, shall at length be perfected, the bounds of Moral Philosophy will also be enlarged.”\* Similar remarks may be found in other publications; particularly in Mr Hume’s *Treatise of Human Nature*, where the subject is enlarged on with much ingenuity.\* As far, however, as I am able to judge, Dr Reid was the first who conceived justly and clearly the analogy between these <438> two different branches of human knowledge; defining with precision the distinct provinces of Observation and of Reflection, in furnishing the *data* of all our reasonings concerning Matter and Mind; and demonstrating the necessity of a careful separation between the phenomena which they respectively exhibit, while we adhere to the same mode of philosophizing in investigating the laws of both.

That so many philosophers should have thus missed their aim, in prosecuting the study of the Human Mind, will appear the less surprising, when we consider, in how many difficulties, peculiar to itself, this science is involved. It is sufficient at present to mention those which arise, — from the metaphorical origin of all the words which express the intellectual phenomena; — from the subtle and fugitive nature of the objects of our reasonings; — from the habits of inattention we acquire, in early life, to the subjects of our consciousness; — and from the prejudices which early impressions and associations create to warp our opinions. It must be remembered, too, that in the science of mind (so imperfectly are its logical rules as yet understood!) we have not the same checks on the abuses of our reasoning powers, which serve to guard us against error in our other researches. In physics, a speculative mistake is abandoned, when contradicted by facts which strike the senses. In mathematics, an absurd or inconsistent conclusion is admitted as a demonstrative proof of a faulty hypothesis. But, in those inquiries <439> which relate to the principles of human nature, the absurdities and inconsistencies to which we are led by almost all the systems hitherto proposed, instead of suggesting corrections and improvements on these systems, have too frequently had the effect of producing scepticism with respect to all of them alike. How melancholy is the confession of Hume! — “The intense view of these manifold contradictions and imperfections in human reason, has so wrought upon me, and heated my brain, that I am ready to reject all belief and reasoning, and can look upon no opinion even as more probable or likely than another.”\*

Under these discouragements to this branch of study, it affords us some comfort to reflect on the great number of important facts with respect to the mind, which are scattered in the writings of Philosophers. As the subject of our inquiry here lies within our own breast, a considerable mixture of truth may be expected even in those systems which are most erroneous; not only because a number of men can scarcely be long imposed on by a hypothesis which is perfectly groundless, concerning the objects of their own consciousness; but because it is generally by an alliance with truth and with the original principles of human nature, that prejudices and associations produce their effects. Perhaps it may even be affirmed, that our progress in this research depends less on the degree of our industry and invention, than <440> on our sagacity and good sense in separating old discoveries from the errors which have been blended with them; and on that candid and dispassionate temper that may prevent us from being led astray by the love of novelty, or the affectation of singularity. In this respect, the science of mind possesses a very important advantage over that which relates to the laws of the material world. The former has been cultivated with more or less success in all ages and countries: the facts which serve as the basis of the latter have, with a very few exceptions, been collected during the course of the two last centuries. An observation similar to this is applied to systems of Ethics by Mr Smith, in his account of the theory of Mandeville; and the illustration he gives of it may be extended with equal propriety to the science of mind in general. "A system of Natural Philosophy," he remarks, "may appear very plausible, and be, for a long time, very generally received in the world, and yet have no foundation in nature, nor any sort of resemblance to the truth. But it is otherwise with systems of Moral Philosophy. When a traveller gives an account of some distant country, he may impose upon our credulity the most groundless and absurd fictions as the most certain matters of fact: But when a person pretends to inform us of what passes in our neighbourhood, and of the affairs of the very parish we live in, though here too, if we are so careless as not to examine things with our own eyes, he may deceive us in many re<441>spects; yet the greatest falsehoods which he imposes on us must bear some resemblance to the truth, and must even have a considerable mixture of truth in them."\*

These considerations demonstrate the essential importance, in this branch of study, of forming, at the commencement of our inquiries, just notions of the *criteria* of true and false science, and of the rules of philosophical investigation. They demonstrate, at the same time, that an

attention to the rules of philosophizing, as they are exemplified in the physical researches of Newton and his followers, although the best of all preparations for an examination of the mental phenomena, is but one of the steps necessary to ensure our success. On an accurate comparison of the two subjects, it might probably appear, that after this preliminary step has been gained, the most arduous part of the process still remains. One thing is certain, that it is not from any defect in the power of ratiocination or deduction, that our speculative errors chiefly arise: — a fact of which we have a decisive proof in the facility with which most students may be taught the mathematical and physical sciences, when compared with the difficulty of leading their minds to the truth, on questions of morals and politics.

The logical rules which lay the foundation of sound and useful conclusions concerning the laws of this internal world, <442> although not altogether overlooked by Lord Bacon, were plainly not the principal object of his work; and what he has written on the subject, consists chiefly of detached hints dropt casually in the course of other speculations. A comprehensive View of the sciences and arts dependent on the philosophy of the human mind, exhibiting the relations which they bear to each other, and to the general system of human knowledge, would form a natural and useful introduction to the study of these logical principles; but such a View remains still a *desideratum*, after all the advances made towards it by Bacon and D'Alembert. Indeed, in the present improved state of things, much is wanting to complete and perfect that more simple part of their intellectual map which relates to the material universe. — Of the inconsiderable progress hitherto made towards a just delineation of the Method to be pursued in studying the mental phenomena, no other evidence is necessary than this, That the sources of error and false judgment, so peculiarly connected, in consequence of the association of ideas, with studies in which our best interests are immediately and deeply concerned, have never yet been investigated with such accuracy, as to afford effectual aid to the student, in his attempts to counteract their influence. One of these sources alone, — that which arises from the imperfections of language, — furnishes an exception to the general remark. It attracted, fortunately, the particular notice of Locke, whose observations with respect to it, <443> compose, perhaps, the most valuable part of his philosophical writings; and, since the time of Condillac, the subject has been still more deeply analyzed by others.\* Even on this article, much yet remains to be done; but enough has been already



accomplished to justify the profound aphorism in which Bacon pointed it out to the attention of his followers: — “Credunt homines rationem suam verbis imperare; sed fit etiam ut verba vim suam super rationem retorqueant.”†

5        Into these logical discussions concerning the means of advancing the philosophy of human nature, Dr Reid has seldom entered; and still more rarely has he indulged himself in tracing the numerous relations, by which this philosophy is connected with the practical business of life. But he has done what was still more essential at the time he wrote: he  
10        has exemplified, with the happiest success, that method of investigation by which alone any solid progress can be made; directing his inquiries to a subject which forms a necessary groundwork for the labours of his successors, — an analysis of the various powers and principles belonging to our constitution. Of the importance of this undertaking,  
15        it is sufficient to observe, that it stands somewhat, although I confess not <444> altogether, in the same relation to the different branches of intellectual and moral science (such as grammar, rhetoric, logic, ethics, natural theology, and politics), in which the anatomy of the human body stands to the different branches of physiology and pathology. And as  
20        a course of medical education naturally, or rather necessarily, begins with a general survey of man’s animal frame; so, I apprehend, that the proper, or rather the essential preparation for those studies which regard our nobler concerns, is an examination of the principles which belong to man as an intelligent, active, social, and moral being. Nor does the  
25        importance of such an analysis rest here; it exerts an influence over all those sciences and arts which are connected with the material world; and the philosophy of Bacon itself, while it points out the road to physical truth, is but a branch of the philosophy of the human mind.

30        The substance of these remarks is admirably expressed by Mr Hume in the following passage, — allowances being made for a few trifling peculiarities of expression, borrowed from the theories which were prevalent at the time when he wrote: “’Tis evident, that all the sciences have a relation, greater or less, to human nature, and that, however wide any of them may seem to run from it, they still return back by  
35        one passage or another. Even mathematics, natural philosophy, and natural religion, are in some measure de<445>pendent on the science

† This passage of Bacon forms the motto to a very ingenious and philosophical dissertation (lately published by M. Prevost of Geneva), entitled, “*Des signes envisagés relativement à leur Influence sur la Formation des Idées.*” Paris, an 8.\*



of man; since they lie under the cognisance of men, and are judged of by their powers and faculties. It is impossible to tell what changes and improvements we might make in these sciences, were we thoroughly acquainted with the extent and force of human understanding, and could explain the nature of the ideas we employ, and of the operations we perform in our reasonings.” 5

“If, therefore, the sciences of mathematics, natural philosophy, and natural religion, have such a dependence on the knowledge of man, what may be expected in the other sciences, whose connection with human nature is more close and intimate? The sole end of logic is to explain the principles and operations of our reasoning faculty, and the nature of our ideas: morals and criticism regard our tastes and sentiments: And politics consider men as united in society, and dependent on each other. In these four sciences of logic, morals, criticism and politics, is comprehended almost every thing which it can any way import us to be acquainted with, or which can tend either to the improvement or ornament of the human mind.” 10 15

“Here, then, is the only expedient from which we can hope for success in our philosophical researches; to leave the tedious, lingering method, which we have hitherto followed; and, instead of taking, now and then, a castle or village on the frontier, to march up directly to the capital or centre of these sciences, to human nature itself; which being once masters of, we may everywhere else hope for an easy victory. From this station, we may extend our conquests over all those sciences which more intimately concern human life, and may afterwards proceed at leisure to discover more fully those which are the objects of pure curiosity. There is no question of importance, whose decision is not comprized in the science of man; and there is none which can be decided with any certainty, before we become acquainted with that science.”\* 20 25

To prepare the way for the accomplishment of the design so forcibly recommended in the foregoing quotation, by exemplifying, in an analysis of our most important intellectual and active principles, the only method of carrying it successfully into execution, was the great object of Dr Reid, in all his various philosophical publications. In examining these principles, he had chiefly in view a vindication of those fundamental laws of belief which form the groundwork of human knowledge, against the attacks made on their authority in some modern systems of scepticism; leaving to his successors the more agreeable task of applying the philosophy of the mind to its practical uses.\* On the *analysis* and classification of our powers, which he has 30 35 40

proposed, much room <447> for improvement must have been left in so vast an undertaking; but imperfections of this kind do not necessarily affect the justness of his conclusions, even where they may suggest to future inquirers the advantages of a simpler arrangement, and a more definite phraseology. Nor must it be forgotten, that, in consequence of the plan he has followed, the mistakes which may be detected in particular parts of his works, imply no such weakness in the fabric he has reared, as might have been justly apprehended, had he presented a connected system founded on gratuitous hypotheses, or on arbitrary definitions. The detections, on the contrary, of his occasional errors, may be expected, from the invariable consistency and harmony of truth, to throw new lights on those parts of his work, where his inquiries have been more successful; as the correction of a particular mis-statement in an authentic history, is often found, by completing an imperfect link, or reconciling a seeming contradiction, to dispel the doubts which hung over the most faithful and accurate details of the narrative.

In Dr Reid's first performance, he confined himself entirely to the five senses, and the principles of our nature necessarily connected with them; reserving the farther prosecution of the subject for a future period. At that time, indeed, he seems to have thought, that a more comprehensive examination of the mind was an enterprise too great for one <448> individual. "The powers," he observes, "of memory, of imagination, of taste, of reasoning, of moral perception, the will, the passions, the affections, and all the active powers of the soul, present a boundless field of philosophical disquisition, which the author of this *Inquiry* is far from thinking himself able to explore with accuracy. Many authors of ingenuity, ancient and modern, have made incursions into this vast territory, and have communicated useful observations; but there is reason to believe, that those who have pretended to give us a map of the whole, have satisfied themselves with a very inaccurate and incomplete survey. If Galileo had attempted a complete system of natural philosophy, he had probably done little service to mankind; but, by confining himself to what was within his comprehension, he laid the foundation of a system of knowledge, which rises by degrees, and does honour to the human understanding. Newton, building upon this foundation, and in like manner, confining his inquiries to the law of gravitation, and the properties of light, performed wonders. If he had attempted a great deal more, he had done a great deal less, and perhaps nothing at all. Ambitious of following such great examples, with unequal steps, alas! and unequal force, we have attempted an inquiry into one little corner

only, of the human mind; that corner which seems to be most exposed to vulgar observation, and to be most easily comprehended; and yet, <449> if we have delineated it justly, it must be acknowledged, that the accounts heretofore given of it were very lame, and wide of the truth.”\*

From these observations, when compared with the magnitude of the work which the author lived to execute, there is some ground for supposing, that, in the progress of his researches, he became more and more sensible of the mutual connection and dependence which exists among the conclusions we form concerning the various principles of human nature; even concerning those which seem, on a superficial view, to have the most remote relation to each other: And it was fortunate for the world, that, in this respect, he was induced to extend his views so far beyond the limits of his original design. His examination, indeed, of the powers of external perception, and of the questions immediately connected with them, bears marks of a still more minute diligence and accuracy than appear in some of his speculations concerning the other parts of our frame; and what he has written on the former subject, in his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, is evidently more highly finished, both in matter and form, than the volumes which he published in his more advanced years. The value, however, of these, is inestimable to future adventurers in the same arduous undertaking; not only, in consequence of the aids they furnish as a rough draught of the field to be examined, but, by the example <450> they exhibit of a method of investigation on such subjects, hitherto very imperfectly understood by philosophers. It is by the originality of this method, so systematically pursued in all his researches, still more than by the importance of his particular conclusions, that he stands so conspicuously distinguished among those who have hitherto prosecuted analytically the study of Man.

I have heard it sometimes mentioned, as a subject of regret, that the writers who have applied themselves to this branch of knowledge, have, in general, aimed at a great deal more than it was possible to accomplish; extending their researches to all the different parts of our constitution, while a long life might be well employed in examining and describing the phenomena connected with any one particular faculty. Dr Reid, in a passage already quoted from his *Inquiry*, might have been supposed to give some countenance to this opinion; if his own subsequent labours did not so strongly sanction the practice in question. The truth, I apprehend, is, That such detached researches concerning the human mind, can seldom be attempted with much hope of success; and that those who have recommended them, have not attended sufficiently

to the circumstances which so remarkably distinguish this study, from that which has for its object the philosophy of the material world. A few remarks in illustration of this proposition seem to me to be necessary, in order <451> to justify the reasonableness of Dr Reid's undertaking; and they will be found to apply with still greater force, to the labours of such, as may wish to avail themselves of a similar analysis in explaining the varieties of human genius and character, or in developing the latent capacities of the youthful mind.

One consideration of a more general nature is, in the first place, worthy of notice; that in the infancy of every science, the grand and fundamental *desideratum* is a bold and comprehensive Outline; — somewhat for the same reason, that, in the cultivation of an extensive country, forests must be cleared, and wildernesses reclaimed, before the limits of private property are fixed with accuracy; and long before the period, when the divisions and subdivisions of separate possessions give rise to the details of a curious and refined husbandry. The speculations of Lord Bacon embraced all the objects of human knowledge. Those of Newton and Boyle were confined to physics; but included an astonishing range of the material universe.\* The labours of their successors in our own times, have been employed with no less zeal, in pursuing those more particular, but equally abstruse investigations, in which They were unable to engage, for want of a sufficient stock, both of facts and of general principles; and which did not perhaps interest their curiosity in any considerable degree. <452>

If these observations are allowed to hold to a certain extent with respect to all the sciences, they apply in a more peculiar manner to the subjects treated of in Dr Reid's writings; — subjects which are all so intimately connected, that it may be doubted, if it be possible to investigate any one completely, without some general acquaintance, at least, with the rest. Even the theory of the Understanding may receive important lights from an examination of the Active and the Moral powers; the state of which in the mind of every individual, will be found to have a powerful influence on his intellectual character; — while, on the other hand, an accurate analysis of the faculties of the Understanding, would probably go far to obviate the sceptical difficulties which have been started concerning the Origin of our Moral Ideas. It appears to me, therefore, that, whatever be the department of mental science that we propose more particularly to cultivate, it is necessary to begin with a survey of human nature in all its various parts; studying these parts, however, not so much on their own account, as with a reference to the

applications, of which our conclusions are susceptible to our favourite purpose. The researches of Dr Reid, when considered carefully in the relation which they bear to each other, afford numberless illustrations of the truth of this remark. His leading design was evidently to overthrow the modern system of scepticism; and at every successive step of his progress, new and unexpected lights break in on his fundamental principles. 5

It is, however, chiefly in their practical application to the conduct of the understanding, and the culture of the heart, that such partial views are likely to be dangerous; for here, they tend not only to mislead our theoretical conclusions, but to counteract our improvement and happiness. Of this I am so fully convinced, that the most faulty theories of human nature, provided only they embrace the whole of it, appear to me less mischievous in their probable effects, than those more accurate and microscopical researches which are habitually confined to one particular corner of our constitution. It is easy to conceive, that where the attention is wholly engrossed with the intellectual powers, the moral principles will be in danger of running to waste: and it is no less certain, on the other hand, that, by confining our care to the moral constitution alone, we may suffer the understanding to remain under the influence of unhappy prejudices, and destitute of those just and enlightened views, without which the worthiest dispositions are of little use, either to ourselves or to society. An exclusive attention to any one of the subordinate parts of our frame, — to the culture of taste (for example), or of the argumentative powers, or even to the refinement of our moral sentiments and feelings, — must be attended with a hazard proportionally greater. 10 15 20 25

“In forming the human character,” says Bacon, in a passage which Lord Bolingbroke has pronounced to be one of the finest and deepest in his writings, “we must not proceed, as a statuary does in forming a statue, who works sometimes on the face, sometimes on the limbs, sometimes on the folds of the drapery; but we must proceed (and it is in our power to proceed) as Nature does in forming a flower, or any other of her productions; — she throws out altogether, and at once, the whole system of being, and the rudiments of all the parts. *Rudimenta partium omnium simul parit et producit.*”<sup>†</sup> 30 35

<sup>†</sup> In the foregoing paragraph, I have borrowed (with a very trifling alteration) Lord Bolingbroke’s words, in a beautiful paraphrase on Bacon’s remark. — See his *Idea of a Patriot King*.\*

Of this passage, so strongly marked with Bacon's capacious intellect, and so richly adorned with his "philosophical fancy,"\* I will not weaken the impression by any comment; and, indeed, to those who do not intuitively perceive its evidence, no comment would be useful.

5 In what I have hitherto said of Dr Reid's speculations, I have confined myself to such general views of the scope of his researches, and of his mode of philosophizing, as seemed most likely to facilitate the perusal of his works to those readers who have not been much conversant with these abstract disquisitions. A slight review of some of the more  
10 important and fundamental objections which have been proposed to his doctrines, may, I hope, be useful as a farther preparation for the same course of study.

Of these objections, the four following appear to me to be chiefly entitled to attention.

15 1. That he has assumed gratuitously in all his reasonings, that theory concerning the human soul, which the scheme of materialism calls in question.

20 2. That his views tend to damp the ardour of philosophical curiosity, by stating as ultimate facts, phenomena which may be resolved into principles more simple and general.

3. That, by an unnecessary multiplication of original or instinctive principles, he has brought the science of mind into a state more perplexed and unsatisfactory, than that in which it was left by Locke and his successors.

25 4. That his philosophy, by sanctioning an appeal from the decisions of the learned to the voice of the multitude, is unfavourable to a spirit of free inquiry, and lends additional stability to popular errors. <456>

30 1. With respect to Dr Reid's supposed assumption of a doubtful hypothesis concerning the nature of the thinking and sentient principle, it is almost sufficient for me to observe, that the charge is directed against that very point of his philosophy in which it is most completely invulnerable. The circumstance which peculiarly characterizes the inductive science of mind is, that it professes to abstain from all speculations concerning its nature and essence; confining the attention entirely to *phenomena*, for  
35 which we have the evidence of consciousness, and to the laws by which these phenomena are regulated. In this respect, it differs equally, in its scope, from the pneumatological discussions of the schools; and from the no less visionary theories, so loudly vaunted by the physiological metaphysicians of more modern times. Compared with the first, it  
40 differs, as the inquiries of the *mechanical* philosophers concerning

the laws of moving bodies, differ from the discussions of the ancient sophists concerning the existence and the nature of motion. Compared with the other, the difference is analogous to what exists between the conclusions of Newton concerning the law of gravitation, and his *query* concerning the invisible ether of which he supposed it might, possibly, be the effect.\* The facts which this inductive science aims at ascertaining, rest on their own proper evidence; — an evidence unconnected with all these hypotheses, and which would not, in the <457> smallest degree, be affected, although the truth of any one of them should be fully established. It is not, therefore, on account of its inconsistency with any favourite opinions of my own, that I would oppose the disquisitions either of scholastic pneumatology, or of physiological metaphysics; but because I consider them as an idle waste of time and genius on questions where our conclusions can neither be verified nor overturned by an appeal to experiment or observation. Sir Isaac Newton's query concerning the cause of gravitation was certainly not *inconsistent* with his own discoveries concerning its laws; but what would have been the consequences to the world, if he had indulged himself in the prosecution of hypothetical theories with respect to the former, instead of directing his astonishing powers to an investigation of the latter?

That the general spirit of Dr Reid's Philosophy is hostile to the conclusions of the Materialist, is indeed a fact: Not, however, because his system rests on the contrary hypothesis as a fundamental principle, but because his inquiries have a powerful tendency to wean the understanding gradually from those obstinate associations and prejudices, to which the common mechanical theories of mind owe all their plausibility. It is, in truth, much more from such examples of sound research concerning the Laws of Thought, than from any direct metaphysical refutation, that a change is to be expected in the opinions of those who have been accustomed to confound together two classes of phenomena, so completely and essentially different. — But this view of the subject does not belong to the present argument.

It has been recommended of late, by a medical author of great reputation, to those who wish to study the human mind, to begin with preparing themselves for the task by the study of anatomy.\* I must confess, I cannot perceive the advantages of this order of investigation; as the anatomy of the body does not seem to me more likely to throw light on the philosophy of the mind, than an analysis of the mind to throw light on the physiology of the body. To ascertain, indeed, the general laws of their connexion from facts established by observation or



experiment, is a reasonable and most interesting object of philosophical curiosity; and in this inquiry (which was long ago proposed and recommended by Lord Bacon), a knowledge of the constitution both of mind and body is indispensably requisite; but even here, if we wish to proceed  
5 on firm ground, the two classes of facts must be kept completely distinct; so that neither of them may be warped or distorted, in consequence of theories suggested by their supposed relations or analogies.<sup>†</sup> Thus, in many of the phenomena, connected with Custom and Habit, there is ample scope for investigating general laws, both with respect to our  
10 mental and our corporeal frame; but what light do we derive from such information concerning this part of our constitution as is contained in the following sentence of Locke? “Habits seem to be but trains of motion in the animal spirits, which, once set a-going, continue in the same steps they had been used to, which by often treading are worn into  
15 a smooth path.”\* In like manner, the laws which regulate the connexion between the mind and our external organs, in the case of Perception, have furnished a very fertile subject of examination to some of the best of our modern philosophers; but how impotent does the genius of Newton itself appear, when it attempts to shoot the gulf which separates  
20 the sensible world, and the sentient principle? “Is not the sensorium of animals,” he asks in one of his queries, “the place where the sentient substance is present, and to which the sensible species of things are brought through the nerves and brain, that they may be perceived by the mind present in that place?”\*

25 It ought to be remembered also, that this inquiry, with respect to the laws regulating the connexion between our bodily organization, and the phenomena subjected to our own consciousness, is but one particular department of the philosophy of the mind; and that there still remains a wide and indeed boundless region, where all our *data* must  
30 be obtained from our own mental operations. In examining, for instance, the powers of judgment and reasoning, let any person of sound understanding, after perusing the observations of Bacon on the different classes of our prejudices, or those of Locke on the abuse of words, turn his attention to the speculations of some of our contemporary theorists;  
35 and he will at once perceive the distinction between the two modes of investigation which I wish at present to contrast. “Reasoning,” says one of the most ingenious, and original of these, “is that operation of the *sensorium*, by which we excite two or many tribes of ideas;

<sup>†</sup> *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, pp. 11, 12. 2d edit.\*



and then re-excite the ideas, in which they differ or correspond. If we determine this difference, it is called Judgment; if we in vain endeavour to determine it, it is called Doubting. — If we re-excite the ideas in which they differ, it is called Distinguishing; if we re-excite those in which they correspond, it is called Comparing.”† In what acceptation the word *idea* is to be understood in the foregoing passage, may be learned from the following definition of the same author: — “The word *idea* has various meanings in the writers of metaphysic: It is here used simply for those notions of external things, which our organs of sense bring us acquainted with originally; and is defined, a contraction, or motion, or configuration, of the fibres, which constitute the <461> immediate organ of sense.”‡ — Mr Hume, who was less of a physiologist than Dr Darwin, has made use of a language by no means so theoretical and arbitrary; but still widely removed from the simplicity and precision essentially necessary in studies, where every thing depends on the cautious use of terms. “Belief,” according to him, is “a lively idea related to or associated with a present impression; Memory is the faculty by which we repeat our impressions, so as that they retain a considerable degree of their first vivacity, and are somewhat intermediate betwixt an idea and an impression.”\* 5 10 15 20

According to the views of Dr Reid, the terms which express the simple powers of the mind, are considered as unsusceptible of definition or explanation; the words, Feeling, for example, Knowledge, Will, Doubt, Belief, being, in this respect, on the same footing with the words, Green or Scarlet, Sweet or Bitter. To the names of these mental operations, all men annex some notions, more or less distinct; and the only way of conveying to them notions more correct, is by teaching them to exercise their own powers of reflection. The definitions quoted from Hume and Darwin, even if they were more unexceptionable in point of phraseology, would, for these reasons, be unphilosophical, as at<462>tempts to simplify what is incapable of analysis; but, as they are actually stated, they not only envelope truth in mystery, but lay a foundation, at the very outset, for an erroneous theory. It is worth while to add, that of the two theories in question, that of Darwin, how inferior soever, in the estimation of competent judges, as a philosophical work, is by far the best calculated to impose on a very wide circle of readers, by the mixture it exhibits of crude and visionary metaphysics, with 25 30 35

† *Zoonomia*, vol. i. p. 181. 3d edit.\*

‡ *Zoonomia*, vol. i. pp. 11, 12.\*

those important facts and conclusions which might be expected from the talents and experience of such a writer, in the present advanced state of medical and physiological science. The questions which have been hitherto confined to a few, prepared for such discussions by habits of philosophical study, are thus submitted to the consideration, — not only of the cultivated and enlightened minds, which adorn the medical profession, — but of the half-informed multitude who follow the medical trade: Nor is it to be doubted, that many of these will give the author credit, upon subjects of which they feel themselves incompetent to judge, for the same ability which he displays within their own professional sphere. The hypothetical principles assumed by Hume are intelligible to those only who are familiarized to the language of the schools; and his ingenuity and elegance, captivating as they are to men of taste and refinement, possess slight attractions to the majority of such as are most likely to be misled by his conclusions. <463>

After all, I do not apprehend that the physiological theories concerning the mind, which have made so much noise of late, will produce a very lasting impression. The splendour of Dr Darwin's accomplishments could not fail to bestow a temporary importance on whatever opinions were sanctioned by his name; as the chemical discoveries which have immortalized that of Priestley, have, for a while, recalled from oblivion the reveries of Hartley.\* But, abstracting from these accidental instances, in which human reason seems to have held a retrograde course, there has certainly been, since the time of Des Cartes, a continual, and, on the whole, a very remarkable approach to the inductive plan of studying human nature. We may trace this in the writings even of those who profess to consider *thought* merely as *an agitation of the brain*; — in the writings more particularly of Hume and of Helvetius; both of whom, although they may have occasionally expressed themselves in an unguarded manner concerning the nature of mind, have, in their most useful and practical disquisitions, been prevented, by their own good sense, from blending any theory with respect to the *causes* of the intellectual phenomena, with the history of facts, or the investigation of general laws.\* The authors who form the most conspicuous exceptions to this gradual progress, consist chiefly of men, whose errors may be easily accounted for, by the prejudices connected with their circumscribed habits of observation and inquiry; — of Physiologists, <464> accustomed to attend to that part alone of the human frame, which the knife of the Anatomist can lay open; or of Chemists, who enter on the analysis of Thought, fresh from the decompositions of the laboratory;

— carrying into the Theory of Mind itself (which Bacon expressively calls) “the smoke and tarnish of the furnace.”\* Of the value of such pursuits, none can think more highly than myself; but I must be allowed to observe, that the most distinguished pre-eminence in them, does not necessarily imply a capacity of collected and abstracted reflection; or an understanding superior to the prejudices of early association, and the illusions of popular language. I will not go so far as Cicero, when he ascribes to those who possess these advantages, a more than ordinary vigour of intellect: “*Magni est ingenii revocare mentem a sensibus, et cogitationem a consuetudine abducere.*”\* I would only claim for them, the merit of patient and cautious research; and would exact from their antagonists the same qualifications.†

In offering these remarks, I have no wish to exalt any one branch of useful knowledge at the expence of another, but to combat prejudices equally fatal to the progress of them all. — With the same view, I cannot help taking notice of a prevailing, but very mistaken idea, that the formation of a <465> hypothetical system is a stronger proof of inventive genius, than the patient investigation of Nature, in the way of induction. To form a system, appears to the young and inexperienced understanding, a species of creation; to ascend slowly to general conclusions, from the observation and comparison of particular facts, is to comment servilely on the works of another.

No opinion, surely, can be more groundless. To fix on a few principles, or even on a single principle, as the foundation of a theory; and, by an artful statement of supposed facts, aided by a dexterous use of language, to give a plausible explanation, by means of it, of an immense number of phenomena; is within the reach of most men whose talents have been a little exercised among the subtilties of the schools: Whereas, to follow Nature through all her varieties with a quick yet an exact eye; — to record faithfully what she exhibits, and to record nothing more; — to trace, amidst the diversity of her operations, the simple and comprehensive laws by which they are regulated, and sometimes to guess at the beneficent purposes to which they are subservient, — may be safely pronounced to be the highest effort of a created intelligence. And, accordingly, the number of ingenious theorists has, in every age, been great; that of sound philosophers has been wonderfully small; — or rather, they are only beginning now to have a glimpse of

† Note (D).

their way, in <466> consequence of the combined lights furnished by their predecessors.

Des Cartes aimed at a complete system of physics, deduced *à priori* from the abstract suggestions of his own reason: Newton aspired no higher, than at a faithful “interpretation of Nature,” in a few of the more general laws which she presents to our notice: And yet the intellectual power displayed in the voluminous writings of the former vanishes into nothing, when compared with what we may trace in a single page of the latter. On this occasion, a remark of Lord Bacon appears singularly apposite; that “Alexander and Cæsar, though they acted without the aid of magic or prodigy, performed exploits that are truly greater than what Fable reports of King Arthur or Amadis de Gaul.”\*

I shall only add farther on this head, that the last observation holds more strictly with respect to the philosophy of the human mind, than any other branch of science; for there is no subject whatever, on which it is so easy to form theories calculated to impose on the multitude; and none, where the discovery of truth is attended with so many difficulties. One great cause of this is, the analogical or theoretical terms employed in ordinary language to express every thing relating either to our intellectual or active powers; in consequence of which, specious explanations of the most mysterious phenomena may be given to superficial inquirers; while, at the same time, the labour of just investigation is increased to an incalculable degree.

2. To allege, that in this circumscription of the field of our inquiries concerning the mind, there is any tendency to repress a reasonable and philosophical curiosity, is a charge no less unfounded than the former; inasmuch as every physical inquiry concerning the material world is circumscribed by limits precisely analogous.\* In all our investigations, whatever their subject may be, the business of philosophy is confined to a reference of particular facts to other facts more general; and our most successful researches must at length terminate in some law of nature, of which no explanation can be given. — In its application to Dr Reid’s writings, this objection has, I think, been more pointedly directed against his reasonings concerning the process of nature in Perception; a part of his writings which (as it is of fundamental importance in his general system) he has laboured with peculiar care. The result is, indeed, by no means flattering to the pride of those theorists, who profess to explain every thing; for it amounts to an acknowledgment, that, after all the lights which anatomy and physiology supply, the information we obtain, by means of our senses, concerning the

existence and the qualities of matter, is no less incomprehensible to our faculties, than it appears to the most illiterate peasant; and <468> that all we have gained, is a more precise and complete acquaintance with some particulars in our animal economy, — highly interesting indeed when regarded in their proper light, as accessions to our physical knowledge, but, considered in connexion with the philosophy of the mind, affording only a more accurate statement of the astonishing phenomena which we would vainly endeavour to explain. This language has been charged, but most unjustly and ignorantly, with *mysticism*; for the same charge may be brought, with equal fairness, against all the most important discoveries in the sciences.\* It was in truth, the very objection urged against Newton, when his adversaries contended, that *gravity* was to be ranked with the *occult qualities* of the schoolmen, till its mechanical cause should be assigned; and the answer given to this objection by Sir Isaac Newton's commentator, Mr Maclaurin, may be literally applied, in the instance before us, to the inductive philosophy of the human mind. 5 10 15

“The opponents of Newton, finding nothing to object to his observations and reasonings, pretended to find a resemblance between his doctrines and the exploded tenets of the scholastic philosophy. They triumphed mightily in treating gravity as an occult quality, because he did not pretend to deduce this principle fully from its cause. . . . I know not that ever it was made an objection to the circulation of the blood, that there was no small difficulty in <469> accounting for it mechanically. They, too, who first extended gravity to air, vapour, and to all bodies round the earth, had their praise; though the cause of gravity was as obscure as before; or *rather appeared more mysterious*, after they had shewn, that there was no body found near the earth, exempt from gravity, that might be supposed to be its cause. Why, then, were his admirable discoveries, by which this principle was extended over the universe, so ill relished by some philosophers? The truth is, he had, with great evidence, overthrown the boasted schemes by which they pretended to unravel all the mysteries of Nature; and the philosophy he introduced, in place of them, carrying with it a sincere confession of our being far from a complete and perfect knowledge of it, could not please those who had been accustomed to imagine themselves possessed of the eternal reasons and primary causes of all things.” 20 25 30 35

“It was, however, no new thing that this philosophy should meet with opposition. All the useful discoveries that were made in former times, and particularly in the seventeenth century, had to struggle with 40

the prejudices of those who had accustomed themselves not so much as to think, but in a certain systematic way; who could not be prevailed on to abandon their favourite schemes, while they were able to imagine the least pretext for continuing <470> the dispute. Every art and talent was displayed to support their falling cause; no aid seemed foreign to them that could in any manner annoy their adversary; and such often was their obstinacy, that truth was able to make little progress, till they were succeeded by younger persons, who had not so strongly imbibed their prejudices.”\*

10        These excellent observations are not the less applicable to the subject now under consideration, that the part of Dr Reid’s writings which suggested the quotation, leads only to the correction of an inveterate prejudice, not to any new general conclusion. It is probable, indeed (now that the Ideal Theory has in a great measure disappeared from our late metaphysical systems), that those who have a pleasure in detracting from the merits of their predecessors, may be disposed to represent it as an idle waste of labour and ingenuity to have entered into a serious refutation of a hypothesis at once gratuitous and inconceivable. A different judgment, however, will be formed by such as are acquainted with the extensive influence, which, from the earliest accounts of science, this single prejudice has had in vitiating almost every branch of the philosophy of the mind; and who, at the same time, recollect the names of the illustrious men, by whom, in more modern times, it has been adopted as an incontrovertible principle. It is sufficient for me to mention those of Berkeley, Hume, Locke, Clarke and Newton. To the two first of <471> these, it has served as the basis of their sceptical conclusions, which seem indeed to follow from it as necessary consequences; while the others repeatedly refer to it in their reasonings, as one of those facts concerning the mind, of which it would be equally superfluous to attempt a proof or a refutation.

I have enlarged on this part of Dr Reid’s writings the more fully, as he was himself disposed, on all occasions, to rest upon it his chief merit as an author. In proof of this, I shall transcribe a few sentences from a letter of his to Dr Gregory, dated 20th August 1790.

35        “It would be want of candour not to own, that I think there is some merit in what you are pleased to call *my Philosophy*; but I think it lies chiefly in having called in question the common theory of *Ideas or Images of things in the mind* being the only objects of thought; a theory founded on natural prejudices, and so universally received as to be interwoven with the structure of language. Yet were I to give you a detail

of what led me to call in question this theory, after I had long held it as self-evident and unquestionable, you would think, as I do, that there was much of chance in the matter. The discovery was the birth of time, not of genius; and Berkeley and Hume did more to bring it to light than the man that hit upon it. I <472> think there is hardly any thing that can be called *mine* in the philosophy of the mind, which does not follow with ease from the detection of this prejudice.” 5

“I must, therefore, beg of you most earnestly, to make no contrast in my favour, to the disparagement of my predecessors in the same pursuit. I can truly say of them, and shall always avow, what you are pleased to say of me, that but for the assistance I have received from their writings, I never could have wrote or thought what I have done.”\* 10

3. Somewhat connected with the last objection, are the censures which have been so frequently bestowed on Dr Reid, for an unnecessary and unsystematical multiplication of original or instinctive principles. 15

In reply to these censures, I have little to add to what I have remarked on the same topic, in the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.\* That the fault which is thus ascribed to Dr Reid has been really committed by some ingenious writers in this part of the island, I most readily allow; nor will I take upon me to assert, that he has, in no instance, fallen into it himself. Such instances, however, will be found, on an accurate examination of his works, to be comparatively few, and to bear a very trifling proportion to those, in which he has most successfully and decisively displayed his acuteness, <473> in exposing the premature and flimsy generalizations of his predecessors. 20 25

A certain degree of leaning to that extreme to which Dr Reid seems to have inclined, was, at the time when he wrote, much safer than the opposite bias. From the earliest ages, the sciences in general, and more particularly the science of the human mind, have been vitiated by an undue love of simplicity; and, in the course of the last century, this disposition, after having been long displayed in subtle theories concerning the Active Powers, or the Principles of Human Conduct, has been directed to similar refinements with respect to the Faculties of the Understanding, and the Truths with which they are conversant. Mr Hume himself has coincided so far with the Hartleian school, as to represent the “principle of union and cohesion among our simple ideas as a kind of *attraction*, of as universal application in the Mental world as in the Natural;”† and Dr Hartley, with a still more sanguine imagination, 30 35

† *Treatise of Human Nature*, vol. i. p. 30.\*



looked forward to an æra, “when future generations shall put all kinds of evidences and inquiries into mathematical forms; reducing Aristotle’s ten categories, and Bishop Wilkin’s forty *summa genera*, to the head of quantity alone, so as to make mathematics and logic, natural history and civil history, natural philosophy and philosophy of all other kinds, coincide *omni ex parte*.”†

It is needless to remark the obvious tendency of such premature generalizations to withdraw the attention from the study of particular phenomena; while the effect of Reid’s mode of philosophizing, even in those instances where it is carried to an excess, is to detain us, in this preliminary step, a little longer than is absolutely necessary. The truth is, that when the phenomena are once ascertained, generalization is here of comparatively little value, and a task of far less difficulty than to observe facts with precision, and to record them with fairness.

In no part of Dr Reid’s writings, I am inclined to think, could more plausible criticisms be made on this ground, than in his classification of our active principles; but even there, the facts are always placed fully and distinctly before the reader. That several of the benevolent affections which he has stated as ultimate facts in our constitution, might be analyzed into the same general principle differently modified, according to circumstances, there can, in my opinion, be little doubt.\* This, however (as I have elsewhere observed),‡ notwithstanding the stress which has been sometimes laid upon it, is chiefly a question of arrangement. Whether we suppose these affections to be all ultimate facts, or some of them to be resolvable into other facts more general; they are equally to be regarded as constituent parts of human nature; and, upon either supposition, we have equal reason to admire the wisdom with which that Nature is adapted to the situation in which it is placed. — The laws which regulate the acquired perceptions of Sight, are surely as much a part of our frame, as those which regulate any of our original perceptions; and, although they require, for their development, a certain degree of experience and observation in the individual, the uniformity of the result shews, that there is nothing arbitrary nor accidental in their origin. In this point of view, what can be more philosophical, as well as beautiful, than the words of Mr Ferguson, That “natural affection springs up in the soul of the mother, as the milk springs in her breast, to furnish nourishment to her child!” — “The effect is here to the race,” as

† Hartley on *Man*, p. 207. 4to edit. London, 1791.\*

‡ *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, pp. 79, 80. 2d edit. Edin. 1801.\*



the same author has excellently observed, “what the vital motion of the heart is to the individual; too necessary to the preservation of nature’s works, to be entrusted to the precarious will or intention of those most nearly concerned.”† ‹476›

The question, indeed, concerning the origin of our different affections, leads to some curious analytical disquisitions; but is of very subordinate importance to those inquiries which relate to their laws, and uses, and mutual references. In many ethical systems, however, it seems to have been considered as the most interesting subject of disquisition which this wonderful part of our frame presents. 5  
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In Dr Reid’s *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, and in his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, I recollect little that can justly incur a similar censure; notwithstanding the ridicule which Dr Priestley has attempted to throw on the last of these performances, in his “*Table of Reid’s Instinctive Principles*.”‡ To examine all the articles enumerated in that table, would require a greater latitude of disquisition than the limits of this memoir allow; and, therefore, I shall confine my observations to a few instances, where the precipitancy of the general criticism seems to me to admit of little dispute. In this light I cannot help considering it, when applied to those dispositions or determinations of the mind, to which Dr Reid has given the names of the *Principle of Credulity*, and the *Principle of Veracity*.\* How far these titles are happily chosen, is a question of little moment; and on that point I am ready to make every concession. I contend ‹477› only for what is essentially connected with the objection which has given rise to these remarks. 15  
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“That any man” (says Dr Priestley) “should imagine that a peculiar instinctive principle was necessary to explain our giving credit to the relations of others, appears to me, who have been used to see things in a different light, very extraordinary; and yet this doctrine is advanced by Dr Reid, and adopted by Dr Beattie. But really” (he adds) “what the former says in favour of it, is hardly deserving of the slightest notice.”§ 30

The passage quoted by Dr Priestley, in justification of this very peremptory decision, is as follows: “If credulity were the effect of reasoning and experience, it must grow up and gather strength in the same proportion as reason and experience do. But if it is the gift of 35

† *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, Part I. chap. 1. sect. 3. *Of the principles of society in human nature*. — The whole discussion unites, in a singular degree, the soundest philosophy with the most eloquent description.\*

‡ *Examination of Reid’s Inquiry*, &c. London, 1774.\*

§ *Examination of Reid’s Inquiry*, &c. p. 82.\*

nature, it will be the strongest in childhood, and limited and restrained by experience; and the most superficial view of human life shews that this last is the case, and not the first.”\*

5 To my own judgment, this argument of Dr Reid’s, when connected with the excellent illustrations which accompany it, carries complete conviction; and I am confirmed in my <478> opinion by finding, that Mr Smith (a writer inferior to none in acuteness, and strongly disposed by the peculiar bent of his genius, to simplify, as far as possible, the Philosophy of Human Nature) has, in the latest edition of his *Theory*  
10 *of Moral Sentiments*, acquiesced in this very conclusion; urging in support of it the same reasoning which Dr Priestley affects to estimate so lightly. “There seems to be in young children an instinctive disposition to believe whatever they are told. Nature seems to have judged it necessary for their preservation that they should, for some time at least,  
15 put implicit confidence in those to whom the care of their childhood, and of the earliest and most necessary part of their education, is entrusted. Their credulity, accordingly, is excessive, and it requires long and much experience of the falsehood of mankind to reduce them to a reasonable degree of diffidence and distrust.”† — That Mr Smith’s opinion also  
20 coincided with Dr Reid’s, in what he has stated concerning the *principle of Veracity*, appears evidently from the remarks which immediately follow the passage just quoted.\* — But I must not add to the length of this memoir by unnecessary citations.

25 Another instinctive principle mentioned by Reid, is “our belief of the continuance of the present course of nature.” <479> — “All our knowledge of nature” (he observes) “beyond our original perceptions, is got by experience, and consists in the interpretation of natural signs. The appearance of the sign is followed by the belief of the thing signified. Upon this principle of our constitution, not only acquired perception, but  
30 also inductive reasoning, and all reasoning from analogy, is grounded; and, therefore, for want of a better name, we shall beg leave to call it the *inductive principle*. It is from the force of this principle that we immediately assent to that axiom, upon which all our knowledge of nature is built, that effects of the same kind must have the same cause.  
35 Take away the light of this inductive principle, and experience is as blind as a mole. She may indeed feel what is present, and what immediately touches her, but she sees nothing that is either before or behind, upon the right hand or upon the left, future or past.”\*

† Smith’s *Theory*, last edit. Part VII. sect. 4.\*

On this doctrine, likewise, the same critic has expressed himself with much severity; calling it “a mere quibble;” and adding, “Every step that I take among this writer’s sophisms, raises my astonishment higher than before.”\* In this, however, as in many other instances, he has been led to censure Dr Reid, not because he was able to see farther than his antagonist, but because he did not see quite so far. Turgot, in an article inserted in the French *Encyclopédie*, and ‹480› Condorcet, in a discourse prefixed to one of his mathematical publications,† have, both of them, stated the fact with a true philosophical precision; and, after doing so, have deduced from it an inference, not only the same in substance with that of Dr Reid, but almost expressed in the same form of words.\*

In these references, as well as in that already made to Mr Smith’s *Theory*, I would not be understood to lay any undue stress on authority, in a philosophical argument. I wish only, by contrasting the modesty and caution resulting from habits of profound thought, with that theoretical intrepidity which a blindness to insuperable difficulties has a tendency to inspire, to invite those whose prejudices against this part of Reid’s system rest chiefly on the great names to which they conceive it to be hostile, to re-examine it with a little more attention, before they pronounce finally on its merits.

The prejudices which are apt to occur against a mode of philosophizing, so mortifying to scholastic arrogance, are encouraged greatly by that natural disposition, to refer particular facts to general laws, which is the foundation of all scientific arrangement; a principle of the utmost importance to our intellectual constitution, but which requires the guidance of a sound and experienced understanding to accomplish the purposes for which it was destined. They are encouraged also, in no inconsiderable degree, by the acknowledged success of Mathematicians, in raising, on the basis of a few simple *data*, the most magnificent, and at the same time the most solid, fabric of science, of which human genius can boast. The absurd references which Logicians are accustomed to make to Euclid’s *Elements of Geometry*, as a model which cannot be too studiously copied, both in Physics and in Morals, have contributed, in this, as in a variety of other instances, to mislead philosophers from the study of facts, into the false refinements of hypothetical theory.

† *Essai sur l’application de l’analyse à la probabilité des décisions rendues à la pluralité des voix*. Paris 1785.

On these misapplications of Mathematical Method to sciences which rest ultimately on experiment and observation, I shall take another opportunity of offering some strictures. At present, it is sufficient to remark the peculiar nature of the truths about which pure or abstract mathematics are conversant. As these truths have all a necessary connection with each other (all of them resting ultimately on those definitions or hypotheses which are the principles of our reasoning), the beauty of the science cannot fail to increase in proportion to the simplicity of the *data*, compared with the incalculable variety of consequences which they involve: And to the simplifications and generalizations of <482> theory on such a subject, it is perhaps impossible to conceive any limit. How different is the case in those inquiries, where our first principles are not *definitions* but *facts*; and where our business is not to trace necessary connections, but the laws which regulate the established order of the universe!

In various attempts which have been lately made, more especially on the Continent, towards a systematical exposition of the elements of Physics, the effects of the mistake I am now censuring are extremely remarkable. The happy use of mathematical principles exhibited in the writings of Newton and his followers, having rendered an extensive knowledge of them an indispensable preparation for the study of the Mechanical Philosophy, the early habits of thought acquired in the former pursuit are naturally transferred to the latter. Hence the illogical and obscure manner in which its elementary principles have frequently been stated; an attempt being made to deduce from the smallest possible number of *data*, the whole system of truths which it comprehends. The analogy existing among some of the fundamental laws of mechanics, bestows, in the opinion of the multitude, an appearance of plausibility on such attempts; and their obvious tendency is to withdraw the attention from that unity of design, which it is the noblest employment of philosophy to illustrate, by disguising it under the semblance of an eternal <483> and necessary order, similar to what the mathematician delights to trace among the mutual relations of quantities and figures.\*

These slight hints may serve as a reply in part to what Dr Priestley has suggested with respect to the consequences likely to follow, if the spirit of Reid's philosophy should be introduced into physics.† – One consequence would unquestionably be, a careful separation between the principles which we learn from experience alone, and those which are fairly resolvable, by mathematical or physical reasoning, into other facts

† *Examination of Reid's Inquiry*, p. 110.\*

still more general; and, of course, a correction of that false logic, which, while it throws an air of mystery over the plainest and most undeniable facts, levels the study of nature, in point of moral interest, with the investigations of the Geometer or of the Algebraist.

It must not, however, be supposed, that, in the present state of Natural Philosophy, a false logic threatens the same dangerous effects as in the Philosophy of the Mind. It may retard somewhat the progress of the student at his first outset; or it may confound, in his apprehensions, the harmony of systematical order, with the consistency and mutual dependency essential to a series of mathematical theorems: <484> but the fundamental truths of physics are now too well established, and the checks which they furnish against sophistry are too numerous and palpable, to admit the possibility of any permanent error in our deductions. In the philosophy of the mind, so difficult is the acquisition of those habits of Reflection which can alone lead to a correct knowledge of the intellectual *phenomena*, that a faulty hypothesis, if skilfully fortified by the imposing, though illusory strength of arbitrary definitions and a systematical phraseology, may maintain its ground for a succession of ages.

It will not, I trust, be inferred from any thing I have here advanced, that I mean to offer an apology for those, who, either in physics or morals, would presumptuously state their own opinions with respect to the laws of nature, as a bar against future attempts to simplify and generalize them still farther. To assert, that none of the mechanical explanations yet given of Gravitation are satisfactory; and even to hint, that ingenuity might be more profitably employed than in the search of such a theory, is something different from a gratuitous assumption of ultimate facts in physics; nor does it imply an obstinate determination to resist legitimate evidence, should some fortunate inquirer, — contrary to what seems probable at present, — succeed where the genius of Newton has failed. If Dr Reid has gone farther than this, in his conclusions concerning the principles which he calls <485> original or instinctive, he has departed from that guarded language in which he commonly expresses himself; — for all that it was of importance for him to conclude was, that the theories of his predecessors were, in these instances, exceptionable; — and the doubts he may occasionally insinuate, concerning the success of future adventurers, so far from betraying any overweening confidence in his own understanding, are an indirect tribute to the talents of those, from whose failure he draws an argument against the possibility of their undertaking.

The same eagerness to simplify and to generalize, which led Priestley to complain of the number of Reid's instinctive principles, has carried some later philosophers a step farther. According to them, the very word *instinct* is unphilosophical; and every thing either in man or brute, which has been hitherto referred to this mysterious source, may be easily accounted for by experience or imitation. A few instances in which this doctrine appears to have been successfully verified, have been deemed sufficient to establish it without any limitation.

In a very original work, on which I have already hazarded some criticisms, much ingenuity has been employed in analyzing the wonderful efforts which the human infant is enabled to make for its own preservation, the moment after <486> its introduction to the light. Thus, it is observed, that the *fœtus*, while still in the *uterus*, learns to perform the operation of swallowing; and also learns to relieve itself, by a change of posture, from the irksomeness of continued rest: And, therefore (if we admit these propositions), we must conclude, that some of the actions which infants are vulgarly supposed to perform in consequence of instincts coeval with birth, are only a continuation of actions to which they were determined at an earlier period of their being.\* The remark is ingenious, and it may perhaps be just; but it does not prove, that *instinct* is an unphilosophical term; nor does it render the operations of the infant less mysterious than they seem to be on the common supposition. How far soever the analysis, in such instances, may be carried, we must at last arrive at some *phenomenon* no less wonderful than that we mean to explain: — in other words, we must still admit as an ultimate fact, the existence of an original determination to a particular mode of action salutary or necessary to the animal; and all we have accomplished is to connect the origin of this instinct with an earlier period in the history of the human mind.

The same author has attempted to account, in a manner somewhat similar, for the different degrees in which the young of different animals are able, at the moment of birth, to exert their bodily powers. Thus, calves and chickens are <487> able to walk almost immediately; while the human infant, even in the most favourable situations, is six or even twelve months old before he can stand alone. For this, Dr Darwin assigns two causes. 1. That the young of some animals come into the world in a more complete state than that of others: — the colt and lamb (for example) enjoying, in this respect, a striking advantage over the puppy and the rabbit. 2. That the mode of walking of some animals, coincides more perfectly than that of others, with the previous motions

of the *fœtus in utero*. The struggles of all animals (he observes) in the womb, must resemble their manner of swimming, as by this kind of motion, they can best change their attitude in water. But the swimming of the calf and of the chicken resembles their ordinary movements on the ground, which they have thus learned in part to execute, while concealed from our observation; whereas, the swimming of the human infant differing totally from his manner of walking, he has no opportunity of acquiring the last of these arts till he is exposed to our view. — The theory is extremely plausible, and does honour to the author’s sagacity; but it only places in a new light that provident care which Nature has taken of all her offspring in the infancy of their existence.\*

Another instance may contribute towards a more ample illustration of the same subject. A lamb, not many minutes after it is dropped, proceeds to search for its nourishment in <488> that spot where alone it is to be found; applying both its limbs and its eyes to their respective offices. The peasant observes the fact, and gives the name of *instinct*, or some corresponding term, to the unknown principle by which the animal is guided. On a more accurate examination of circumstances, the philosopher finds reason to conclude, that it is by the sense of smelling, it is thus directed to its object. In proof of this, among other curious facts, the following has been quoted. “On dissecting” (says Galen) “a goat great with young, I found a brisk *embryon*, and having detached it from the *matrix*, and snatching it away before it saw its dam, I brought it into a room where there were many vessels; some filled with wine, others with oil, some with honey, others with milk, or some other liquor; and in others there were grains and fruits. We first observed the young animal get upon its feet and walk; then it shook itself, and afterwards scratched its side with one of its feet: then we saw it smelling to every one of those things that were set in the room; and when it had smelt to them all, it drank up the milk.”† Admitting this very beautiful story to be true (and, for my own part, I am far from being disposed to question its probability), it only enables us to state the fact with a little more precision, in consequence of our having ascertained, that it is to the sense of <489> smelling, the instinctive determination is attached. The conclusion of the peasant is not here at variance with that of the philosopher. It differs only in this, that he expresses himself in those general terms which are suited to his ignorance of the particular process by which Nature in this case accomplishes her end; and, if he did

† Darwin, Vol. i. pp. 195, 196.\*



otherwise, he would be censurable for prejudging a question of which he is incompetent to form an accurate opinion.\*

5 The application of these illustrations to some of Dr Reid's conclusions concerning the instinctive principles of the human mind, is, I flatter myself, sufficiently manifest. They relate, indeed, to a subject which differs, in various respects, from that which has fallen under his more particular consideration; but the same rules of philosophizing will be found to apply equally to both.

10 4. The criticisms which have been made on what Dr Reid has written concerning the intuitive truths which he distinguishes by the title of *Principles of Common Sense*, would require a more ample discussion, than I can now bestow on them; — not that the importance of these criticisms (of such of them, at least, as I have happened to meet with) demands a long or elaborate refutation; but because the subject, according to the view I wish to take of it, involves some other questions of great moment and difficulty, relative to <490> the foundations of human knowledge. Dr Priestley, the most formidable of Dr Reid's antagonists, has granted as much in favour of this doctrine as it is worth while to contend for, on the present occasion. "Had these writers" (he observes with respect to Dr Reid and his followers) "assumed, as the elements of their Common Sense, certain truths which are so plain that no man could doubt of them (without entering into the ground of our assent to them), their conduct would have been liable to very little objection. All that could have been said would have been, that, without any necessity, they had made an innovation in the received use of a term. For no person ever denied, that there *are* self-evident truths, and that these must be assumed as the foundation of all our reasoning. I never met with any person who did not acknowledge this, or heard of any argumentative treatise that did not go upon the supposition of it."<sup>†</sup> After such an acknowledgment, it is impossible to forbear asking (with Dr Campbell), "What is the great point which Dr Priestley would controvert? Is it, whether such self-evident truths shall be denominated Principles of Common Sense, or be distinguished by some other appellation?"<sup>‡</sup> <491>

35 That the doctrine in question has been, in some publications, presented in a very exceptionable form, I most readily allow; nor would I be understood to subscribe to it implicitly, even as it appears in the works of Dr Reid. It is but an act of justice to him, however, to request,

<sup>†</sup> *Examination of Dr Reid's Inquiry*, &c. p. 119.\*

<sup>‡</sup> *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, vol. i. p. 111.\* — See Note (E).



that his opinions may be judged of from his own works alone, not from those of others who may have happened to coincide with him in certain tenets, or in certain modes of expression; and that, before any ridicule be attempted on his conclusions concerning the authority of Common Sense, his antagonists would take the trouble to examine in what  
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acceptation he has employed that phrase.

The truths which Dr Reid seems, in most instances, disposed to refer to the judgment of this tribunal, might, in my opinion, be denominated more unexceptionably, “Fundamental Laws of Human Belief.”\* They have been called by a very ingenious foreigner (M. Trembley of Geneva), but certainly with a singular infelicity of language, *Préjugés Légitimes*.\* — Of this kind are the following propositions: “I am the same person to-day that I was yesterday;” “The material world has an existence independent of that of percipient beings;” “There are other intelligent beings in the universe beside myself;” “The future course of  
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nature will resemble the past.” Such truths no man but a philosopher ever thinks of stating to himself in words; but <492> all our conduct and all our reasonings proceed on the supposition that they are admitted. The belief of them is essential for the preservation of our animal existence; and it is accordingly coeval with the first operations of the intellect.  
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One of the first writers who introduced the phrase *Common Sense* into the technical or appropriate language of logic, was Father Buffier, in a book entitled, *Traité des Premières Verités*.\* It has since been adopted by several authors of note in this country; particularly by Dr Reid, Dr Oswald and Dr Beattie; by all of whom, however, I am afraid, it must be confessed, it has been occasionally employed without a due attention to precision. The last of these writers uses it<sup>†</sup> to denote that power by which the mind perceives the truth of any intuitive proposition; whether it be an axiom of abstract science; or a statement of some fact resting on the immediate information of consciousness, of perception,  
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or of memory; or one of those fundamental laws of belief which are implied in the application of our faculties to the ordinary business of life. The same extensive use of the word may, I believe, be found in the other authors just mentioned. But no authority can justify such a laxity in the employment of language in philosophical discussions; for,  
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if mathematical axioms be (as they are manifestly and indisputably) a <493> class of propositions essentially distinct from the other kinds of intuitive truths now described, why refer them all indiscriminately to

<sup>†</sup> *Essay on Truth*, edition second, p. 40. *et seq.*; also p. 166. *et seq.*\*

the same principle in our constitution? If this phrase, therefore, be at all retained, precision requires, that it should be employed in a more limited acceptance; and accordingly, in the works under our consideration, it is appropriated most frequently, though by no means uniformly, to that class of Intuitive Truths which I have already called “Fundamental Laws of Belief.”† When thus restricted, it conveys a notion, unambiguous at least, and definite; and, consequently, the question about its propriety or impropriety turns entirely on the coincidence of this definition, with the meaning of the word as employed in ordinary discourse. Whatever objections, therefore, may be stated to the expression as now defined, will apply to it with additional force, when used with the latitude which has been already censured.

I have said, that the question about the propriety of the phrase *Common Sense* as employed by philosophers, must be decided by an appeal to general practice: For, although it be allowable and even necessary for a philosopher, to limit the acceptance of words which are employed vaguely in <494> common discourse, it is always dangerous to give to a word a scientific meaning essentially distinct from that in which it is usually understood. It has, at least, the effect of misleading those who do not enter deeply into the subject; and of giving a paradoxical appearance to doctrines, which, if expressed in more unexceptionable terms, would be readily admitted.

It appears to me, that this has actually happened in the present instance. The phrase *Common Sense*, as it is generally understood, is nearly synonymous with *Mother-wit*; denoting that degree of sagacity (depending partly on original capacity, and partly on personal experience and observation) which qualifies an individual for those simple and essential occupations which all men are called on to exercise habitually by their common nature. In this acceptance, it is opposed to those mental acquirements which are derived from a regular education, and from the study of books; and refers, not to the speculative convictions of the understanding, but to that prudence and discretion which are the foundation of successful conduct. Such is the idea which Pope annexes to the word, when, speaking of good sense (which means only a more than ordinary share of common sense), he calls it

“ — the gift of Heaven,  
And tho’ no science, fairly worth the seven.”\* <495>

† This seems to be nearly the meaning annexed to the phrase, by the learned and acute author of *the Philosophy of Rhetoric*, vol. i. p. 109. *et seq.*\*

To speak, accordingly, of appealing from the conclusions of philosophy to common sense, had the appearance, to title-page readers, of appealing from the verdict of the learned to the voice of the multitude; or of attempting to silence free discussion, by a reference to some arbitrary and undefinable standard, distinct from any of the intellectual powers hitherto enumerated by logicians. Whatever countenance may be supposed to have been given by some writers to such an interpretation of this doctrine, I may venture to assert, that none is afforded by the works of Dr Reid. The standard to which he appeals, is neither the creed of a particular sect, nor the inward light of enthusiastic presumption; but that constitution of human nature without which all the business of the world would immediately cease; — and the substance of his argument amounts merely to this, that those essential laws of belief to which sceptics have objected, when considered in connexion with our scientific reasonings, are implied in every step we take as active beings; and if called in question by any man in his practical concerns, would expose him universally to the charge of insanity.

In stating this important doctrine, it were perhaps to be wished, that the subject had been treated with somewhat more of analytical accuracy; and it is certainly to be regretted, that a phrase should have been employed, so well calculated by its ambiguity to furnish a convenient handle to <496> misrepresentations; but in the judgment of those who have perused Dr Reid's writings with an intelligent and candid attention, these misrepresentations must recoil on their authors; while they who are really interested in the progress of useful science, will be disposed rather to lend their aid in supplying what is defective in his views, than to reject hastily a doctrine which aims, by the development of some logical principles, overlooked in the absurd systems which have been borrowed from the schools, to vindicate the authority of truths intimately and extensively connected with human happiness.

In the prosecution of my own speculations on the Human Mind, I shall have occasion to explain myself fully, concerning this as well as various other questions connected with the foundations of philosophical Evidence. The new doctrines, and new phraseology on that subject, which have lately become fashionable among some Metaphysicians in Germany, and which, in my opinion, have contributed not a little to involve it in additional obscurity, are a sufficient proof that this essential and fundamental article of logic is not as yet completely exhausted.\*

In order to bring the foregoing remarks within some compass, I have found it necessary to confine myself to such objections as strike at the root of Dr Reid's Philosophy, without touching on any of his opinions on particular topics, however important. I have been obliged also to compress what I have stated, within narrower limits than were perhaps consistent with complete perspicuity; and to reject many illustrations which crowded upon me, at almost every step of my progress.

It may not, perhaps, be superfluous to add, that, supposing some of these objections to possess more force than I have ascribed to them in my reply, it will not therefore follow, that little advantage is to be derived from a careful perusal of the speculations against which they are directed. Even they who dissent the most widely from Dr Reid's conclusions, can scarcely fail to admit, that as a Writer he exhibits a striking contrast to the most successful of his predecessors, in a logical precision and simplicity of language; — his statement of facts being neither vitiated by physiological hypothesis, nor obscured by scholastic mystery. Whoever has reflected on the infinite importance, in such inquiries, of a skilful use of words as the essential instrument of thought, must be aware of the influence which his works are likely to have on the future progress of science, were they to produce no other effect than a general imitation of his mode of reasoning, and of his guarded phraseology. ‹498›

It is not indeed every reader to whom these inquiries are accessible; for habits of attention in general, and still more habits of attention to the *phenomena* of thought, require early and careful cultivation: But those who are capable of the exertion, will soon recognise, in Dr Reid's statements, the faithful history of their own minds, and will find their labours amply rewarded by that satisfaction which always accompanies the discovery of useful truth. They may expect, also, to be rewarded by some intellectual acquisitions not altogether useless in their other studies. An author well qualified to judge, from his own experience, of whatever conduces to invigorate or to embellish the understanding, has beautifully remarked, that "by turning the soul inward on itself, its forces are concentrated, and are fitted for stronger and bolder flights of science; and that, in such pursuits, whether we take, or whether we lose the game, the chance is certainly of service."<sup>†</sup> In this respect, the philosophy of the mind (abstracting entirely from that pre-eminence which belongs to it in consequence of its practical applications) may

<sup>†</sup> Preface to Mr Burke's *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*.\*

claim a distinguished rank among those preparatory disciplines, which another writer of no less eminence has happily compared to “the crops which are raised, not for the sake of the harvest, but to be ploughed in as a dressing to the land.”† ‹499›

## SECTION III.

5

*Conclusion of the Narrative.*

THE three works to which the foregoing remarks refer, together with the Essay on Quantity, published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, and a short but masterly Analysis of Aristotle’s Logic, which forms an Appendix to the third volume of Lord Kames’s *Sketches*, comprehend the whole of Dr Reid’s publications.\* 10  
The interval between the dates of the first and last of these amounts to no less than forty years, although he had attained to the age of thirty-eight before he ventured to appear as an author.

With the *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*, he closed his literary 15  
career; but he continued, notwithstanding, to prosecute his studies with unabated ardour and activity. The more modern improvements in Chemistry attracted his particular notice; and he applied himself, with his wonted diligence and success, to the study of its new doctrines and new nomenclature.\* He amused himself, also, at times, in preparing for a 20  
Philosophical Society, of which he was a member, short Essays on particular topics, which happened to interest his curiosity, and on which he thought he might derive useful hints from friendly discussion.\* The most important of these were, *An Examination of Priestley’s Opinions concerning Matter and Mind*; *Observations on the Utopia of Sir Thomas More*; and *Physiological Reflections on Muscular Motion*.\* This last 25  
essay appears to have been written in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and was read by the author to his associates, a few months before his death. His “thoughts were led to the speculations it contains,” (as he himself mentions in the conclusion), “by the experience of some of the 30  
effects which old age produces on the muscular motions.” — “As they were occasioned, therefore” (he adds), “by the infirmities of age, they will, I hope, be heard with the greater indulgence.”\*†

Among the various occupations with which he thus enlivened his retirement, the mathematical pursuits of his earlier years held a 35  
distinguished place.\* He delighted to converse about them with his

† Bishop Berkeley’s *Querist*.\*

friends; and often exercised his skill in the investigation of particular problems. His knowledge of ancient geometry had not probably been, at any time, very extensive; but he had cultivated diligently those parts of mathematical science which are subservient to the study of  
5 Sir Isaac Newton's Works. He had a predilection, more particularly, for researches requiring the aid of arithmetical calculation, in the practice of which he possessed uncommon expertness and address. I think, I have sometimes observed in him a slight and amiable vanity, connected with this accomplishment.

10 The revival, at this period, of Dr Reid's first scientific propensity, has often recalled to me a favourite remark of Mr Smith's, That of all the amusements of old age, the most grateful and soothing is a renewal of acquaintance with the favourite studies, and favourite authors, of our youth; a remark which, in his own case, seemed to be more particularly  
15 exemplified, while he was re-perusing, with the enthusiasm of a student, the tragic poets of ancient Greece. I heard him at least, repeat the observation more than once, while Sophocles or Euripides lay open on his table.

20 In the case of Dr Reid, other motives perhaps conspired with the influence of the agreeable associations, to which Mr Smith probably alluded. His attention was always fixed on the state of his intellectual faculties; and for counteracting the effects of time on these, mathematical studies seem to be fitted in a peculiar degree. They are fortunately, too, within the reach of many individuals, after a decay of memory disqualifies them for inquiries which involve a multiplicity of details. Such  
25 detached problems, more especially, as Dr Reid commonly selected for his consideration; problems where all the *data* are brought at once under the eye, and where a connected train of thinking is not to be carried on from day to day; will be found (as I have witnessed  
30 with pleasure in several instances), by those who are capable of such a recreation, a valuable addition to the scanty resources of a life protracted beyond the ordinary limit.

35 While he was thus enjoying an old age, happy in some respects beyond the usual lot of humanity, his domestic comfort suffered a deep and incurable wound by the death of Mrs Reid.\* He had had the misfortune, too, of surviving, for many years, a numerous family of promising children; four of whom (two sons and two daughters) died after they attained to maturity. One daughter only was left to him when  
40 he lost his wife; and of her affectionate good offices he could not always avail himself, in consequence of the attentions which her own husband's

infirmities required. Of this Lady, who is still alive (the widow of Patrick Carmichael, M.D.),<sup>†</sup> I shall have occasion again to introduce the name, before I conclude this narrative.\* <503>

A short extract from a letter addressed to myself by Dr Reid, not many weeks after his wife's death, will, I am persuaded, be acceptable to many, as an interesting relic of the Writer. 5

“By the loss of my bosom-friend, with whom I lived fifty-two years, I am brought into a kind of new world, at a time of life when old habits are not easily forgot, or new ones acquired. But every world is God's world, and I am thankful for the comforts he has left me. Mrs Carmichael has now the care of two old deaf men, and does every thing in her power to please them; and both are very sensible of her goodness. I have more health than at my time of life I had any reason to expect. I walk about; entertain myself with reading what I soon forget; can converse with one person, if he articulates distinctly, and is within ten inches of my left ear; go to church, without hearing one word of what is said. You know, I never had any pretensions to vivacity, but I am still free from languour and *ennui*.” 10 15

“If you are weary of this detail, impute it to the anxiety you express to know the state of my health. I wish you may have no more uneasiness at my age, – being yours most affectionately.”\* <504> 20

About four years after this event, he was prevailed on by his friend and relation Dr Gregory, to pass a few weeks, during the summer of 1796, at Edinburgh. He was accompanied by Mrs Carmichael, who lived with him in Dr Gregory's house; a situation which united, under the same roof, every advantage of medical care, of tender attachment, and of philosophical intercourse. As Dr Gregory's professional engagements, however, necessarily interfered much with his attentions to his guest, I enjoyed more of Dr Reid's society, than might otherwise have fallen to my share. I had the pleasure, accordingly, of spending some hours with him daily, and of attending him in his walking excursions, which frequently extended to the distance of three or four miles. — His faculties (excepting his memory, which was considerably impaired), appeared as vigorous as ever; and, although his deafness prevented him from taking any share in general conversation, he was still able to enjoy 30 35

<sup>†</sup> A learned and worthy Physician, who, after a long residence in Holland, where he practised medicine, retired to Glasgow. He was a younger son of Professor Gerschom Carmichael, who published, about the year 1720, an edition of Puffendorff, *De Officio Hominis et Civis*, and who is pronounced by Dr Hutcheson, “by far the best commentator on that book.”\* 40



the company of a friend. Mr Playfair and myself were both witnesses of the acuteness which he displayed on one occasion, in detecting a mistake, by no means obvious, in a manuscript of his kinsman David Gregory, on the subject of *Prime and Ultimate Ratios*.\* — Nor had his temper suffered from the hand of time, either in point of gentleness or of gaiety. “Instead of repining at the enjoyments of the young, he delighted in promoting them; and, after all the losses he had sustained <505> in his own family, he continued to treat children with such condescension and benignity, that some very young ones noticed the peculiar kindness of his eye.”† — In apparent soundness and activity of body, he resembled more a man of sixty than of eighty-seven.

He returned to Glasgow in his usual health and spirits; and continued, for some weeks, to devote, as formerly, a regular portion of his time to the exercise both of body and of mind. It appears, from a letter of Dr Cleghorn’s to Dr Gregory, that he was still able to work with his own hands in his garden; and he was found by Dr Brown, occupied in the solution of an algebraical problem of considerable difficulty, in which, after the labour of a day or two, he at last succeeded.\* It was in the course of the same short interval, that he committed to writing those particulars concerning his ancestors, which I have already mentioned.

This active and useful life was now, however, drawing to a conclusion. A violent disorder attacked him about the end of September; but does not seem to have occasioned much alarm to those about him, till he was visited by Dr Cleg<506>horn, who soon after communicated his apprehensions in a letter to Dr Gregory. Among other symptoms, he mentioned particularly “that alteration of voice and features, which, though not easily described, is so well known to all who have opportunities of seeing life close.” Dr Reid’s own opinion of his case was probably the same with that of his physician; as he expressed to him on his first visit, his hope that he was “soon to get his dismissal.” After a severe struggle, attended with repeated strokes of palsy, he died on the 7th of October following. Dr Gregory had the melancholy satisfaction of visiting his venerable friend on his death-bed, and of paying him this unavailing mark of attachment, before his powers of recollection were entirely gone.

† I have borrowed this sentence from a just and elegant character of Dr Reid, which appeared, a few days after his death, in one of the Glasgow Journals. I had occasion frequently to verify the truth of the observation during his last visit to Edinburgh.\*



The only surviving descendant of Dr Reid is Mrs Carmichael, a daughter worthy in every respect of such a father: — long, the chief comfort and support of his old age, and his anxious nurse in his last moments.<sup>†</sup>

In point of bodily constitution, few men have been more indebted to nature than Dr Reid.\* His form was vigorous and athletic; and his muscular force (though he was somewhat under the middle size) uncommonly great; — advantages to which his habits of temperance and exercise, and <507> the unclouded serenity of his temper, did ample justice. His countenance was strongly expressive of deep and collected thought; but when brightened up by the face of a friend, what chiefly caught the attention was, a look of good-will and of kindness. A picture of him, for which he consented, at the particular request of Dr Gregory, to sit to Mr Raeburn, during his last visit to Edinburgh, is generally and justly ranked among the happiest performances of that excellent artist. The medallion of Tassie, also, for which he sat in the eighty-first year of his age, presents a very perfect resemblance.\*

I have little to add to what the foregoing pages contain with respect to his character. Its most prominent features were, — intrepid and inflexible rectitude; — a pure and devoted attachment to truth; — and an entire command (acquired by the unwearied exertions of a long life) over all his passions. Hence, in those parts of his writings where his subject forces him to dispute the conclusions of others, a scrupulous rejection of every expression calculated to irritate those whom he was anxious to convince; and a spirit of liberality and good-humour towards his opponents, from which no asperity on their part could provoke him, for a moment, to deviate. The progress of useful knowledge, more especially in what relates to human nature and to human life, he believed to be retarded rather than advanced by the intem<508>perance of controversy; and to be secured most effectually when entrusted to the slow but irresistible influence of sober reasoning. That the argumentative talents of the disputants might be improved by such altercations, he was willing to allow; but, considered in their connection with the great objects which all classes of writers profess equally to have in view, he was convinced “that they have done more harm to the practice, than they have done service to the theory, of morality.”<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>†</sup> Note (F).

<sup>‡</sup> Preface to Pope’s *Essay on Man*.\*

In private life, no man ever maintained, more eminently or more uniformly, the dignity of philosophy; combining with the most amiable modesty and gentleness, the noblest spirit of independence. The only preferments which he ever enjoyed, he owed to the unsolicited favour  
5 of the two learned bodies who successively adopted him into their number; and the respectable rank which he supported in society, was the well-earned reward of his own academical labours.\* The studies in which he delighted, were little calculated to draw on him the patronage of the great; and he was unskilled in the art of courting advancement,  
10 by “fashioning his doctrines to the varying hour.”\*

As a philosopher, his genius was more peculiarly charac<509>terized by a sound, cautious, distinguishing judgment; by a singular patience and perseverance of thought; and by habits of the most fixed and concentrated attention to his own mental operations; — endowments  
15 which, although not the most splendid in the estimation of the multitude, would seem entitled, from the history of science, to rank among the rarest gifts of the mind.

With these habits and powers, he united (what does not always accompany them) the curiosity of a naturalist, and the eye of an observer;  
20 and, accordingly, his information about every thing relating to physical science, and to the useful arts, was extensive and accurate. His memory for historical details was not so remarkable; and he used sometimes to regret the imperfect degree in which he possessed this faculty. I am inclined, however, to think, that in doing so, he under-rated his natural  
25 advantages; estimating the strength of memory, as men commonly do, rather by the recollection of particular facts, than by the possession of those general conclusions, from a subserviency to which, such facts derive their principal value.

Towards the close of life, indeed, his memory was much less  
30 vigorous than the other powers of his intellect; in none of which could I ever perceive any symptom of decline. His ardour for knowledge, too, remained unextinguished to <510> the last; and, when cherished by the society of the young and inquisitive, seemed even to increase with his years. — What is still more remarkable, he retained in extreme old age  
35 all the sympathetic tenderness, and all the moral sensibility of youth; the liveliness of his emotions, wherever the happiness of others was concerned, forming an affecting contrast to his own unconquerable firmness under the severest trials.

Nor was the sensibility which he retained, the selfish and sterile  
40 offspring of taste and indolence. It was alive and active, wherever he

could command the means of relieving the distresses, or of adding to the comforts of others; and was often felt in its effects, where he was unseen and unknown. — Among the various proofs of this, which have happened to fall under my own knowledge, I cannot help mentioning particularly (upon the most unquestionable authority) the secrecy with which he conveyed his occasional benefactions to his former parishoners at New-Machar, long after his establishment at Glasgow. One donation, in particular, during the scarcity of 1782, — a donation which, notwithstanding all his precautions, was distinctly traced to his beneficence, — might perhaps have been thought disproportionate to his limited income, had not his own simple and moderate habits multiplied the resources of his humanity.\* <511>

His opinions on the most important subjects are to be found in his works; and that spirit of piety which animated every part of his conduct, forms the best comment on their practical tendency. In the state in which he found the philosophical world, he believed, that his talents could not be so usefully employed, as in combating the schemes of those who aimed at the complete subversion of religion, both natural and revealed; — convinced with Dr Clarke, that, “as Christianity presupposes the truth of Natural Religion, whatever tends to discredit the latter, must have a proportionally greater effect in weakening the authority of the former.”† In his views of both, he seems to have coincided nearly with Bishop Butler; an author whom he held in the highest estimation.\* A very careful abstract of the treatise entitled *Analogy*, drawn up by Dr Reid, many years ago, for his own use, still exists among his manuscripts; and the short Dissertation on Virtue which Butler has annexed to that work, together with the Discourses on Human Nature, published in his volume of Sermons, he used always to recommend as the most satisfactory account that has yet appeared of the fundamental principles of Morals: Nor could he conceal his regret, that the profound philosophy which these Discourses contain, should of late have been so generally supplanted in England, by the speculations of some other moralists, who, while they profess to idolize the memory of Locke, “approve little or nothing in his writings, but his errors.”‡

† *Collection of Papers which passed between Leibnitz and Clarke*. See Dr Clarke’s Dedication.\*

‡ I have adopted here, the words which Dr Clarke applied to some of Mr Locke’s earlier followers. They are still more applicable to many writers of the present times. See Clarke’s *first Reply to Leibnitz*.\*

Deeply impressed, however, as he was with his own principles, he possessed the most perfect liberality towards all whom he believed to be honestly and conscientiously devoted to the search of truth. With one very distinguished character, the late Lord Kames, he lived in the most cordial and affectionate friendship, notwithstanding the avowed opposition of their sentiments on some moral questions, to which he attached the greatest importance.\* Both of them, however, were the friends of virtue and of mankind; and both were able to temper the warmth of free discussion, with the forbearance and good humour founded on reciprocal esteem. No two men, certainly, ever exhibited a more striking contrast in their conversation, or in their constitutional tempers: — the one, slow and cautious in his decisions, even on those topics which he had most diligently studied; reserved and silent in promiscuous society; and retaining, after all his literary eminence, the same simple and unassuming manners <513> which he brought from his country residence: — the other, lively, rapid, and communicative; accustomed, by his professional pursuits, to wield with address the weapons of controversy, and not averse to a trial of his powers on questions the most foreign to his ordinary habits of inquiry. But these characteristic differences, while to their common friends they lent an additional charm to the distinguishing merits of each, served only to enliven their own social intercourse, and to cement their mutual attachment.

I recollect few, if any anecdotes, of Dr Reid, which appear to me calculated to throw additional light on his character; and I suspect strongly, that many of those which are to be met with in biographical publications, are more likely to mislead, than to inform. A trifling incident, it is true, may sometimes paint a peculiar feature better than the most elaborate description; but a selection of incidents really characteristic, presupposes, in the observer, a rare capacity to discriminate and to generalize; and where this capacity is wanting, a biographer, with the most scrupulous attention to the veracity of his details, may yet convey a very false conception of the individual he would describe. As, in the present instance, my subject afforded no materials for such a choice, I have attempted, to the best of my abilities (instead of retailing detached fragments of conversations, or recording insulated and unmeaning occurrences), to commu<514>nicate to others the general impressions which Dr Reid's character has left on my own mind. In this attempt, I am far from being confident that I have succeeded; but, how barren soever I may have thus rendered my pages in the estimation of

those who consider biography merely in the light of an amusing tale, I have, at least, the satisfaction to think, that my picture, though faint in the colouring, does not present a distorted resemblance of the original.

The confidential correspondence of an individual with his friends, affords to the student of human nature, materials of far greater authenticity and importance; — more particularly, the correspondence of a man like Dr Reid, who will not be suspected by those who knew him, of accommodating his letters (as has been alleged of Cicero) to the humours and principles of those whom he addressed. I am far, at the same time, from thinking, that the correspondence of Dr Reid would be generally interesting; or even that he excelled in this species of writing: but few men, I sincerely believe, who have written so much, have left behind them such unblemished memorials of their virtue. 5 10

At present, I shall only transcribe two letters, which I select from a considerable number now lying before me, as they seem to accord, more than the others, with the general design of this Memoir. The first (which is dated January <515> 13. 1779) is addressed to the Reverend William Gregory (late Rector of St Andrew's, Canterbury) then an Undergraduate in Balliol College, Oxford.\* It relates to a remarkable peculiarity in Dr Reid's physical temperament, connected with the subject of dreaming; and is farther interesting as a genuine record of some particulars in his early habits, in which it is easy to perceive the openings of a superior mind. 15 20

“The fact which your brother the Doctor\* desires to be informed of, was as you mention it. As far as I remember the circumstances, they were as follow:” 25

“About the age of fourteen, I was, almost every night, unhappy in my sleep from frightful dreams. Sometimes hanging over a dreadful precipice, and just ready to drop down; sometimes pursued for my life, and stopped by a wall, or by a sudden loss of all strength; sometimes ready to be devoured by a wild beast. How long I was plagued with such dreams, I do not now recollect. I believe it was for a year or two at least; and I think they had quite left me before I was sixteen. In those days, I was much given to what Mr Addison, in one of his *Spectators*, calls *Castle-building*;\* and in my evening solitary walk, which was generally all the exercise I took, my thoughts would hurry me into some active scene, where I generally acquitted <516> myself much to my own satisfaction; and in these scenes of imagination, I performed many a gallant exploit. At the same time, in my dreams I found myself the most arrant coward that ever was. Not only my courage, but my strength, 30 35 40

failed me in every danger; and I often rose from my bed in the morning in such a panic, that it took some time to get the better of it. I wished very much to get free of these uneasy dreams, which not only made me unhappy in sleep, but often left a disagreeable impression in my mind for some part of the following day. I thought it was worth trying, whether it was possible to recollect that it was all a dream, and that I was in no real danger. I often went to sleep with my mind as strongly impressed as I could with this thought, that I never in my lifetime was in any real danger, and that every fright I had was a dream. After many fruitless endeavours to recollect this when the danger appeared, I effected it at last, and have often, when I was sliding over a precipice into the abyss, recollected that it was all a dream, and boldly jumped down. The effect of this commonly was, that I immediately awoke. But I awoke calm and intrepid, which I thought a great acquisition. After this, my dreams were never very uneasy; and, in a short time, I dreamed not at all.”

“During all this time, I was in perfect health; but whether my ceasing to dream was the effect of the recollection above mentioned, or of any change in the habit of my body, which is usual about that period of life, I cannot tell. I think it may more probably be imputed to the last. However, the fact was, that, for at least forty years after, I dreamed none, to the best of my remembrance: and finding, from the testimony of others, that this is somewhat uncommon, I have often, as soon as I awoke, endeavoured to recollect, without being able to recollect, anything that past in my sleep. For some years past, I can sometimes recollect some kind of dreaming thoughts, but so incoherent that I can make nothing of them.”

“The only distinct dream I ever had since I was about sixteen, as far as I remember, was about two years ago. I had got my head blistered for a fall. A plaster which was put upon it after the blister, pained me excessively for a whole night. In the morning I slept a little, and dreamed very distinctly, that I had fallen into the hands of a party of Indians, and was scalped.”

“I am apt to think, that as there is a state of sleep, and a state wherein we are awake, so there is an intermediate state, which partakes of the other two. If a man peremptorily resolves to rise at an early hour for some interesting purpose, he will of himself awake at that hour. A sick nurse gets the habit of sleeping in such a manner that she hears the least whisper of the sick person, and yet is refreshed by this kind of half sleep. The same is the case of a nurse who sleeps with a child in her

arms. I have slept on horseback, but so as to preserve my balance; and if the horse stumbled, I could make the exertion necessary for saving me from a fall, as if I was awake.”

“I hope the sciences at your good University are not in this state. Yet, from so many learned men, so much at their ease, one would expect something more than we hear of.”\* 5

For the other letter, I am indebted to one of Dr Reid’s most intimate friends, to whom it was addressed, in the year 1784, on occasion of the melancholy event to which it alludes.

“I sympathize with you very sincerely in the loss of a most amiable wife. I judge of your feelings by the impression she made upon my own heart, on a very short acquaintance. But all the blessings of this world are transient and uncertain; and it would be but a melancholy scene, if there were no prospect of another.” 10

“I have often had occasion to admire the resignation and <519> fortitude of young persons, even of the weaker sex, in the views of death, when their imagination is filled with all the gay prospects which the world presents at that period. I have been witness to instances of this kind, which I thought truly heroic, and I hear Mrs G—— gave a remarkable one.” 15 20

“To see the soul increase in vigour and wisdom, and in every amiable quality, when health and strength and animal spirits decay; when it is to be torn by violence from all that filled the imagination, and flattered hope, is a spectacle truly grand, and instructive to the surviving. To think, that the soul perishes in that fatal moment, when it is purified by this fiery trial, and fitted for the noblest exertions in another state, is an opinion which I cannot help looking down upon, with contempt and disdain.” 25

“In old people, there is no more merit in leaving this world with perfect acquiescence, than in rising from a feast after one is full. When I have before me the prospect of the infirmities, the distresses, and the peevishness of old age, and when I have already received more than my share of the good things of this life, it would be ridiculous indeed to be anxious about prolonging it; but when I was four-and-twenty, to have had no anxiety for its continuance, would, I think, have required a noble effort. <520> Such efforts in those that are called to make them, surely shall not lose their reward.”\* 30 35

\* \* \* \* \*

I have now finished all that the limits of my plan permit me to offer here, as a tribute to the memory of this excellent person. In the details which I have stated, both with respect to his private life and his scientific pursuits, I have dwelt chiefly on such circumstances as appeared to me most likely to interest the readers of his Works, by illustrating his character as a Man, and his views as an Author. Of his merits as an Instructor of youth, I have said but little; partly from a wish to avoid unnecessary diffuseness; but chiefly from my anxiety to enlarge on those still more important labours, of which he has bequeathed the fruits to future ages. And yet, had he left no such monument to perpetuate his name, the fidelity and zeal with which he discharged, during so long a period, the obscure but momentous duties of his official station, would, in the judgment of the wise and good, have ranked him in the first order of useful citizens. — “Nec enim is solus reipublicæ prodest, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloque censet; sed qui juventutem exhortatur; qui, in tantâ bonorum præceptorum inopiâ, virtute instruit animos; qui, ad pecuniam luxuriamque <521> cursu ruentes prensat ac retrahit, et, si nihil aliud, certe moratur: in privato, publicum negotium agit.”†

In concluding this memoir, I trust I shall be pardoned, if, for once, I give way to a personal feeling, while I express the satisfaction with which I now close finally my attempts as a Biographer. Those which I have already made, were imposed on me by the irresistible calls of duty and attachment; and, feeble as they are, when compared with the magnitude of subjects so splendid and so various, they have encroached deeply on that small portion of literary leisure which indispensable engagements allow me to command. I cannot, at the same time, be insensible to the gratification of having endeavoured to associate, in some degree, my name with three of the greatest which have adorned this age; — happy if, without deviating intentionally from truth, I may have succeeded, however imperfectly, in my wish, to gratify, at once, the curiosity of the public, and to sooth the recollections of surviving friends. — But I, too, have designs and enterprizes of my own; and the execution of these (which alas! swell in magnitude, as the time for their accomplishment hastens to a period) claims at length, an undivided attention. Yet I should not look back on the past with regret, if I could indulge the hope, that the facts which it has been <522> my province to record, — by displaying those fair rewards of extensive usefulness, and

† Seneca, *De Tranquill. An.* Cap. 3.\*



of permanent fame, which talents and industry, when worthily directed, cannot fail to secure, — may contribute, in one single instance, to foster the proud and virtuous independence of genius; or, amidst the gloom of poverty and solitude, to gild the distant prospect of the unfriended scholar, whose laurels are now slowly ripening in the unnoticed privacy of humble life. 5

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NOTES  
TO THE  
ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS  
OF  
THOMAS REID, D. D. 10

<blank>

<525>

NOTES.

NOTE (A), P. 404.

In the account, given in the text, of Dr Reid's ancestors, I have followed scrupulously the information contained in his own memorandums. I have some suspicion, however, that he has committed a mistake with respect to the name of the translator of Buchanan's *History*; which would appear, from the MS. in Glasgow College, to have been — not Adam, but John. At the same time, as this last statement rests on an authority altogether unknown (being written in a hand different from the rest of the MS.), there is a possibility that Dr Reid's account may be correct; and, therefore, I have thought it advisable, in a matter of so very trifling consequence, to adhere to it in preference to the other. 15

The following particulars with respect to Thomas Reid are copied from Dempster, a contemporary writer; whose details concerning his countrymen, it must, however, be confessed, are not always to be implicitly relied on. <526> 25

“Thomas Reidus Aberdonensis, pueritiæ meæ et infantilis otii sub Thoma Cargillo collega, Lovanii literas in schola Lipsii seriò didicit, quas magno nomine in Germania docuit, carus Principibus. Londini diu in comitatu humanissimi ac clarissimi viri, Fulconis Grevilli, Regii Consiliarii Interioris et Angliæ Proquæstoris, egit: tum ad amicitiam Regis, eodem Fulcone deducente, evectus, inter Palatinos admissus, à literis Latinis Regi fuit. Scripsit multa, ut est magnâ indole et variâ eruditione,” &c. — “Ex aula se, nemine conscio, nuper proripuit, dum illi omnia festinati honoris augmenta singuli ominarentur, nec quid 30 35

deinde egerit aut quò locorum se contulerit quisquam indicare potuit. Multi suspicabantur, tædio aulæ affectum, monasticæ quieti seipsum tradidisse, sub annum 1618. Rumor postea fuit in aulam rediisse, et meritissimis honoribus redditum, sed nunquam id consequetur quod  
 5 virtus promeretur.” — *Hist. Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, lib. xvi, p. 576.\*

What was the judgment of Thomas Reid’s own times with respect to his genius, and what their hopes of his posthumous fame, may be collected from an elegy on his death by his learned countryman Robert  
 10 Aytoun. Already, before the lapse of two hundred years, some apology, alas! may be thought necessary for an attempt to rescue his name from total oblivion.

Aytoun’s elegy on Reid is referred to in terms very flattering both to its author and to its subject, by the editor of the Collection, entitled,  
 15 “*Poëtarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ.*” — “In obitum Thomæ Rheidi epicedium extat elegantissimum Roberti Aytoni, viri literis ac dignitate clarissimi, in *Deliciis Poëtarum Scotorum*, ubi et <527> ipsius quoque poëmata, paucula quidem illa, sed venusta, sed elegantia, comparent.”\*

The only works of Alexander Reid of which I have heard, are  
 20 *Chirurgical Lectures on Tumours and Ulcers*, London 1635; and a *Treatise of the First Part of Chirurgerie*, London 1638. He appears to have been the physician and friend of the celebrated mathematician Thomas Harriott, of whose interesting history so little was known, till the recent discovery of his manuscripts, by Mr Zach of Saxe-Gotha.\*

A remarkable instance of the careless or capricious orthography formerly so common in writing proper names, occurs in the different  
 25 individuals to whom this note refers. Sometimes the family name is written — *Reid*; on other occasions, *Riede*, *Read*, *Rhead* or *Rhaid*.

#### NOTE (B), P. 407.

Dr Turnbull’s work on Moral Philosophy was published at London  
 30 in 1740.\* As I have only turned over a few pages, I cannot say any thing with respect to its merits. The mottos on the title-page are curious, when considered in connection with those inquiries which his pupil afterwards prosecuted with so much success; and may, perhaps without  
 35 his perceiving it, have had some effect in suggesting to him that plan of philosophizing which he so systematically and so happily pursued.

“If Natural Philosophy, in all its parts, by pursuing this me<528>thod, shall at length be perfected, the bounds of Moral Philosophy will also be enlarged.” — *Newton’s Optics*.\*

“Account for Moral, as for Natural things.” — *Pope*.\*

For the opinion of a very competent judge with respect to the merits of the Treatise on Ancient Painting, *vide* Hogarth’s Print, entitled, *Beer-Lane*.\*

NOTE (C), P. 427.

5

“Dr Moor combined,” &c.] — James Moor, LL.D. Author of a very ingenious Fragment on Greek Grammar, and of other philological Essays.\* He was also distinguished by a profound acquaintance with ancient Geometry. Dr Simson, an excellent judge of his merits both in literature and science, has somewhere honoured him with the following encomium: — “Tum in Mathesi, tum in Græcis Literis multum et feliciter versatus.”\*

10

“The Wilsons (both father and son),” &c.] — Alexander Wilson, M. D. and Patrick Wilson, Esq. well known over Europe by their observations on the Solar Spots; and many other valuable memoirs.\* <529>

15

NOTE (D), P. 464.

A writer of great talents (after having reproached Dr Reid with “a gross ignorance, disgraceful to the University of which he was a member,” boasts of the trifling expence of time and thought which it had cost himself to overturn his Philosophy. “Dr Oswald is pleased to pay me a compliment in saying, that ‘I might employ myself to more advantage to the public, by pursuing other branches of science, than by deciding rashly on a subject which he sees I have not studied.’ In return to this compliment, I shall not affront him, by telling him how very little of my time this business has hitherto taken up. If he alludes to my *experiments*, I can assure him, that I have lost no time at all; for having been intent upon such as require the use of a burning lens, I believe I have not lost one hour of sunshine on this account. And the public may perhaps be informed, some time or other, of what I have been doing in the *sun*, as well as in the *shade*.” — *Examination of Reid’s Inquiry*, &c. p. 357. See also pp. 101, 102, of the same work.\*

20

25

30

NOTE (E), P. 490.

The following strictures on Dr Priestley’s *Examination*, &c. are copied from a very judicious note in Dr Campbell’s *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Vol. I, p. 111. <530>

35

— “I shall only subjoin two remarks on this book. The first is, That the author, through the whole confounds two things totally distinct,

— certain associations of ideas, and certain judgments implying belief, which, though in *some*, are not in *all* cases, and therefore not *necessarily* connected with association. And if so, merely to account for the association, is in no case to account for the belief with which it is attended.

5 Nay, admitting his plea (p. 86.), that by the principle of association, not only the ideas, but the concomitant belief may be accounted for, even this does not invalidate the doctrine he impugns. For, let it be observed, that it is one thing to assign a cause, which, from the mechanism of our

10 nature, has given rise to a particular tenet of belief, and another thing to produce a reason by which the understanding has been convinced. Now, unless this be done as to the principles in question, they must be considered as primary truths in respect of the understanding, which never deduced them from other truths, and which is under a necessity, in all her moral reasonings, of founding upon them. In fact, to give

15 any other account of our conviction of them, is to confirm, instead of confuting the doctrine, that in all argumentation they must be regarded as primary truths, or truths which reason never inferred through any medium, from other truths previously perceived. My second remark is, That though this examiner has, from Dr Reid, given us a catalogue

20 of first principles, which he deems unworthy of the honourable place assigned them, he has nowhere thought proper to give us a list of those self-evident truths, which, by his own account, and in his own express words, ‘must be assumed as the foundation of all our reasoning.’ How much <531> light might have been thrown upon the subject by the

25 contrast! Perhaps we should have been enabled, on the comparison, to discover some distinctive characters in his genuine axioms, which would have preserved us from the danger of confounding them with their spurious ones. Nothing is more evident than that, in whatever regards matter of fact, the mathematical axioms will not answer. These

30 are purely fitted for evolving the abstract relations of quantity. This he in effect owns himself (p. 39.) It would have been obliging, then, and would have greatly contributed to shorten the controversy, if he had given us, at least, a specimen of those self-evident principles, which, in his estimation, are the *non plus ultra* of moral reasoning.”\*

35

NOTE (F), P. 506.

Dr Reid’s father, the Reverend Lewis Reid, married, for his second wife, Janet, daughter of Mr Fraser of Phopachy, in the county of Inverness. A daughter of this marriage is still alive; the wife of the Reverend Alexander Leslie, and the mother of the Reverend James

Leslie, ministers of Fordoun.\* To the latter of these gentlemen, I am indebted for the greater part of the information I have been able to collect with respect to Dr Reid, previous to his removal to Glasgow; — Mr Leslie's regard for the memory of his uncle having prompted him, not only to transmit to me such particulars as had fallen under his own knowledge, but some valuable letters on the same subject, which he procured from his relations and friends in the north. <532> 5

For all the members of this most respectable family, Dr Reid entertained the strongest sentiments of affection and regard. During several years before his death, a daughter of Mrs Leslie's was a constant inmate of his house, and added much to the happiness of his small domestic circle.\* 10

Another daughter of Mr Lewis Reid was married to the Reverend John Rose, minister of Udney. She died in 1793. — In this connection, Dr Reid was no less fortunate than in the former; and to Mr Rose I am indebted for favours of the same kind with those which I have already acknowledged from Mr Leslie.\* 15

The widow of Mr Lewis Reid died in 1798, in the eighty-seventh year of her age; having survived her step-son Dr Reid, more than a year.\*

The limits within which I was obliged to confine my biographical details, prevented me from availing myself of many interesting circumstances which were communicated to me through the authentic channels which I have now mentioned. But I cannot omit this opportunity of returning to my different correspondents, my warmest acknowledgments for the pleasure and instruction which I received from their letters. 20 25

Mr Jardine, also, the learned Professor of Logic in the University of Glasgow, a gentleman, who, for many years, lived in habits of the most confidential intimacy with Dr Reid and his family, is entitled to my best thanks for his obliging attention to various queries, which I took the liberty to propose to him, concerning the history of our common friend.\* 30

THE END.

# Appendices

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## Appendix A: Additional Letters

| <i>No.</i> | <i>Date</i>               | <i>Provenance</i>  | <i>Correspondents</i>                                     | <i>Page</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---|-------------|
| 1          | [1737–38]                 | [Aberdeen]         | <i>from</i> Thomas Reid<br>and [John Stewart] <i>to</i> ? | 257         |
| 2          | [1741–54]                 | ?                  | <i>to</i> ?   | 257         |
| 3          | [1774–75]                 | [Edinburgh]        | <i>from</i> Dugald Stewart                                | 258–9       |
| 4          | 26 October<br>1775        | Glasgow<br>College | <i>to</i> Sir William Forbes                              | 259–60      |
| 5          | 11 March<br>1776          | Rindmuir           | <i>from</i> Matthew Morthland                             | 260–1       |
| 6          | 20 May<br>1776            | Glasgow<br>College | <i>to</i> Sir William Forbes                              | 261–2       |
| 7          | 2 May 1777                | Rindmuir           | <i>from</i> Matthew Morthland                             | 262         |
| 8          | 4 May 1777                | Glasgow<br>College | <i>to</i> Sir William Forbes                              | 262–3       |
| 9          | [1779]                    | [Glasgow?]         | <i>to</i> Lord Kames                                      | 264         |
| 10         | [June–<br>September 1784] | [Glasgow?]         | <i>to</i> [James Gregory]                                 | 264–5       |
| 11         | 14 November<br>1785       | Glasgow<br>College | <i>to</i> John Bell                                       | 265         |
| 12         | [1788]                    | [Glasgow?]         | <i>to</i> Adair Crawford                                  | 266         |
| 13         | 12 April<br>1792          | [Glasgow?]         | <i>to</i> John Robison                                    | 266–8       |
| 14         | [1793]                    | [Glasgow?]         | <i>to</i> [Alexander Crombie]                             | 268–71      |

1. THOMAS REID AND [JOHN STEWART] *to* ?\*

MS: AUL, MS 2131/6/I/33 (draft); unpubl.

[Aberdeen, 1737–38]

The Love of Sensible Pleasure is the onely principle that is truly Natural  
& original to us. This Principle is in Separable from our Natures 5  
immutable & the same in all. There are several other principles in  
Grown Men Such as The Love of Honour, Riches, Virtue, Affection  
to the good of One's Countrey or Friends<.> We Seek these things at  
first onely as the means of Procuring Sensible good to us. but when by  
long Experience we have found them Closely Connected with Sensible 10  
Good the Ideas of them come at last to be so Associated with the Idea  
of Good that we acquire an affection to them as good in themselves and  
seek them for their own Sake without any farther view<.> These acquired  
Affections are different in different persons and in the same person may 15  
be Strengthened weakened or perhaps quite extinguished by Custom &  
Discipline<.>

The Love of Sensible Pleasure seems indeed to be the onely Principle  
that operates in infants for Some time. But the Mind seems then to be  
in an infant State as well as the body. As we grow up Several passions  
and affections begin to sprou<t> of which we gave no Signs at first. The 20  
Passion of Shame for instanse never appears till a certain age. The Sense  
of honour is so nearly connected with the passion of Shame that there  
seems to be good reason to judge them Coeval

2. *To* ?\*

MS: AUL, MS 2131/5/II/7 (draft); unpubl.

[1741–54]

Dear Cousin,

That I have not wrote you before now, I hope you will not impute  
to ingratitude. I am sure I am very Sensible of the obligations I ly  
under to you & yr kindnes both times I was at London.\* I have had the 30  
Satisfaction to heare of you sometimes from Doctor Reid\* & sometimes  
from your friends in this Country. And I knew that your business does  
not leave you much time for such an Idle Correspondence.

## 3. From DUGALD STEWART

Stewart, *Works*, I.133n–4n.

[Edinburgh, 1774–75]

Sir,

5 I had the honour of your letter\* some time ago, and would sooner  
have returned you my thanks for it, if I had not accidentally lent your  
*Inquiry* to a gentleman who lives at a considerable distance from me,  
and did not choose to trouble you again, till I should have an opportunity  
of reviewing the observations which you have there made on the subject  
10 of our correspondence.

The illustration which you sent me of the notion which you annex to  
the word *suggest*, has not only satisfied me with respect to the propriety  
of the use which you have made of it in the passage to which I referred,  
but has given me a clearer notion of your sentiments concerning the  
15 manner in which perception is carried on than I ever had before. I was  
led to object to your use of the word in this instance, from observing  
the sense in which you generally use it through the whole of your book.  
As far as I am able to recollect, the passage which I quoted is the only  
one in the *Inquiry* in which you have used the word *suggest* to express  
20 the communication of knowledge to the mind by means of something  
of which we are not conscious.\* In general you employ it to express the  
conveyance of knowledge to the mind by means of natural or of artificial  
signs. This led me to suspect, that the use which you have made of it in  
this particular case had proceeded from inadvertence. The observations  
25 with which you have favoured me have convinced me of my mistake,  
and at the same time have pointed out to me the reason of your confining  
the use of it in general in the manner in which you have done.

As to the other point, I am not so fully satisfied. I am happy to  
find, indeed, that our sentiments upon the subject are not so different  
30 as I at first apprehended, but I do not imagine that they yet entirely  
coincide. You seem to acknowledge that the mode in which we obtain  
the perception of visible figure is precisely similar to the mode in which  
we obtain the perception of tangible figure. So far I perfectly agree with  
you. And I apprehend you will likewise acknowledge the reasonings  
35 which you have advanced upon the perception of visible figure are  
applicable to our perception of extension both by sight and touch. This  
observation had occurred to me before the first time I wrote to you. But  
as you have taken no notice of it in your *Inquiry*, and as, in another  
part of your book, (p. 306 of the 3d Edition,) you have spoken of our  
40 perception of visible figure, as an exception from all our perceptions,



I was led to conclude that you had conceived some peculiarity about it which I did not fully comprehend.\* It was this which first turned my attention particularly to the subject, and gave rise to the observations which I sent you in my last letter.\*

Although, however, I flatter myself we agreed in this general point, 5  
that our perception of visible figure is obtained in a way similar to that in which we obtain the perception of tangible figure, I cannot help being of opinion that the perception in neither case is obtained without the intervention of a sensation. You have said, indeed, that you allow it to be impossible for us in our present state, to perceive figure without colour, 10  
and consequently, without the sensation of colour; but I am inclined to suspect that you imagine the impossibility in the case to arise, not from any connexion or dependence between these perceptions established by nature, but merely from their happening to be received by the same organ of sense, so that they always enter the mind in company.\* To this 15  
opinion I cannot subscribe; because it appears to me to be evident, that our perceptions of colour and figure are not only received by the same organ of sense, but that the varieties in our perceptions of colour are the *means* of our perception of visible figure.

I formerly observed, that our perception of visible figure appears to 20  
me to be a necessary consequence of that law of our nature, that every visible point is seen in the direction of a straight line passing from the picture of that point on the retina through the centre of the eye.\* If a blind man was made acquainted with this law of our nature, he could of himself infer the necessity of our perceiving visible figure. If it is 25  
allowed, then, that our perception of the visible figure of an object is the result of our perceiving the position of all the different points of its boundary, it is evident, that if visible figure can be perceived without any other quality, then position may likewise be perceived without any other quality. 30

#### 4. To SIR WILLIAM FORBES

*Address:* To Sir William Forbes Baronet New Exchange Edinburgh

*MS:* NLS, Acc. 4796, Box 3, Folder 1; unpubl.

Glasgow College 26 October 1775

Sir

35

I was honoured with yours of Oct 19th\* by my young Friends the Gregorys, who I hope will give Satisfaction to their Friends by their Improvement here.\*

I think it very probable that Willie will be provided in a Baliol Exhibition as soon as the two new Ones are established.\* He may depend on my Interest when it can be of Use to him. We shall have a new Member of the Faculty before that time in place of Dr Trail, whose office is to be filled by an Election the 13th of Novr.\* It is yet very uncertain who will be elected. I mention to you, *in Confidence*, my Conjecture, of which I wish no other Use may be made unless it be thought proper that early Application be made in favour of Will Gregory. Dr Baillie Minister at Hamilton seems to me to have the best chance. But I wish for some Reasons not to be given as the Author of this Intelligence.\* You will Judge whether it be proper to make Use of it in favour of our young Friend. If not I hope no other Use will be made of it.

I took the Liberty to Draw upon your Company\* a Bill for Thirty two pounds Sterling to Dunlop Houston & Co\* dated the 24th instant. You will know best how it is to be placed in your Books. It is already expended & a trifle more on Masters Fees, Gowns, & a Quarters Board for the two young Gentlemen. I hope this will suffice for Advice of the Bill to Your Company. I am with great Respect

Sir  
Your most obedient humble Servant  
Thomas Reid

### 5. From MATTHEW MORTHLAND

*Address:* To Doctor Reid professor of philosophy In the Colledge of Glasgow  
MS: GUA, MS 27288; unpubl.

Rindmuir 11 March 1776

Dear Sir

I was favoured with yours\* on wendsday with the Two Scrolls which I return you Inclosed And have filled up the Blanks In the Bond namely John morthland and Robert Carrick Cautioners\* And the Summ £500 Sterling

with respect to the Assignation I can not See the Use of it for Surely my factory And your Docquetts Give me Sufficent powr to uplift the Arrears which I take my Chance of Recovering against the time my Bond (for which you now Give me Credite) Becomes Due, And therefor I humblie Apprehend That a minute of faculty Setting furth The Transaction And Subscribed by me would afford abundant Security to the Colledge That no funder arrear of Cropt 1772\* And preceedings Can

be offered by me, And this with punctuall payment of the Bond is all that is wanted by the Colledge

In case the faculty Choose to adopt this method The Bond also may be considerabl<sup>y</sup> Shortned

I am 5

Dear Sir  
your most obedient humble servant  
Matthew Morthland

### 6. To SIR WILLIAM FORBES

*Address:* To Sir William Forbes of Monymusk Edinburgh 10  
*MS:* NLS, Acc. 4796, Box 3, Folder 2; unpubl.

Glasgow College 20 May 1776

Sir

Your two Pupils the Mr Gregory's have now finished their Campaign with Honour, & have set out this Morning for Edinburgh. In the Greek Class, which John attended, there were some small Prizes to be contended for, and he carries with him some Trophies.\* The bearer of this Mr Professor Anderson,\* under whom William chiefly studied, & whom I beg leave to introduce to you, can give you a satisfactory Account of Williams Progress & Behaviour. 15

I hope William will succeed to the next vacant Baliol Exhibition. I have given on the next page an Account of their Expences, by which you will see that there is £13 due to me which was advanced onely upon their going away, partly, as William told me, to answer some Commissions of his brother Dr James.\* You may please to pay this £13 to the bearer Mr Anderson without Receipt. which will clear Accounts between us. I am with great Regard 20

Sir  
Your most obedient Servant  
Thomas Reid | 30

Account W. & J. Gregory to Dr Reid [iv]

W & J. Gregory Dr

1776

|     |    |   |           |    |
|-----|----|---|-----------|----|
| Jan | 15 | To the Ballance of Last Account           | £10.17.10 |    |
|     | 27 | To a Quarters Board from Jan 20 to Apr 20 | 20. 0. 0  | 35 |
| Feb | 19 | To the fencing Master a Guinea            | 1. 1. 0   |    |
| Mar | 4  | To Three Guineas for incidental Expences  | 3. 3. 0   |    |

|   |  |                                  |
|---|--|----------------------------------|
|   | Apr 25 To Three Guineas Ditto                    | 3. 3. 0                          |
|   | May 15 To one pound sixteen shill. Ditto         | 1.16. 0                          |
|   | May 16 To 13£ for Board from Apr 20 to May 20 &c | 13. 0. 0                         |
|   |  | Sum 53. 0. 0                     |
| 5 | Cr   |                                  |
|   | 1776 By a Bill on Sir William Forbes & Co* to    | 40. 0. 0                         |
|   | Jan 26 Dunlop Houston & Co* £40 value received   |                                  |
|   |  | Ballance due to Dr Reid 13. 0. 0 |

7. From MATTHEW MORTHLAND

10 *Address:* To Doctor Reid professor of philosophy In the Colledge of Glasgow  
*MS:* GUA, MS 34617; unpubl.

Rindmuir 2 May 1777

Dear Sir

15 I am favoured with yours\* And as I Believe this is the first time Such a Step has been taken by the Colledge, I should wish you would Allow me In the first place to Send Letters through the Country Acquainting the Gentlemen And people of the Resolutions of the faculty.<.> And if that Did not produce the Desired effect to proceed to Diligence So as to  
 20 have the executions ready for the Colledge against october next

The execution of Such a Generall Diligence will be attended with much Labour and expence and other Inconveniencys.<.> And if I mistake not will be work Sufficient for one Summer, I Beg youll Lay this matter before the faculty

25

I am

Dear Sir your most obedient Servant  
 Matthew Morthland

8. To SIR WILLIAM FORBES

30 *Address:* To Sir William Forbes of Monymusk Baronet Edinburgh  
*MS:* NLS, Acc. 4796, Box 3, Folder 3; unpubl.

Glasgow College 4 May 1777

Sir

35 I was favoured with yours of Aprile 12.\* There is without doubt a proper Medium between too great strictness and too great Indulgence to young Men in money Matters. And though I wish to keep this Medium, yet, so various are the tempers of young Men, I am far from thinking

I can allways hit it exactly. And perhaps I may lean to the extream of Indulgence, where I have no suspicion that they spend their Money in a way that tends to corrupt their Morals. I do not think that John has that Oeconomical turn that Willie had. From all I could learn Willie seemed to be one of the Incorruptibles, & I hope he will allways prove so. But from some things I have learned onely since I had last the honour of writing you, & of which I have wrote fully to Doctor Gregory,\* I suspect that John has not so much the power of self government, and that a greater attention to his Conduct than Willie ever required, will be necessary. 5

He is yet very young, and has very good parts, and a great deal of knowledge for his years. I can truly say, that he never was deficient in his Respect to me or any of my Family. His Landlady who is a discreet sensible Woman, took the Liberty of admonishing him when she observed any thing that required it. This he not onely took well but it had a good Effect. With regard to his Expence, if you deduce a suit of Cloaths, and a Journey to Edinburgh at Christmas, which were not in last years Account, you will find very little Difference between it and last years. He tells me he will have between thirty and forty shillings to carry home besides his Expence in going to Edenburgh. I am very Respectfully 15

Sir 20

Your most obedient Servant

Thomas Reid |

John Gregory Student Dr [lv]

1777

To the Sum of the Debursments in last Account ending 25

April The second 1777 42. 1. 0

Apr 30 To three pounds to pay Bookseller & Hairdressers  
Accounts 3. 0. 0

May 2 To three Guineas to pay some other Accounts and  
to Defray his Expences home 3. 3. 0 30

3 To Washing Acct. Mending Stockings &c 1. 9. 9½

To board from the 18 of Aprile to the 5th of May 1.13. 4

To Ballance given to John at going home 0.12.10½

52. 0. 0

Contra Cr 35

1776 Oct 2 By a Bill on Sir William Forbes to R Carrick\* 25. 0. 0

1777 Apr 10 By a Bill on Sir William Forbes to R Carrick 25. 0. 0

Apr 21 By two pounds given me back by John to  
keep for him 2. 0. 0

52. 0. 0 40

## 9. To LORD KAMES

[Henry Home, Lord Kames], *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* . . . [with] *Several Essays Added concerning the Proof of a Deity*, third edition (Edinburgh, 1779), pp. 204–6.

5

[1778–79]

All men agree, that personality is indivisible: a part of a person is an absurdity. A man who loses his estate, his health, an arm, or a leg, continues still to be the same person. My personal identity therefore is the continued existence of that indivisible thing which I call myself.\*

10 I am not thought, I am not action, I am not feeling; but I think and act and feel. Thoughts, actions, feelings, change every moment; but that *self* to which they belong is permanent. If it be asked how I know that it is permanent, the answer is, that I know it from memory. Every thing I remember to have seen, or heard, or done, or suffered, convinces me that

15 I existed at the time remembered. But though it is from memory that I have the knowledge of my personal identity, yet personal identity must exist in nature independent of memory; otherwise I would only be the same person as far as my memory serves me; and what would become of my existence during the intervals wherein my memory has failed me? My remembrance of any of my actions does not make me to be the person who did the action, but only makes me know that I was the person who did it.\* And yet it was Mr Locke's opinion, that my remembrance of an action is what makes me to be the person who did it;\* a pregnant instance that even men of the greatest genius may sometimes fall into an

20 absurdity. Is it not an obvious corollary from Mr Locke's opinion, that he never was born: he could not remember his birth; and therefore was not the person born at such a place and at such a time.

## 10. To [JAMES GREGORY]\*

MS: Special Collections, St Andrews University Library, msdep7/  
30 Autograph collection/80(b); unpubl.

[June–September 1784]

If you see Mr Bell would you think it proper to ask him whether he meant three, by *some hundred pounds*. I wish him to have a share, if he chuses, & signified this to Mr Rose. But I have given him unconditional

35 Powers.

I shall be very glad to peruse the Papers you mention, and as far as my Observations can be of any Use, they are already bought & paid for.

I am Dear Sir

Yours most affectionately

Thomas Reid

5

11. *To JOHN BELL\**

*Address:* Mr John Bell Bookseller Parliament Square Edinburgh

*MS:* Haverford College Quaker and Special Collections, Charles Roberts Autograph Letters Collection 250, Box 14, Folder 19; unpubl.

Glasgow College 14 November 1785

10

Dear Sir

I beg you will please to send me a Copy of my Essays in Boards & put it to my Account. I have had advice that all the Copies I desired you to send to persons about London & in the North were received.\* If it be not a Secret I should be glad to know what Number of Copies both of this Book & of the Inquiry you printed.\* I believe I asked this Question in the last letter I wrote you but about the time that I expected your answer, I understood that a Letter to me from Edinburgh was unluckily lost after it came from the post office. I suspected it came from you but I never received it. A low female Impostor was trusted to bring the letter with some other little commissions to my house in the Country, & we never heard of her again.\* I should likewise be glad to be informed what number of copies of the Essays is sold. I think the Reviewers have not yet taken them under Consideration.\* I have corrected what Errors I observed in a Copy I have by me in case it may come to a second Edition\*

15

20

25

As I dont know when I shall be in Edinburgh, if ever; I think it would not be amiss if you should send me your Bill for the price. Make the time of payment when you think reasonable. I think you spoke of a twelvemonth after publication as usual. Please also to send me the State of my Account with you, which I shall pay here or at Edinburgh as you desire.

30

I am Dear Sir

Your very humble Servant

Thomas Reid

35

## 12. To ADAIR CRAWFORD\*

Adair Crawford, *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat, and the Inflammation of Combustible Bodies; Being an Attempt to Resolve these Phenomena into a General Law of Nature*, second edition (London, 1788), p. 6.

5 . . . until the ratio between one temperature and another be ascertained by experiment and induction, we ought to consider temperature as a measure which admits of degrees, but not of ratios: and consequently ought not to conclude, that the temperature of one body is double or  
10 triple to that of another, unless the ratio of different temperatures were determined. Nor ought we to use the expressions of a double or triple temperature, these being expressions which can convey no distinct meaning, until the ratio of different temperatures be determined.\*

## 13. To JOHN ROBISON\*

15 MS: Special Collections, St Andrews University Library, MS Q171.R8, vol. II, fols 5–6.

12 April 1792

Several Years before I left Aberdeen (in 1764) Mr douglas of fechil\* told me that having been lately at Edinburgh, he was often in Company  
20 with Mr Hepburn of Keith,\* a Gentleman with whom I had some acquaintance, and that Mr Hepburn had told him that he had heard Mr James Gregory professor of Mathematics in Edinburgh\* say that being one day in a familiar Conversation with Sir Isaac Newton, at London, Sir Isaac said “Gregory you dont know perhaps that I am a  
25 Scotchman”⟨.⟩ Pray how is that said Mr Gregory? Sir Isaac said that he was informed that his Grandfather or Great Grandfather was a Scotchman, a Gentleman, of East or West Lothian. that he had come up to London with King James the sixth at his accession to the Crown of England, and had attended the Court in Expectance, like many others,  
30 till he spent the greatest part of his fortune, after which he retired to the Country where living was easy, and that his Family was reduced to very low Circumstances⟨.⟩

At the time this was told me Mr Gregory was dead, otherwise I should have had his own Testimony, he being my Mother’s Brother.  
35 I likewise thought that it had been known for certain that Sir Isaac Newton was descended of an old English Family, as is affirmed by Mr Fontenelle in his Eloge before the Academy of Sciences at Paris.\*



These Reasons prevented me from mentioning for many years what I had heard, imagining there was some mistake in it.

Some years after I came to Glasgow, I mentioned what I had heard to have been said by Mr Gregory to Mr Sherriff Cross.\* He was moved by the account, and immediately wrote to Mr Hepburn, who was his intimate acquaintance, and to Sir Robert Murray Keith,\* whom he knew to have been also an intimate acquaintance of Mr Gregory. Both of those Gentleman answered to Mr Crosses inquiries that they had frequently heard Mr Gregory say that Sir Isaac Newton had given him the information mentioned above, but that he had never repeated it, having (as he supposed) taken offence at Mr Gregorys heedlessly saying in answer that he was well acquainted with the Lothians both East and West, and that there was no *Gentlemans* Family of that Name in those Counties. Mr Cross made some farther Enquiries and found that there was a Sir Richard Newton of Newton in East Lothian, whose descendants have since taken the name of Hay, some of whose Children were then alive, and that they reported that their Father had received a Letter from Sir Isaac Newton in England in which he was desired to inform him of the State of his Family, what Children, and particularly what Sons he had, and in what way they were.\* The Baronet returned no answer to this letter, thinking that Sir Isaac was some upstart who wished to claim allyance to his antient House. His daughter regretted this omission exceedingly, when they heard of Sir Isaacs decease in affluent Circumstances, and without near Relations, imagining that he had had an intention to do something for their benefit and they employed a Solicitor in London to see if *their* proof of kindred would be admitted.

In 1787 I mentioned these things to my Colleague Mr Wilson.\* Being that Summer in London he met with a James Hutton Esquire of Pimlico Westminster,\* a near Relation to Sir Isaac Newton, and he related to that Gentleman what I have now written, and my wishes to be farther informed. Mr Hutton said that if I should require it of him, he should be ready to give me any information in his Power. I accordingly wrote to him and received a very polite answer dated from Bath december 25 1787 in which he says "I shall be glad when I return to London if I can find in some old notes of my Mother any thing that may fix with certainty Sir Isaac Newtons descent. If he spoke so to Mr James Gregory it is most certain he spoke truth, But Sir Isaacs Grandfather, not his Great grandfather must be the person who came from Scotland with James VI." I have heard nothing farther from Mr Hutton, who Mr Wilson told me was a very old man, and I do not know whether he

be yet alive. I pledge my Veracity for the above facts, and am glad that I have an opportunity before I die of putting them into some hands who will use them while they are of any Virtue<.>

Thomas Reid

5

14. *To* [ALEXANDER CROMBIE]\*

*MS: AUL, MS 2131/7/VI/1 (draft); unpubl.*

[9]

[1793]

10

that a Man has no more power over his past Actions than he has to make the past to be present. But I call them free Actions (I think in the common Sense of the Words) if, when he determined to do them, he had power not to do it.\*

That what is, or what was, cannot, by any Power on Earth or in Heaven, be made not to be, or not to have been is selfevident.

15

So far I think we agree in Opinion & differ onely in words. You call past Actions necessary; meaning onely that they are immutable when past. I acknowledg<e> that every thing past is immutable. But I call some past Actions free, meaning that they were in the Power of the Agent before they were done; and this you acknowledge.

20

There seems to be a real Difference between us with regard to future Actions. Prescience, you say, takes away all Liberty.\* And that, not because the Action is foreknown, but because it is certainly to be; and therefore no Power can hinder it from being. You ground the Necessity of the Action, not upon its being foreknown, but upon its being certainly future & therefore fixed & determined.\*

25

In this Opinion you agree with some of the Ancients on both sides of the Question concerning Liberty.

30

Aristotle was a strenuous Patron of Liberty, and in order to defend it maintained, if I understand him right, that Propositions which express future Contingencies are neither determinately true nor False<.> So that, according to him, That I shall drink Wine to morrow, is neither a true nor a false Proposition.\*

[10]

35

But I think the Moderns have given up this Opinion as untenable. And whether they be for Liberty or Necessity, they hold that every Proposition whether | it respect Present, Past, or Future, must be either true or false; and that every true Proposition is certainly true. The adverb *certainly* added to a true Proposition, makes no addition to its Truth; For truth hath no Degrees; it expresses onely a greater degree of Evidence; or perhaps a greater degree of assurance in the Speaker.

According to the Opinion, which I think just, One of the Propositions. *I shall drink Wine to morrow; Or I shall not drink wine to morrow;* is now certainly true and the other certainly false. And this holds equally whether it be in my Power to drink Wine to morrow, or not. Every thing that happens to morrow whether freely or necessarily is future to day, & was in all time past. Every Event whether free or necessary has its place in Time. After it happens, it is always past; before it happens it is always future. And as it is certainly past after it happens; so it was as certainly future before it happened. 5

But, you say, If the Event be certainly future, it must be necessary, for what Power can hinder what shall certainly be? 10

I answer, It is certain that no Power *shall* hinder what shall be, but it does not follow, that no Power *can* hinder it.

We are very apt to confound these two Phrases *cannot* and certainly shall not. We often use the first where the last onely is meant, and so lose all sense of their Distinction. Thus we say, A truly honest Man cannot do a knavish Action. We mean He certainly will not. For his Honesty does not diminish his Power in the Least. The veriest Knave has no Power to do Wrong which he has not. Nor would we thank him for his honesty if he had no Power to do wrong. 15 20

To go still higher, we say the Almighty cannot do wrong, | but all we mean, or ought to mean, is that he certainly will do no wrong. It is in a quite different Sense, that we say, He cannot cease to be. He has Power to do every thing; but he certainly will do onely what is right. And therefore we thank him for his Goodness because it is free and voluntary; but we do not thank him for his Eternity because it is necessary. If his Goodness were necessary in the same Sense there would be *no* reason to thank him for it. [11] 25

Velleius Paterculus says of Cato that he was good because he could not be otherwise.\* This has been brought as an Authority, first by Hobbes, & then by D. Hume to shew that the Necessity of Actions does not take away their Merit, but I think without good reason.>.\* The saying may have two meanings. If understood literally, it is not Praise but Dispraise. A Scotch Man would say Deil con him thanks for his Goodness; for he could not be otherwise.\* Apply it to particular Virtues, and it appears evidently to no praise but Dispraise rather. Such a Man paid his Debt, because he could not do otherwise. He was honest because he could not be otherwise. He was chaste because he could not be otherwise. Is there any Virtue in the want of Power? But if the Expression be intended for Praise it is figurative and means no 30 35 40

More but that his Virtue was so steady as to be beyond the Power of Temptation.

5 If it be true that I shall drink Wine to morrow; it is no less true that I shall chuse to drink it. But it does not follow from this that I shall not have power to forbear<.>

10 Some Fatalists in ancient times grounded their System upon this, that what is, certainly is; what was, certainly was, and what shall be, certainly shall be; & therefore necessarily. Aristotle to answer this Argument maintained that contingent or free Actions are not certainly future before they happen.\*

12] But modern Fatalists as far as I know have deserted this Ground, or lay very little stress upon it.\* Their Argument from Prescience against Liberty, stands upon another ground and as it was the onely Argument I had in View, I shall now explain it, that you may Judge whether my | reasoning be either false or obscurely expressed.

20 All knowledge, say those Philosophers, must have some Ground to rest on. The onely Ground upon which Prescience can rest, is the necessary Connection of the things foreseen, with things which now exist & are known<.> Thus we foresee the Changes & Eclipses of the Moon, because we know the Causes which must necessarily produce them: and if they were not necessarily connected with things which we know they could not possibly be foreseen. A superior Intelligence may perceive many necessary connections between the present and the future which we do not perceive, & therefore may foresee many things which we do not foresee. But when there is no necessary Connection it cannot be perceived by any Being. Now in free Actions there is no necessary Connection between the Action and what goes before it. It is loose & unconnected, & therefore cannot be foreseen by any Being.

30 “Nothing can be known at present, says Dr Priestly, except itself or its necessary Cause exist at present.” Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity pag 21.\* If the Deity foresees all Events that happen; all Events must be necessarily connected with what is present, therefore no Event can be free<.>

35 The Patrons of Liberty acknowledge a pressing difficulty in reconciling Prescience with Liberty. Fatalists say it is impossible, & we must give up the one or the other.

This is the Argument for Necessity which I had in View, and the onely Argument drawn from Prescience that I have met with in modern Authors.\*

I do not pretend to remove this Difficulty or to show how free Actions may be foreseen. But I maintain that Memory is as unaccountable as Prescience; and that this reasoning which is brought to prove the Prescience of free Actions to be impossible, will prove the Memory of free Actions to be impossible.\* For there can be no more reason [13] to think that future Events can onely be known by their necessary connection with things present & known, than that past Events can onely be known by their necessary connection with things present & known. And therefore every thing past that can be known must be necessarily connected with the present, as well as every thing future. 10

Any other way of knowing past events besides that of their necessary connection with what is present is as mysterious, as unaccountable, as the prescience of free Actions; & there is equal reason to say it is impossible.

But I add farther, that notwithstanding the unaccountableness of the thing, there is in Fact in the human Mind another way of knowing with certainty things that are past; to wit Memory; which is not a tracing back the Event remembered by its necessary connection with things present & known.> 15

I say therefore in opposition to Dr Priestley's Maxim that there not onely may be, but that there actually is, a way of knowing at present things, when neither the thing itself nor its necessary cause exists at present.> And to use the Language of the Schools *Ab esse ad posse valet consequentia*.\* 20

I think therefore my reasoning shews that the Patrons of Liberty are under no necessity of giving up the Prescience of free Actions, though they do not pretend in the least to shew how they may be foreseen. 25

## Appendix B: Thomas Reid on the Measures of Heat

As shown in Volume 9 of the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid, after Reid's arrival in Glasgow in the summer of 1764 he immersed himself in the theoretical ideas and experimental enquiries of the chemists Joseph Black, William Irvine and, in the mid-1770s, Adair Crawford.<sup>1</sup> While his relationship with Black was cordial, if somewhat distant, it seems that he was not directly involved in Black's research activities before the latter left for Edinburgh in 1766. His friendships with both Irvine and Crawford, on the other hand, were close, and he apparently served as a sounding board for his two young protégés. Reid's surviving manuscripts on chemistry attest to his engagement with the theoretical ideas of Irvine and Crawford. Furthermore, they also suggest that a manuscript fragment dealing with the measures of heat attributed to Irvine by his son, the physician and chemist William Irvine the younger, was, in fact, written by Reid.

The text transcribed below, to which I have given the title 'The Measures of Heat', was first published by William Irvine the younger in 1805. In his comments on the manuscript, Irvine highlights the incompleteness of the text, but expresses no doubt about the authorship of the manuscript.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, good grounds upon which to question the younger Irvine's attribution of the fragment to his father. First, there is some overlap of wording and subject matter between the published fragment and a passage which dates from December 1787 in Reid's manuscript entitled 'Of Heat'. Secondly, and more tellingly, the wording of a part of the fourth paragraph in the fragment is identical to an excerpt from a letter or manuscript written by Reid that is quoted by Adair Crawford in the second edition of his *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat and the Inflammation of Combustible Bodies*.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, none of the theoretical ideas or experimental results contained in the manuscript are unique to the research of the elder Irvine. Rather, the contents of the fragment speak to the preoccupations of those investigating the science of heat in Glasgow after the departure of Joseph

<sup>1</sup> See the editorial introduction to Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. liv–lvi, clxxx–clxxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> William Irvine and William Irvine the younger, *Essays, Chiefly on Chemical Subjects* (London, 1805), pp. 153, 158–9.

<sup>3</sup> Adair Crawford, *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat, and the Inflammation of Combustible Bodies; Being an Attempt to Resolve these Phenomena into a General Law of Nature*, second edition (London, 1788), p. 6; see letter 12 above, p.266.

Black. For example, the quantitative measure of relative heat outlined in the fragment's second proposition registers the emphasis on quantification that characterised the work not only of Irvine but also of Reid, the circle of Glasgow chemists who worked with Black, and Crawford.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Irvine, Reid and Crawford all drew the distinction in the manuscript between the three measures of heat, namely temperature, relative heat and absolute heat, although Crawford's formulation of the distinction differed from those of Irvine and Reid.<sup>5</sup> Fourthly, the concern with defining precise measures of heat evident in the fragment is directly related to the argument of Reid's 'An Essay on Quantity' regarding the use (and abuse) of quantitative reasoning in natural philosophy and to his discussion of how the use of thermometers redefined the concept of heat in a section of the manuscript 'Of Heat' dated '1770'.<sup>6</sup> The textual and conceptual connections between the fragment published by Irvine the younger and Reid's writings thus suggest that Reid and not Irvine the elder was the author of 'The Measures of Heat'.

If we accept that Reid was the author of 'The Measures of Heat', one puzzle remains. Presumably Irvine the younger believed that the fragment was written in his father's hand, which is why he attributed the manuscript to Irvine senior. Given that Irvine the younger tells us that his father's papers were in a state of disarray, he might simply have misidentified the hand in which the fragment was written.<sup>7</sup> This, however, seems unlikely. A more plausible explanation is that Irvine senior made a copy of a manuscript by Reid, which would account for why his son maintained that he was the author of the fragment. But because neither the fragment published by Irvine the younger nor the letter or manuscript quoted by Crawford survive, the question of the authorship of 'The Measures of Heat' will never be definitively

<sup>4</sup> For evidence, see John Robison to James Watt, [October 1800], in Eric Robinson and Douglas McKie (eds), *Partners in Science: Letters of James Watt and Joseph Black*, pp. 359–60.

<sup>5</sup> Crawford, *Experiments and Observations*, pp. 2–4; Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. 135–6. The distinction does not appear in the set of lecture notes taken by a student in William Irvine's chemistry class in 1780. The section 'Of Heat in a more Extensive View' breaks off with a blank page and the text resumes with the discussion of fluidity and Black's theory of latent heat; John Rowand, 'Chemical Lectures By Dr Irvine [1780]', vol. I, esp. pp. 40, 59–61. In his account of the science of the heat, Irvine's son affirms that his father distinguished between absolute and relative heat; see Irvine and Irvine, *Essays, Chiefly on Chemical Subjects*, pp. 5 note.

<sup>6</sup> Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. 50–9, 129–31.

<sup>7</sup> Irvine and Irvine, *Essays, Chiefly on Chemical Subjects*, pp. vi, x, xii–xiii.

answered, even though there is strong evidence to suggest that Reid, rather than Irvine the elder, wrote the original manuscript.

### The Measures of Heat

⟨153⟩

That philosophers may reason with distinctness and perspicuity about heat, it is necessary that they should agree in the terms which they use to express the various measures which they apply to it.

5 The measures of heat known to us are, I think, reducible to three, to wit, temperature, relative quantity, and absolute quantity.\*

I. By temperature of heat in a body is meant that ⟨154⟩ which is indicated by the thermometer, this is always measured by the degree which the thermometer is raised by that temperature.

10 Temperature therefore is always expressed by degrees of the thermometer, and we may say the temperature of one body is equal, is higher or lower than that of another; and if higher or lower we may express the difference by degrees of a certain thermometer, but, until the ratio between one temperature and another be ascertained by experiment and induction, we ought to consider temperature as a measure  
15 which admits of degrees, but not of ratios. Nor ought we to use the expression of a double or triple temperature, these being terms which can convey no distinct meaning until the ratio of different temperatures be determined.\*

20 II. As it is now known that two bodies of different kinds, even when equal in temperature and magnitude, or equal in temperature and weight, may yet have different quantities of heat, it is necessary to have some term by which this difference of bodies with relation to heat may be expressed and measured; and this is what I call relative heat, or  
25 relative quantity of heat. The relative heat of a body therefore is always measured by the ratio which the whole heat contained in a body bears to the whole heat of some other body of the same temperature and magnitude, or of the same temperature and weight.\* ⟨155⟩

30 Thus if one measure of water contains as much heat as two measures of quicksilver of the same temperature, this is expressed by saying that the relative heat of water is double to that of the same bulk of mercury, or if one measure of mercury is equal in weight to fourteen of water, we may say that the relative heat of water is to that of the same weight  
35 of mercury as 28 to 1. Again, if seven pounds of water have as much heat contained in it as eight pounds of ice of the same temperature, this



is expressed by saying that the relative heat of water is to that of ice as 8 to 7.

III. The absolute heat of a body is the whole quantity of heat contained in it. This is doubled when the body is doubled, tripled when the body is tripled, while the temperature and relative heat are unchanged. 5

*Corollary.* From this and the second definition, it follows, that the absolute heat of a body A to that of another B of the same temperature, is in the compound ratio of their magnitudes, and their relative heat in relation to magnitude; or in the compound ratio of their weights and their relative heat in regard to weight; and their absolute heats will be equal, when the magnitudes or weights are reciprocally as their relative heats in relation to magnitude or weight respectively. When I speak of the quantity of heat without any qualification, I always mean the absolute quantity. <156> 10

PROPOSITION I. 15

The quantity of heat which raises a body one degree in temperature is half of that which raises the same body two degrees, one third of that which raises it three degrees, and so in proportion either accurately or very nearly. This proportion is proved by the experiment of mixing equal quantities of water or any other fluid of different temperatures: the mixture is found to have always that temperature, which is an arithmetical mean between the temperature of the bodies before mixture. 20

The reason why this proportion is expressed as either accurately or very nearly, is that it may be doubted whether the liquor in the thermometer has not by equal quantities of heat expansions which bear the same ratio to the whole liquor, or whether it has precisely equal expansions.\* 25

*Corollary.* Different bodies are raised from one degree of temperature to another by a quantity of heat which is as the degrees of temperature added, the bulk of the body, and its relative heat taken conjunctly. For when the relative heat and bulk are the same, the quantity of heat given will be as the number of degrees of temperature added. When the temperature and relative heat are the same, the quantity of heat added will be as the <157> magnitude of the body; and when the temperature and magnitude are the same, the quantity of heat is as the relative heat. Therefore, when none of the three is the same, any quantity of heat added will be the compound ratio of the three; to wit, the degrees of temperature by which the body is raised, the magnitude of the body, and its relative heat in relation to magnitude. 30 35

## PROPOSITION II.

Having given the magnitudes, the relative heat in regard to magnitude, and the temperature of any number of bodies which mix without any change of their relative heats, to find the temperature of the whole mixture:

5

*Solution.* Let  $a, b, c, d$ , be the given bodies, and let the same symbols express their magnitudes: let  $d$  have the lowest temperature, and let the degree of temperature of  $a, b, c$ , above  $d$ , be  $l, m, n$ , respectively: Let the relative heat of  $d$  be expressed by unity, and the relative heat of  $a, b, c$ , compared with that of  $d$  in equal magnitudes be  $x, y, z$ , respectively.

10

Multiply the several magnitudes  $a, b, c$ , first into their respective relative heats  $x, y, z$ , and then severally into the degrees of temperature by which each exceeds the temperature of  $d$ , to wit, into  $l, \langle 158 \rangle m, n$ , respectively. Add the three products together, and divide the sum by the sum of all the four magnitudes, and the quotient will give the degrees of temperature by which the mixture exceeds the temperature of  $d$ , which in the present example will be

15

$$\frac{ax + bmy + cnz}{a + b + c + d}$$

20

This solution follows necessarily from the corollary of the first proposition.

# NOTES

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# Editorial Notes

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## Part One: Reform and Union

### 8/V/1: Scheme of a Course of Philosophy

- 3/1 Thomas Reid was elected to replace the Regent and nominal Professor of Mathematics, Alexander Rait, at King's College, Aberdeen, on 25 October 1751. In the 1751–52 session Rait's students were in the second of their three-year course of philosophy, which meant that in Reid's first session of teaching he lectured on ethics, natural law, politics and 'general' physics. In 1752–53, he completed the students' course by lecturing on mathematics and 'special' physics. Reid's 'Scheme of a Course of Philosophy' was not, therefore, a template for his teaching. Rather, it grew out of discussions about curriculum reform at both King's and Marischal College that occurred in the late summer and autumn of 1752. Reid's 'Scheme' thus probably relates to these deliberations. For further details of the 1753–54 reforms at King's see the Introduction, pp. xxiii–xxxii, and the *Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders of King's College in Old Aberdeen. MDCC.LIII. With Additions M.DCC.LIV* ([1754]), pp. 8–18.
- 3/16 Reid discussed the art of memory in his lectures on the culture of the mind; see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 19, 64–5, 80. He seems to have been influenced by Richard Grey, *Memoria technica: Or, a New Method of Artificial Memory, Applied to and Exemplified in Chronology, History, Geography, Astronomy*, second edition (1732), to which he referred in his lectures.
- 3/19 Little concrete evidence survives regarding the books Reid recommended to his students at King's College. A list of the major authors in natural history is to be found in Reid's manuscript, 'Elements of Natural History', Aberdeen University Library (hereafter AUL), MS 2131/6/IV/1, fol. 2r. Presumably he used at least some of the works alluded to in the list as textbooks. In his lectures on mathematics, the textbooks he apparently employed were: Euclid, *ΕΥΛΕΙΑΟΥ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ. Euclidis quae supersunt omnia*, ed. David Gregory (1703); David Gregory, *A Treatise of Practical Geometry* (1745); Colin Maclaurin, *A Treatise of Algebra, in Three Parts* (1748); and

Robert Simson, *The Elements of Euclid, viz. the First Six Books, Together with the Eleventh and Twelfth* (1756). For further details see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii. No evidence survives regarding his textbooks for natural philosophy. As for his teaching of moral philosophy, it may be that he did not use textbooks in his lectures on pneumatology, although a reference in his Glasgow lectures on natural theology indicates that he recommended to his students that they read Francis Hutcheson's *Metaphysicae synopsis: Ontologiam, et, pneumatologiam, complectens* (1742); see Thomas Reid, *Thomas Reid on Religion*, ed. James J. S. Foster, p. 30. Reid's first philosophical oration suggests that in ethics he used various works by ancient moralists along with Joseph Butler's *Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel* (1726) and *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (1736). His first oration also suggests that in teaching politics he recommended texts by Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Niccolò Machiavelli, James Harrington, David Hume and Montesquieu; see above pp. 49–51. For an indication of the titles he recommended in his lectures on the fine arts at King's see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 286.

- 3/31 Until the eighteenth century the term 'fossil' referred to any object or material that had been 'dug out of the earth'. This traditional meaning of the word is recorded in the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: 'FOSSIL, in natural history, denotes, in general, every thing dug out of the earth, whether they be natives thereof, as metals, stones, salts, earths, and other minerals; or extraneous, repositied in the bowels of the earth by some extraordinary means'; William Smellie (ed.), *Encyclopædia Britannica; or, a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Compiled upon a New Plan* (1771), s.v. 'Fossil', vol. II, p. 625. During the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the term 'fossil' gradually acquired something like its modern meaning as defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: 'the remains or impression of a prehistoric plant or animal embedded in rock and preserved in petrified form'.
- 4/19 On Reid's natural history lectures at King's College see Paul Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: The Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 93–4, and Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 3–11.
- 4/26 Reid's King's College lectures on natural philosophy are discussed in Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi, xl–xliii, cxvi–cxviii, cxxxviii–cxli.

- 4/37 Reid's teaching of mathematics is discussed in Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xxxvi–xl.
- 5/1 Reid refers to the geodetic work of Jean Picard, who first established the length of a degree of latitude in France; see Jean Picard, *Mesure de la Terre* (1671). The findings of the French expedition to Lapland undertaken in the 1730s confirmed Isaac Newton's assertion that the Earth is slightly flattened at the poles and hence is shaped like an oblate spheroid. Reid made detailed reading notes from the account of the Lapland expedition published in Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis's *La figure de la Terre déterminée par les observations . . . faites par ordre du Roy au cercle polaire* (1738). He also took extensive notes from the account of the French expedition to Peru in Pierre Bouguer, *La figure de la Terre, déterminée par les observations de messieurs Bouguer, & de la Condamine, de l'Académie royale des sciences, envoyés par ordre du Roy au Pérou, pour observer aux environs de l'équateur. Avec une relation abrégée de la voyage, qui contient la description du pays dans lequel opérations ont été faites* (1749); see AUL, MSS 2131/3/I/2 and 2131/3/I/7.
- 5/2 Reid's division of astronomy into three constituent parts registers the reconfiguration of that science during the Scientific Revolution. The distinction between calculatory or arithmetical and geometrical astronomy is made, for example, in a text that Reid studied closely in the late 1720s, namely David Gregory, *The Elements of Astronomy, Physical and Geometrical* (1715), vol. I, p. i. Arithmetical astronomy dealt with the compilation of astronomical tables in order to calculate eclipses and other celestial phenomena, whereas geometrical astronomy was taken up primarily with the analysis of the orbital motions of the planets and the moons of the Earth, Jupiter and Saturn; on calculatory astronomy see Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: Or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, second edition (1738), s.v. 'Calculation'. 'Philosophical' astronomy, on the other hand, was a term initially coined by Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei. Galileo contrasted the aims of 'pure astronomers', who were preoccupied with 'saving the appearances' (i.e. accurately predicting the motions of heavenly bodies), and 'philosophical astronomers', who attempted to 'investigate, as the greatest and most marvelous problem, the true constitution of the universe, because this constitution exists, and it exists in a way that is unique, true, real, and impossible to be otherwise; because of its greatness and nobility, this problem takes precedence over every other intelligible question

- of speculative minds'; Galileo Galilei and Christoph Scheiner, *On Sunspots*, trans. Eileen Reeves and Albert Van Helden, p. 95. In asserting this, Galileo was challenging the established disciplinary boundary between mathematical astronomy and natural philosophy. In doing so, he followed in the footsteps of Nicolaus Copernicus. For Kepler, see Robert S. Westman, 'The Astronomer's Role in the Sixteenth Century: A Preliminary Study', pp. 117, 126–7.
- 5/9 Reid alludes to Colin Maclaurin, *Geometria organica: Sive descriptio linearum curvarum universalis* (1720).
- 5/13 Reid's exemplars of the use of the inductive method were Newton, Robert Boyle, Stephen Hales and, after 1757, his future colleague at Glasgow, Joseph Black; see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 183.
- 5/14 Reid subsequently condemned the use of hypotheses in his lectures on natural philosophy and, given his attack on the theory of ideas in his philosophical orations for 1759 and 1762, presumably he also did so in his lectures on the science of the mind; see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. lxii–lxiii, and below pp. 93–111, 121–9.
- 5/18 These topics were to preoccupy Reid in the years preceding the publication of his *Inquiry* in 1764. For an indication of what he had to say about the theory of ideas and sensory perception in his lectures at King's College see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 318–27, and Orations III and IV below, pp. 82–135. Reid also developed his critique of the theory of ideas in a number of his contributions to the proceedings of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society in the period 1758–63; see H. Lewis Ulman (ed.), *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 1758–1773*, pp. 85–6, 190, Table A-4 and Table A-8 (p. 248), as well as Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 266–315. Reid revised the materials he presented to the Society in writing the *Inquiry*.
- 5/18 Reid discussed our ideas of beauty and harmony in his King's College lectures on the science of the mind; see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 327–8.
- 5/20 On the distinction between primary and secondary internal feelings compare Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense* (1728), ed. Aaron Garrett, pp. 15–19.
- 5/23 On the principles of action see Essay III in Reid, *Active Powers*, pp. 74–195.
- 5/25 Compare Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the*



- Passions and Affections*, pp. 16–17, and Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue; in Two Treatises* (1725), ed. Wolfgang Leidhold.
- 5/25 For Reid on testimony see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 171, 190–5, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 487–8, 557–8 (VI.5, VII. 3). Reid discussed testimony in his King’s College lectures on logic, for which see the anonymous student notes, ‘System of Logic, Taught at Aberdeen 1763’ in the collection of logic lectures dated Glasgow 1775, ‘Observations on Logic: By Several Professors’, Edinburgh University Library (hereafter EUL), MS Dk.3.2, pp. 47–9, 67–77. The notes from his lectures are incorrectly dated because he taught logic during the sessions for 1755–56, 1758–59 and 1761–62. A reference in these notes (p. 37) to the capture of the site of Fort Duquesne from the French, which occurred in November 1758, indicates that the notes were taken in either 1758–59 or 1761–62. Reid later discussed testimony in his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind; see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 167, 169–70, 180, 184–5.
- 5/27 On these principles of common sense compare Anon., ‘System of Logic’, pp. 52–4, 59–67; Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 196–9; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 167, 185; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 489–90, 497–512 (VI.5, VI.6).
- 5/30 Reid considered the relationship between body and mind in his lectures on the culture of the mind; see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 10, 22–3, 191–3. For Reid, the principles of the fine arts were grounded on these connections.
- 5/30 Reid dealt with these topics when lecturing on the culture of the mind; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, esp. pp. 197–289.
- 5/31 According to Reid, physiognomy was based on a knowledge of the natural signs of the passions; Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 102, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 484–7 (VI.5).
- 5/32 For Reid, the interpretation of dreams and omens, astrology and divination were, like natural philosophy, rooted in the same principle of human nature, namely our propensity to search for causal connections. But, unlike natural philosophy, these pseudo-sciences were built on faulty inductive reasoning; see Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 41.
- 5/35 The existence, attributes and providential governance of the deity were covered in Reid’s lectures on natural religion; for his Glasgow lectures on natural theology as recorded by his student George Baird in 1779–80, see Reid, *On Religion*, pp. 29–140.

- 5/39 Reid's emphasis on the culture of the mind reflected his belief that human nature is improvable. In his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind he asserted that it is 'a Law of Nature That it is the Will of God that Human Minds should grow up from a small an[d] imperceptible beginning, passing through various successive States of Existence, each of which is preparatory to that which follows; & that their improvement both in intellectual & moral Endowments in those states which fall under our Notice depends in a great Measure upon the Culture they receiv[e]'; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 51. Compare George Turnbull, *The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy* (1740), ed. Alexander Broadie, esp. vol. I, pp. 97, 121, 126, 171–3, 205, 255–95, 410–11; vol. II, pp. 514–15, 554–62, 580–5, 755, 791; George Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education, in All Its Branches* (1742), ed. Terrence O. Moore Jr, pp. 100–2. Turnbull was deeply indebted to the argument of Joseph Butler's *The Analogy of Religion*. Reid was also heavily influenced by Butler's *Analogy*; for his 'abstract' of the book, written in November 1738, see AUL, MS 3061/10, fols 3r–10v.
- 5/40 Whether or not human reason unaided by revelation could establish the immortality of the soul was a contested issue in eighteenth-century Scotland; see Thomas Ahnert, *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1690–1805*, pp. 43–51, 60–3, 82–3, 89–92, 99–105. Reid maintained that while reason was able to discover the probability of the existence of the soul after death, revelation was required to provide certainty regarding the soul's immortality; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 618–31, esp. pp. 629–30.
- 6/1 Compare the *Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders of King's College in Old Aberdeen*, below, p. 17. Reid later expanded his lectures on these subjects at Glasgow; see Reid, *Practical Ethics*, esp. pp. 10–16 (for his delineation of the sciences of ethics and politics), and Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 22–78.
- 6/3 Compare Reid, *Practical Ethics*, p. 46.
- 6/5 On the duties of 'low & humble but usefull and necessary' employments see Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 27–8, 32.
- 6/28 Reid subsequently explored the different 'principles' of power in his lectures on practical ethics, although not in the organised manner in which he enumerates them here.
- 6/30 Reid maintained that the advent of private property inevitably led to the pursuit of wealth, which, in turn, corrupted both individuals and

- society; see his 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System', in Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 141–4.
- 7/1 For Reid on prudence compare Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 26, 29, 32–3, 83–4; Reid, *On Society and Politics*, p. 26.
- 7/6 See Reid's Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind, in which he told his students that 'Eloquence when possessed in the highest degree seems to be of all kinds of human power the Noblest and the greatest, because it commands the passions the affections the Judgments the purposes and Resolutions of other Men'; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 197.
- 7/8 Reid discussed the duties of the different stations in society in his lectures on practical ethics; Reid, *Practical Ethics*, esp. pp. 10, 26–8.

### Statutes and Orders of King's College

- 8/8 At a meeting of the masters and Principal of King's College held on 23 March 1753, a committee consisting of John Chalmers (Principal), Roderick Macleod (Regent), Thomas Gordon (Humanist) and Thomas Reid was established 'for conserting a proper Plan for the Economic and Suggesting further proposals for the better Regulating the Discipline of the College & Improving the plan of Education'; 'King's College Minutes, 1733–1754', AUL, MS KINGS/1/4/1/8, p. 355. The regulations developed by the committee in consultation with their colleagues were eventually approved at a College meeting convened on 17 August 1753. The minutes of the meeting incorporate the text of 'Ane Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders of the College' and they record that the Principal and masters decided that the 'Abstract' should be 'Printed and . . . Distributed among the Alumni & Willwishers of the College'; 'King's College Minutes, 1733–1754', pp. 366–73. That Reid played a leading role in drafting the revised statutes for the College is indicated in two sources. The entry on King's College, Aberdeen, in Sir John Sinclair's *The Statistical Account of Scotland* states: 'In the year 1753, the whole plan of discipline and education in King's College was brought under review for the purpose of improvement. A great number of statutes relative to these objects, since known by the name of "the new regulations", were enacted by the College, and submitted to the examination of the public. In framing these regulations, the celebrated Dr Reid's opinion, and views respecting education, are supposed to have prevailed.' The anonymous author(s) of this entry

relied on materials drafted by the long-serving Thomas Gordon, who had been Reid's colleague at King's and who had also served on the committee responsible for drafting the statutes; see Anon., 'University and King's College of Aberdeen', in Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–99), vol. XXI, pp. 79, 103. Gordon would thus have been directly aware of Reid's contribution to the deliberations of the committee. The other account of Reid's involvement in the work of the committee is found in a profile of Reid authored by his former student and protégé William Ogilvie. According to Ogilvie, King's College 'owe[d] to Dr. Reid several valuable improvements in their Plan of Education. By his persuasion the Session was prolonged from five to seven months. Logic was almost entirely omitted. The Philosophy of the Mind was made to come after that of Material Nature and Natural History was introduced which I believe had never before been taught in Scotland nor perhaps with due regard to System in any of the Universities of Europe'; see the letter from Ogilvie to David Steuart Erskine, eleventh earl of Buchan, 5 January 1764, transcribed in David Steuart Erskine, eleventh earl of Buchan, 'Extracts from the Diaries and Letter-books of the 11th earl of Buchan. No. 9. The Story of His Life, 1764', Glasgow University Library (hereafter GUL), MS Murray 502/65.

- 8/13 Prior to the 1753–54 session, the academic year at King's lasted from the beginning of November until some time in March, with graduation ceremonies being held shortly thereafter, in April.
- 9/30 The unification of the small bursaries meant that fewer bursaries were available for incoming students. The reduction in the number of bursaries offered by the College, combined with the extension of the session, precipitated a sharp decline of student numbers at King's in the mid- to late 1750s. This recruitment crisis split King's into two warring factions, one led by Principal Chalmers and the other by Reid and his kinsman John Gregory. Chalmers' party succeeded in shortening the academic year and increasing the number of small bursaries, despite the concerted opposition of Reid and his allies, who sought to defend the college reforms of 1753–54.
- 10/10 This statute was designed to allay the fears of parents regarding the possible misbehaviour of their sons while attending university. The Principal and masters at King's were mindful of the fact that many of the College's students came from distant parishes in Aberdeenshire and the Highlands and only a few from New Aberdeen or

- Kincardineshire; see Robert Noyes Smart, 'Some Observations on the Provinces of the Scottish Universities, 1560–1850', p. 100, and Colin A. McLaren, *Aberdeen Students, 1600–1860*, Tables 2-4, pp. 172–4.
- 11/26 The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'perlustrate' as 'to travel through and inspect thoroughly' or 'to survey comprehensively, esp[ecially] in an official capacity'.
- 12/6 In Reid's period, the date of Whitsunday in Scotland was fixed at 15 May. Whitsunday was one of the four Scottish 'quarter days' (the others being Candlemas, Lammas and Martinmas) punctuating the calendar. Whitsunday was also a 'term day' upon which rents were due, servants were hired and tenancies were begun or ended. Michaelmas falls on 29 September.
- 12/19 According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a 'boll' was a Scottish measure roughly equivalent to six imperial bushels. The term 'meal' refers to oatmeal and 'bear' to coarse barley.
- 12/36 Candlemas, which was another of the Scottish quarter days, falls on 2 February.
- 13/7 While Reid's committee were drawing up the new statutes for King's, they consulted with the 'Oeconomist' Thomas Spark about their proposals for operating the college dining room. Spark was unwilling to work within the framework of the reforms and resigned his office; 'King's College Minutes, 1733–1754', pp. 363–4. After advertising the position in the Aberdeen and Edinburgh newspapers, the college appointed an Edinburgh vintner, Alexander Leslie, who in turn resigned in 1756. He was replaced by a Miss Eleanor Ker, who was the first in a long line of female Oeconomists; see Peter John Anderson (ed.), *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen, 1495–1860*, pp. 93–4. Despite what is said in the statutes, women played an important role in the 'oeconomy' of the College.
- 13/25 In the early modern period, dancing was regarded an integral element in the education of a gentleman. John Locke, for example, observed that 'since nothing appears to me to give Children so much becoming Confidence and Behaviour, and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their Age, as *Dancing*; I think they should be taught to Dance, as soon as they are capable of Learning it. For though this consist only in outward gracefulness of Motion, yet, I know not how, it gives Children manly Thoughts, and Carriage more than any thing'; John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*

- (1693), ed. John W. Yolton and Jean S. Yolton, pp. 124–5 (see also p. 252). George Turnbull later paraphrased the quoted passage from Locke in recommending the teaching of dancing in the education of the young. According to Turnbull, dance was an ‘outward language whereby the internal civility of the temper is expressed’; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 303–4. Locke (and many other writers on education) also recommended that children and youth be taught writing, bookkeeping and French; Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, pp. 214–15, 216, 261–2. During the eighteenth century, a number of subjects were taught by private teachers in both Old and New Aberdeen, including music, dancing, French and mathematics; see Shona Vance, ‘Schooling the People’, p. 321; Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, p. 178, Editorial Note 48/7.
- 13/30 The hour of instruction on Sundays was most likely devoted to religious topics. By the 1780s, the lectures were held in the morning and dealt with natural theology. The clergyman John Bethune, who took his MA at King’s in 1764, stated in 1787: ‘On Sunday, ’twixt Breakfast, & going to Church, the different Classes attend their Respective Masters, to hear Lectures, on natural History, general observations on the Structure of the Human Body, or other Subjects, calculated to establish the Belief of a God, to display the Wisdom & Goodness of Providence, & other Principles of natural Religion’; John Bethune to ?, 25 September 1787, EUL, MS La.III.379/42, fol. 1r–v.
- 13/33 The Humanist at King’s had traditionally taught the rudiments of Latin. In the 1740s Thomas Gordon, who served as the Professor of Humanity from 1739 to 1765, may have broadened his course to include rhetoric and *belles-lettres*. In the context of the curriculum reforms at King’s in 1753, Gordon revamped his teaching after consulting with contacts at St Andrews and Glasgow. At a College meeting held on 25 April 1753 Gordon’s colleagues unanimously endorsed his proposal ‘to give Over at Whitsunday next, the teaching of the elements of Latin in the Way of a Grammar School and in place thereof he proposes to teach ane Humanity Class during the Session of the College in the Same manner as in other Universities’; ‘King’s College Minutes, 1733–1754’, p. 359. Although he did not spell out the precise details of his revised course, Gordon presumably intended to focus on teaching canonical Latin texts of poetry and prose as well as lecturing on aspects of Roman history, culture

- and antiquities. His new course attracted few students, however, and he was attacked by Principal Chalmers as a consequence; see Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment*, p. 153.
- 14/2 In 1707 Edinburgh was the first Scottish university to jettison regenting and to adopt the system of fixed professorial chairs in philosophy. Glasgow followed suit in 1727, and the St Andrews colleges did so in 1747. Having experimented with fixed chairs in 1733–34, Marischal opted to establish them in 1753. King's retained the regenting system until 1800.
- 14/21 Reid and his colleagues at King's clearly believed that regents acted *in loco parentis*; this was an important consideration for parents of prospective students.
- 14/30 Opponents of the scholastic curriculum had long been critical of the teaching of logic and metaphysics. See, for example, Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, pp. 156–7, 208, 219, 240–1; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, p. 347. See also Alexander Gerard, *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of It* (1755), pp. 3–6, 26.
- 14/33 Reid and his colleagues echo Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), ed. Michael Kiernan, p. 59; John Milton, *Of Education* (1673), ed. Allan Abbott, in *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson et al. (1931–40), vol. IV, pp. 278–9; Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, p. 219; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 347–9. Compare Gerard, *Plan of Education in the Marischal College*, pp. 6–7, 23–6.
- 15/15 John Chalmers began his career at King's College in November 1740, when he was appointed to teach the class of the Subprincipal Alexander Fraser, who had formerly served as the Professor of Greek and a Regent. Chalmers was then elected to replace Alexander Burnet as a Regent in January 1742. On 27 May 1746 Chalmers was chosen as the Principal of King's and he remained in his post until his death on 7 April 1800.
- 15/22 At a meeting of the masters and Principal held on 6 April 1754, a set of additional statutes drafted by Reid's committee was approved and entered into the college minutes; see 'Minutes of King's College, 1733–1754', pp. 393–7.
- 15/35 In early modern Europe, it was a common practice for professors and regents to supplement their salaries and class fees by boarding students. In Old Aberdeen, the Humanist Thomas Gordon issued a handbill in 1744 in which he stated that he had 'good Conveniency



- for Boarders in his own Family . . . [and] proposes to lodge about 20 young Gentlemen in his own House'. He also offered to teach the boarders 'History, Geography, Chronology, Heraldry, and the Principles of Drawing and Architecture' as well as the elements of 'the System of the World'; for the handbill see Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment*, p. 57. See also McLaren, *Aberdeen Students, 1600–1860*, pp. 91–2.
- 16/19 That is, exempted. 'Exeem' is an Old Scots word dating back to the sixteenth century. As defined in the *Scottish National Dictionary* 'exeem' means 'to free, relieve, exempt from some obligation, especially a tax'.
- 17/2 Compare Reid's 'Scheme of a Course of Philosophy', above, pp. 5–6. Reid's understanding of the relationship between these sciences and the science of the mind was shaped by his Regent at Marischal, George Turnbull, and by David Hume; see Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 385, 389–91, and David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40), ed. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, p. 4.
- 17/5 There was thus no uniform curriculum taught by the Regents at King's. Each Regent covered the subjects included in the *cursus philosophicus* in relation to their own interests and level of competence. In 1695 a Visitation Commission established by the Scottish parliament decreed that Regents were required to submit course outlines for approval by the Principal but it is unclear how widespread this practice was; Robert Sangster Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen: A History*, p. 174. Various outlines for Reid's course of natural philosophy survive; see AUL, MSS 2131/6/V/10, 2131/6/V/31, fol. 3r–v and 2131/8/V/2.
- 17/9 The proposed museum at King's did not materialise. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, Thomas Gordon's successor as the Professor of Humanity, William Ogilvie, assembled a substantial collection of natural history specimens, supplemented by a smaller number of medals and ancient coins, which was housed in the College and used in his teaching; see Francis Douglas, *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland, from Edinburgh to Cullen* (1782), pp. 198–9, and William Ogilvie to John Calder, 20 August 1795, in John Nichols (ed.), *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (1817–58), vol. IV, pp. 837–8.
- 17/29 The proposal to construct an anatomy theatre and a chemical laboratory came to nothing, as did the subsequent attempt by John Gregory



(who succeeded his brother James Gregory as the Mediciner at King's in November 1755) and his colleague, David Skene, to launch a medical school at the college. Neither the anatomy theatre nor the laboratory was built and, in 1760, Gregory and Skene abandoned their plan for lack of students and facilities; Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment*, p. 71, and Thomas Reid, 'Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons', below, p. 177.

### The Union of King's and Marischal Colleges

- 19/12 In 1641 Charles I agreed to the union of King's and Marischal; the united university was 'to be callit in all tyme cuming, King Charles' universitie of Aberdene'; see Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Fasti Aberdonenses: Selections from the Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1494–1854*, p. 151. The Act of the Scottish Parliament uniting the colleges was formally rescinded in 1661. In early 1747, a scheme to amalgamate King's and Marischal was discussed by the Principals and masters, partly as a means to solve the financial and other difficulties each college faced and partly to increase the competitiveness of Aberdeen in the student marketplace, which was threatened by the reform and the unification of the colleges of St Salvator's and St Leonard's at St Andrews. The Aberdeen Town Council adamantly opposed locating the united university in the Old Town and, in doing so, effectively sabotaged the scheme. The Principals of King's and Marischal, John Chalmers and Thomas Blackwell the younger, revived the idea of uniting their colleges in 1749 and, in order to counter the political influence of the Aberdeen Town Council, attempted to persuade the government in London to support the proposal. Their attempt failed. For details of the 1747 and 1749 union schemes see Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment*, pp. 61–3 and Appendix I.
- 19/27 James Ogilvy, fifth earl of Findlater and second earl of Seafield. Roger Emerson has pointed out that Findlater was not a neutral arbiter, for he covertly supported the proposal to locate the proposed united university in New Aberdeen. The Principal and masters at King's were not aware of Findlater's position. See Roger L. Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics: The Aberdeen Universities in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 125, note 18.
- 20/18 A number of Jacobite private academies were established in the

wake of the uprising of 1715–16. One Jacobite sympathizer who was purged from Marischal College in 1716–17 by the two Royal Commissions of Visitation, William Meston, established a successful academy at Elgin, where, according to his eighteenth-century biographer, ‘he continued for several years, instructing young Gentlemen in all the branches of learning taught at the Universities, whither the flower of the youth of the northern counties resorted to him from all quarters’; Anon., ‘Some Account of the Author’s Life’, in William Meston, *The Poetical Works of the Ingenious and Learned William Meston, A.M. Sometime Professor of Philosophy in the Marischal College of Aberdeen*, sixth edition (1767), p. vi. After the 1745–46 rebellion the British government passed legislation intended to suppress the private Jacobite academies. See 19 George II c. 39, ‘An Act for the More Effectual Disarming the Highlands in *Scotland*; and for the More Effectually Securing the Peace of the Said Highlands; and for Restraining the Use of the Highland Dress; and for Further Indemnifying Such Persons as Have Acted in Defence of His Majesty’s Person and Government, During the Unnatural Rebellion; and for Indemnifying the Judges and Other Officers of the Court of Justiciary in *Scotland*, for not Performing the Northern Circuit in *May* One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Six; and for Obliging the Masters and Teachers of Private Schools in *Scotland*, and Chaplains, Tutors and Governors of Children or Youth, to Take the Oaths to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and to Register the Same’, in Owen Ruffhead, *The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta, to the Twenty-Fifth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, Inclusive*, new edition revised and corrected by Charles Runnington (1786), vol. VI, pp. 332–8, esp. pp. 337–8. In the ‘Memorial concerning the North of Scotland’ submitted to the Lord Chancellor, the earl of Hardwicke, in March 1749 by the Principals of King’s and Marischal, the union of the two colleges was presented as a means to curb the establishment of Jacobite private academies; Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment*, p. 226.

- 20/39 See below, pp. 28/1–3, 33/1–9.
- 21/19 In stating this, the Principal and masters at King’s signalled that they wanted the amalgamated university to be a collegiate institution like their own College after the reforms of 1753.
- 21/22 The articles of union agreed upon by the two Aberdeen colleges in November 1754 were later published in Anon., *A Collection of All the Papers relating to the Proposal for Uniting the King’s and the*

- Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen, Which Have Been Published by Authority of the Colleges* (1787), p. 6.
- 21/30 Compare Daniel Defoe's comment that the College building at Glasgow was 'the best of any in Scotland of the kind'; Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–26), ed. Pat Rogers, p. 605. Glasgow was not, however, a collegiate institution like King's.
- 21/36 Originally, King's College provided manses for 'the canonist, mediciner, grammarian and civilist'; Anon., 'University and King's College of Aberdeen', p. 63. In the eighteenth century, the Canonist's Manse, the Humanist's Manse, the Mediciner's Manse and a manse for the Professor of Divinity stood in the Old Town. There was also a manse for the Principal; see Anon., *Evidence, Oral and Documentary, Taken and Received by the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty George IV., July 23d, 1826; and Re-Appointed by His Majesty William IV., October 12th 1830; for Visiting the Universities of Scotland. Volume IV: University of Aberdeen* (1837), pp. 196–7. Reid lived in the Canonist's Manse while teaching at King's.
- 22/35 A glebe was a parcel of land assigned to a parish minister to supplement his income. The glebes allocated to the masters at King's served the same purpose and dated back to the foundation of the college; Anon., 'University and King's College of Aberdeen', p. 66, and Anon., *Evidence, Oral and Documentary Volume IV: University of Aberdeen*, pp. 196–7.
- 24/26 'They all eat in one house, harmonious and in a collegial fashion, and sleep and rest beneath one roof, in order that hence no occasion for delinquency or opportunity for roaming and trespassing appear to be granted'. The Latin passage is taken from Bishop Gavin Dunbar's foundation charter for King's College of 1531; Innes, *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 83.
- 24/33 Compare the *Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders* above, pp. 9–10. Reid also emphasised this point shortly after the collapse of the union scheme when writing to the father of two sons about to enter King's; see Reid to Archibald Dunbar, 4 September 1755, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 10–11.
- 27/3 The minutes of King's do not record who the representatives of the College were. Given that Reid and his kinsman, the mediciner James Gregory, served on the committee struck by the two Aberdeen colleges to draw up the articles of union in the autumn of 1754, one of them was probably appointed by their colleagues at King's to present

- the *Memorial* to the earl of Findlater. Since Principal Chalmers was the administrative head of the College, it is likely that he also met with Findlater, accompanied by either Reid or Gregory.
- 27/23 On private teaching in Aberdeen see Editorial Note 13/25 above.
- 28/3 An allusion to the private Jacobite academies that had sprung up in Scotland following the 1715–16 rising; see Editorial Note 20/18 above.
- 28/25 The meeting at which the Principal and masters at Marischal agreed to the text of their *Memorial* presumably took place after the joint meeting of the two Aberdeen colleges held on 8 November 1754 at which the articles of union were discussed. The minutes of the Marischal meeting are not recorded in the College's minute book for the period; 'Minutes of Marischal College, 1729–1791', AUL, MS MARISCHAL/1/2/1/1.
- 28/31 On the union scheme of 1747 see Editorial Note 19/12 above.
- 29/7 That is, a place where the arts curriculum and possibly law, medicine or theology was taught. There is no evidence to suggest that a *studium generale* existed in the Old Town prior to the founding of King's College by the Papal Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1494–95. Rather, the intention of the Pope, King James IV and William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, was to establish one.
- 29/9 Bologna.
- 29/16 For a list of those who controlled appointments to the various offices at King's in the eighteenth century see Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics*, p. 134.
- 29/31 The texts of James VI's grant and the earl of Marischal's foundation charter for Marischal College are included in Peter John Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis: Selections from the Records of the Marischal College and University, 1593–1860*, vol. I, pp. 1–77.
- 30/9 Compare Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, vol. I. pp. 85–7.
- 30/23 For some of these bursaries see Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, vol. I. pp. 120–9, 207–9, 291–3; see also Anon., 'Historical Account and Present State of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen', in Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. XXI, pp. 110–11.
- 30/26 Anon., 'Historical Account and Present State of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen', vol. XXI, p. 127, and Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics*, p. 135.

- 30/30 Duncan Liddell was a native of Aberdeen and may have been educated at King's College. In the 1580s and 1590s he carved out a successful professorial career in Germany but he returned to Scotland in 1607. Liddell died in Aberdeen in 1613. For Liddell's bequest see Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, vol. I. pp. 131–9.
- 30/35 Thomas Reid was a distinguished ancestor of his Enlightenment namesake; on the earlier Reid, see Editorial Note 188/34 below. For the details of his bequest see Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, vol. I. pp. 194–7. The salary for our Reid's position as librarian at Marischal College (which he occupied from 1733 to 1736) was funded by his ancestor's bequest.
- 31/1 The Visitation Commission which convened at Marischal in late December 1619 was established by King James VI and I and included the recently appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, Patrick Forbes of Corse, who was also the Chancellor of King's College. Both Patrick Dun and William Forbes had taught at Marischal; in 1619 Dun was the Rector of the College while Forbes was the Dean of Faculty. Forbes became Principal of the College in 1620 and Dun succeeded him in 1621. Apart from the ordinance regarding fees, the visitors did not meddle in the internal affairs of Marischal. At King's, Bishop Forbes's visitation in September 1619 resulted in sweeping reforms at the College; David Stevenson, *King's College Aberdeen, 1560–1641: From Protestant Reformation to Covenanting Revolution*, ch. 4.
- 31/4 A merk was equivalent to thirteen shillings and four pence Scots.
- 31/34 'Against the Inverting of Pious Donations', Act 6 Charles I 1633, in Thomas Thomson, Cosmo Innes and Archibald Anderson (eds), *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (1814–75), vol. V, p. 22.
- 32/10 On 24 March 1747 the Town Council of Aberdeen resolved to 'oppose [the proposed union of King's and Marischal] with the utmost vigour'. The following day the Council set out the grounds for their opposition, which are restated here; John Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen: 1643–1747*, pp. 385–7.
- 33/9 Compare the *Memorial* from Marischal College above, p. 28/1–3.
- 33/33 Patrick Copland was born in New Aberdeen and was an alumnus of Marischal College. He went to England and initially served as a chaplain in the East India Company. After a brief involvement with the Virginia Company, Copland settled in Bermuda and probably

- died there after a brief stint in the Bahamas. The text of his mortification, as well as associated documents, are found in Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, vol. I. pp. 159–78.
- 33/35 For the mortification of David Chamberlain see Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, vol. I. pp. 182–4.
- 34/3 A ‘tour’ is defined in the *Scottish National Dictionary* as ‘one’s turn or spell in a regular sequence’.
- 34/6 According to the *Scottish National Dictionary*, ‘vice’ in this context means ‘turn, succession, position or period (in a sequence or rota), frequently with reference to the right to present a minister to a parish where the patronage was shared between two or more heritors who exercised the right in turn at each succeeding vacancy’.
- 34/12 A chaldron was a standard measure of coal. In the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ‘chaldron’ was defined as ‘a dry English measure, consisting of thirty-six bushels, heaped up according to the sealed bushel kept at Guild-hall, London: but on ship-board, twenty-one chaldron of coals are allowed to the score. The chaldron should weigh two thousand pounds’; Smellie, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. ‘chaldron’, vol. II, p. 56.
- 36/25 Compare above, *Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders*, pp. 9–10.
- 36/35 Compare above, *Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders*, p. 13.
- 37/2 Technically, King’s College lacked a Chancellor in 1755. After the death in 1741 of John Ker, first duke of Roxburghe, the position was left vacant until the appointment of James Ogilvy, Lord Deskford, in May 1761. Roxburghe was only a nominal Chancellor because of his unease over whether the masters or the crown had the legal right to choose a Chancellor; see Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics*, pp. 40–3. In taking their oath of admission at King’s, professors and regents declared their obedience in the first instance to the Chancellor, and secondly to the Rector and Principal; see ‘Minute Book Beginning 15 January 1700 & Ending 4 March 1706’, AUL, MS KINGS/1/3/2, and ‘King’s College Minutes, 1789–1800’, AUL, MS KINGS/1/4/1/13, p. 1.
- 37/33 See above pp. 28, 31, 32.
- 38/12 The text of this letter was not entered into the King’s College minute book.
- 38/20 A Scots word meaning ‘endow’.
- 38/25 There were fifteen teaching positions at King’s and Marischal in 1755.
- 39/1 For the meaning of ‘vice’ see Editorial Note 34/6 above.

## 2/II/1: The Education of Children

- 40/2 This question was discussed at a meeting of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society held on 1 April 1760. The question had been proposed by Reid in September 1759; at the April meeting he was asked to prepare an ‘abstract’ of the discussion. Reid’s text is an incomplete draft of his contribution to the discussion. The original wording of the question in the Society’s minute book differs from that in Reid’s abstract. In the minute book, the question reads: ‘Whether it is proper to educate Children without instilling Principles into them of any kind whatsoever?’; see Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, pp. 93, 96, 192. Reid later addressed his question in his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, esp. pp. 187–90.
- 40/15 Reid here echoes John Locke and George Turnbull (whose view of the education of children was deeply indebted to Locke’s). See Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, pp. 115–17, 119; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 49, 80–1, 216 (quoting Locke), 222, 269.
- 40/21 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 195.
- 40/24 Reid reiterated this point in the *Inquiry*: ‘It is the intention of Nature, that human education should be joined to her institution, in order to form the man. And she hath fitted us for human education, by the natural principles of imitation and credulity, which discover themselves almost in infancy, as well as by others which are of later growth.’; Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 201–2. On the principle of credulity see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 194–5. On the importance of imitation in education, compare Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, pp. 133–4, 143; Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*, pp. 69, 100, 222; and David Fordyce, *Dialogues concerning Education*, (1745–48), vol. I, pp. 115, 196, 317, vol. II, pp. 99, 175.

## Part Two: Philosophical Orations

### Oration I

- 43/2 On 9 April 1753 twelve students graduated from the class that Reid had taught after his appointment at King’s College in October 1751. In addition, one student appears to have graduated in a private graduation ceremony held on 30 March 1753; see Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University and King’s College Aberdeen*, p. 239.



- 43/15 While Reid's conception of an art was rooted in the writings of Aristotle and other ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, it is likely that he was also indebted to the influential discussion of the nature of the arts given in Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopædia*, wherein Chambers states that the word 'ART is principally used for a certain system or collection of rules, precepts, and inventions or experiments, which being duly observed, make the things a man undertakes succeed, and render them advantageous and agreeable'; see Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, s.v. 'Art', as well as the 'Preface', vol. I, pp. vi–x, where Chambers argues that in the arts the human mind is active whereas in the sciences the mind is passive. See also the definition of 'art' given by William Smellie: 'ART, [is] a system of rules serving to facilitate the performance of certain actions'; Smellie, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. 'Art', vol. I, p. 427.
- 43/24 Reid alludes to Aristotle's *Poetics*.
- 43/27 Reid describes God as 'the greatest poet' because God, like poets and painters, is a creator; see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 285.
- 45/36 In arguing that philosophy is an art, Reid presumably intended to emphasise that the true aim of philosophy was to discover knowledge that could be used to improve the human condition in both the material and moral realms. In doing so, he followed Chambers and others in differentiating between science and art in terms of application. According to Chambers, the term 'science' is 'particularly used for a form'd System of any Branch of Knowledge; comprehending the Doctrine, Reason and Theory, of the Thing, without any immediate Application thereof to any Uses or Offices of Life; in which Sense, the Word is used in Opposition to *Art*'; Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, s.v. 'Science'.
- 45/25 For similar assessments of the state of the science of the mind by Reid see Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 16, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 61–2 (I.6). While he attributed the lack of progress in philosophy to the absence of a consensus regarding 'the laws of philosophising' in Oration I, he subsequently reframed his historical narrative, arguing that anatomists of the mind had been misled by spurious analogies and hypotheses, the most notable of which being the ideal system; Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 23, 203–7, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 62–4 (I.6).
- 45/28 Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 457 (VI.4).
- 45/37 Reid refers to Newton's invention of the fluxional calculus; for



- Reid as a Newtonian mathematician see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, esp. pp. lxxxi–lxxxiii.
- 47/2 An allusion to the title of Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, i.e. on the ends of goods and evils.
- 47/35 Reid here follows Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. R. D. Hicks, vol. I, pp. 19, 327 (I.18, III.56), and vol. II, pp. 149–53 (VII.39–41). John Locke and Francis Hutcheson among other modern writers adopted this tripartite division of philosophy; see John Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), ed. Peter H. Nidditch, pp. 720–1 (IV.xxi.1–5), and Francis Hutcheson, *A Synopsis of Metaphysics comprehending Ontology and Pneumatology*, second edition (1744), in Francis Hutcheson, *Logic, Metaphysics and the Natural Sociability of Mankind*, ed. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne and trans. Michael Silverthorne, p. 65.
- 49/3 Reid refers to Chrysippus of Soli, who succeeded his teacher Cleanthes as head of the Stoic school in Athens, and Crantor, who had previously left Soli for Athens, where he joined the Academy and produced an important commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*.
- 49/19 See also Reid's assessment of Socrates in Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 9–10, 76. On the pre-eminence of Socrates and the relation of his moral teachings to those of Christianity compare Samuel Clarke, *A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation*, ninth edition (1738), pp. 284–6. The earl of Shaftesbury went further than Clarke in drawing a parallel between Socrates and Jesus, with the former characterised as 'the very founder of philosophy itself' and the latter the 'founder of our religion'. Shaftesbury also referred to Socrates as 'the divinest man who had ever appeared in the heathen world'; Anthony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1714), ed. Lawrence E. Klein, pp. 17, 441. Reid's regent George Turnbull took up Shaftesbury's parallel in his pamphlet *An Impartial Enquiry into the Moral Character of Jesus Christ: Wherein He Is Considered as a Philosopher* (1740), in George Turnbull, *Education for Life: Correspondence and Writings on Religion and Practical Philosophy*, ed. M. A. Stewart and Paul Wood, pp. 223–73.
- 49/24 Compare Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. I, p. 179 (II.48); Johann Jakob Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*

- (1742–44), vol. I, p. 556; and Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy: Containing the Lives, Opinions, Actions and Discourses of the Philosophers of Every Sect*, fourth edition (1743), p. 120.
- 49/27 Reid follows Diogenes Laertius, who questioned the fidelity of Plato's representation of the views of Socrates and stated that Xenophon and Plato were bitter rivals; see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. I, pp. 175 (II.45), 187 (II.57), 307–9 (III.34–5). For later restatements of Diogenes Laertius's assessment of Plato see Johann Jakob Brucker, *Historia philosophica doctrinae de ideis* (1723), p. 13, and Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 120.
- 49/31 On the disciples of Socrates compare Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. I, p. 177 (II.47); Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*, vol. I, pp. 569–71; and Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 96. Cebes of Thebes was thought to be the author of the dialogue known as *The Tablet* or *Pinax*, in which the meaning of an allegorical picture is explained in terms of Socrates' view of the interconnectedness of knowledge, virtue and true happiness. The earl of Shaftesbury intended to include a commentary on this dialogue in his *Second Characters*; see Anthony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury, *Second Characters or the Language of Forms*, ed. Benjamin Rand, pp. xvii–xviii. Aeschines is said to have written seven dialogues in the style of Socrates that dealt with ethical issues. Reid held Cicero in such high esteem that, as Knud Haakonssen has pointed out, he began his own translation of Cicero's *De officiis*; Reid, *Practical Ethics*, p. lxxxi, and AUL, MS 2131/2/II/8.
- 49/37 For evidence of Reid's indebtedness to Joseph Butler see Editorial Note 5/39 above. A clear indication of his regard for Butler occurs in his Glasgow lectures on rhetoric, where Reid states: 'Bishop Butler the clearest mind with the most solid and most penetrating Understanding, is a dry writer, perhaps from the contempt of Ornament; which has made his excellent writings to be less read & less attended to than they deserve'; Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 275.
- 49/40 Although Reid had apparently read the canonical works on politics by Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle, we do not know what he said about their views in his King's College and Glasgow lectures on politics. There is no mention of them, for example, in the surviving manuscripts related to his lectures transcribed in Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 22–78. Reid's suggestion that politics is 'the noblest part of philosophy' echoes Aristotle's argument that politics is 'the

- most authoritative art and that which is most truly the master art'; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094<sup>a-b</sup>, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, vol. II, pp. 1729–30.
- 51/4 Reid counted Niccolò Machiavelli and James Harrington among the founders of the modern science of politics because they had sharply distinguished between moral and political questions; see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, p 25. Reid also credited Harrington with the discovery of the principle that 'the Ballance of Power in a State follows the Ballance of Land Property' and with having sketched the 'best model of Republican Government that has ever been proposed'; Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 43–4. Hume's formulation of the science of politics served as a foil to Reid's; for commentary on the differences between them see the Introduction to Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xxxix, xlv, li–liii, lx, lxii.
- 51/6 Compare Reid's statement in his politics lectures that Montesquieu was 'the greatest political Writer that either ancient or modern times have produced'; Reid, *On Society and Politics*, p. 51.
- 51/14 On Montesquieu on the British constitution compare Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 51–2, and Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), trans. and ed. Anne Cohler, Basia Miller and Harold Stone, pp. 156–66.
- 51/16 In the early modern period the meaning of the term 'physics' was much broader than it subsequently became in the nineteenth century. Whereas the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'physics' as 'the branch of science concerned with the nature and properties of non-living matter and energy', in the eighteenth century Ephraim Chambers defined 'physics' as 'the Doctrine of Natural Bodies, their Phænomena, Causes, Effects; their various Affections, Motions, Operations, &c.'; Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, s.v. 'Physicks'. Reid's statement that physics 'should be grounded on natural history' registers the view of the relationship between the two branches of learning enunciated by Francis Bacon; see, for example, the dedication and Book I, Aphorism XCVIII in the *Novum organum*, as well as 'A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History' in Francis Bacon, *The Instauration magna Part II: Novum organum and Associated Texts*, ed. and trans. Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, pp. 9, 157, 451, 455.
- 51/21 Aristotle's works on natural history included *On Plants* and, among the five texts dealing with the animal kingdom, his *History of*

*Animals*; see also Reid's comment that 'in natural history the fidelity of [Aristotle's] narration seems to be equal to his industry; and he always distinguishes between what he knew and what he had by report', in Thomas Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic. With Remarks', in Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 98 (all page references in the Editorial Notes will be to this edition). Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle as the head of the Lyceum, was best known as a natural historian for two major works on botany, his *Historia plantarum* and his *De causis plantarum*. Pedanius Dioscorides was a Greek physician whose *Materia medica* continued to be an influential text in the early modern period. Pliny the Elder was the author of the encyclopedic *Naturalis historia*, which surveys what was known in classical antiquity about human-kind and the three kingdoms of nature.

51/23 Reid refers to Francis Bacon's 'A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History', pp. 448–85.

51/37 Compare Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, in Xenophon, *Memorabilia, Oeconomicus, Symposium and Apology*, trans E. C. Marchant and O. J. Todd and rev. Jeffrey Henderson, pp. 13–17 (I.1.11–15).

53/4 Little is known about the life and career of Hippocrates of Cos. He likely lived at the time of Socrates, in the fifth century BCE, and he may or may not have written at least some of the works included in the Hippocratic Corpus. Often referred to as the 'father' of medicine, Hippocrates was also sometimes called the 'divine old man'. Reid's characterisation of the historical significance of Hippocrates echoes that of the eminent Dutch physician and chemist Herman Boerhaave, who taught that Hippocrates 'was the first [ancient Greek] that truly deserved the title of Physician: for being of incomparable Reason and ample Experience, supported by a sound Philosophy, he laid a just and rational Foundation of Physic for future Ages'; see Herman Boerhaave, *Dr Boerhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physic* (1742–46), vol. I, p. 27. Reid's depiction of Hippocrates as eschewing conjectures and hypotheses may have owed something to the Newtonian iatromechanist James Keill. Keill contrasted the 'Philosophical Romances' of physicians who adopted 'Principles not drawn from the Phænomena of Nature' to explain human diseases with 'that diligent Observation of Nature which gained Hippocrates immortal Honour, and without which it is impossible that ever the Art of Physick should be improved'; James Keill, *Essays on Several Parts of the Animal Oeconomy*, second edition (1717), pp. xix–xxii.

That Hippocrates had been ‘one of the finest philosophers’ of classical antiquity was first asserted by Galen of Pergamum and was later restated in Daniel Le Clerc, *The History of Physick, or, an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Art, and the Several Discoveries therein from Age to Age*, trans. James Drake and Andrew Baden (1699), p. 153.

53/7 The telescope or ‘spyglass’ was first invented in the United Provinces by the spectacle-maker Hans Lipperhey in 1608. The compound microscope had also been previously invented in the United Provinces in 1590 by the lens-maker Hans Janssen and his son Zacharias.

53/10 Reid here refers to some of the most distinguished observational astronomers working in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Galileo Galilei, whose *Siderius nuncius* of 1610 announced telescopic observations of the heavens (including his discovery of the moons of Jupiter) that electrified Europe; the Polish man of science Johannes Hevelius (Jan Heweliusz), who mapped the surface of the Moon, compiled an extensive catalogue of stars and charted new constellations; the Italian-born Giovanni Domenico Cassini, who was recruited by Louis XIV to join the Académie des sciences and to serve as the first director of the Observatoire de Paris; Cassini’s son Jacques, who succeeded his father as the director of the Observatoire de Paris in 1712 and who compiled tables of the motions of the Sun, Moon, planets and fixed stars; the Dutchman Christiaan Huygens, who was a founding member of the Académie des sciences and who, *inter alia*, established the true shape of the rings of Saturn; and John Flamsteed, who was appointed the first director of the Greenwich Observatory and Astronomer Royal in 1675 and who produced the massive star catalogue, *Historia coelestis Britannica* (1725), which set a new standard of accuracy in observational astronomy.

53/14 The basis for the ‘true physical astronomy’ was laid by Johannes Kepler in his *Astronomia nova AITIOAOΓHTOΣ, seu physica coelestis, tradita commentariis de motibus stellæ martis, ex observationibus G. V. Tychoonis Brahe* (1609) and *Harmonices mundi libri V* (1619). Kepler stated the first two of his three laws of planetary motion in his *Astronomia nova* and the third in his *Harmonices mundi*. Kepler’s three laws, in turn, served as the foundation for the theory of gravitation and system of the world Isaac Newton advanced in Book III of his *Principia*.

53/17 Reid refers to the so-called ‘Jesuit edition’ of Newton’s *Principia*; Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, ed.

- Thomas Le Seur, François Jacquier and Jean Louis Calandrini (1739–42).
- 53/20 Reid mentions: Edmond Halley, who succeeded John Flamsteed as the Astronomer Royal in 1721 and who, in addition to his foundational work on the orbits of comets and on the transit of Venus, discovered that stars are not ‘fixed’ and compiled a highly influential set of astronomical tables published in 1749; James Bradley, who succeeded Halley as the Astronomer Royal in 1742 and who discovered the aberration of light and the nutation of the Earth’s axis; the French expedition to Lapland despatched by Louis XV to establish the length of a degree of latitude near the Arctic Circle whose findings confirmed Newton’s claim that the Earth is slightly flattened at the poles; and the French expedition sent by Louis XV to Peru whose measurement of a degree of latitude near the equator further confirmed Newton’s assertion that the Earth is shaped like an oblate spheroid. On Reid’s knowledge of the work of Halley, Bradley and the members of the French expeditions see the Introduction to Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, esp. pp. cxiv–cxvi, and Editorial Note 5/1 above.
- 53/25 For Newton’s work on the behaviour of light and his revolutionary theory of colours see: Isaac Newton, ‘A Letter of Mr Isaac Newton, Professor of Mathematicks in the University of Cambridge; Containing His New Theory about Light and Colours’; and Isaac Newton, *Opticks: Or, a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections and Colours of Light*, fourth edition (1730).
- 53/29 Reid alludes to the Queries appended to Newton’s *Opticks*, which grew in number from sixteen in the first English edition of 1704 to thirty-one in the second English edition, published in 1718. Compare his comments here with Reid to Lord Kames, 16 December 1780, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 147, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 77–8, 91–2 (II.3, II.4).
- 53/33 For Reid on Aristotle’s ‘great genius’ see also Reid, ‘A Brief Account of Aristotle’s Logic’, p. 97.
- 55/4 Compare Matthew 7: 20, where, after warning against false prophets, Jesus advised his flock, ‘Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them’. This passage in the Gospel of St Matthew was the inspiration for Francis Bacon’s argument that ‘works’ are a sign of truth in philosophy; see Book I, Aphorisms LXXIII and CXXIV in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 117–19, 187, and Francis Bacon, ‘Thoughts and Conclusions on the Interpretation of Nature or a Science Productive

- of Works', in *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Farrington (1970), p. 93. Reid endorsed Bacon's argument and uses it again in Oration II, p. 64 below.
- 55/20 Compare Reid's later critique of the syllogism in Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic', pp. 127–30, 144, 145–6; see also Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, pp. 175, 178.
- 55/32 Reid here distinguishes between the methods of analysis and synthesis. According to Reid, the method of analysis 'ascend[s] by a just and cautious Induction, from what is less, to what is more general', whereas the method of synthesis 'takes for granted, as Principles, the Causes discovered by Induction, and from these explains, or accounts for the Phenomena which result from them'; Reid to Lord Kames, 16 December 1780, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 141. On the methods of analysis and synthesis applied to the science of the mind see Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 15. Reid's understanding of these methods was shaped by the influential discussion of them in Query 31 of Newton's *Opticks*, pp. 380–1.
- 55/38 Bacon's *Novum organum* was the second part of his projected six-part series of works detailing his Great Instauration. It was the only part to be published. On the title page of the *Novum organum*, Bacon said of his text that it was 'not set out as a finished treatise, but only as a summary digested in aphorisms', which suggests that it was not a finished work but rather a provisional and open-ended presentation of his ideas; Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 49. This is certainly true of Book II, which provides an incomplete and schematic outline of his method of induction.
- 57/7 For Francis Bacon on the interpretation of nature see Preface and Book I, Aphorisms XXVI–XXXVII, XL, CXXVII, CXXX, and Book II, Aphorisms X, XIX–XX in Bacon, *Novum organum*, esp. pp. 59, 75, 79, 191, 197, 215–17, 261. Similar tributes to Bacon are found in Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic', pp. 145–6; Reid to [Dugald Stewart], [1791], in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 211–12; and Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 59, 200.
- 57/17 Compare Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 184–5; Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic', p. 147; Reid to [Dugald Stewart], [1791], and Reid to Edward Tatham, October 1791, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 211–12, 225; Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 200; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 79, 121, 457 (II.3, II.8, VI.4). Reid derived his characterisation of Newton as Bacon's methodological disciple from his Regent George Turnbull, who taught that Newton



- had successfully applied Bacon's method in his work on light and colours and on the theory of gravity; see George Turnbull, *On the Association of Natural Science with Moral Philosophy* (1723), in Turnbull, *Education for Life*, pp. 49–50.
- 57/30 Apelles was regarded as the greatest painter of ancient Greece, while Praxiteles was a noted Athenian sculptor.
- 59/7 Reid ends his oration with the term 'Dixi', literally 'I have said', a usage comparable with 'Here endeth the lesson'. 'Dixi' is here translated as 'Thank you' because that is how public orators usually conclude their speech at a graduation ceremony.
- 59/24 The wording of paragraphs 23–7 is essentially the same as that of the graduation oath used at King's College in the seventeenth century; compare [Thomas Middleton], *An Appendix to the History of the Church of Scotland; Containing the Succession of the Archbishops and Bishops in Their Several Sees, from the Reformation of Religion, Until the Year 1676* (1677), p. 26. I thank Knud Haakonssen for this reference.
- 59/27 'AB' was a commonly used form in the period which Reid employs to indicate where the individual names of his graduating students were to be substituted. He presumably repeated this paragraph for each of the graduands.
- 59/33 The word 'manumissio', which is here translated as 'graduation', was used in ancient Rome (and in the Bible) in relation to the freeing of a slave. On becoming a Master of Arts, the student was free to engage in acts previously not permitted to him such as teaching in a university. The cap to which Reid refers was known as the 'Master's cap'. He uses the Latin term 'pileum' (more commonly spelled 'pilleum'), which was a close-fitting felt cap given in Rome to slaves who had gained their freedom. The cap was also used in graduation ceremonies at the University of Edinburgh; see Thomas Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland* (1715), p. 82. The symbolic use of a book was a common feature of graduation ceremonies across Europe in the early modern period, although the manner in which it was used seems to have varied widely. It appears that at King's College the handing of an 'open book' to the graduand symbolised the granting of access to knowledge or the world of letters through the power of the university to confer the MA degree. The use of the book in the graduation ceremonies at King's dates from at least the second half of the eighteenth century, if not before; compare [Middleton], *An Appendix to the History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 26–7.



- 59/35 This sentence indicates that Reid's students were required either to defend a thesis or to deliver their own oration on a philosophical topic in order to graduate. The graduands probably derived the topics of their theses or orations from the contents of the oration that Reid delivered at their degree ceremony.

## Oration II

- 61/2 Twelve students from Reid's class graduated on 28 April 1756, although the list of these students in the College records is dated 29 March; see Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen*, p. 240.
- 63/2 On the special status of mathematics compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 17, 62, 457, 491 (I.1, I.6, VI.4, VI.6).
- 63/4 See Editorial Note 57/17 above.
- 63/7 Reid follows Francis Bacon in dismissing the natural philosophies of Aristotle, Bernardino Telesio, Francesco Patrizi and William Gilbert, and adds the bogeyman of his fellow Newtonians, René Descartes; compare Book I, Aphorisms LIV, LXIII, LXX and CXVI in Bacon, *Novum Organum*, pp. 89–91, 99–101, 111, 175, and, on Descartes, see esp. Isaac Newton, *The Principia: Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, third edition (1726), trans. I. Bernard Cohen, Anne Whitman and Julia Budenz, pp. 385–6, 393–8, 939. The Calabrian nobleman Bernardino Telesio was a critic of Aristotle; Telesio's *De rerum natura iuxta propria principia (On the Nature of Things According to Their Own Principles)* went through three lifetime editions between its first appearance in 1565 and 1586. Francesco Patrizi was likewise an opponent of Aristotelianism, who during the course of his career lectured on Platonism at the Universities of Ferrara and Rome. Patrizi's major published work was his *Nova de universis philosophia*, first published in Ferrara in 1591 and later in London in 1611. The English physician and natural philosopher William Gilbert published his experimental study of electricity and magnetism in *De magneti* in 1600. In this book Gilbert likened the Earth to a loadstone and suggested that the Earth rotates daily on its axis.
- 63/11 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 12, where he states that Newton's rules of philosophising 'are maxims of common sense' and are thus rooted in human nature.
- 63/25 Reid's conception of the task of the philosopher was drawn from

- the writings of Francis Bacon; see, for example, Book I, Aphorism CXXIX in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 193–7.
- 65/3 On this point see also Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 6.
- 65/13 For examples of Bacon and Locke as scourges of scholasticism see Book I, Aphorisms LXXVIII, LXXXIX–XC, CXXI, and Book II, Aphorism XXXVI in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 123–5, 143–7, 181–3, 327, 333; and Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 10, 490–1, 493–9 (‘The Epistle to the Reader’ and III.x.2, 6–16).
- 65/17 Compare Book I, Aphorisms LXII and LXXXIV in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 97, 133.
- 65/20 William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen; see Editorial Note 29/7 above.
- 65/24 That is, the liberty of philosophising (which Reid sees as based in part on the ethos of Protestantism) meant that philosophers were not obliged to declare themselves the followers of Aristotle or Plato among the ancients, or of St Thomas Aquinas or John Duns Scotus among the schoolmen.
- 65/27 See Editorial Note 55/4 above.
- 65/38 Reid presumably has in mind the depiction of Socrates in Plato’s dialogues *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras* and *Sophist*, among others. See also Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. I, p. 161 (II.30).
- 65/40 A reference to the exchange on the nature of tyranny between Dionysius I, the tyrant of Syracuse, and Plato in which Dionysius said to the philosopher ‘You talk like an old dotard’; see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. I, p. 293 (III.18).
- 67/4 See especially Book I, Aphorism LXXI, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 113–15, which may have been Reid’s source for the anecdote. In this aphorism Bacon alludes to Diogenes Laertius’s account of the conversation between Dionysius I and Plato in describing the teachings of the ancient Sophists and rhetoricians as ‘the words of useless old men to inexperienced young ones’ (p. 115). For the Greek philosophers as children see also the Preface to the Great Instauration in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 11–13.
- 67/11 In this paragraph Reid weaves together themes in Bacon’s *Novum organum* and other writings; see, for example, the preface to the *Novum organum*, where Bacon announces that ‘a way from the one known before should be opened for the human intellect, and other

- helps devised to let the mind exert its proper authority over the nature of things’, as well as the ‘Plan of the Work’, Book I, Aphorisms XXXVII, LXII, CXXIX, and Book II, Aphorisms XXXVIII–XLIV, XLIX, LII, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 11, 21–3, 29–43, 79, 109, 193–7, 341–69, 417–19, 447.
- 67/24 For Reid (as for Bacon) knowledge was valuable to the extent that it was useful, either morally, materially, intellectually or practically. Evidently Reid considered the compilation of dictionaries and lexicons – what in the eighteenth century would have been dismissed as ‘book making’ – as well as the study of philology as of little or no use or value. Compare the wording of the seventeenth rule (which Reid probably drafted) in the Rules of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society: ‘The Subject of the Discourses and Questions [in the Society] shall be Philosophical, all Grammatical Historical and Philological Discussions being conceived to be foreign to the Design of this Society’; Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, p. 78.
- 67/27 Reid has in mind here Aristotle’s five virtues of the rational soul: art (*technê*), knowledge (*epistêmê*), practical wisdom (*phronêsis*), philosophical wisdom (*sophia*) and comprehension (*nous*); see Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1139<sup>a-b</sup>, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. II, pp. 1798–99.
- 67/31 ‘For indeed you cannot fail to remember that the most learned men hold what the Greeks call “philosophy” to be the creator and mother, as it were, of all the reputable arts’; Cicero, *De oratore*, trans. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, vol. I, p. 9 (I.iii.9).
- 67/38 Reid encapsulates Bacon’s vision of the proper relationship between the arts and sciences and philosophy realised in the Great Instauration; see, for example, the ‘Plan of the Work’ in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 27–47. See also Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 6.
- 69/15 See Aphorisms IV–V and the ‘Catalogue of Particular Histories’ in Bacon, ‘A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History’, pp. 461–5, 481–5.
- 69/21 Reid’s example is taken from Aphorism V in Bacon, ‘A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History’, p. 463.
- 69/33 ‘When [his son] Titus found fault with him for contriving a tax upon public conveniences, [Vespasian] held a piece of money from the first payment to his son’s nose, asking whether its odour was offensive to him. When Titus said “No”, he replied, “Yet it comes from urine”’; Suetonius, ‘The Deified Vespasian’, in Suetonius, *The*

- Lives of the Caesars*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, vol. II, p. 319 (XXIII.3). See also Book I, Aphorisms CXIX–CXX, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 179–81, and Aphorism VI of ‘A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History’, p. 465.
- 69/36 Reid alludes to Bacon’s distinction between three states of nature: ‘For [nature] is either free and unfolds itself in its ordinary course; or it is torn from its course by the crookedness and arrogance of matter and by the violence of impediments; or it is restrained and moulded by art and human agency’; see Aphorism I in Bacon, ‘A Preparative to a Natural and Experimental History’, p. 455.
- 69/39 Beginning in the Carolingian period, the seven liberal arts were thought to encompass grammar, rhetoric and dialectic or logic (the trivium), as well as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music (the quadrivium). By the eighteenth century, however, this traditional view of the liberal arts was breaking down, as can be seen in Ephraim Chambers’ statement that the liberal arts included ‘grammar, rhetoric, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, &c.’; Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, s.v. ‘Liberal Arts’. Elsewhere in the *Cyclopædia*, Chambers said that the liberal arts were made up of ‘poetry, music, painting, grammar, rhetoric, the military art, architecture, and navigation’; Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, s.v. ‘Art’.
- 71/2 According to Diogenes Laertius, Pythagoras was ‘the first to use the term [philosophy], and to call himself a philosopher or lover of wisdom’; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. I, p. 13 (I.12). Compare Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King, pp. 430–3 (V.iii.8–9); Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*, vol. I, p. 5; and Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 447. Reid’s definition of the scope of philosophy in classical antiquity was based on the discussions of Pythagoreanism in the works of Johann Jakob Brucker and Thomas Stanley; see Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*, vol. I, pp. 5–6, 1044–99, and Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, pp. 449–66. His claim that music and poetry were regarded as parts of philosophy might also have been taken from Strabo, who wrote that ‘the ancients assert . . . that poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy’ and who said that music also provided a ‘moral discipline’ akin to that of poetry; see Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, pp. 23, 55–7 (I.1.10, I.2.3). Reid’s view of the scope of philosophy in the ancient world was undoubtedly also shaped by the writings of Plato, Cicero and, especially, Aristotle.
- 71/7 Compare Le Clerc, *The History of Physick*, pp. 149–50.

- 71/28 ‘Dat Galenus opes, dat Iustinianus honores; / At nos philosophi turba misella sumus’; Bartholomaeus Keckermann, *Praecognita philosophica* (1608), ed. Danilo Facca, p. 70. Keckermann’s work was first published in 1607. Reid also knew Keckermann’s *Systema logicae tribus libris*, to which he refers in Reid, ‘A Brief Account of Aristotle’s Logic’, p. 131.
- 73/3 An allusion to the opening lines of the prologue to the *Satires* of Persius: ‘I neither cleansed my lips in the nag’s spring nor recall dreaming on the twin-peaked Parnasus, so as to emerge an instant poet’; Aulus Persius Flaccus, *Satires*, in *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton Braund, pp. 44–5 (lines 1–3). Reid may also have had in mind the reference to ‘twin-peaked Parnassus’ in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller and revised by G. P. Gould, vol. I, p. 75 (II.221). He later referred to the ‘two-topped Parnassus’ in Reid, *Active Powers*, p. 119 (III.ii.4).
- 73/6 For God as the ‘highest poet’ see Editorial Note 43/27 above.
- 73/12 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 41.
- 73/29 See Editorial Note 57/7 above.
- 73/40 Compare Book I, Aphorisms LXII–LXIV, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 96–101.
- 75/6 Reid alludes to line 165 in the sixth satire of Juvenal, ‘The Ways of Women’: ‘rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cynco’ (a rare bird on this earth, exactly like a black swan); Juvenal, *Satires*, in *Juvenal and Persius*, pp. 248–9.
- 75/11 See Editorial Note 53/4 above.
- 75/17 Reid draws on Plato’s depiction of Socrates in the *Apology* and, in particular, the long passage, 19b–23b, where Socrates distances himself from the Sophists and denies his accusers’ charge that he presumes to know all things. In emphasising his nescience Socrates says that the oracle of Delphi teaches that ‘the wisest of you men is he who has realised, like Socrates, that in respect of wisdom he is really worthless’ (23b); Plato, *Apology*, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns and trans. Lane Cooper et al., p. 9. See also Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, pp. 13–17 (I.1.10–16).
- 75/33 The term κοινὰ εννοιαὶ or *koinai ennoiai* dates back to Euclid and early Greek geometry and to the Stoics. Reid derived his conception of common notions and the principles of common sense from Euclid’s *Elements* and from works such as Cicero’s *De legibus* (*On the Laws*); for Cicero on common notions see Cicero, *On the Laws*,

- in Cicero, *On the Republic and On the Laws*, trans. David Fott, esp. p. 145 (I.44–6).
- 77/3 See also Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 21. Zeno of Elea, whose paradoxes regarding motion are reported in Books VI and VIII of Aristotle's *Physics* and in Diogenes Laertius; see Aristotle, *Physics*, 233<sup>a</sup> 23–31 (VI.2), 239<sup>b</sup> 5–240<sup>a</sup> 18 (VI.9), 263<sup>a</sup> 4–11 (VIII.8), in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. I, pp. 393–4, 404–5, 439, and Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. II, pp. 439, 485 (IX.29, IX.72). For Reid on Zeno of Elea see also Reid to Lord Kames, 23 April 1780, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 121–4. Reid's letter to Kames shows that he knew of Zeno's paradoxes from Aristotle's *Physics* and the article devoted to Zeno in Pierre Bayle, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr Peter Bayle*, ed. Pierre Desmaizeaux, second edition (1734–38), vol. V, pp. 605–19.
- 77/5 'For these words of Good, Evill, and Contemptible, are ever used with relation to the person that useth them: There being nothing simply and absolutely so; nor any common Rule of Good and Evill, to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves; but from the Person of the man (where there is no Common-wealth;) or, (in a Common-wealth,) from the Person that representeth it; or from an Arbitrator or Judge, whom men disagreeing shall by consent set up, and make his sentence the Rule thereof'; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), ed. Noel Malcolm, vol. II, pp. 80–2. Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 21.
- 77/7 Based primarily on his reading of Book I of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Reid viewed David Hume as a Pyrrhonian sceptic (as did the majority of their contemporaries). Compare Reid's later characterisations of Humean scepticism in Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 3–4, 20–2, 31, 77, 210, 213, 214–15, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 46, 290–1, 461–2, 562–72 (I.2, III.7, VI.4, VII.4).
- 77/8 The irreligious consequences of Hume's analysis of causation initially became a matter for public controversy when the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, the Rev. William Wishart, sought to undermine Hume's candidacy for the Edinburgh chair of moral philosophy by publishing a pamphlet in 1745 emphasising the heterodox nature of Hume's philosophical ideas and suggesting that Hume maintained that an effect need not have a cause; see David Hume, *A Letter from a Gentleman to His Friend in Edinburgh*, ed. Ernest C. Mossner and John V. Price, pp. 9–10, 17. Reid echoes Wishart in stating that Hume allowed that 'this world could have had a beginning entirely

- without a cause'. Reid based his interpretation of Hume's account of causation on both the *Treatise of Human Nature* and the *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* (1748; renamed *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* in 1756); see also AUL, MS 2131/6/III/3, fol. 1r (this manuscript probably dates from the 1750s and is related to Reid's logic lectures at King's College) and, for Reid's most elaborate treatment of this issue, Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 497–503 (VI.6).
- 77/24 Reid alludes to the last lines in the first of Horace's *Odes*: 'quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres, sublimi feriam sidera vertice' (But if *you* rank me among the lyric bards of Greece, I shall soar aloft and strike the stars with my head); Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and trans. Niall Rudd, pp. 24–5 (I.1, lines 35–6).
- 77/27 Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 457 (VI.4). Reid says that there are 'three or four common notions which [Newton] termed rules of philosophising' because the number of these rules changed through the lifetime editions of Newton's *Principia*. Only the first two of Newton's rules appeared in the first edition of the *Principia*, where they were called 'hypotheses'. Newton renamed these 'hypotheses' 'rules of philosophising' and added a third rule in the second edition of the *Principia*, which appeared in 1713. The third edition, of 1726, included a fourth rule.
- 77/34 Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 523–4 (VI.7). In the second and third editions of Newton's *Principia*, Book III is prefaced by the 'rules of philosophising' and six 'phenomena' related to the motions of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the moons of Jupiter and Saturn. According to Reid, Newton's 'system of the world' is founded on the rules and the set of six phenomena stated at the beginning of Book III.
- 77/37 'It [Stoic ethics] is like geometry, where if you grant the premises then you must grant everything'; Cicero, *On Moral Ends*, ed. Julia Annas and trans. Raphael Woolf, p. 145 (V.83).
- 79/13 For Reid on first principles and the axiomatic form of the sciences see: Reid, *Active Powers*, pp. 176–80, 270–8 (III.iii.6, V.1); Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 452–67, 488–9, 490–5, 559 (VI.4, VI.5, VI.6, VII.3); Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 26–7, 30–4.
- 79/17 According to the myth, Ariadne gave her beloved Theseus a woollen thread so that he could retrace his steps through the Labyrinth once he had killed the Minotaur.
- 81/10 On the oath taken by the graduands, the use of the cap and open book



as symbols of graduation, and the invitation to propound a thesis or deliver a formal address in paragraphs 23–8 see Editorial Notes 59/24 to 59/35 above.

### Oration III

- 83/1 Twelve students are recorded as having graduated on 25 April 1759, including William Ogilvie, who was appointed as an assistant to the Subprincipal Alexander Burnet in November 1761 and who became a Regent at King's in November 1764. In September 1765 Ogilvie switched teaching positions with Thomas Gordon and took over as the Humanist. Three other students graduated on 7 March, 25 August and 16 November 1759, presumably at private ceremonies; see Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen*, p. 241.
- 83/9 In his reformulation of Francis Bacon's account of the idols of the mind, Reid identified the 'disposition to measure things less known, and less familiar, by those that are better known and more familiar' and the 'love of simplicity' as two instances of the idols of the tribe; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 529, 530 (VI.8). As Reid argues in this oration and later in the *Inquiry*, the theory of ideas was flawed precisely because it rested on mistaken analogical reasoning and the misguided search for simplicity in explaining the operations of the human mind; compare below, pp. 104–9 and Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 203–5, 210–11. For Bacon's discussion of the idols of the mind see: Book I, Aphorisms XXXVIII–LXVIII, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 79–109; Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, pp. 116–18; and Francis Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum* (1623), in *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St Albans and Lord High Chancellor of England*, ed. John M. Robertson, pp. 516–18.
- 83/16 That is, the incomprehensibility of things. The doctrine of acatalepsy is one of the main teachings of Arcesilaus, the head of the New or Middle Academy and critic of the Stoics. On Arcesilaus see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. I, pp. 405–23 (IV.28–45); Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, trans. R. G. Bury, pp. 133–45 (I.220–35); and Cicero, *Academica*, in Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods and Academica*, trans. H. Rackham, pp. 551–3, 563–7 (II.66–7, 76–8). Reid elaborates on this criticism of the ideal system in the *Inquiry*.



- 85/3 On simple apprehension compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 24–6, 65, 66, 295–311, 325 (I.1, I.7, IV.1, IV.3). In his analysis of the mental operations of simple apprehension, judgement and reasoning Reid addresses a set of distinctions that were central to Aristotelian logic texts written in the seventeenth century, notably those by the Oxford academics Henry Aldrich and John Wallis. See Henry Aldrich, *Artis logicæ compendium*, second edition (1691), esp. p. 2, where Aldrich distinguishes between these three mental operations, and John Wallis, *Institutio logicæ, ad communes usus accommodata* (1687), which is divided into three parts dealing with simple apprehension, judgement and reasoning. Reid was also likely familiar with the treatment of these operations of the mind in the compends of logic published by Gershom Carmichael and Francis Hutcheson; see Gershom Carmichael, *A Short Introduction to Logic: An Elementary Textbook for Students of Philosophy (Particularly at the University of Glasgow)*, second edition (1722), in *Natural Rights on the Threshold of the Scottish Enlightenment: The Writings of Gershom Carmichael*, ed. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne and trans. Michael Silverthorne, pp. 289–317, and Francis Hutcheson, *A Compend of Logic* (1756), in Francis Hutcheson, *Logic, Metaphysics and the Natural Sociability of Mankind*, ed. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne and trans. Michael Silverthorne, pp. 1–56. Both of these compends were originally published in Latin.
- 85/6 For this definition of judgement see, for example, Isaac Watts, *Logick: Or, the Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth*, seventh edition (1740), p. 5. Reid quotes Watts's definition in the *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 435–6 (VI.3).
- 85/18 Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 25 (I.1).
- 85/35 For Reid's later published formulations of this argument see Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 167, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 19–20, 295, 406, 408, 543 (I.1, IV.1, VI.1, VII.1).
- 85/38 Reid here indicates the fact that the object of a judgement is an apprehension, in the sense that it is an apprehended proposition that we judge to be true or to be false.
- 87/18 The analysis of these three operations of the human mind provides the core structure of Essays IV, VI and VIII in Reid's *Intellectual Powers*.
- 87/36 A definition by genus and specific difference states both the genus of a given thing and also what distinguishes it, as a member of its species, from things that belong to other species within that same

- genus. See also Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic', p. 110, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 18 (I.1).
- 87/39 Reid misrepresents Locke. At the beginning of Book IV of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* Locke defines knowledge as 'nothing but the perception of the connexion and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our Ideas'. Later in Book IV Locke asserts that 'the Mind has two Faculties, conversant about Truth and Falshood', namely 'Knowledge' and 'Judgment'. The first is the faculty 'whereby [the mind] certainly perceives, and is undoubtedly satisfied of the Agreement or Disagreement of any Ideas', whereas the second is the faculty which 'put[s] Ideas together, or separat[es] them from one another in the Mind, when their certain Agreement or Disagreement is not perceived, but presumed to be so; which is, as the Word imports, taken to be so before it certainly appears. And if it so unites, or separates them, as in Reality Things are, it is right Judgment'; Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 525, 653 (IV.i.2, IV.xiv.4). Reid corrected himself in Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 411, 434–5 (VI.1, VI.3).
- 88/19 Compare Reid's critique of Locke account of judgement in Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 434–50 (VI.3).
- 89/22 Reid's comment is puzzling. In Book II, chapter xiv of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Locke implicitly rejects Aristotle's association of time and motion in arguing that the origin of our idea of duration is to be found in our reflection on 'the train of Ideas, that take their turns in our Understandings'. But he does not explicitly attack Aristotle's definition of time in this chapter. Nor does he do so when he points out that the names of simple ideas and modes, such as the terms 'duration' and 'time', cannot be defined. Instead, Locke criticises the 'Atomists, who define Motion to be a passage from one place to another' on the ground that this definition simply replaces 'one synonymous Word [with] another'; see Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 182, 423 (II.xiv.4, III. iv.9). For Aristotle on time and its relation to motion see Aristotle, *Physics*, esp. 218<sup>b</sup>10–219<sup>b</sup>9. If Reid was writing from memory (as he probably was), he may have confused the two chapters in Locke's *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*.
- 89/30 Although Reid does not refer to Hume's *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* in the *Inquiry*, Oration III demonstrates that he had read Hume's work at some point before 1759. We do not know, however, precisely when he first read the

- book. The anonymous set of student notes referred to in Editorial Note 5/25 above show that in his logic lectures at King's College he criticised Hume's account of testimony and causation in the *Philosophical Essays*; see Anon., 'System of Logic, Taught at Aberdeen 1763', pp. 58–77, as well as the manuscript cited in Editorial Note 77/8 above. Circumstantial evidence also suggests that he had read the *Philosophical Essays* by the mid-1750s at the latest, for, beginning in 1755, members of Reid's Aberdeen circle attacked the work in sermons and other publications denouncing Hume's philosophical ideas; see, for example, Robert Traill, *The Qualifications and Decorum of a Teacher of Christianity Considered; with a View to the Temper of the Present Age Respecting Religion, and to Some Late Attacks Which Have Been Made Upon It* (1755), esp. pp. 12, 14–22. By contrast, we do know when Reid appears to have first read Hume's *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751) because a set of reading notes from the book dated 'May 1752' survives; see AUL, MS 2131/3/I/23, fols 1r–3r. This manuscript also contains a brief set of notes on fol. 4r with the same date taken from the first essay, 'Of Our Attachment to Objects in Distress', in the anonymously published first edition of Henry Home's *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751).
- 89/39 Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, esp. pp. 11, 67 and note, 68–9 (1.1.3.1, 1.3.7.5, 7–8). Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 30–1, 197–8, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 287–93, 471 (III.7, VI.5).
- 91/27 One of the philosophers Reid has in mind here is Francis Hutcheson; see Hutcheson, *A Compend of Logic*, pp. 11–12.
- 93/16 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 27–30, 190–5, 215, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 231–2, 326–7 (II.20, IV.3).
- 93/20 See, for example, the Sixth Meditation in René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641), in *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. John Cottingham et al., vol. II, pp. 50–1. See also Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 326 (IV.3).
- 93/33 As Reid later indicated, his understanding of the history of what he called 'the ideal system' was based at least in part on Brucker's *Historia philosophica doctrinae de ideis*. See Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 28 (I.1), for his citation of Brucker's work, and for his most detailed narratives of this history, pp. 28–32, 104–93, 314–21 (I.1, II. 7–15, IV.2). A note from Brucker's *Historia philosophica doctrinae de ideis* also survives among Reid's manuscripts; see AUL, MS 2131/6/II/6, fol. 1r.

- 93/34 Compare Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 193, and Brucker, *Historia philosophica doctrinae de ideis*, pp. 35–7, 53–4.
- 93/37 Nicolas Malebranche, *The Search After Truth*, sixth edition (1712), trans. Thomas M. Lennon and Paul J. Olscamp, esp. pp. 230–5. For Reid on Malebranche see Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 104–12 (II.7).
- 95/5 For one treatment of these disputes known to Reid see Watts, *Logick*, pp. 28–39. Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 184 (II.14).
- 95/7 Reid alludes to the classification of our ideas in Book II of Locke's *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, but see also from the logic textbook tradition Jean Le Clerc, *Logica, sive ars ratiocinandi* (1692), pp. 7–9, Hutcheson, *A Compend of Logic*, pp. 13–14, and Watts, *Logick*, pp. 39–45.
- 95/11 See Editorial Note 87/39 above, and for words as the signs of ideas see Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 404–8 (III.ii).
- 95/13 On Reid's reading of the history of the theory of ideas, this is the conclusion reached by David Hume; see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 20, 22, 34, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 162–3, 173, 286–7 (II.12, II.14, III.7).
- 97/16 Contrary to what Reid states here, the theory of sensible species transmitted by objects to our sensory organs did not originate in the writings of Aristotle. Rather, the theory was advanced by St Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon, among others. Reid did, however, in his published writings distinguish between Aristotle's account of sensory perception and the doctrines of the Peripatetics; see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 34, 207, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 29–30, 112, 319–20 (I.1, II.8, IV.2).
- 97/23 For evidence of Reid's knowledge of Henry Home, Lord Kames's *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* see Editorial Note 89/30 above. When he delivered Oration III in the spring of 1759, Reid had apparently not yet met his future patron, Lord Kames. On their friendship, see Editorial Note 246/7 below.
- 99/3 Compare Reid to Lord Kames, 16 December 1780, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 141; Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 121–2, 132–3; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 101–4, 121, 283, 560–1 (II.6, II.8, III.7, VII.3).
- 99/25 On the hypothetical character of the ideal system and its conflict with common sense see also Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 4, 28–9, 73–4, 121, 216–17; and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 22–4, 27–32, 92–5, 104–6, 136–7, 142, 160–1, 170, 171–87, 192–3, 311–14, 322–4, 350, 436–8, 445–6 (I.1, II.4, II.7, II.9, II.10, II.12, II.13, II.14, II.16,

- IV.2, IV.4, VI.3). Reid did, however, reformulate his argument that proponents of the theory of ideas considered consciousness as the primary faculty of the mind. He later contended that the ‘philosophical theory of ideas has led Philosophers to confound the different operations of the understanding, and to call them all by the name of perception’; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 136 (II.10).
- 99/38 Reid later elaborated on this criticism in Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 207, 209–10, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 125–7, 186 (II.8, II.14).
- 101/18 Locke, for one, did not maintain that our ideas of tastes and smells were images of the powers in material bodies that produce them. In distinguishing between primary and secondary qualities, Locke stated that ‘the *Ideas of [the] primary Qualities of Bodies [i.e. solidity, extension, figure and motion], are Resemblances of them, and their Patterns do really exist in the Bodies themselves; but the Ideas, produced in us by these Secondary Qualities [i.e. colours, sounds, tastes and smells], have no resemblance of them at all. There is nothing like our Ideas, existing in the Bodies themselves*’; Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, p. 137 (II.viii.15). Reid later corrected himself when discussing the primary versus secondary quality distinction; see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 73, 84–94, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 200–11 (II.17).
- 101/22 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 217.
- 103/10 On the absence of evidence for the existence of ideas see the relevant passages cited in Editorial Note 99/25 above.
- 105/9 Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 136–7, 171, 300–1 (II.9, II.14, IV.1).
- 105/31 In describing Galileo as ‘linx-eyed’ Reid uses the Latin adjective ‘lynceus’. The original Lynceus was an Argonaut noted for his lynx-like vision. Using his telescope Galileo was able to rival the powerful vision of Lynceus. But, as a man of science, Reid also knew that in 1611 Galileo was admitted to the Accademia dei Lincei or Lincean Academy in Rome. The Academy had been founded in 1603 by the Roman aristocrat Federico Cesi, and it was Cesi who named his group after Lynceus. Galileo proudly proclaimed his membership in the Lincean Academy on the title page of his book, *Il Saggiatore* or *The Assayer*, published in 1623.
- 107/5 For Reid’s later criticism of misleading analogies between mind and matter see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 203–9, 216, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 54–5, 63, 118–19, 284, 299–300, 529–30 (I.4, I.6, II.8, III.7, IV.1, VI.8).

- 107/34 See also Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 54, 88–90, 176–8, 333 (I.4, II.4, II.14, IV.4).
- 109/8 Reid discussed the issue of the mind being located in space in his pneumatology lectures at Glasgow and touched on the problem briefly in the *Intellectual Powers*, where he commented that ‘There have been various opinions and much disputation about the place of spirits; whether they have a place? and if they have, how they occupy that place? After men had sought in the dark about these points for ages, the wiser part seem to have left off disputing about them, as matters beyond the reach of the human faculties’; Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 93 (II.4) and, for transcriptions of lecture materials from Glasgow, pp. 615–31, esp. pp. 617, 618, 619–20.
- 109/20 Reid here uses ‘extreme’ as a technical term for the things, end points, related by a relation. Elsewhere he speaks of the terms or *termini* of a relation.
- 109/27 See Editorial Note 97/16 above.
- 111/4 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 3–4, 23, 31, 75–6, 212–13, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 461–2, 525–6 (VI.4, VI.7).
- 111/17 See also Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 19–20, 23, 67, 69, 75, 209–10, 212–13, 216–17, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 63–4, 137–61, 162, 172–3, 174, 200, 210, 322–3, 427, 447–8, 464, 477–8 (I.6, II.10–11, II.12, II.14, II.16, II.17, IV.2, VI.2, VI.3, VI.4, VI.5). For Berkeley on our knowledge of spirits and of God see, for example, George Berkeley, *A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (1734; first edition 1710), in *The Works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne*, ed. A. A. Luce and T. E. Jessop, vol. II, pp. 52–3, 103–9 (§§ 27, 135–49).
- 111/27 Reid had made much the same claim regarding Hume’s system being founded on the theory of ideas in the Aberdeen Philosophical Society when introducing his question ‘Are the Objects of the human Mind properly divided into impressions and Ideas? and must every Idea be a Copy of a preceeding Impression[?]’, in July 1758; see AUL, MS 2131/6/I/11, fol. 1r, and Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, pp. 85–6, 190. For Reid on Hume and ‘modern scepticism’ see Editorial Note 77/7 above. The term ‘modern scepticism’ was subsequently taken up by James Beattie; see James Beattie, *An Essay on the Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*, fifth edition (1774), pp. 217–60. Beattie’s *Essay* was first published in 1770.
- 113/15 On paragraphs 53–6 see Editorial Notes 59/24 to 59/35 above.

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**Oration IV**

- 115/1 Eight of Reid's students are listed as graduating in 1762, although there is no date indicated for the date of their graduation; see Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College Aberdeen*, pp. 242–3.
- 115/22 On the meaning of the term 'physics' in the early modern period see Editorial Note 51/16 above. Reid later claimed that mechanics, optics and astronomy (that is, the sciences dealt with in Newton's *Principia* and *Opticks*) were the only branches of physics or natural philosophy to have been established on unshakeable foundations; Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 16, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 14, 457 (VI.4). Few men of science in the mid-eighteenth century would have agreed with Reid's assertion that chemistry rested on 'a firm foundation', and his characterisation of chemistry as being a 'part' of physics masks the fact that in the 1750s the influential Scottish chemist William Cullen reframed the relationship between natural philosophy and chemistry in his lectures at Glasgow. Cullen insisted that chemistry was an independent and distinct science that focused on the study of qualitative change and relied on theoretical principles that were categorically different from those employed in mechanics. In the period 1756–63 Reid studied Cullen's brand of 'philosophical chemistry' through sets of lecture notes taken by his friend David Skene's younger brother George and by his ex-student William Ogilvie; see the Introduction in Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. clxxviii–clxxix.
- 117/20 See Editorial Note 91/27 above.
- 117/34 See Editorial Note 87/39 above.
- 119/10 On simple apprehension see Editorial Note 85/3 above.
- 119/17 On the question of the existence of ideas see Editorial Note 99/25 above.
- 119/26 For Reid on single vision see Reid, *Inquiry*, esp. pp. 132–7. Amaurosis or gutta serena is a condition involving the loss of sight. In the eighteenth century it was understood to be 'a disease of the eyes, being an entire privation of sight, without any apparent fault or disorder of the part [the eye], excepting that the pupil looks somewhat larger and blacker than before'; see Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, s.v. 'Gutta-serena'.
- 119/40 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 26, 28, 161–6, 174–8, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, esp. pp. 76–101 (II.3–5).



- 121/6 See Editorial Note 73/3 above.
- 121/15 An allusion to Plato's cosmogony, for which see Plato, *Timaeus*, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, esp. pp. 1161–2 (28c–29d); see also Editorial Note 93/34 above.
- 121/19 On Aristotle see Editorial Note 97/16 above.
- 123/10 Our English translation of Book IV, lines 722–48 of Lucretius is taken from Titus Lucretius Carus, *Of the Nature of Things, in Six Books*, trans. Thomas Creech (1714), vol. I, pp. 369–72. Creech's translation, which first appeared in 1682, was enormously popular and often reprinted in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- 123/36 'Is not the Sensory of Animals that place to which the sensitive Substance is present, and into which the sensible Species of Things are carried through the Nerves and Brain, that there they may be perceived by their immediate presence to that Substance? And these things being rightly dispatch'd, does it not appear from Phænomena that there is a Being incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipresent, who in infinite Space, as it were in his Sensory, sees the things themselves intimately, and thoroughly perceives them, and comprehends them wholly by their immediate presence to himself: Of which things the Images only carried through the Organs of Sense into our little Sensoriums, are there seen and beheld by that which in us perceives and thinks'; Query 28 in Newton, *Opticks*, pp. 344–5. The original Latin text of this passage reads: 'Annon Sensorium Animalium, est locus cui Substantia sentiens adest, & in quem sensibiles rerum species per nervos & cerebrum deferuntur, ut ibi præsentis a præsentis sentiri possint? *Atque his quidem rite expeditis*, Annon ex phænominis constat, esse Entem Incorporeum, Viventem, Intelligentem, Omnipræsentem, qui in Spatio infinito, tanquam Sensorio suo, res Ipsas intime cernat, penitusque perspiciat, totasque intra se præsens præsentis complectatur; quarum quidem rerum Id quod in nobis sentit & cogitat, Imagines tantum ad se per Organa Sensorum delatas, in Sensoriolo suo percipit & contuetur?'; Query 20 in Isaac Newton, *Optice: Sive de reflexionibus, refractionibus, inflexionibus & coloribus lucis libri tres*, trans. Samuel Clarke (1706), p. 315.
- 125/10 On the misleading analogies between mind and body see Editorial Note 107/5 above.
- 125/33 Reid's term 'perspicillum' was coined by Galileo in his *Siderius nuncius*. Galileo and Reid were writing about intermediaries that aid sensory perception.
- 127/6 On the acatalepsy of the sceptics see Editorial Note 83/16 above.



- 127/14 On Berkeley see Editorial Note 111/17 above.
- 127/18 On Hume see Editorial Note 111/27 above.
- 127/33 Reid's comment regarding the size of the Moon is puzzling because he knew that Isaac Newton had stated that its diameter was roughly one-third that of the Earth and that William Whiston had estimated its diameter to be 2,175 English miles and that of the Earth to be 7,935 English miles; see Book III, prop. 38 in Newton, *The Principia*, p. 881, and William Whiston, *Astronomical Lectures, Read in the Publick Schools at Cambridge*, second edition (1728), p. 85.
- 127/36 Reid probably discussed both Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and James Harrington's *Oceana* in his lectures on politics at King's College; for his view of Harrington, see Oration I above, p. 51/1–4.
- 129/2 On the ambiguity of the word 'idea' compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 27–32 (I.1).
- 129/7 See Editorial Note 91/27 above on apprehension.
- 129/21 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 29, 58–61, 167–74, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 96, 97–101 (II.5).
- 129/24 Reid discusses the analogy between perception and testimony in greater detail in Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 171, 190–2, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 22–3, 97–8 (I.1, II.5).
- 129/38 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 14–15, 29–30, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 326–7 (IV.3).
- 131/14 In Greek mythology, Zeus created a cloud in the image of his wife Hera in order to prevent her from being raped by Ixion, the King of Thessaly. Hera later became identified with the Roman goddess Juno.
- 131/20 On Locke's definition of judgement see Editorial Note 87/39 above.
- 133/16 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 23, 31, 90, 212–13, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 127, 445–6, 448, 450 (II.9, VI.3).
- 133/17 For Reid's view of Hume as a Pyrrhonian sceptic see Editorial Note 89/39 above.
- 133/30 For the relevant passages in Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* see Editorial Note 89/39 above.
- 133/33 On Humean scepticism as a form of delirium compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, 562–3 (VII.4). Reid likewise saw Cartesian scepticism as a type of delirium; Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 16. Reid also later characterised philosophical doctrines that conflict with common sense (such as the theory of ideas) as being 'a kind of metaphysical lunacy'; see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 67–8, 215–16.
- 135/8 See Editorial Note 85/35 above.

- 135/21 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 11, Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 12, 14–15, and Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 5–6, on the dignity of the science of the mind.

### Part Three: Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow

- 136/6 George Jardine matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1760 and graduated with his MA in 1765. He spent the period 1770–73 in Paris as a travelling tutor to the two sons of David Hume’s friend William Mure of Caldwell. In 1774 Jardine was chosen as the assistant and successor to the ageing Glasgow Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, James Clow, and served as Clow’s assistant until the latter’s death in 1788. As the Professor of Logic and Rhetoric Jardine taught from 1788 until his own demise in 1827. Jardine and Reid became close friends and often collaborated in promoting philanthropic enterprises in Glasgow such as the building of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary; see Editorial Note 158/3 below.
- 137/3 For the text of the Papal Bull see Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from Its Foundation till 1727* (1854), vol. I, pp. 3–5; for a Latin text with English translation see <<https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/papal-bull>> (accessed June 2020). Tommaso Parentucelli became Pope Nicholas V in 1447. He had earlier studied at the University of Bologna and was made Bishop of Bologna in 1444 by his papal predecessor, Eugenius IV. Nicholas V was a notable patron of learning and the arts, who founded the Vatican Library and planned to rebuild Rome in order to reaffirm its place as the spiritual capital of Christianity. At the time of the foundation of the University of Glasgow, James II of Scotland was attempting to consolidate the authority of the Scottish crown. The assassination of his father, James I, in February 1437 precipitated a power struggle between the Douglas, Crichton and Livingston families. When James II came of age in 1449, he moved to check these rivalries and, in particular, to bring the Douglases to heel. The latter stratagem resulted in James II murdering William Douglas, eighth earl of Douglas, at Stirling Castle in February 1452.
- 137/4 An excerpt from a passage which reads: ‘. . . commodum atque proficuum paternis affectibus excitati necnon ipsius Regis in hac parte supplicacionibus inclinati ad laudem diuini nominis et orthodoxe fidei propagacionem in eadem ciuitate Generale Studium auctoritate

- Apostolica erigimus ac statuimus et eciam ordinamus vt in ipsa ciuitate de cetero Studium huiusmodi perpetuis futuris temporibus vigeat tam in theologia ac iure canonico et ciuili quam in artibus et quauis alia licita facultate'; Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, p. 4. In translation: 'we [Pope Nicholas V] being moved with fatherly affection, and inclined by the supplications of the said king [James II] in that behalf, to the praise of God's name, and propagation of the orthodox faith, erect, by apostolical authority a university in the said city [Glasgow] in all times to come for ever, as well in theology and canon and civil law as in arts, and every other lawful faculty' (the underlined material appears in the quotation in the text).
- 137/10 Bologna.
- 137/11 William Turnbull became the Bishop of Glasgow in 1447, after briefly serving Pope Eugenius IV on the continent. In addition to his close connections with the papacy, he served in various capacities both James I and James II of Scotland.
- 137/15 According to the Gregorian calendar the date of the Bull is 7 January 1451.
- 137/17 The founding statutes of the University do not survive. For the earliest extant statutes, dating from 1482, see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 3–17.
- 137/25 For the Bull of indulgence see Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis: Munimenta ecclesie metropolitane Glasguensis a sede restaurata seculo ineunte XII ad reformatam religionem* (1843), vol. II, pp. 383–5.
- 137/29 David Cadzow served two terms as Rector, 1451–53 and 1459–66.
- 137/34 Andrew Stewart, half-brother of James II, being the son of Sir James Stewart of Lorne and the widow of James I, Joan (*née* Beaufort). Stewart later also held the post of Dean of Moray and became the Bishop of Moray in 1482.
- 138/3 For the ordinance see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 7–9, and Innes, *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 397–9.
- 138/11 'from all tributes, duties, requisitions, taxes, collections, guard duties, and tolls that are decreed and levied in some manner within our kingdom'. The text of the Royal Charter is found in Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 6–7, and Innes, *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 396–7.
- 138/19 For the Court of Session's decision, dated 20 November 1633, see

- ‘Deliverance of the Lords of Counsel and Session upon the Petition of the College of Glasgow Representing the Grounds of Their Exemption from Taxation’, Glasgow University Archives (hereafter GUA), MS GUA 18892.
- 138/36 ‘That he would not attempt anything concerning the affairs of the academy without the assent of the moderators and masters’. The University statutes drawn up after the *Nova erectio* of 1577 include the earliest surviving example of a Chancellor’s oath; for the text of this oath see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 42.
- 139/4 On 18 August 1670 Robert Bartoun was tried for murdering a servant, Janet Wright, before a University court headed by the Rector, Sir William Fleming. Also involved were four other members of the University: the Dean of Faculty and Professor of Divinity, David Liddell, and the Regents Walter Forsyth, William Blair and Thomas Nicolson. A jury made up of fifteen townsmen heard the case and acquitted Bartoun of the crime; see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 340–3.
- 139/13 The division of the members of the university into four ‘nations’ was modelled on the administrative structure of the universities of Bologna and Paris.
- 139/16 St Crispin’s day falls on 25 October.
- 139/17 Literally, a congregation or an assembly of the university.
- 139/19 A deputy or ‘one who deposes’.
- 140/4 That is, the bursar or treasurer. The medieval Latin word ‘bursarius’ is derived from the term ‘bursa’, meaning ‘purse’. For the role of the bursar, as it was defined in 1482, see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 11.
- 140/5 For the responsibilities of the *promotor* see also the 1482 statutes in Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 11, and John Durkan and James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1577*, pp. 50–1.
- 140/12 ‘and in any permitted faculty whatsoever’.
- 140/38 ‘Our Alma Mater the University of Glasgow, our beloved daughter’. Compare the wording of the Papal Bull in Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 4–5, with that of the Royal Charter on p. 6.
- 141/9 The Dominican order. The Dominican monastery in Glasgow was destroyed in 1560. The church on the site, which came to be known as the Blackfriars Church, was adjacent to the College buildings

- on the High Street and was used for worship by the University. The church became increasingly dilapidated during the first half of the seventeenth century and, in 1670, the run-down structure was destroyed by a lightning strike. Blackfriars was rebuilt and reopened in 1702. It continued to function as the University church until the mid-nineteenth century and it was eventually demolished in 1870. Reid and members of his family were buried in a plot in the kirkyard.
- 141/11 ‘Of the life and good estate of clerics’; this is the first ‘title’ in Book III of the compilations of canon law known as the *Decretals* of Pope Gregory IX and the *Liber sextus* of Pope Boniface VIII; see Emil Friedburg (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. II, cols 448–54, 1019. For the first ‘memorandum’ see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 67.
- 141/13 The civil lawyer William Lennox the elder. John Durkan and James Kirk suggest, *inter alia*, that Lennox the elder may have studied at the University of Orléans; see Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1577*, p. 14.
- 141/16 For the reference to Robert Lyle (Lile) see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 140; on Lyle see also Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1577*, pp. 115, 117, 172.
- 141/18 That is, the concluding book of the *Sententiarum libri IV* or *Four Books of Sentences* by Peter Lombard. Lombard’s work was a standard textbook in the theology during the medieval period.
- 141/20 John Ade is mentioned in Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 140.
- 142/2 ‘By divine authority, and in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost’.
- 142/11 See Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 74.
- 142/14 Medicine may have been taught for a brief period *c.* 1536 but it was not until 1637 that the University formally appointed a Professor of Medicine. One of the Regents, Robert Mayne, was ‘electit and admittit to be ane Professor of Medicine . . . [and] to teache ane publict lecture of Medicine in the said Colledge once or twyse ewerie weik, except in the ordiner tyme of vacance’. In 1642, however, a Commission of Visitation from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland declared the chair ‘not necessar for the Colledge in all tyme comming’. Mayne was allowed to continue to teach, although the chair lapsed after his death in 1646. See Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 467, vol. III, p. 380. The position was eventually revived in 1713 when the University was

- given a regius chair in medicine by the crown. The first incumbent, Dr John Johnstoun, was appointed in early 1714.
- 142/19 For the statutes of the Faculty of Arts and the 'Annals of the Faculty of Arts' see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. ix, li, 20–42, 178–299. Both manuscripts are extant; see 'Liber statutorum Facultatis Artium Studii', GUA, MS GUA 26615, and 'Annales Collegii Facultatis Artium in Universitate Glasguensis', GUA, MS GUA 26614. Transcriptions of these manuscripts were commissioned by the University in October 1766. The copyist, James Alison, completed the transcriptions in the spring of 1769; see 'Minutes of University of Glasgow [Senate] Meetings, 1763–1768', GUA, MS GUA 26643, entries for 23 October 1766, 7 January 1769 and 20 April 1769. Alison's transcription of the 'Liber statutorum Facultatis Artium Studii' survives in Glasgow University Archives; see 'Excriptum statuorum Facultatis Artium Studii Glasguensis in Universitate Glasguensis', GUA, MS GUA 26618. His transcription of the 'Annales Collegii Facultatis Artium in Universitate Glasguensis' also survives; see 'Excriptum annalium Collegii Facultatis Artium in Universitate Glasguensis', GUA, MS GUA 26617.
- 142/25 Regents in arts.
- 142/26 In the later medieval period, Rottenrow or 'Ratounraw' was one of four streets that intersected at the Quadrivium or Wyndeheid, just to the south-west of the Cathedral. Rottenrow ran roughly east–west and fed into the Drygait.
- 142/28 James Hamilton, first Lord Hamilton. For the terms of Hamilton's bequest see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 9–12.
- 142/31 In the earliest records of the congregation of the Faculty of Arts, dating from 1451, 'master' Alexander Geddes was referred to as being a licentiate in theology and a Cistercian monk from Melrose; see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 179. Duncan Bunch held an MA from St Andrews and also studied in Cologne. As well as serving as a Regent, Bunch was Principal of the University (1460–74), Rector (1468–69) and Dean of Arts (1467–68). In the period 1463–68 he was also the Quodlibetarius, that is, a member of the University appointed to hold public disputations on any topic. Bunch additionally held various ecclesiastical appointments while teaching at the University. William Arthurlie took his MA at St Andrews in 1448. Like Bunch, he was elected

- Rector (1469–70) and was also Dean of the Faculty of Arts for three terms (1462–63, 1465–66 and 1474–75). Arthurlie may also have taught canon law.
- 142/34 ‘on every eligible day’.
- 143/14 The *Isagoge* of Porphyry was an introduction to Aristotle’s *Organon*. The logic textbook by Peter of Spain was initially known as the *Tractatus* but was subsequently referred to as the *Summulae logicales magistri Petri Hispani*. For the regulation see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 25.
- 143/17 All Saints’ Day falls on 1 November.
- 143/20 Literally, ‘assailants’ or ‘tempters’.
- 143/34 ‘On the lecture which takes place over a period of two years’.
- 144/5 Regent masters, that is, a regent who had qualified for his MA.
- 144/12 ‘With sandals unfastened’.
- 144/26 See Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, p. 68. A noble was an English gold coin that at the time of Cadzow’s gift in 1461 was worth six shillings and eight pence in English currency.
- 145/8 For Hamilton’s bequest see Editorial Note 142/28 above. Dowhill was located to the south of Drygait and to the east of the Molendinar Burn. The area was part of the *terra campestris*, namely the cultivated land adjacent to the medieval town of Glasgow that was the property of the town’s burgesses.
- 145/14 Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 18–19. In the first instance, Sir Thomas Arthurlie bequeathed the tenement and land to the regent William Arthurlie, who may have been his brother; after William Arthurlie’s death, the property was then to pass to the Faculty of Arts. In the bequest, Sir Thomas was said to be a chaplain.
- 145/36 Euphemia was the widow of Archibald, fifth earl of Douglas, and married James, first Lord Hamilton, in 1441.
- 146/21 The donor, Thomas Leiss or Lees, had gained a BA from the University of Glasgow in 1486. For his bequest see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 49–51.
- 146/25 ‘He constituted the Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow and the dean of its faculty as the unquestioned patrons’; compare Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, p. 52.
- 146/33 Although William Elphinston is most commonly known as the founder of King’s College, Aberdeen, he was also closely associated with the University of Glasgow. Following his ordination as a priest in 1455 he became a student at Glasgow in 1457 and took his MA



- in 1462. After spending the years 1465–70 studying law in France, he returned to Glasgow in 1471 and became closely involved in the administration of the University. He served as the Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1472 and was Rector in 1474–75. His legal skills were recognised by the University when it awarded him an honorary degree in canon law in 1473.
- 146/44 James Beaton was the Archbishop of Glasgow 1552–71 and, as such, the Chancellor of the University.
- 147/9 The distant origins of the Scots College in Paris lay in the medieval period. In 1325 the Bishop of Moray, David Innes, endowed four bursaries at the University of Paris for students from his diocese. This endowment, which had been confirmed in 1326 by King Charles IV of France, was combined with a bequest made by James Beaton in 1603 to fund Scottish students in Paris. Beaton had acquired a building in the rue des Amandiers in 1602, and this housed the Scots College when it opened in 1604 under Principal William Lumsden. The College survived until 1792, when the building was sacked, documents destroyed and the library dispersed. For further details see Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603–1792*.
- 147/13 John Gordon, who died in 1777.
- 147/15 On the chartulary see Innes, *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. iii–vi including footnotes e–i, and the correspondence between the University of Glasgow, the historian Thomas Innes and the Scots College in John Stuart (ed.), *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club: Volume Second* (1842), pp. 367–75. The copy of the chartulary commissioned by Principal John Gordon was presented to the University at a Senate meeting held on 31 March 1767; see ‘Minutes of University of Glasgow [Senate] Meetings, 1763–1768’, entry for 31 March 1767.
- 148/6 For this charter, which is dated 13 July 1563, see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 67–9, esp. p. 67 for the quoted passage.
- 148/14 Sir John Stewart of Minto.
- 148/16 Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 82–90.
- 148/22 Andrew Hay served as Rector of the University from 1569 until his resignation in 1586. A leading figure in the Scottish Reformation, Hay was instrumental in restoring the fortunes of the University and he helped to engineer the appointment of Andrew Melville as Principal in 1574. Before Melville left Glasgow in 1580 to become the Principal of St Mary’s College in St Andrews, the two men



- worked together on the Second Book of Discipline of the reformed Church of Scotland (1578).
- 148/26 ‘The Glasgow *Pædagogium* [i.e. educational institution], which had almost collapsed because of the lack of resources, and in which, because of its great poverty, the studies of the [academic] disciplines were extinct’; compare Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, p. 83, where the wording of the Latin passage differs somewhat.
- 149/2 This quotation translates a passage in the original Latin text of the charter, for which see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, p. 84.
- 149/6 ‘From all ordinary jurisdiction, and from all customs payments and requisitions from people travelling on foot which have been imposed or are to be imposed’.
- 149/23 James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton. Morton governed Scotland as the infant James VI’s regent from November 1572 until he was forced to resign in March 1578.
- 149/24 The parish of Govan straddled the Clyde to the west of Glasgow. In the early modern period, agriculture made the parish prosperous. The Prebend of Govan prior to King James VI’s benefaction was Stephen Beaton, who held the office from 1561 until his death in 1577.
- 149/25 According to the *Concise Scots Dictionary*, a chalder was a measure of either grain (equivalent to sixteen bolls) or of salt, lime or coal. J. D. Mackie calculates that the value of the bequest was £640 Scots; J. D. Mackie, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1951: A Short History*, p. 66.
- 150/2 For the value of a merk, see Editorial Note 31/4 above.
- 150/6 The University was considered to be a ‘new erection’ founded on James VI’s charter. The *Nova erectio* remained in force (with minor modifications) until the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858. For the charter see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 103–13, and, for a retranscription of the Latin original and an English translation, see Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1577*, pp. 430–48. The Durkan and Kirk translation is used below.
- 150/12 ‘[King James VI and his regent, James, earl of Morton], understanding that the annual profits and rents of the college or pedagogy of Glasgow are so small that they are not sufficient in this our time for the maintenance of the principal, masters, regents, bursars, and

- officers necessary in any college, nor to assist in the upholding and repairing thereof . . .'; Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow, 1451–1577*, p. 439.
- 150/15 'While we [i.e. James VI] have applied our mind to gathering the remains of the Glasgow academy, which we found languishing in indigence and almost entirely reduced'.
- 151/13 See the 'Act in favour of the College of Glasg[o]w' in Thomson, Innes and Anderson, *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. III, pp. 487–8, and Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 147–9.
- 152/11 The arts curriculum outlined in the *Nova erectio* was to be taught by three regents. The curriculum must have changed shortly thereafter, however, because a charter dated 8 March 1581 refers to a fourth regent; for the relevant documents see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 108–9, 132–4, 139–41. Reid's explanation for the creation of the new position is questioned in James Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow: From Its Foundation in 1451 to 1909*, pp. 77–8. The statutes Reid refers to are undated, although the fact that they specify what the four regents were to teach indicates that they postdate the *Nova erectio* of 1577; for the statutes see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 42–54.
- 152/23 Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 215–17.
- 152/28 The 'act' of the Visitors of the University reads: 'It is also provydit that the said minister [of Govan] and his successoures sall be chosen by the advyse and consent of the chancelar rectour deane of facultie principall and regents [of the University of the Glasgow] or the maist part therof; and sall be oblisched wnder paine of forfaling his yeirlye stipend to reide sic publict lecture in the commoune schooles of the said colledge as sall be prescryved to him by the said officers . . . and maisters of the Colledge'; Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, p. 216.
- 152/29 'Unione of the Kirkis of Kilbryid and Renfrew to the Colledge of Glasgow', Act 34 James VI 1617, in Thomson, Innes and Anderson, *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. IV, pp. 555–6, and Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 200–2.
- 152/35 'Of *literae humaniores*'. The precise year of the creation of a dedicated Professor of Humanity (Latin) is unknown. The mention of a 'Maister of the Humanitie' in a document dating from October 1637 establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of such a

- position; see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. III, p. 380.
- 152/37 On Mayne and the chair of medicine see Editorial Note 142/14 above.
- 153/5 Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 385–6.
- 153/8 James Hamilton, first duke of Hamilton, who was chosen as Chancellor of the University in October 1642; Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. III, p. 307.
- 153/9 William Cunningham, eighth earl of Glencairn, who was chosen in November 1660; Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. III, p. 308.
- 153/13 At the time of his appointment as Principal in early 1653 Patrick Gillespie was the contested minister at the Outer High Kirk in Glasgow. Gillespie had been a radical Covenanter implacably opposed to King Charles I and closely associated with the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. He was outed from his post in 1660 following the Restoration. For more on Gillespie's controversial Principalship see Mackie, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1951*, pp. 107–17.
- 153/36 The Scottish Parliament established Visitation Commissions for the Universities of St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow on 30 May 1661. The members of the Glasgow Commission only began to meet in July 1664 and concluded their Visitation in October of that year; for the proceedings of the Commission see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 474–86.
- 154/8 The Commission also called for an improvement of the university library; Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 479–81.
- 154/17 For the text of King William III's grant see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 441–5. The King's grant stipulated that £230 sterling be used annually to pay down the University's significant debt and that £70 be set aside each year to fund four bursaries in theology.
- 154/22 This lease was renewed in 1717 by George I, which means that the original lease must have been taken out in 1698; see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 470–4, and Mackie, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1951*, pp. 147–8.
- 154/28 According to John Stirling (who served as the Principal of the University from 1701 until his death in 1727), in the session for 1701–2, 'the Students were verie numerous for there were in the 1st class, 106; in the 2nd, 69; in the 3rd, 102; in the 4th, 46; making in all 323, which with the Students of Theologie would have made upwards of

- 400'; Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. III, p. 601.
- 154/33 On the revival of the chair of humanity and the appointment of Andrew Ross see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. II, pp. 388–9, 390–1, 392. The chair was re-established and filled in 1705; Ross began teaching the following year.
- 155/3 For Queen Anne's grant see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 465–6. The grant funded annual salaries for the Professors of Oriental Languages (£40 sterling), Mathematics (£40), Humanity (£25) and Botany (£30), and each year augmented the salaries of the Principal (£22), the three Regents (£11 each) and the Professor of Greek (£20).
- 155/10 The text of Queen Anne's charter, dated 16 December 1713, is transcribed in Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 467–8. The charter stipulated that £100 be used each year to offset debts and that the remainder of the funds given to the University be used to pay the annual salaries of a Professor of Civil Law (£90) and a Professor of Medicine (£40).
- 155/14 For George I's charter of 4 July 1716 see Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 468–70. The Professor of Ecclesiastical History was to receive an annual salary of £100 sterling, while £70 was set aside to augment the salaries of those in less well-endowed positions. The funding and salaries of various professors were adjusted in 1721 and 1722; Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. I, pp. 474–84.
- 155/28 Alexander Macfarlane matriculated in the class of the Professor of Greek, Alexander Dunlop, in 1725 and took his MA in 1728. He went on to become a prosperous merchant and colonial official in Kingston, Jamaica, where he bought the collection of instruments that had been used by the astronomer Colin Campbell and established an observatory at his home. At his death in 1755 Macfarlane bequeathed his astronomical instruments to his alma mater; they eventually arrived in Glasgow in the autumn of 1756. The foundation stone for the Macfarlane Observatory was laid in August 1757 and, once the building was completed, the instruments were installed in 1760. Meanwhile, in 1757 the patron of the University, Archibald Campbell, earl of Ilay and third duke of Argyll, persuaded the duke of Newcastle, Thomas Pelham-Holles (who was then Prime Minister), to fund a chair in astronomy. On 11 January 1760 a royal warrant named Alexander Wilson the new Regius Professor of

Practical Astronomy and Observer in the College. For more detail see: D. J. Bryden, 'The Jamaican Observatories of Colin Campbell, F.R.S. and Alexander Macfarlane, F.R.S.'; Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities*, pp. 134–40; David Clarke, *Reflections on the Astronomy of Glasgow: A Story of Some Five Hundred Years*, pp. 50–6, 61–8.

- 156/3 The benefactors listed here are: Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton; Robina, daughter of Sir William Lockhart and wife of Archibald Douglas, first earl of Forfar; William Cochrane, first earl of Dundonald; James Brydges, first duke of Chandos; James Graham, first duke of Montrose and Chancellor of the University from his election on 1 October 1714 until his death in 1742; Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the University (1672–74); Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh in the Church of Ireland; John Snell; the Welsh Presbyterian divine Daniel Williams; Rev. William Walton, Rector of Upton in Huntingdonshire; and the physician and virtuoso William Hunter. For the details of their bequests see: Innes, *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. III, pp. 460–3; William Thomson (ed.), *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships and Other Foundations in the College and University of Glasgow* (1850), pp. 67–75, 84–91, 92–8, 102–9, 136–41, 161–6, 167–76, 187–91, 241–53, 281–6, 292–6; and W. Innes Addison, *The Snell Exhibitions from the University of Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford*.
- 157/13 Thomson, *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships and Other Foundations in the College and University of Glasgow*, pp. 187–91, 281–6. Walton died on 16 October 1789. See also Textual Note 157/2 below.
- 157/19 Thomson, *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships and Other Foundations in the College and University of Glasgow*, pp. 180–7.
- 157/34 Thomson, *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships and Other Foundations in the College and University of Glasgow*, pp. 240–53.
- 158/3 The plan for building what became the Glasgow Royal Infirmary was first mooted in the autumn of 1786 by George Jardine and his colleague, the Professor of Medicine, Alexander Stevenson, who was instrumental in securing the support of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow for the scheme. The inaugural meeting of the friends of the Infirmary was held in June 1787. At this meeting a subscription campaign was launched, with Jardine serving as

- the secretary of the group and Reid a member of the managing committee of the charity. The Royal Charter for the Infirmary was granted on 1 December 1791 and the foundation stone for the building (designed by Robert and James Adam) was laid with great civic ceremony on 18 May 1792. The Royal Infirmary eventually opened for the sick poor in December 1794. Once the Infirmary was operational, Jardine, Reid and other members of the University were heavily involved in managing the affairs of the institution and in providing financial support. Reid personally donated £100 and visited the wards, where he also gifted money to needy patients. See also below, p. 181.
- 158/16 Following Bernard Mandeville, Adam Smith argued in the *Wealth of Nations* that the combination of small salaries and class fees encouraged professors to cultivate learning and lecture with more assiduity than their counterparts who only received salaries; Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1729–32), ed. F. B. Kaye, vol. I, pp. 293–4; Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), ed. R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. B. Todd, vol. II, p. 760 (V.i.f).
- 159/12 The argument of this paragraph may have been partly aimed at the Rev. William Thom, Minister of Govan, who had graduated from Glasgow in 1732 and who became the University's most strident critic in the second half of the eighteenth century. In a pamphlet written in 1761 Thom contended that the curriculum of the University did not address the educational needs of the citizens of Glasgow and he therefore proposed that an academy be established modelled on the plan for the Perth Academy, which had been approved by the Perth Town Council in 1760; see Thom's *Letter to J— M—, Esq. on the Defects of an University Education, and Its Unsuitableness to a Commercial People; with the Expediency and Necessity of Erecting at Glasgow an Academy for the Instruction of Youth*, in William Thom, *The Works of the Rev. William Thom, Late Minister of Govan, Consisting of Sermons, Tracts, Letters, &c. &c. &c.* (1799), pp. 263–301.
- 161/24 Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior Analytics*.
- 162/6 Compare George Jardine, *Synopsis of Lectures on Logic and Belles Lettres; Read in the University of Glasgow* (1797).
- 162/19 Earlier in the eighteenth century, Francis Hutcheson, Thomas Craigie and Adam Smith adopted a quadripartite structure for their public

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course on moral philosophy and followed a sequence of lectures on natural theology, ethics, natural jurisprudence and politics. Thomas Reid broke with this tradition and organised his public course into three main parts: pneumatology, ethics and politics. Reid's successor, Archibald Arthur, likewise employed a tripartite structure in his public lectures, following the slightly different sequence of pneumatology, ethics and natural jurisprudence. The moral philosophy course described in the text corresponds to the one taught by Arthur. John Anderson's predecessors in the chair of natural philosophy, Robert Dick the elder and the younger, lectured at 7:00 in the evenings on experimental philosophy and taught a separate course in the day which combined experimental demonstrations with some mathematical reasoning. Townsmen were allowed to attend their evening classes, which were advertised in the local press; David Murray, *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow: Some Chapters in the History of the University*, pp. 110–13. Anderson's lectures on 'physics' were divided into a 'Mathematic' course and an 'Experimental' one, which were given on different days of the week and at different times of the day. Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays were devoted to the 'Mathematic' course, which was taught in the morning and covered 'the Tenets, and History of the different Sects of Natural Philosophers . . . together with Mathematical Reasonings upon *Facts*, which are taken for granted'. Anderson's lectures on Tuesdays and Thursdays were on experimental philosophy and in these classes 'no Mathematical Reasonings [were] used; but the *Facts* are exhibited, upon which the Mathematical Reasonings [were] founded; and these *Facts*, or Experiments . . . [were] accompanied with short Explanations'; John Anderson, 'Lecture First at the Experiments', University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections, MS OA/6/13, pp. [1]–2; John Anderson, *A Compend of Experimental Philosophy; Containing Propositions Proved by a Course of Experiments in Natural Philosophy, and the General Heads of Lectures Which Accompany Them* (1760), p. v; John Anderson, *Extracts from the Latter Will and Codicil of Professor John Anderson* (1796), p. 15. Anderson bequeathed his extensive collection of experimental hardware (to which the 'Statistical Account' refers) to what became Anderson's Institution and his instruments were used in the teaching of the first Professor of Natural Philosophy (1796–99), Dr Thomas Garnett. Following Anderson's death in January 1796 and the settlement of



- his will, the University was obliged to purchase new instruments and to repair old ones that were the University's property.
- 163/14 Hercules Lindsay was the third Regius Professor of Civil Law at the University of Glasgow, following William Forbes and William Crosse. Before succeeding to the chair, Lindsay had substituted for both of his predecessors in the classroom. Roman law was codified by the eastern Roman emperor Justinian I in his *Institutes* and *Pandects* or *Digest*. These works served as the basis for the teaching of civil law across Europe in the early modern period. It is not known precisely when Lindsay first began to lecture on Justinian's *Institutes* in English.
- 163/18 This story is repeated verbatim in John Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar, Esq.', in John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: Or, an Inquiry into the Circumstances which Give Rise to Influence and Authority, in the Different Members of Society* (1806), p. xiii. Craig, however, distorted what is said in the 'Statistical Account' because he claims that the Faculty of Advocates complained about Hercules Lindsay, whereas the text indicates that the Faculty objected to lectures on the *Pandects* in English. John Millar was the first to lecture in English on the *Pandects*, although he also examined his students on his lectures in Latin. In March 1768 the Dean and Faculty of Advocates objected to Millar's use of English; see Angus Stewart (ed.), *Minute Book of the Faculty of Advocates: Volume 3 (1751–83)*, p. 184, and John W. Cairns, "'Famous as a School for Law, as Edinburgh . . . for Medicine": Legal Education in Glasgow, 1761–1801', pp. 211–12.
- 163/23 For John Millar's course on government see the printed syllabi: John Millar, *A Course of Lectures on Government; Given Annually in the University* (1771), and John Millar, *A Course of Lectures on Government; Given Annually in the University* (1792). Printed syllabi also survive for Millar's course on Scots law; see, for example, John Millar, *A Course of Lectures on the Private Law of Scotland* (1771), and John Millar, *Heads of the Lectures on the Law of Scotland, in the University of Glasgow, MDCCLXXVII* (1777).
- 165/7 Adam Smith, for one, boarded well-connected students, as did George Jardine and John Millar. In 1759 Smith took under his wing the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, the younger brother of the second earl of Shelburne, William Petty. Smith's correspondence also tells us that his pupils and friends Jardine and Millar likewise took students in to their homes; see Gilbert Elliot to Adam Smith, 14 November



- 1758, and Adam Smith to [Henry Herbert, Lord Porchester], 23 September 1788, in *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, ed. Ernest Campbell Mossner and Ian Simpson Ross, second edition, pp. 26–7, 431–2. For Millar’s boarders see Craig, ‘Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar, Esq.’, pp. lxx–lxxiii.
- 165/40 Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. II, pp. 762–3 (V.i.f.12); for a private statement of Smith’s view see Smith to William Cullen, 20 September 1774, in Smith, *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, p. 175.
- 166/24 On the Snell bursaries see Addison, *The Snell Exhibitions from the University of Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford*, esp. p. 22.
- 166/27 The other foundation was established by the Bishop of Rochester, John Warner. At his death in 1666, Warner bequeathed £80 to support four Scottish students at Balliol College. The first Scotch or Warner Exhibitioners entered Balliol in the spring of 1673. John Snell was involved in the creation of the Warner Exhibitions and used Warner’s bequest as a model for his own; see John Jones, *Balliol College: A History*, second edition, pp. 124–6.
- 167/31 Defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as being ‘admitted to the same degree or rank at another university or institution’.
- 168/10 George Jardine argued for the pedagogical benefits of awarding essay prizes in his *Outlines of Philosophical Education Illustrated by the Method of Teaching the Logic, or First Class of Philosophy, in the University of Glasgow* (1818), pp. 383–410. Beginning in the session for 1777–78, Jardine, along with the Professors of Greek (John Young) and Humanity (William Richardson), awarded prizes each year for the best essay in their respective classes; Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education*, p. 388, and W. Innes Addison, *Prize Lists of the University of Glasgow from Session 1777–78 to Session 1832–33*. But see also below, p. 261/15–17, for evidence that John Young had earlier given out other types of prizes to his students.
- 168/21 The distinguished and long-serving (1711–61) Glasgow Professor of Mathematics, Robert Simson, bequeathed his collection of books to the University library. On Reid’s use of Simson’s library see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, p. lxx, and ‘Rules &c Relating to Dr R Simsons Collection of Books 1768’, GUL, MS Simson Ea5–b.1.
- 168/23 The Regius Professor of Practical Astronomy, Alexander Wilson, was a highly skilled founder of type. He entered the trade in St Andrews and in 1744 established a typefoundry at Camlachie, which in the eighteenth century was on the eastern outskirts of Glasgow.

- In 1748 Wilson became the University's typefounder and, in 1762, he relocated his typefoundry to a site in the University buildings facing the Principal's Garden to the north and Blackfriars Church to the east. Examples of Wilson's typefaces can be seen in Anon., *A Specimen of Some of the Printing Types Cast in the Foundry of Doctor A. Wilson and Sons* (1772). Wilson and his sons supplied the type used by Robert Foulis and his brother Andrew, who were first booksellers and then printers to the University of Glasgow from 1740 until the deaths of the brothers in 1775 (Andrew) and 1776 (Robert). Robert's son, Andrew Foulis the younger, carried on as the University's bookseller and printer until he was summarily dismissed in 1795.
- 168/27 Hunter's library was finally moved from London to Glasgow in 1807. The early catalogues of the library compiled around the time of Hunter's death in 1783 have been digitised and transcribed; see <<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/151114>> (accessed June 2020).
- 168/31 On these antiquities see John Anderson, *Observations upon Roman Antiquities, Discovered between the Forth & Clyde* (1800); although the imprint of this pamphlet bears the date 1800 the text itself is dated 2 January 1793. Anderson had been instrumental in adding the Roman antiquities to the College's small museum and wrote a lengthy account of the Antonine Wall; see John Anderson, 'Of the Roman Wall Between the Forth and Clyde and of Some Discoveries Which Have Been Lately Made upon It', University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections, MS OA/5/5.
- 168/37 Reid was among the professors who preached in the chapel. In a biographical memoir of the evangelical minister James Mackinlay the elder, Reid's pulpit oratory is described in glowing terms: 'His earnestness at the dispensation of the Sacrament in the College Hall, at which he once presided, was never forgotten by the subject of this memoir. In his address to the communicants, he seemed to pour out his whole soul; and while speaking of the dying love of Christ, tears were observed running down his cheeks, showing the intensity of his inward emotion. Altogether, he was not only a great man, a patient, modest, and deep thinker, but a man in whom there appeared to be the fear and love of God'; James Mackinlay Jr, 'Memoir of the Rev. James Mackinlay, D.D.', in James Mackinlay, *Select Sermons. With a Memoir by his Son; and Published under His Superintendence* (1843), p. 13.
- 170/20 For the early history of the Infirmary see Editorial Note 158/3 above.

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## Part Four: Biography

### Some Farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons

- 171/8 Alexander Fraser Tytler, 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', in John Gregory, *The Works of the Late John Gregory, M.D.* (1788), vol. I, pp. 1–85. Reid was given a copy of John Gregory's *Works* by Gregory's son James Gregory, who in 1788 was the Edinburgh Professor of the Institutes of Medicine; see Reid to James Gregory, [late February 1788], in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 196–7. In addition to 'Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons', Reid had also written a manuscript which is now lost but which was extant in the 1930s headed 'The Genealogy of the Gregorys'; see Walter R. Humphries, 'Paper on "The Family of Gregory"'. On the basis of the handwriting, Humphries suggests that this manuscript was written *c.* 1750. If this dating is correct, Reid would have used this manuscript in the composition of 'Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons' and of a long letter about the Gregory family sent to James Gregory, who may in turn have passed the letter on to his father's biographer, Alexander Fraser Tytler; see Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 187–91.
- 171/12 Although they had known one another beforehand, William Tytler became an especially close friend of Dr John Gregory following Gregory's move to Edinburgh in 1764. In 1752 John Gregory married Elizabeth Forbes, who died at a relatively young age in 1761, leaving Gregory with the care of their three sons and three daughters. As Reid notes, Tytler was appointed a guardian of Gregory's children when Gregory himself died in 1773; see Tytler, 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', pp. 84–5. Although the younger Tytler's biography of John Gregory appeared anonymously, his authorship is noted in Archibald Alison, 'Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee', pp. 535–6.
- 171/15 David Anderson of Finzeauch, whose portrait was painted by his kinsman, the distinguished Aberdeen-born artist George Jamesone. Useful biographical information regarding Anderson and a description of Jamesone's portrait of him are given in John Bulloch, *George Jamesone: The Scottish Van Dyck*, pp. 27–8, 127–8.
- 171/23 Reid refers to the Kirk of St Nicholas. For Anderson's work in Aberdeen see Bulloch, *George Jamesone*, pp. 27–8.

- 171/29 The Cullen House that Reid knew was initially built beginning in 1600 by Walter Ogilvy of Findlater, and his son James Ogilvy, first earl of Findlater. Successive earls enlarged the original structure, including the fifth earl of Findlater and second earl of Seafield, James Ogilvy, with whom Reid conversed about David Anderson. The painted ceiling to which Reid refers was destroyed by fire in 1987.
- 172/17 For this mortification (made in March 1649) see Anon., *Mortifications under the Charge of the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Aberdeen*, pp. 128–30.
- 172/21 Reid is incorrect. Jean Guild was the daughter of the armourer Matthew Guild. Guild was the brother of William Guild, who in 1631 became one of the ministers at St Nicholas in Aberdeen and a chaplain to King Charles I. William Guild also served as Principal of King's College from 1640 until he was deposed in 1651.
- 172/25 This tapestry was more likely the work of Mary Jamesone, the daughter of the painter George Jamesone; see William Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen, from the Reign of King William the Lion, to the End of the Year 1818; with an Account of the City, Cathedral and University of Old Aberdeen* (1818), vol. II, p. 48, and Bulloch, *George Jamesone*, p. 105.
- 172/27 Alexander Anderson was David Anderson's brother. Reid had read at least one of Alexander Anderson's mathematical works by June 1788, when he wrote 'Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons'; see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, p. lxx.
- 172/31 James Gregory, who became Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews (1668–74) and the University of Edinburgh (1674–75) as well as a Fellow of the Royal Society of London (1668). In 1621 Janet Anderson married the Rev. John Gregory and they had three sons: Alexander, James and David, who eventually became the laird of Kinnairdy.
- 173/4 'Where I hesitated for a long time, deprived of all hope of progress, but finally fell in, after I had been inspired by the continual encouragement and assistance of my brother David Gregory, who was well versed in mathematics (and if I achieve anything in the Sciences I shall never deny that I owe it to him) etc.'; James Gregory, *Optica promota, seu abdita radiorum reflexorum & refractorum mysteria, geometricè enucleata; cui subnectitur appendix, subtilissimorum astronomiæ problematon resolutionem exhibens* (1663), 'Lectoribus mathematicis', verso.

173/24

Of Gregory's invention of the reflecting telescope Tytler wrote: 'At the age of twenty four [James Gregory] published his treatise entitled *Optica Promota* . . . a work of great genius, in which he gave the world an invention of his own, and one of the most valuable of the modern discoveries, the construction of the *Reflecting Telescope*. . . . The manner of placing the two specula upon the same axis appearing to Sir Isaac Newton to be attended with the disadvantage of losing the central rays of the larger speculum, he proposed an improvement on the instrument, by giving an oblique position to the smaller speculum, and placing the eye-glass in the side of the tube. But it is worth remarking, that the Newtonian construction of that instrument was long abandoned for the original or Gregorian, which is at this day universally employed where the instrument is of a moderate size; though Mr Herschel has preferred the Newtonian form for the construction of those immense telescopes, which of late years, he has so successfully employed in observing the heavens'; Tytler, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', pp. 4–6. Compare the entry on James Gregory in Charles Hutton, *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary: Containing an Explanation of the Terms, and an Account of the Several Subjects, Comprized under the Heads Mathematics, Astronomy and Philosophy, both Natural and Experimental: With an Historical Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of These Sciences: Also Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Authors, Both Ancient and Modern, Who by Their Discoveries or Improvements Have Contributed to the Advancement of Them* (1795–96), vol. I, p. 553, which recycles Tytler's text. Reid objects to Tytler's suggestion that Newton merely improved on Gregory's basic design, primarily because Newton's discovery that the rays of light associated with the spectrum were differently refrangible prompted him to build a catoptrical telescope. In Reid's view, Newton's telescope was rooted in his new theory of light and colours, whereas Gregory's design was based on an analysis of the refraction of light by differently figured lenses. Significantly, Reid also states that Newton 'demonstrated' why chromatic aberration could not be eliminated in refracting telescopes. Moreover, Reid draws attention to the fact that Newton was able to build a functional telescope, whereas Gregory had not been able to construct a working model of the reflecting telescope he envisaged. Reid's assessment is echoed in the entry on the reflecting telescope in Hutton, *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary*, vol. II,

- pp. 576–7. Gregory outlined his design for a reflecting telescope in Gregory, *Optica promota*, pp. 92–5; Newton’s version of the reflecting telescope is described in Isaac Newton, ‘An Accompt of a New Catadioptrical Telescope Invented by Mr Newton, Fellow of the R. Society, and Professor of the Mathematicques in the University of Cambridge’. After Newton’s description of his telescope was published in March 1672, Gregory and Newton debated the advantages and disadvantages of their respective designs in letters which passed through an intermediary, the English mathematician John Collins, who was a regular correspondent of them both; see Gregory to Collins, 6 August 1672, Gregory to Collins, 23 September 1672, Newton to Collins, 10 December 1672, Gregory to Collins, 7 March 1673, Newton to Collins, 9 April 1673 and Gregory to Collins, 13 May 1673, in Isaac Newton, *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, ed. H. W. Turnbull, A. Rupert Hall, Laura Tilling and J. F. Scott (1959–77), vol. I, pp. 228, 239–41, 247–52, 258–61, 269–71, 278–80.
- 173/32 For James Gregory on the law of refraction see Gregory, *Optica promota*, ‘Lectoribus mathematicis’, recto–verso, and, for the letter from John Collins, see Collins to Gregory, 24 March 1669/70, in Newton, *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, vol. I, p. 28.
- 173/34 Gregory to Collins, 15 February 1671, in Newton, *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, vol. I, pp. 61–4.
- 173/40 The letters between James and David Gregory that Reid had read are apparently no longer extant.
- 174/9 The controversy with the noted Dutch mathematician and natural philosopher Christiaan Huygens was sparked by the publication of James Gregory’s *Vera circuli et hyperbolæ quadratura, in propria sua proportionis specie, inuenta & demonstrata* (1667), in which Gregory claimed to have demonstrated the impossibility of squaring a circle using finite analytical techniques. Huygens questioned Gregory’s claim in a review of *Vera circuli et hyperbolæ quadratura* published in *Le journal des sçavans*, 2 July 1668, and in a further attack on Gregory in the same journal, 12 November 1668. Gregory took exception to these criticisms and responded in ‘Mr Gregories Answer to the Animadversions of Mr Hugenius upon His Book, *De vera circuli & hyperbolæ quadratura; as They Were Publish’d in the Journal des Scavans of July 2. 1668*’ and in his *Exercitationes geometricæ* (1668), pp. 1–8. For an overview of this controversy see E. J. Dijksterhuis, ‘James Gregory and Christiaan Huygens’.

- 174/18 David Gregory inherited Kinnairdy after the murder in 1664 of his elder brother Alexander by James Crichton, first Viscount Frendraught, in a dispute over the ownership of the estate.
- 174/19 David Gregory married his first wife, Jean Walker, on 8 February 1655. They produced fifteen children. After the death of Jean in 1671, Gregory married his second wife, Isabel Gordon, on 15 February 1672. There were fourteen children from the second marriage. Reid met his grandmother Isabel in Aberdeen shortly after his grandfather's death in 1720; see Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 189.
- 174/21 Kinnairdy Castle, which was the hub of David Gregory's estate, still stands near Aberchirder in Aberdeenshire.
- 174/36 Edme Mariotte, a member of the Académie des sciences. Mariotte discussed the use of barometers in the second of his *Essays de physique ou mémoires pour servir à la science des choses naturelles* (1679–81), entitled 'De la nature de l'air', published in 1679. On Gregory and his barometer, compare Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 188.
- 175/2 During the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14), North America was the scene of a war between Britain and France which was fought to gain control of the continent. The war lasted from 1702 to 1713 and was eventually won by the British. Queen Anne's War was an offshoot of the conflict in Europe known as the War of the Spanish Succession, which began in 1701 and ended in 1714.
- 175/6 Possibly the Aberdeen clockmaker William Allan, who is known to have been active in 1703; see John Smith, *Old Scottish Clockmakers from 1453 to 1850*, p. 17.
- 175/13 David Gregory, who was chosen as the Edinburgh Professor of Mathematics in 1683. He remained in this post until 1691, when he deployed the patronage of Isaac Newton and the Astronomer Royal, John Flamsteed, to secure his election as the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at the University of Oxford.
- 175/22 Compare the version of this story in Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 188–9.
- 175/27 This manuscript survives among the Gregory papers at Christ Church Oxford: 'Review of the Covenant as it was entered into in the year 1638 in Scotland in a Dialogue betwixt an Anti-Covenanter and an Old-Covenanter', MSS 163. The manuscript is dated 1705. Reid's father, the Rev. Lewis Reid, occupied the manse in the village of Strachan from 1704 until his death in 1762.



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- 175/29 Reid's mother was Margaret Gregory, who married Reid's father in 1704.
- 176/7 James Gregory was first a Regent at St Andrews (1685–91) and then Professor of Mathematics at the University of Edinburgh (1691–1725). The dedicatee of Gregory's thesis was George Mackenzie, first earl of Cromarty, on whom James VII and II bestowed the title Viscount Tarbat in 1685. Mackenzie was a virtuoso who shared Gregory's interests in natural philosophy. A copy of Gregory's untitled thesis survives in AUL, MS 2206/4/1; compare Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 188, 190–1. Reid also alludes to this thesis in Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 537 (VI.8).
- 176/10 Archibald Pitcairne took his MA at the University of Edinburgh in 1671 and then studied medicine at Paris before becoming an MD at the University of Rheims in 1680. Pitcairne also studied mathematics in this period of his life. After returning to Edinburgh Pitcairne was a founding member of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1681, having joined the circle of the prime mover in establishing the College, Sir Robert Sibbald. It was in the 1680s that he became especially close to David Gregory, who from 1683 was likewise working in Edinburgh. After teaching briefly at the University of Leiden (1692–93), Pitcairne settled for good in Edinburgh, where he became a noted controversialist, Latin poet and medical theorist and practitioner, as well as notorious for his Jacobitism, irreligion and hard drinking.
- 176/13 Thanks to the patronage of his fellow Scot, the Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet, and Isaac Newton, David Gregory became the mathematics tutor to the son of the future Queen Anne, Prince William, duke of Gloucester, in 1699. The following year Gloucester died of smallpox.
- 176/14 For Gregory's edition of Euclid's writings see Editorial Note 3/19 above.
- 176/16 Edward Bernard deputised for Sir Christopher Wren as the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at the University of Oxford from 1669 to 1673, when he succeeded Wren in the chair. Bernard resigned the professorship in 1691. When Bernard took over the chair in 1673, he hatched a plan to produce a complete edition of the writings of ancient mathematicians in fourteen volumes and gained the support of the Dean of Christ Church, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and founder of the University press, John Fell. Bernard began



- editing Euclid but left his work incomplete and soon abandoned his ambitious scheme to edit the corpus of ancient mathematics. Gregory mentions Bernard in the preface to his edition of Euclid's works; see Euclid, *ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ*. *Euclidis quae supersunt omnia*, 'Præfatio', sig. a2.
- 176/19 Sir Henry Savile, who in 1620 established the Savilian Chairs in Astronomy and Geometry at the University of Oxford. Savile was himself an accomplished editor of ancient texts.
- 176/22 While he was the Savilian Professor of Geometry (1649–1703) John Wallis produced scholarly editions of texts by Archimedes, Ptolemy, Aristarchus and Pappus. Wallis's successor, Edmond Halley, completed a project initiated by David Gregory to edit the *Conics* of Apollonius of Perga. Halley's edition of Apollonius was published in 1710. Reid is correct in stating that subsequent holders of the two Savilian chairs in the eighteenth century did not engage in the editing of ancient texts.
- 176/28 David Gregory, 'Notae in Isaaci Newtoni Principia Philosophiæ', AUL, MS 465. Three other copies of this manuscript exist, in the libraries of the Royal Society of London, the University of Edinburgh and Christ Church, Oxford. Reid also refers to David Gregory's *The Elements of Astronomy, Physical and Geometrical*, a work which he studied in the summer of 1729; see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xx–xxi.
- 176/31 David Gregory, who was Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews from 1739 until his death in 1765. For his textbook see David Gregory, *Arithmeticae et algebrae compendium* (1736).
- 176/36 David Gregory, who was born in 1751; for what little is known of this member of the Gregory dynasty see Sir Philip Spencer Gregory, *Records of the Family of Gregory*, pp. 41–2.
- 176/37 Regarding the Aberdeen Philosophical Society or Wise Club, Tytler wrote that 'the projectors of this institution . . . were Dr Reid and Dr Gregory'; Tytler, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', p. 40. The Society was founded in January 1758 by Reid, George Campbell, John Gregory, David Skene, John Stewart and Robert Traill; see Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, p. 75.
- 177/2 John Stewart, who succeeded Colin Maclaurin as the Professor of Mathematics at Marischal College in 1727 and remained in the chair until his death in 1766. Stewart's only publication was his *Sir Isaac Newton's Two Treatises of the Quadrature of Curves, and*

- Analysis by Equations of an Infinite Number of Terms, Explained* (1745).
- 177/6 David Skene took his MA at Marischal College in 1748 and was sent by his father to study medicine in Edinburgh, London and Paris. He began practising medicine in Aberdeen in 1753, the same year he was granted an MD by King's College. Skene was also an accomplished naturalist, and shared his wide-ranging interests in chemistry and natural history with Reid. The Skene–Linnaeus correspondence is transcribed in Alexander Thomson, *Biographical Sketch of David Skene, M.D., of Aberdeen; with Extracts from Correspondence between Dr Skene and Linnæus and John Ellis, About the Year 1765*.
- 177/11 On the abortive attempt by John Gregory and David Skene to launch a medical school at King's College see Editorial Note 17/29 above.
- 177/14 James Millar, son of the Regius Professor of Civil Law at Glasgow, John Millar. James Millar was the assistant to the Glasgow Professor of Mathematics, James Williamson, from 1789 until Williamson's death in 1795, and was then elected to succeed Williamson in 1796.
- 177/22 Compare Tytler, 'Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', p. 26 note.
- 178/2 See Editorial Note 171/8 above.
- 178/7 James Gregory, *Philosophical and Literary Essays* (1792). Gregory's *Essays* were dedicated to Reid, who had commented upon the lengthy introduction and other parts of the text prior to their publication; see Gregory, *Philosophical and Literary Essays*, vol. I, p. i, and Reid, 'Remarks on the Introduction', in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 241–4.

### Sketch of the Character of the Late Thomas Reid

- 179/14 The *Glasgow Courier* for Tuesday, 18 October 1796 carried the following advertisement: 'In the Press, and speedily will be published, Price Fourpence, stitched, And sold by James McNayr & Company, No. 5, Hutcheson Street, And by all the Booksellers in town, A Sketch of the Character of the Late Thomas Reid, D.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, with Observations on the danger of Political Innovation, From a Discourse delivered on the 28th. November 1794, By Dr. Reid. Before the Literary Society in Glasgow College'. An unattributed fragment of verse was printed following the advertisement:

— O had he let fall  
 One feather as he flew, I had then wrote  
 What friends may flatter —  
 Yet what I can, I must; it were profane  
 To quench a glory lighted at the skies,  
 And cast in shadows his illustrious close.

The lines are taken from ‘Night the Second. On Time, Death and Friendship’, by Edward Young, in *Night Thoughts* (1742–46), ed. Stephen Cornford, pp. 66–7 (lines 603–9). On the ‘Observations on the danger of Political Innovation’ see Editorial Note 183/4 below.

- 180/21 Reid’s obituary appeared in the *Glasgow Courier* for Saturday, 8 October 1796. The identity of the author of this obituary is not known.
- 180/30 The authorship of the *Sketch* is commonly ascribed to Dr Robert Cleghorn, who was appointed as Lecturer in materia medica at the University of Glasgow in 1788 and who then switched to the lectureship in chemistry in 1791, succeeding Thomas Charles Hope. Cleghorn was one of Reid’s closest associates in Glasgow during the last decade of Reid’s life. At the University, Cleghorn aligned himself with the group of Foxite Whigs that included Reid, John and James Millar, John Anderson and George Jardine. Along with Reid, he was also active in various philanthropic enterprises in Glasgow, including the founding of the Royal Infirmary. In Reid’s later years, Cleghorn was his physician; see below, p. 242. The pseudonym ‘Lucius’ is an allusion to the Roman moralist and dramatist Lucius Annaeus Seneca. It is not known why Cleghorn adopted this pseudonym.
- 181/6 Chapter 6 of the *Inquiry*, ‘Of Seeing’. Sections 13–19 of this chapter deal with single and double vision; for these sections, see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 132–67.
- 181/12 Reid’s knowledge of the Chemical Revolution initiated by Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier and his associates in France is documented in AUL MSS 2131/2/I/4 and 2131/3/I/6. See also Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. clxxxviii–cxciii, 139–53.
- 181/13 On Reid’s response to the French Revolution, see the Introduction to Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xxxiii–xxxvii.
- 181/24 Cleghorn refers to Reid’s critic, Joseph Priestley.
- 181/26 This may be a reference to William Thom, who attacked the teaching of Reid and his predecessor Adam Smith in his 1768 squib aimed at the University, *The Trial of a Student in the College of Clutha in the*

- Kingdom of Oceana*, in Thom, *The Works of the Rev. William Thom*, pp. 403–5. On Thom see Editorial Note 159/12 above.
- 181/30 Reid's daughter Martha outlived her father and died in February 1805. He was predeceased by his wife Elizabeth and their other eight children; see Editorial Notes 240/35 and 241/3 below.
- 181/36 Reid's involvement in the founding of the Aberdeen Infirmary is not documented in the surviving records of the early years of the Infirmary. Reid was later heavily involved in the planning for, and initial administration of, the Glasgow Royal Infirmary; see Wood, 'Thomas Reid, Natural Philosopher: A Study of Science and Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment', pp. 188–9, and Editorial Note 158/3 above.
- 182/1 On Reid's erudition compare the assessment of William Ogilvie, who wrote to the earl of Buchan:
- It is not in Metaphysics nor in moral Philosophy alone or even chiefly that Dr Reid is Eminent.
- No Man in Scotland is more attached to, or has cultivated more the profounder parts of the Mathematicks & the Newtonian Philosophy.
- In every thing that deserves the name of Science he is as knowing as any whom I have conversed with who make the particular departments their Study.
- Nor has he cultivated the Sciences to the neglect of other literature. He reads [Samuel] Richardson's works with great eagerness; and happening when last at Edinburgh to get the letters ascribed to Lady Mary Worthley Montagu after supper in a Tavern, he sate up and readd the three volumes before Breakfast.'
- Ogilvie to David Steuart Erskine, eleventh earl of Buchan, 5 January 1764, transcribed in the papers of Lord Buchan, GUL, MS Murray 502/65. See also the comment by the Glasgow Professor of Mathematics, James Millar, above p. 177/25–6.
- 182/9 Compare Stewart on Reid's last illness below, p. 242, where Stewart notes that Cleghorn kept his fellow physician and Reid's kinsman James Gregory informed regarding Reid's failing health.
- 182/16 Reid's discourse, 'Of Muscular Motion in the human Body', was read to the Glasgow Literary Society on 27 November 1795; see 'Minutes of the College Literary Society, 1790–99', GUL, MS Gen. 4, p. 34. This discourse is transcribed in Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 103–24.
- 182/37 Cleghorn quotes the last three paragraphs from 'Of Muscular Motion

- in the human Body'; compare Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, p. 124/10–31.
- 182/38 Cleghorn's biographical sketch appeared as a letter to the editor in the *Glasgow Courier* for Thursday, 20 October 1796.
- 183/4 The text of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation' consists of the first twenty-one paragraphs and the concluding paragraph of Reid's discourse, 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System'; compare Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 134/4–137/17 and 154/4–22. It is not known who was initially responsible for first publishing this text in the *Glasgow Courier* for 18 December 1794 or for giving it the title 'On the Danger of Political Innovation'. Cleghorn's text varies slightly from the 1794 version in terms of wording and accidentals. A subsequent version of the text, entitled 'Observations on the Danger of Political Innovation, from a Discourse Delivered on the 28th November 1794, before the Literary Society in Glasgow College, by DR. REID, and Published by His Consent', appeared in Archibald Arthur, *Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects* (1803), pp. 518–23.
- 183/38 In this and the following three paragraphs Reid draws on the ideas of Niccolò Machiavelli and James Harrington. Harrington's *Oceana* figured prominently in Reid's lectures on politics; see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xlvi–xlvii, 38–42, 43–4, 51–2.
- 185/3 Reid here implicitly criticises Montesquieu's appeal to environmental factors, and especially to climate, in order to explain the formation of different political, legal and social systems across the globe. Reid thus rejected Montesquieu's claim that 'the empire of climate is the first of all empires'; Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), book XIX, ch. 14, p. 316. Reid nevertheless maintained that Montesquieu had 'with the greatest clarity and on the basis of principles of human nature, expounded the causes, concepts and effects of laws, morals, and politics'; see Reid's first philosophical oration above, p. 51. In his politics lectures, Reid displayed a subtle understanding of Montesquieu, whom he praised as 'the greatest political Writer that either ancient or modern times have produced'. He rejected Montesquieu's climatic theory of the 'nature' (we might say the foundation) of government and instead used the Baron's theory of the 'principles' of government, namely the differing 'spirits' of republican, monarchical and despotic forms of government and their sources of degeneration; Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 44–7, 51–2.

- 185/13 For this maxim of politics see, for example, Discourse 25 in Book I of Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius* (1531), in *Machiavelli: The Chief Works and Others*, trans. Allan Gilbert, vol. I, pp. 252–3.
- 185/40 Compare Reid's remarks in his lectures on politics regarding the reform of the British constitution; Reid, *On Society and Politics*, p. 52. Reid's own involvement in reformist politics is detailed in Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xxxii–xxxvii.
- 186/2 Compare Reid's assessment of the defects of the British constitution in his lectures on politics; Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 49–52.
- 186/6 Reid's belief that the Revolution of 1688–89 was an instance of God's providential intervention in human affairs was widely shared among his contemporaries. Although the political views of his fellow clergymen Alexander Carlyle, William Robertson and Richard Price were very different, they all (like Reid) interpreted human history, and hence events such as the Glorious, American and French Revolutions, within a providentialist framework. See, for example, Alexander Carlyle, *National Depravity the Cause of National Calamities, a Sermon, from Jeremiah vi.8. Preached in the Church of Inveresk, on Thursday Feb. 25. 1794; Being the Day Appointed by His Majesty for a General Fast* (1794), esp. pp. 3–6, 26; William Robertson, 'Sermon on the Centenary of the Glorious Revolution, 1788', in *The Works of William Robertson*, ed. Richard Sher and Jeffrey Smitten, vol. XII, pp. 175–87; and Richard Price, *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind* (1787) and *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country* (1789), in Richard Price, *Political Writings*, ed. D. O. Thomas, pp. 152–75, 176–96. Reid received a presentation copy of Price's controversial sermon, *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country*, in early 1790; see Richard Price to [James Wodrow], 20 January 1790, in Richard Price, *The Correspondence of Richard Price*, ed. W. Bernard Peach and D. O. Thomas, vol. III, pp. 269–71.
- 186/16 For a detailed discussion of these reciprocal duties see Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 75–6, 144–52.
- 186/23 Like Locke, Reid allowed for the replacement of the sovereign power because he maintained that the relationship between a ruler and their subjects was contractual; see Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 136–43.
- 186/28 1 Timothy 2: 2.

- 186/29 When the *Glasgow Courier* was first published in September 1791, the paper carried articles that were both sympathetic to and critical of political reform in Britain and the revolution in France. But by the time the excerpts from Reid's 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System' appeared with the title 'On the Danger of Political Innovation' in December 1794, the *Glasgow Courier* had become resolutely opposed to domestic reformist politics and to the increasing radicalism of the French Revolution; see Bob Harris, *The Scottish People and the French Revolution*, pp. 51–3. Reid's comments on revolution and reform in his discourse were thus co-opted by those who created the text of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation' to serve the paper's political agenda; see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

### Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid

- 187/7 Dugald Stewart read his biography of Thomas Reid at meetings of the Literary Class of the Royal Society of Edinburgh held on 17 May and 6 December 1802; see 'Journal or Minute Book of the Literary Class of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Volume I: 3 November 1783–21 November 1808', National Library of Scotland, Acc. 10000/3, p. 93, and 'Minutes of the Meetings of the Physical and Literary Classes of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1 July 1793–12 January 1824', National Library of Scotland, Acc. 10000/4, entry for 6 December 1802.
- 188/8 Lewis Reid was born in Banchory-Ternan in 1676 and died 26 November 1762, presumably at the manse in Strachan. He took his MA at Marischal College in June 1697 and was ordained as a minister in the Church of Scotland at Strachan on 21 March 1704. In the year of his ordination he married Margaret Gregory, with whom he had four children, including our Thomas Reid. Shortly after his first wife's death in 1732, Lewis Reid married Janet Fraser; on this marriage see Editorial Note 255/1 below.
- 188/16 James Reid, who died *c.* 1602, became the first Presbyterian minister of Banchory-Ternan in 1567. He was subsequently reappointed by James VI in 1582, and he became a burgess of Aberdeen in 1598.
- 188/18 On the Reids of Pitfodells see John A. Henderson, *History of the Parish of Banchory-Devenick*, pp. 164–73.
- 188/20 Robert Reid graduated with an MA from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1600 and became minister at Banchory-Ternan through the



- patronage of James VI in July 1602. Like his father, he became a burress of Aberdeen in 1624.
- 188/34 Thomas Reid, who died in 1624, attended the Aberdeen Grammar School before studying at Marischal College. After graduating with his MA, he first taught at the Grammar School and then became a regent at Marischal in 1603. Resigning in 1607, Reid journeyed initially to France and from there to Rostock and Leipzig, where he became a noted philosopher and Latin scholar. He entered the service of his family's patron, James VI and I, in 1618, becoming the King's Latin Secretary. His bequest (for which see Editorial Note 30/35 above) is discussed in Iain Beavan, "'The Best Library that ever the North Pairtes of Scotland Saw': Thomas Reid (Latin Secretary to James VI) and His Books". While teaching at Rostock, Reid published a series of works on metaphysics, of which the most important was Thomas Reid, *Pervigilia metaphysica desideratissima* (1616). For Reid's Latin poetry see Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit and Arthur Johnston (eds), *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium* (1637).
- 188/40 Alexander Reid was educated at the parish school in Banchory-Ternan and perhaps at the Aberdeen Grammar School before studying at King's College, Aberdeen. After being an itinerant scholar in France and elsewhere on the continent, he worked as a surgeon in England before becoming an MA and MD at the University of Oxford in 1620. Shortly thereafter, he became a member of the Company of Barber-Surgeons and a Fellow of the College of Physicians in London. From 1632 until 1634 he delivered weekly anatomy lectures at the Barber-Surgeon's Hall, which formed the basis for his books *The Chirurgicall Lectures of Tumors and Ulcers* (1635) and *A Treatise of the First Part of Chirurgerie, Called by Mee Συνθετικη, the Part which Teacheth the Reunion of the Parts of the Bodie Disjoyned* (1638). Through his medical practice Reid became wealthy and during the last decade of his life he donated money to establish student bursaries at both Aberdeen colleges. In his will, he distributed his fortune widely among his network of associates and left a significant sum to support the parishioners of Banchory-Ternan.
- 189/4 Adam Reid, who died in 1632, became minister in the parish of Methlick in 1619 after teaching as a regent at Marischal College (where he also studied). Like his brother Robert he became a bur-gess of Aberdeen in 1624. The translation of George Buchanan's



- Rerum Scoticarum historia* (1582) survives at the University of Glasgow, although the translation is not ascribed to Adam Reid; see 'The Historie of Scotland First Written in the Latine Tongue by that Famous and Learned Man George Buchanan and Afterward Translated into the Scottishe Tongue by John Read Esquyer Brother to James Read Person of Banchory', GUL, MS Gen. 1187.
- 189/6 Robert Reid, who died *c.* 1682, studied at Marischal College before becoming the minister of Banchory-Ternan in 1662. He became a burghess of Aberdeen in 1658.
- 189/10 These memoranda have not survived, but see the biographical notes in an unidentified hand preserved in 'Papers Relating to Thomas Reid, Professor of Moral Philosophy, His Ancestors, Family and Descendants, and to the Families of Forbes, Fraser, Gregory, Leslie and Others', AUL, MS 2814/1/50.
- 189/10 James Gregory; see Editorial Note 171/8 above.
- 189/28 On Reid's mother Margaret, her father and her uncle see above pp. 172–5 and Editorial Note 175/29.
- 189/31 On David Gregory see above pp. 175–6.
- 189/34 See above p. 175/32–4.
- 190/3 Compare above p. 177/15–22 and Editorial Note 177/22.
- 190/15 Reid entered Marischal College in 1722 and graduated with his MA in 1726. His regent, George Turnbull, taught at Marischal from 1721 until he resigned his position in 1727. Turnbull then became a travelling tutor and had a chequered career as a man of letters in London. He was ordained in the Church of England in 1739, and was appointed as chaplain to the Prince of Wales in 1741. He then briefly became a schoolmaster at Kew before the Bishop of Derry, Thomas Rundle, made him a rector of the parish of Drumachose in County Derry. Notable among Turnbull's publications were his *The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy* (1740) and *A Treatise of Ancient Painting, Containing Observations on the Rise, Progress and Decline of that Art Amongst the Greek and Romans; the High Opinion which the Great Men of Antiquity Had of It; Its Connexion with Poetry and Philosophy; and the Use that May Be Made of It in Education* (1740). Reid's lost autobiographical memoranda presumably contained his critical assessment of the education that he received at Marischal.
- 190/29 Stewart's chronology is confused. After taking his MA at Marischal College in 1726, Reid entered the Divinity Hall at Aberdeen and was licensed as probationer and preacher in September 1731 by the

- Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil. It was not until July 1733 that he was appointed as librarian at Marischal.
- 190/32 On Reid's friendship with Stewart see Textual Note 177/1–2 below; for Stewart's edition of Isaac Newton's mathematical tracts see Editorial Note 177/2 above.
- 191/2 Evidence for their study of Newton's *Principia* survives in a detailed set of Reid's reading notes from the *Principia* dated 6 October 1729; see AUL, MS 2131/7/III/15.
- 191/13 Reid travelled to London in the summer of 1736 in order to consult with his uncle, Dr George Reid, regarding possible legal action against the Aberdeen Town Council over his salary and the Council's management of the bequest made by Reid's ancestral namesake Thomas Reid to fund a librarian at Marischal College. While in England, Reid and Stewart visited Oxford, Cambridge and London, where they met the recently appointed Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, David Gregory, the President of the Royal Society, Martin Folkes, and, at Cambridge, the Master of Trinity College, Richard Bentley, as well as the Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, Nicholas Saunderson. For Reid's references to Saunderson see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 65, 79, 95, 117–18; see also Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 35.
- 191/19 For Reid's reaction to the death of John Stewart and his family in March 1766 see Reid to David Skene, 23 March 1766, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 47.
- 191/27 The controversy surrounding Reid's presentation to the living at New Machar is analysed in Paul Wood, *The Life of Thomas Reid*.
- 191/37 The two cousins married in London on 12 August 1740. Elizabeth Reid was born (presumably in London) in 1724 and died in Glasgow in 1792; on her death see Reid to Dugald Stewart, [May 1792], in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 230. Little is known about her father, apart from the fact that he died in 1754, leaving Thomas and Elizabeth Reid to deal with the legal issues associated with settling his estate.
- 192/6 Stewart's source for this anecdote, William Stronach, took his MA at Marischal College in 1775 and was ordained at New Machar in June 1782. He remained in Reid's old parish until 1804, when he transferred to the living at Marnoch. As well as assisting Stewart, Stronach wrote the entry on New Machar which appeared in Sir John Sinclair's *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. VI, pp. 465–76.
- 192/12 Patrick Davidson was presented to the parish of Rayne by George III and was admitted as minister in May 1778. Contrary to what

- Davidson and Stewart suggest, reading the published sermons of other clergymen was a common practice in the eighteenth century. Presumably Reid read to his parishioners sermons by the famous Latitudinarian Archbishop of Canterbury, John Tillotson, and the noted English Presbyterian John Evans, because both men were stylish pulpit orators who emphasised the necessity for Christians of fulfilling their practical religious duties.
- 192/19 Probably the Rev. James Leslie, minister of Fordoun, whom Stewart thanks for information regarding Reid's life in the north-east of Scotland below pp. 254–5; see also Editorial Note 255/1.
- 192/36 Thomas Reid, 'An Essay on Quantity; Occasioned by Reading a Treatise, in Which Simple and Compound Ratio's Are Applied to Virtue and Merit'; see also Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xcvi–cxi, 32–59.
- 192/39 Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*. Two versions of the title page of the first edition (1725) stated in the sub-title that the *Inquiry* included 'an Attempt to introduce a *Mathematical Calculation* in Subjects of *Morality*'. This sub-title was dropped from one version of the first edition's title page and did not appear on the title pages of the three further editions published during Hutcheson's lifetime.
- 193/7 Stewart paraphrases rather than quotes Hutcheson's fifth axiom used for calculating the morality of human actions in the *Inquiry*: 'The Virtue then of Agents, or their Benevolence, is always directly as the Moment of Good produc'd in like Circumstances, and inversely as their Abilities: or  $B = \frac{M}{A}$ '; Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, p. 128.
- 193/19 Inspired by the works of Italian iatromechanists such as Giovanni Alfonso Borelli and especially Lorenzo Bellini, Archibald Pitcairne conceived of the human body as a mechanical system and championed the use of empirical observation and mathematical reasoning in medicine. Although Pitcairne argued for the independence of medicine from philosophy (notably in his inaugural oration as the Leiden Professor of the Practice of Medicine delivered in April 1692), he nevertheless drew on the writings of Isaac Newton (whom he studied with his close friend James Gregory and met) in order to explain human physiology in terms of the interactions of material particles governed by attractive forces. Pitcairne's iatromechanism was highly influential, as well as controversial, in the early decades of the eighteenth century. He attracted a number of disciples, including

- the Scot George Cheyne, who in the 1690s studied with Pitcairne in Edinburgh and defended his teacher's theory of fevers in a lively dispute which divided Edinburgh's Royal College of Physicians. See especially Archibald Pitcairne, *The Philosophical and Mathematical Elements of Physick* (1718; translated from the Latin edition of 1717) and *The Whole Works of Dr Archibald Pitcairn, Published by Himself*, second edition (1727); George Cheyne, *A New Theory of Continu'd Fevers; Wherein, Besides the Appearances of such Fevers, and the Method of Their Cure, Occasionally, the Structure of the Glands, and the Manner of Secretion, the Operation of Purgative, Vomitive and Mercurial Medicines, Are Mechanically Explain'd* (1701).
- 193/34 Isaac Barrow, *The Usefulness of Mathematical Learning Explained and Demonstrated: Being Mathematical Lectures Read in the Publick Schools at the University of Cambridge* (1734), esp. pp. 10–11, 20, 29–49; Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of Papers, which Passed between the Late Learned Mr Leibnitz, and Dr Clarke, in the Years 1715 and 1716. Relating to the Principles of Natural Philosophy and Religion* (1717), pp. 309–17.
- 194/6 Jean Le Rond D'Alembert initially discussed the *vis viva* controversy in the first edition of his *Traité de dynamique* and subsequently elaborated on his discussion in the revised and expanded second edition; see Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, *Traité de dynamique, dans lequel les loix de l'équilibre & du mouvement des corps sont réduites au plus petit nombre possible, & démontrées d'une manière nouvelle, & où l'on donne un principe général pour trouver le mouvement de plusieurs corps qui agissent les uns sur les autres, d'une manière quelconque* (1743), pp. xvi–xxii; Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, *Traité de dynamique, dans lequel les loix de l'équilibre & du mouvement des corps sont réduites au plus petit nombre possible, & démontrées d'une manière nouvelle, & où l'on donne un principe général pour trouver le mouvement de plusieurs corps qui agissent les uns sur les autres, d'une manière quelconque*, new edition (1758), pp. xvii–xxiv.
- 194/13 On Reid's appointment at King's College see Editorial Note 3/1 above.
- 195/5 On the Wise Club see Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, and Editorial Note 176/37 above.
- 195/13 As Reid mentions in the dedication to the *Inquiry*, the text of the work was based on discourses he delivered in the Aberdeen Philosophical Society; Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 5. Before the *Inquiry* was published, the

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- manuscript of the book was read by two members of the Wise Club, George Campbell and Alexander Gerard; see Reid to David Hume, 18 March 1763, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 31.
- 195/19 Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 3.
- 195/33 Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 142 (II.10).
- 196/11 ‘M. Turgot disoit souvent qu’un homme qui n’avoit jamais regardé la question de l’existence des objets extérieurs comme un objet difficile & digne d’occuper notre curiosité, ne seroit jamais de progrès en metaphysique’; Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, *Vie de Monsieur Turgot* (1786), p. 236, note.
- 196/26 David Hume to Hugh Blair, 4 July 1762, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 18–19.
- 196/39 See Editorial Note 229/12 below.
- 197/25 Hume to Thomas Reid, 25 February 1763, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 29–30.
- 198/12 The sub-title of Hume’s *Treatise* stated that the work was ‘An Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects’.
- 198/23 ‘The great glory of literature in this island, during the reign of James [VI and I], was lord Bacon. Most of his performances were composed in Latin; though he possessed neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, he was yet inferior to his co[n]temporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a distance the road to true philosophy: Galileo both pointed it out to others, and made himself considerable advances in it. The Englishman was ignorant of geometry: The Florentine revived that science, excelled in it, and was the first that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philosophy. The former rejected, with the most positive disdain, the system of Copernicus: The latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reason and the senses. Bacon’s style is stiff and rigid: His wit, though often brilliant, is also often unnatural and far-fetched; and he seems to be the original of those pointed similies and long-spun allegories, which so much distinguish the English authors: Galileo is a lively and agreeable, though somewhat a prolix writer. But Italy, not united in any single government, and perhaps satiated with that

- literary glory, which it has possessed both in ancient and modern times, has too much neglected the renown which it has acquired by giving birth to so great a man. That national spirit, which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations, as may often appear partial and excessive'; David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* (1778), ed. William B. Todd, vol. V, pp. 153–4.
- 199/10 Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 15–16.
- 199/17 Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 15.
- 199/39 '... if men stuck for many years to the right way of discovering and cultivating the sciences and yet could make no further headway, the opinion that things could be carried forwards would doubtless be impudent and reckless. But if they were wrong about the way itself, and men's efforts were misdirected, the consequence would be that the difficulty arose not from things themselves, over which we have no control, but from the human intellect and its use and application, which is something capable of treatment and cure'; Book I, Aphorism XCIV, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, p. 153.
- 200/22 Dugald Stewart attended Adam Ferguson's lectures on moral philosophy in the sessions for 1769–70 and 1770–71; see Gordon Macintyre, *Dugald Stewart: The Pride and Ornament of Scotland*, p. 20 and note 22. According to John Veitch, Ferguson advised Stewart to go to Glasgow in order to take Reid's moral philosophy course; John Veitch, 'Memoir of Dugald Stewart, with Selections from His Correspondence', in *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, ed. Sir William Hamilton (1854–60), vol. X, p. xviii. For evidence of Ferguson's use of Reid's *Inquiry* in his lectures see Adam Ferguson, *Institutes of Moral Philosophy. For the Use of Students in the College of Edinburgh* (1769), pp. 45, 50.
- 200/26 The surgeon-apothecary James Russell succeeded Adam Ferguson as the Edinburgh Professor of Natural Philosophy in May 1764 and held the chair until his death in October 1773.
- 200/34 John Stevenson occupied the Edinburgh chair of logic and metaphysics from 1730 to 1775. Dugald Stewart took Stevenson's course twice, in the sessions for 1767–68 and 1768–69; Macintyre, *Dugald Stewart*, p. 19.
- 200/39 'I keep silent concerning myself, but for the business in hand I ask men to think of it not as a question of opinion but as a job to be done,

- and to know for certain that I am not laying foundations of sect or dogma but of utility and human greatness. . . . Then again I ask them to be of good hope, and not imagine or suppose that my *Instauration* is limitless and beyond the capacity of mere mortals, when in fact it is really a lawful end and termination of limitless error . . .'; Bacon, Preface to the Great Instauration, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 22–5.
- 201/4 Adam Smith left the University of Glasgow in November 1763 in order to become the travelling tutor to the duke of Buccleuch and officially resigned from the chair of moral philosophy in February 1764. In a contentious election held on 22 May 1764 Reid was chosen by the University Senate to succeed Smith and he was formally admitted as a Glasgow professor on 11 June 1764. See also Textual Note 201/3 below.
- 201/20 Robert Simson served as the Glasgow Professor of Mathematics from 1711 until he retired from teaching in 1761. Reid greatly admired Simson's mathematical work and referred to him as 'the father of the Mathematicians now alive'; Reid to [William Ogilvie], [1763], in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 23. Reid was, however, critical of Simson's obsession with the purity of classical geometry. For Reid's relationship with Simson see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. xxxviii–xl, lxxxix–xcvi.
- 201/21 James Moor began teaching as the assistant to the Glasgow Professor of Greek, Alexander Dunlop, in 1745 and took over the chair when Dunlop died in April 1747. Stewart glosses over the fact that from 1760 onwards Moor was often drunk, probably mentally ill, sometimes violently at odds with his professorial colleagues and, beginning in 1766, unable to teach his classes. He was forced to resign in 1774 and eventually died in September 1779. Moor was an especially close friend of two colleagues: Robert Simson, whose student he had been in the 1720s, and Francis Hutcheson, with whom he collaborated in publishing *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (1742). On Moor's chequered career at Glasgow see also William J. Duncan (ed.), *Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow, During the Greater Part of Last Century*, pp. 127–31.
- 201/24 Joseph Black studied at the University of Glasgow from 1744 until 1748. After finishing his arts course without taking his degree, he remained in Glasgow, working with the University's lecturer in chemistry, William Cullen, until 1752. Black then transferred to



- the University of Edinburgh, where he took his MD in 1754. When Cullen left Glasgow in 1756, Black became the Glasgow lecturer in chemistry and, through his discovery of latent and specific heats, turned Glasgow into a European centre for the cultivation of the science of heat prior to his return to Edinburgh in 1766. Black also served as the Glasgow Professor of Anatomy (1756–57) and Practice of Medicine (1757–66) while he retained the lectureship in chemistry. Reid was fascinated with Black's discoveries and attended his colleague's chemistry lectures in the 1765–66 session; for Reid's engagement with Black's researches see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. liv–lv, clxxv–clxxvi, clxxx–clxxxii.
- 201/26 Reid became a close friend of the Glasgow Professor of Practical Astronomy, Alexander Wilson, as well as Wilson's son Patrick, who succeeded his father as Professor in 1784; their friendships and collaborations are documented in Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. lii–liv, cxlvi–clxi.
- 201/30 The Glasgow Professor of Civil Law, John Millar, opposed Reid's appointment to succeed Millar's teacher and mentor Adam Smith. Although Reid and Millar were political allies (see Editorial Note 180/30 above), they sharply disagreed over the validity of Hume's anatomy of human nature. Millar's early biographer, John Craig, described their exchanges in the Glasgow Literary Society as follows: 'A zealous admirer of Mr Hume's philosophical opinions, which [Millar] had early adopted, and of the truth of which, after inquiries increased his conviction, he was necessarily engaged in frequent debate with Dr Reid. Each, firmly persuaded that he maintained the cause of truth, used every exertion to support his own opinions and overthrow those of his opponent. No weapon was rejected. To the utmost subtlety of argument, to the most acute detection of sophistry, were sometimes joined the powers of ridicule; and occasionally, when arguments, conceived to be refuted in former debates, were again, on either side, introduced, some impatience might appear, some expressions might be used which seemed to convey the idea of contempt. But such feelings never, for a moment, survived the debate; and it is honourable to both, that frequent, and even acrimonious disputation, never weakened their sentiments of friendship, nor impaired that mutual esteem which their worth, their talents, and their unwearied ardour in the investigation of truth, were calculated to inspire'; Craig, 'Account of the Life and Writings of John Millar, Esq.', pp. lxi–lxii.



- 201/30 William Leechman graduated with an MA from the University of Edinburgh in 1724. After a period in which he was a tutor and chaplain in the household of the Mures of Caldwell, Leechman became minister at Beith in 1736, by which time he had befriended Francis Hutcheson. Thanks to the patronage of Hutcheson, Leechman was elected as the Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow in December 1743, narrowly defeating the evangelical clergyman John Maclaurin. Along with Hutcheson, Leechman championed a polite and moderate form of Presbyterianism in both the College and the town. He eventually replaced Neil Campbell as the Principal of the University in 1761. Although Reid and Leechman evidently respected one another as individuals, they were on opposite sides in the fractitious politics which divided the University during Leechman's principalship. For Leechman's biography of his friend Hutcheson see William Leechman, 'The Preface, Giving Some Account of the Life, Writings and Character of the Author', in Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy, in Three Books* (1755), vol. I, pp. i–xlviii.
- 202/4 Reid taught two courses during his teaching session, which began in mid-October and ended in May each year. In his 'public' class on moral philosophy he lectured for one hour, beginning at 7:30 in the morning, Mondays through Saturdays. Then, beginning at 11:00 on weekdays he examined his students in the public class for one hour on the lecture they had heard earlier in the morning. In addition, during part of the session, Reid lectured for one hour at noon three days a week in his 'private' class, which was devoted to the 'culture of the mind'. In these lectures, Reid covered logic, rhetoric and the philosophical principles upon which the fine arts were supposedly based.
- 202/8 For the papers on economic and political topics that Reid read to the Glasgow Literary Society see Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 96–154.
- 202/11 See Editorial Note 201/24 above.
- 202/19 On the structure of Reid's moral philosophy course see Editorial Note 162/19 above. For Reid's lectures on practical ethics and on politics see Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 3–175, and Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 22–78.
- 202/25 For Reid's lectures on the culture of the mind see Reid, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*.
- 202/40 Dugald Stewart attended Reid's moral philosophy lectures in the

session for 1771–72. Compare Stewart’s somewhat negative assessment of the effectiveness of Reid’s teaching style with that of George Jardine: ‘I remember well the striking effect produced on the minds of his students, by an instance of great simplicity and candour, on the part of the late venerable Dr. Reid, when he was professor of moral philosophy in this [Glasgow] university. During the hour of examination they were reading to him a portion of Cicero de Finibus; when at one of those mutilated and involved passages which occasionally occur in that work, the student who was reading stopped, and was unable to proceed. The doctor attempted to explain the difficulty; but the meaning of the sentence did not immediately present itself. Instead, however, of slurring it over, as many would have done, “Gentlemen,” said he, “I thought I had the meaning of this passage, but it has escaped me; I shall therefore be obliged to any one of you who will translate it.” A student thereupon instantly stood up in his place, and translated it to the doctor’s satisfaction. He politely thanked him for it; and farther commended the young man for his spirited attempt. This incident had a powerful effect upon the minds of the other students, while all admired the candour of that eminent professor; nor was there a single difficult passage which was not afterwards studied with more than usual care, that the next precious opportunity for distinction might be seized. Powerful, indeed, and lasting are the impressions which such incidents make on the minds of ingenuous youth’; George Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education, Illustrated by the Method of Teaching the Logic Class in the University of Glasgow*, second edition (1825), pp. 263–4.

- 203/3 Compare the reconstruction of Reid’s organisation of his lectures in Knud Haakonssen’s Introduction to Reid, *Practical Ethics*, pp. lxxxvii–lxxxix.
- 203/33 Reid retired from teaching in May 1780, when Archibald Arthur was chosen as his assistant and successor. Reid retained the title of his chair as well as his salary. Arthur’s income was derived from his class fees. See also Textual Note 203/29 below.
- 204/18 This letter is no longer extant.
- 204/35 Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792), esp. pp. 1–16, 43–61.
- 205/27 A slightly inaccurate quotation from Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 12.
- 206/7 ‘Nearly all the things which are contained in the precepts are accomplished by ingenious people; but more by happenstance than science.

Therefore, instruction and attention are to be applied, in order that those things, which we succeed in doing sometimes without reason, are always within our power; and we are ready to apply them, whenever the matter at hand demands it'. The passage appears on the title page of Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses Delivered in the Royal Academy by the President* (1778). Stewart's rendering of the Latin passage differs somewhat from the original: 'Omnia enim fere, quae praeceptis continentur, ab ingeniosis hominibus & in dicendo se exercentibus fiunt, sed casu quodam magis, quam scientia. Ideoque doctrina & animadversio adhibenda est, ut ea, quae interdum sine ratione nobis occurrunt, semper in nostra potestate sint, & quoties res postulaverit, a nobis ex praeparato adhibeantur'; Aquila Romanus, *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis*, in *P. Rutilii Lupi De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis libri duo . . . Accedunt Aquilae Romani et Julii Rufiniani de eodem arugmento libri*, ed. David Ruhnken (1768), pp. 156–7. The original Latin may be translated as: 'For nearly everything which is contained in the precepts has been done by ingenious people who busy themselves with speaking, but they have achieved this more by accident than knowingly. Therefore, instruction and attention must be applied, in order that those things which we sometimes succeed in doing without reasoning, are always within our power, and so that we are ready to apply them whenever the matter at hand demands it.'

206/15 Stewart may refer here to a passage in Bacon's will: 'For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages'; Francis Bacon, 'The Last Will of Francis Bacon Viscount St Alban', in *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban and Lord High Chancellor of England* (1778), vol. III, p. 677. For Bacon as 'the servant of posterity' see Bacon's 'Epistola ad Fulgentium', in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. V, p. 531. 'Fulgentium' was Father Fulgenzio Micanzio, a member of the Servite order and biographer of his close friend Paolo Sarpi. Micanzio was sympathetic to the Protestant cause and met and corresponded with a number of Englishmen other than Bacon.

206/21 In the 1660s and 1670s Thomas Hobbes published three works in which he criticised the form of the experimental philosophy championed by the Royal Society of London: Thomas Hobbes, *Dialogus physicus, sive de natura aeris conjectura sumpta ab experimentis nuper Londini habitis in Collegio Greshamensi item de duplicatione cubi* (1661); Thomas Hobbes, *Problemata physica* (1662), which

- was later translated as *Seven Philosophical Problems, and Two Propositions of Geometry* (1682); and Thomas Hobbes, *Decameron physiologicum: Or, Ten Dialogues of Natural Philosophy* (1678).
- 206/32 See preface to Jean Étienne Montucla, *Histoire des mathematiques, dans laquelle on rend compte de leurs progrès depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours; où l'on expose le tableau & le développement des principales découvertes, les contestations qu'elles ont fait naître, & les principaux traits de la vie des mathématiciens les plus célèbres* (1758), vol. I, p. ix.
- 206/34 Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia of Diderot* (1751), trans. Richard N. Schwab, esp. pp. 74–6. Stewart here ignores the role of Voltaire in popularising Bacon in France during the first half of the eighteenth century. See especially Letter XII in François-Marie Arouet Voltaire, *Letters concerning the English Nation* (1733), ed. Nicholas Cronk, pp. 49–53.
- 207/4 'And if natural Philosophy in all its Parts, by pursuing this Method [of analysis], shall at length be perfected, the Bounds of Moral Philosophy will be also enlarged'; Newton, *Opticks*, p. 381.
- 207/7 Stewart presumably has in mind the introduction to Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, esp. pp. 4–6.
- 207/40 Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, p. 175 (1.4.7.8).
- 208/36 Compare Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, sixth edition (1790), ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie, pp. 313–14 (VII. ii.14). Stewart has omitted material in the original passage from his quotation and altered some of the wording.
- 209/39 Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, esp. pp. 475–508 (III.ix–x); Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Knowledge* (1746), ed. and trans. Hans Aarsleff, esp. pp. 54–60, 169–72, 196–9.
- 210/39 'Credunt enim homines, rationem suam verbis imperare; sed fit etiam ut verba vim suam super Intellectum retorqueant & reflectant', which translates as 'For men believe that their reason rules words but it also happens that words turn and bend *their* power back upon the intellect'; Book I, Aphorism LIX, in Bacon, *Novum organum*, pp. 92–3. Stewart refers to Pierre Prévost's *Des signes envisagés relativement a leur influence sur la formation des idées* ([1800]).
- 211/29 Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, p. 4.
- 211/40 Because Stewart acknowledged that Reid, James Beattie and James Oswald had all used the term 'common sense' ambiguously, he

- substituted the phrase ‘fundamental laws of belief’ for Reid’s ‘principles of common sense’; see Dugald Stewart, *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* (1793), pp. 53–4.
- 213/4 Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 218.
- 214/19 Although Isaac Newton’s *Principia* dealt primarily with mechanics and the principles of physical astronomy, the Queries to his *Opticks* ranged widely over the sciences of optics, chemistry, electricity and magnetism. The voluminous writings of the Anglo-Irish natural philosopher Robert Boyle similarly covered virtually all of the physical sciences, from chemistry to pneumatics and optics.
- 215/36 ‘She brings forth and produces the rudiments of all the parts at the same time’.
- 215/39 Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Idea of a Patriot King*, in [Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke], *Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism: On the Idea of a Patriot King: And on the State of Parties, at the Accession of King George the First* (1749), pp. 124–5. The passage to which Bolingbroke refers is found in Book VII, chapter 3, of Bacon’s *De augmentis scientiarum*: ‘. . . I will conclude this part of the culture of the mind with that remedy, which is of all other means the most compendious and summary; and again the most noble and effectual to the reducing of the mind into virtue, and placing it in the state nearest perfection; which is, *the electing and propounding unto a man’s self good and virtuous ends of his life and actions; such as may be in a reasonable sort within his compass to attain*. For if these two things be supposed, that a man set before him honest and good ends, and again that his mind be resolute and constant to pursue and obtain them, it will follow that his mind shall address and mould itself to all virtues at once. And this indeed is like the work of Nature; whereas the other courses I have mentioned are like the work of the hand. For as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereon he works, and not the rest (as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude and unshaped stone still, till such time as he comes to it); but contrariwise, when Nature makes a flower or living creature, she forms and produces rudiments of all the parts at one time . . .’; Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, pp. 576–7.
- 216/2 In the 1803 edition of the *Account*, Stewart added a footnote reference to this quotation, stating that it was ‘an expression applied by GIBBON to the eloquence of BURKE’; see Textual Note 216/2 below. Recalling his time in Parliament as an MP in his ‘Memoirs of My Life

- and Writings', Gibbon characterised the oratory of various members of the House and wrote of 'the profuse and philosophic fancy of *Burke*'; Edward Gibbon, 'Memoirs of My Life and Writings', in *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esquire* (1796), ed. John Baker Holroyd, first earl of Sheffield, vol. I, p. 146.
- 217/6 Stewart refers to Query 21 of Newton's *Opticks*, which was one of the so-called 'ether queries' (Queries 17–24) added to the second English edition published in 1718; for Query 21 see Newton, *Opticks*, pp. 325–7.
- 217/35 We cannot be certain about the identity of the 'medical author of great reputation' to whom Stewart refers. The most likely candidate is Pierre-Jean-George Cabanis, whose *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* was first published in 1802. The opening memoirs in the book were published in the first volume of the *Mémoires de l'Institut national des sciences et arts* in 1798, which means that Stewart may have become aware of Cabanis's work during the period in which he was gathering biographical information for his life of Reid. Cabanis's preface to the *Rapports* opens with the statement, 'The study of physical man is interesting both for the doctor and for the moralist and is almost equally necessary for both'; Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* (1802), vol. I, p. v, as translated in Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis, *On the Relations between the Physical and Moral Aspects of Man*, second edition (1805), ed. George Mora and trans. Margaret Duggan Saidi, vol. I, p. 7. In his *Dissertation*, Stewart bracketed together Cabanis with Erasmus Darwin and David Hartley, whose work 'savour[ed] of the Anatomical Theatre, or of the Chemical Laboratory'; Dugald Stewart, *Dissertation: Exhibiting the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical and Political Philosophy, since the Revival of Letters in Europe*, in *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, vol. I, p. 208. A copy of the second edition of the *Rapports*, apparently acquired in 1810, survives among the books owned by Dugald Stewart in Edinburgh University Library. Stewart later referred to, and was critical of, Cabanis's *Rapports* in Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind: Volume Second*, second edition (1816), p. 492 note, and Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind: Volume Third* (1827), pp. 191 note and 320 note.
- 218/15 'Custom settles habits of Thinking in the Understanding, as well as of Determining in the will, and of Motions in the Body; all which seems to be but Trains of Motion in the Animal Spirits, which

- once set a going continue on in the same steps they have been used to, which by often treading are worn into a smooth path, and the Motion in it becomes easy and as it were Natural'; Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, p. 396 (II.xxxiii.6).
- 218/24 'Is not the Sensory of Animals that place to which the sensitive Substance is present, and into which the sensible Species of Things are carried through the Nerves and Brain, that there they may be perceived by their immediate presence to that Substance?'; Query 28, Newton, *Opticks*, pp. 344–5.
- 218/39 Stewart refers to a long footnote in the first volume of the *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* in which he enumerates nine different classes of phenomena which illustrate the laws governing the union of mind and body; Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, second edition (1802), pp. 11–12 note. The text of the footnote was unchanged from that in the first edition. Stewart's list was taken more or less verbatim from John Gregory, *Lectures on the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician*, new edition (1772), pp. 109–11. Gregory, in turn, was indebted to Francis Bacon's discussion of the relationships between mind and body in the first chapter of Book IV of *De augmentis scientiarum*, to which Stewart also alludes; see Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, pp. 480–2.
- 219/20 Stewart paraphrases and runs together two separate passages in Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature*. In the section 'Of the nature of the idea or belief' in Book I, Hume writes: 'An opinion, therefore, or belief may be most accurately defin'd, A LIVELY IDEA RELATED TO OR ASSOCIATED WITH A PRESENT IMPRESSION'; Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, p. 67 (1.3.7.5). In the section 'Of the ideas of the memory and imagination' in Book I, Hume states: 'We find by experience, that when any impression has been present with the mind, it again makes its appearance there as an idea; and this it may do after two different ways: Either when in its new appearance it retains a considerable degree of its first vivacity, and is somewhat intermediate betwixt an impression and an idea; or when it entirely loses that vivacity, and is a perfect idea. The faculty, by which we repeat our impressions in the first manner, is call'd the MEMORY, and the other the IMAGINATION'; Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, p. 11 (1.1.3.1).
- 219/38 Erasmus Darwin, *Zoonomia; or, the Laws of Organic Life*, third edition (1801), vol. I, p. 181.
- 219/39 Darwin, *Zoonomia*, vol. I, pp. 11–12.



- 220/22 Stewart refers to David Hartley, *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty and His Expectations* (1749). In 1775 Joseph Priestley published a heavily edited version of Hartley. He later wrote that in streamlining the *Observations on Man* his aim was ‘to make *Hartley’s theory of the mind* more intelligible, and the study of it more inviting’; see Joseph Priestley, *Hartley’s Theory of the Human Mind, on the Principle of the Association of Ideas; with Essays Relating to the Subject of It*, second edition (1790), p. v. The publication of Priestley’s edition of Hartley in 1775 occasioned a hostile review from Reid; for Reid’s review, see Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 32–37, 132–54.
- 220/34 Although Hume remarked in the introduction to *A Treatise of Human Nature* that ‘I do not think a philosopher, who wou’d apply himself so earnestly to the explaining the ultimate principles of the soul, wou’d show himself a great master in that very science of human nature, which he pretends to explain’ and denied that we can explain ‘ultimate principles’ such as the nature of thought, he nevertheless invoked the theory of animal spirits to account for the association of our ideas (despite having declared his nescience about the causes of such associations) and in one passage implied that thought involved vibrations in the brain; see Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, pp. 5, 14 (1.1.4.6), 44 (1.2.5.20), 230 (2.2.4.11). In *De l’esprit*, Helvétius likewise affirmed his nescience regarding the nature of thought, although his characterisation of memory as an ‘organ’ of ‘physical sensibility’ could be read as implying materialism; see Claude-Adrien Helvétius, *De l’esprit* (1758), pp. 4–6.
- 221/2 ‘Whence, proceeding to form Theories, [the chemists] plainly carry the *Smoke* and *Tarnish* of their Art along with them. For as that simple Youth, who finding a Stick upon the Shore, would needs convert it into a Ship; so these childish Operators at the Furnace must needs be raising Philosophy from a few *Experiments of Distillation*; and introducing, at every turn, their own *Idols of Separation* and *Analysis*, where no Traces of them are really found’; Francis Bacon, ‘A Free Censure, or Critique, of the More Eminent Philosophers, &c.’, in *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St Albans and Lord High-Chancellor of England; Methodized, and Made English, from the Originals, with Occasional Notes, to Explain What Is Obscure; and Shew How Far the Several Plans of the Author, for the Advancement of All the Parts of Knowledge, Have Been Executed to the Present Time*, ed. Peter Shaw (1733), vol. II, pp. 55–6.



- 221/10 The original reads ‘Magni autem est ingenii sevocare mentem a sensibus et cogitationem ab consuetudine abducere’, which may be translated as: ‘It was because they could frame no mental vision; everything was brought to the text of eyesight: and indeed it requires a powerful intellect to abstract the mind from the senses and separate thought from the force of habit’; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, pp. 44–5 (I.xvi.38).
- 222/12 See Book I, Aphorism LXXXVII, in Bacon *Novum organum*, pp. 139–41.
- 222/28 For this charge see Joseph Priestley, *An Examination of Dr Reid’s Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense, Dr Beattie’s Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth and Dr Oswald’s Appeal to Common Sense in Behalf of Religion* (1774), p. 22.
- 223/11 I have been unable to identify the critic to whom Stewart refers. Stewart later returned to this issue in Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind: Volume Third*, pp. 342–4.
- 224/9 A very loose paraphrase of numbered paragraphs 3 and 4 in the first chapter of Colin Maclaurin, *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton’s Philosophical Discoveries, in Four Books* (1748), pp. 10–11, 12–13.
- 225/12 This letter is no longer extant.
- 225/17 Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792), pp. 384–5; the passage occurs in the 1802 edition of the first volume of the *Elements* on pp. 392–3. The ‘ingenious writers’ Stewart had in mind were Lord Kames (to whom he refers in the passage just cited), Francis Hutcheson and James Beattie. He later criticised Hutcheson for needlessly multiplying the number of our ‘internal’ senses (and thereby setting a precedent for Kames) and Beattie for characterising ‘common sense’ as a faculty of the mind analogous to our external senses; see Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind: Volume Second*, pp. 86–7 note.
- 225/39 In characterising the association of ideas, Hume wrote: ‘Here is a kind of ATTRACTION, which in the mental world will be found to have as extraordinary effects as in the natural, and to show itself in as many and as various forms’. He also described the relations of resemblance, contiguity in time and place and cause and effect which govern the association of ideas as ‘the principles of union or cohesion among our simple ideas’; Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, p. 14 (1.1.5.6).
- 226/21 For Reid on the benevolent affections see Reid, *Active Powers*, pp. 111–23 (III.ii.4).

- 226/38 Hartley, *Observations on Man*, vol. I, p. 351; the pagination is the same in the 1791 edition to which Stewart refers. Stewart has reworded the original passage in his quotation.
- 226/39 Stewart, *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, pp. 99–100.
- 227/22 Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 193–5.
- 227/38 ‘Natural affection springs up in the soul, as the milk springs in the mother’s breast to furnish a nourishment to her child’; Adam Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science; Being Chiefly a Retrospect of Lectures Delivered in the College of Edinburgh* (1792), vol. I, p. 31. The second passage quoted by Stewart is found on p. 28.
- 227/39 Priestley, *An Examination*, p. 9.
- 227/40 Priestley, *An Examination*, p. 82.
- 228/3 Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 195.
- 228/22 See Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, pp. 336–9 (VII.iv.24–31).
- 228/38 In the quotation Stewart conflates two passages in Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 198, 200.
- 228/39 Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 335 (VII.iv.23).
- 229/4 Priestley, *An Examination*, p. 86.
- 229/12 Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, Baron de l’Aulne, ‘Existence’, in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond D’Alembert (1751–72), vol. VI, pp. 260–7; Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, ‘Discours préliminaire’, in Marquis de Condorcet, *Essai sur l’application de l’analyse à la probabilité des décisions rendues à la pluralité des voix* (1785), pp. x–xv.
- 230/32 An allusion to the astronomical work of Pierre-Simon Laplace, whose *Exposition du système du monde* (1796) and his *Traité de mécanique céleste* (1799–1825) were widely regarded as presenting a godless vision of the solar system.
- 230/39 Referring to Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 218, where Reid cautioned against system building in natural philosophy and the science of the mind, Priestley countered: ‘The subjects [Reid] here speaks of do certainly present a wide field of philosophical disquisition; and if so many new and important truths have occurred to our *philosopher and guide* in the examination of the five senses only, this *small corner of the human mind*, what may we not expect from his farther progress? which I hope the learned Benengeli will not fail to relate. Instinctive principles will then be as common and cheap—but I forget the

- proverb—and as many distinct independent laws of nature will be found in this microcosm of man only, as have by others been thought necessary for the system of the universe. But what an idea must this author, and his admirers, have of the laws of nature!'; Priestley, *An Examination*, pp. 109–10.
- 232/19 Darwin, *Zoonomia*, vol. I, pp. 187–94.
- 233/11 Darwin, *Zoonomia*, vol. I, pp. 190–1.
- 233/39 Darwin, *Zoonomia*, vol. I, pp. 195–6; Galen, *On the Affected Parts*, trans. Rudolph E. Siegel, p. 194.
- 234/2 Stewart subsequently elaborated on his criticisms of Erasmus Darwin in the preceding paragraphs in Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind: Volume Third*, pp. 344–70.
- 234/38 Priestley, *An Examination*, pp. 119–20.
- 234/39 George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776), vol. I, p. 111 note.
- 235/9 On the phrase 'fundamental laws of human belief' see Editorial Note 211/40 above.
- 235/12 Jean Trembley, *Essai sur les préjugés, où l'on traite principalement de la nature et de l'influence des préjugés philosophiques* (1790).
- 235/23 Claude Buffier, *Traité des premières vérités, et de la source de nos jugemens, où l'on examine le sentiment des philosophes de ce temps, sur les premières notions des choses* (1724).
- 235/39 James Beattie, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*, second edition (1771), pp. 40–6, 166–216.
- 236/37 'Something there is, more needful than Expence,/And something previous ev'n to Taste – 'tis Sense:/Good Sense, which only is the gift of Heav'n,/ And tho' no Science, fairly worth the seven:/A Light, which in yourself you must perceive'; the lines are from the fourth epistle to Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington, in Alexander Pope, *Epistles to Several Persons* (1744), in *Pope: Poetical Works*, ed. Herbert Davis, p. 316 (lines 41–5).
- 236/39 Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, vol. I, pp. 109–20.
- 237/38 An allusion to the writings of Immanuel Kant and his followers, to whom Stewart remained hostile until the end of his life.
- 238/39 'Whatever turns the soul inward on itself, tends to concenter its forces, and to fit it for greater and stronger flights of science. By looking into physical causes our minds are opened and enlarged; and in this pursuit whether we take or whether we lose our game, the chace is certainly of service'; Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical*

- Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1759; first edition 1757), ed. J. T. Boulton, p. 5. Stewart quotes from the preface to the second edition of 1759.
- 239/11 Thomas Reid, 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic. With Remarks', in Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), vol. I, pp. 168–241; see also the annotated version of Reid's 'A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic' cited in Editorial Note 51/21 above.
- 239/20 See Editorial Note 181/12 above and the references cited there.
- 239/23 Stewart refers to the Glasgow Literary Society, which was founded on 10 January 1752 and continued to meet until the early nineteenth century. The members of the Society were primarily drawn from those teaching at the University of Glasgow, although a few members came from the town and elsewhere. The 'Laws' of the Society stipulated that meetings would be held each Friday evening beginning at 5:30 from the first Friday of November until the second Friday in May; see 'Laws of the Literary Society in Glasgow College', GUL, MS Murray 505, p. 1. As we have seen in Editorial Note 201/30 above, discussions at the meetings of the Society could become heated.
- 239/26 For Reid's discourses see: 'Some Observations On the Modern System of Materialism', in Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, pp. 173–217; 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System', in Reid, *On Society and Politics*, pp. 134–54; and 'Of Muscular Motion in the human Body', as cited in Editorial Note 182/116 above.
- 239/33 In closing his discourse Reid remarked: 'May I be permitted to mention that it was the Experience of some of these Effects of old age on the Muscular Motions that led my Thoughts to this Speculation on Muscular Motion, which, as it is owing to the Infirmities of Age, will I hope be heard with the greater Indulgence'; 'Of Muscular Motion in the human Body', in Reid, *On the Animate Creation*, p. 124.
- 239/36 On Reid's mathematical pursuits after he retired from teaching see the Introduction to Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, lxxi–lxxxvi.
- 239/37 'Whether even those parts of academical learning which are quite forgotten may not have improved and enriched the soil, like those vegetables which are raised, not for themselves, but ploughed in for a dressing of land?'; Query 198 in George Berkeley, *The Querist: Containing Several Queries Proposed to the Consideration of the Public* (1752; first edition 1735–37) in *The Works of George Berkeley*, vol. VI, p. 121.

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- 240/35 Reid's wife Elizabeth died on 26 April 1792.
- 241/3 Reid's daughter Martha was the Reids' third child. In addition to Martha, the Reids had eight other children. Two of them did not survive infancy and two died very young. Those who survived to adulthood were: Jean, who lived from 1741 to 1772; Margaret, who lived from 1742 until 1772; George, who lived from 1755 until 1780; and David, who lived from 1762 until 1782.
- 241/21 This letter has not survived.
- 241/40 Gershom Carmichael served as a regent at the University of Glasgow from 1694 until 1727, when he became the first Glasgow Professor of Moral Philosophy. He occupied the chair until his death in November 1729. For Carmichael's teaching edition of Pufendorf (which was first published in 1718) see *S. Puffendorfi De officio hominis et civis, juxta legem naturalem, libri duo*, second edition (1724). Patrick Carmichael took his MA and MD at the University of Glasgow in 1749. He was an army surgeon in the Dutch Republic before settling as a physician in his native Glasgow. On 20 December 1777 Carmichael married Martha Reid and he later died on 23 October 1792.
- 242/4 In 1785 John Playfair became the Edinburgh Professor of Mathematics (a position he held jointly with Adam Ferguson), replacing Dugald Stewart, who switched to the chair of moral philosophy. Playfair moved to the Edinburgh chair of natural philosophy in 1805 and continued to teach the subject until his death in 1819. Playfair and Stewart were close both personally and politically. I have been unable to identify the manuscript by David Gregory to which Stewart refers. A letter from Playfair to the English mathematician Charles Hutton indicates that James Gregory possessed a substantial cache of manuscripts by David Gregory and others members of the Gregory family; see John Playfair to Charles Hutton, 21 April 1788, in Benjamin Wardhaugh (ed.), *The Correspondence of Charles Hutton (1737–1823): Mathematical Networks in Georgian Britain*, p. 57.
- 242/18 James Brown was admitted as the Glasgow Professor of Natural Philosophy in May 1796, having previously taught at St Andrews as the substitute for Nicholas Vilant, who held the chair of mathematics. Reid supported Brown's appointment, which proved to be problematic. Brown taught only in the session 1796–97 and then left Glasgow to return to St Andrews, claiming ill-health. He eventually resigned in 1803. On Brown and his appointment see Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 190–2, and

- Reid to James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, 14 April 1796, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 235.
- 242/38 See above p. 181/28–32.
- 243/6 On Reid's physical vigour compare this anecdote: 'A circumstance in Reid's history (related in conversation by the late Principal [George] Campbell) is worthy of being recorded. He could at once take as much food, and immediately thereafter as much sleep as was sufficient for two days. No other literary character of whom I remember to have read could do the same, excepting Dr. John Lightfoote, well known for his great knowledge of Hebrew literature'; Alexander Bower, *An Account of the Life of James Beattie, LL.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic, Aberdeen* (1804), pp. 55–6.
- 243/17 Henry Raeburn's portrait of Reid is discussed in David Alexander Thomson Mackie, 'Raeburn, Life and Art', vol. IV, pp. 750–3. The Tassie medallion, which was created in 1791, exists in two versions: one depicting Reid with a wig and the other in the antique style. Copies of the medallion were sent to Reid and his colleague Patrick Wilson by James Tassie in July and October 1792; see James Tassie to Alexander Wilson, 16 July 1792 and 30 October 1792, in Duncan Thomson, 'The Letters of James and William Tassie to Alexander Wilson, 1778 to 1826', pp. 46–7.
- 243/38 Stewart paraphrases Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man in Four Epistles to H. St John Lord Bolingbroke* (1744; first edition 1733–34), in Pope, *Poetical Works*, p. 239.
- 244/7 On the role of patronage in Reid's career compare Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics*, pp. 69, 74–5, and Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 156–7.
- 244/10 'Unpractised he [the village preacher] to fawn, or seek for power,/ By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour'; Oliver Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village* (1770), in *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Arthur Friedman, vol. IV, p. 293 (lines 145–6).
- 245/12 Poor weather in the summer of 1782 resulted in widespread crop failures across Scotland, which led to serious food shortages, especially in the north-east. For an account of the dearth of food in Aberdeenshire see James Anderson, *General View of the Agriculture and Rural Economy of the County of Aberdeen with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement* (1794), pp. 125–7.
- 245/23 In his first philosophical oration Reid affirmed that in the field of ethics 'Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, seems to have carried off the honours'; see above, p. 49/36–7. For evidence of Reid's early

- engagement with Butler see his ‘abstract’ from Butler’s *The Analogy of Religion* referred to in Editorial Note 5/39 above.
- 245/36 ‘Christianity presupposes the Truth of *Natural Religion*. Whatsoever subverts *Natural Religion*, does consequently much more subvert Christianity: and whatsoever tends to confirm *Natural Religion*, is proportionably of Service to the True Interest of the Christian. *Natural Philosophy* therefore, so far as it affects Religion . . . is of very Great Importance’; Clarke, *A Collection of Papers, Which Passed between the Late Learned Mr Leibnitz, and Dr Clarke*, pp. vi–vii.
- 245/39 Responding to Leibniz’s comment that ‘Mr. Locke, and his Followers, are uncertain at least, whether the Soul be not Material, and naturally perishable’, Clarke observed: ‘That Mr. *Locke* doubted whether the *Soul* was *immaterial* or no, may justly be suspected from some Parts of his Writings: But herein he has been followed only by some *Materialists*, Enemies to the *Mathematical Principles of Philosophy*; and who approve little or nothing in Mr. *Locke*’s Writings, but his Errors’; Clarke, *A Collection of Papers, Which Passed between the Late Learned Mr Leibnitz, and Dr Clarke*, pp. 3, 9–11.
- 246/7 Reid was apparently first introduced to Henry Home, Lord Kames, in the summer or autumn of 1762, most likely by Reid’s main patron in the north-east, Lord Deskford. After Deskford and Kames had successfully installed Reid in the Glasgow chair of moral philosophy in 1764, Reid’s friendship with Kames blossomed. As well as carrying on a lively correspondence, the two of them conversed and debated each summer when Reid stayed at Kames’s estate at Blair Drummond. After Kames’s death in December 1782, Reid paid tribute to his late friend both privately and publicly; see Reid to Agatha Home Drummond, 30 January 1783, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 161, and Reid’s dedication in Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, p. 4. Reid was highly critical of Kames’s necessitarianism, and he also sharply disagreed with Kames’s interpretation of Newtonian natural philosophy.
- 247/19 William Gregory was the second son of Dr John Gregory. He initially studied at Glasgow and was awarded a Snell Exhibition to Balliol College, Oxford. He took his BA and MA at Balliol in 1780 and 1783, and was ordained in the Church of England the year he was awarded his higher degree. He was made a Rector of St Andrew and St Mary Breadman in Canterbury by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1786. Gregory died 31 January 1803. For further details see Editorial Notes 259/38 and 260/2 below.



- 247/24 Reid refers to William Gregory's older brother, James, the physician and professor in the Edinburgh medical school.
- 247/35 On 'castle building' see no. 167 of *The Spectator* for Tuesday, 11 September 1711, in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond (1965), vol. II, pp. 157–60. The essay was, in fact, written by (later Sir) Richard Steele.
- 249/6 This letter no longer survives. Reid's negative view of the state of learning at the University of Oxford was shared by many of his contemporaries in Scotland. Adam Smith, for example, was a Snell Exhibitioner at Balliol College (1740–46) and shortly after he arrived in Oxford he observed that 'it will be his own fault if anyone should endanger his health at Oxford by excessive Study, our only business here being to go to prayers twice a day, and to lecture twice a week'; Adam Smith to William Smith, 24 August 1740, in Smith, *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, p. 1. Later, in the *Wealth of Nations*, he used Oxford as an example of an educational institution whose constitution precluded effective teaching and stated that: 'In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the publick professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching'; Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. II, p. 761 (V.i.f.8). In contrast, Smith believed that the 'Scotch Universities' were 'in spite of all their faults, without exception the best seminaries of learning that are to be found any where in Europe'; Smith to William Cullen, 20 September 1774, in Smith, *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, p. 173.
- 249/37 This letter, which is no longer extant, was written to James Gregory following the death of his first wife, Mary Ross, on 14 April 1784.
- 250/39 'For the man that does good service to the state is not merely he who brings forward candidates and defends the accused and votes for peace and war, but he also who admonishes young men, who instils virtue into their minds, supplying the great lack of good teachers, who lays hold upon those that are rushing wildly in pursuit of money and luxury, and draws them back, and, if he accomplishes nothing else, at least retards them – such a man performs a public service even in private life'; Seneca, 'On Tranquility of Mind', in Seneca, *Moral Essays*, trans. John W. Basore, vol. II. p. 225 (III.3–4).
- 252/6 'Thomas Reid from Aberdeen, companion of my childhood and infant leisure under Thomas Cargill; he studied letters with dedication in Leuven in the school of Lipsius, which [i.e. the letters] he taught with great renown in Germany, where he was dear to princes.



In London he spent a long time in the company of that most humane and famous man, Fulke Greville, Chancellor and under-treasurer of England: then he was elevated to the friendship of the king, guided by the same Fulke, and admitted among the king's courtiers, due to [his] Latin writings. He wrote many things, since he had a great mind and varied erudition &c. – He recently took himself away from the court, without anyone's knowledge, when every one of them predicted all increases in accelerated honour for him. Many suspected that he had tired of the court and withdrawn to monastic tranquility, in the year 1618. There was a rumour later that he had returned to the court and received the most deserved honours, but he will never achieve that which virtue deserves'; compare Thomas Dempster, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum: Sive, de scriptoribus Scotis* (1627), ed. David Irving, vol. II, p. 576. Dempster's work was first published in Bologna.

- 252/18 'There is a most elegant funeral ode on the death of Thomas Reid, by Robert Ayton, a man famous for his learning and dignity, in the *Delights of Scottish Poets*, where they also provide his poems, which are few in number, but charming and elegant'; compare William Lauder (ed.), *Poetarum Scotorum musæ sacræ* (1739), vol. II, p. xiii note.
- 252/24 See Editorial Note 188/40 above. A significant cache of Thomas Harriot's manuscripts was discovered at Petworth House in Sussex by the astronomer Frans Xavier Zach (later the Baron von Zach) in 1784. Zach published a preliminary account of his discovery in Berlin in the *Astronomisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1788*, which was partly translated into English in the entry on Thomas Harriot in Hutton, *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary*, vol. I, pp. 584–6. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Stewart knew of Zach's discovery through Hutton's compendium: first, the Harriot entry in *A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary* mentions the friendship between Harriot and Alexander Reid, and, secondly, Stewart's copy of the book bearing his signature of ownership survives in Edinburgh University Library.
- 252/31 Turnbull, *The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy*.
- 252/39 See Editorial Note 207/4 above.
- 253/1 Pope, *An Essay on Man*, p. 245 (line 162).
- 253/4 In William Hogarth's engraving *Beer Lane* (1751), a copy of George Turnbull's *A Treatise of Ancient Painting* is included in a basket of miscellaneous books bearing an address tag which reads 'For

- Mr Pastem the Trunk maker in Pauls C[hurch] Y[ard]'. Hogarth evidently thought that Turnbull's book was intellectually worthless; on Hogarth's *Beer Street* see Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, vol. I, pp. 207–9 (catalogue number 185).
- 253/8 James Moor, *De analogia contractionum linguae Graecae regulae generales* (1755); James Moor, *Elementa linguae Graecae; novis, plerumque, regulis tradita; brevitate sua memoriae facilibus* (1766); James Moor, *Fragmenta grammatices: Ad usum tironum in literis Graecis in academia Edinensi*, fifth edition (1796); and James Moor, *On the Praepositions of the Greek Language; an Introductory Essay* (1766). See also James Moor, *Essays; Read to a Literary Society; at Their Weekly Meetings, within the College, at Glasgow* (1759).
- 253/12 'Dominus Jacobus Moor, tum in Mathesi, tum in literis Graecis, quas in hac Academia profitetur, multum et feliciter versatus'; see the preface to Robert Simson, *Apollonii Pergaei locorum planorum libri II* (1749), p. x. Simson's tribute to his close friend and colleague may be translated as: 'Mr James Moor, greatly and happily versed in mathematics as much as Greek letters, which he teaches in this academy'.
- 253/15 On Alexander and Patrick Wilson see Editorial Note 201/26 above; see also Alexander Wilson, 'Observations on the Solar Spots'.
- 253/31 Stewart cites the passages in Priestley's *An Examination* in which Priestley states that Reid was 'extremely ignorant of what has been written by others on the subject of the human mind' on the grounds that Reid made no reference to the writings of David Hartley and that he was guilty of a 'gross mistake concerning the hints that Newton and others have dropped' regarding the physical causes of our ideas. Priestley concluded that 'such gross ignorance in a professor of this very subject, in so considerable an university, which has hitherto been distinguished for the real eminence of its professors in that department, is disgraceful to himself and to the university'; Priestley, *An Examination*, pp. 101–2.
- 254/34 Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, vol. I, p. 111–13 note.
- 255/1 Lewis Reid and his second wife Janet had five children: Margaret, Elizabeth, Grace, Robert and Mary. Their eldest daughter, Margaret, married Alexander Leslie on 24 February 1763. Leslie senior became the minister of Fordoun in 1771. James Leslie matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1783 and was appointed his father's assistant and successor in 1788. He was later awarded a DD from Glasgow in 1812.

- 255/12 After the death of Thomas Reid's wife Elizabeth, the second daughter of Alexander Leslie and Margaret Reid, also named Elizabeth, went to live with Reid and Martha Carmichael in Glasgow. Elizabeth Leslie served as a witness when Reid's financial papers were opened on 17 October 1796; see Thomas Reid, 'Papers Relating to Thomas Reid, Professor of Moral Philosophy, His Ancestors, Family and Descendants, and to the Families of Forbes, Fraser, Gregory, Leslie and Others', AUL, MS 2814/1/56.
- 255/17 Reid's step-sister Grace married the Rev. John Rose on 22 January 1773.
- 255/19 Reid's step-mother died on 26 January 1798. Only one letter from their correspondence survives; see Reid to Mrs Janet Reid, 19 October 1792, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 231.
- 255/31 On George Jardine see Editorial Note 136/6 above.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Additional Letters

#### 1.

- 257/1 The wording of this fragment overlaps with that of a letter written by Reid soon after the trip he made to London in 1736 with John Stewart; compare Thomas Reid and [John Stewart] to ?, [1737–38], in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 3–4. This fragment is perhaps a draft of passages contained in that letter.

#### 2.

- 257/24 The recipient of this letter may have been the Oxford Professor of Modern History, Dr David Gregory, who was also successively a canon and then the Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. His father, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, David Gregory, was one of Reid's mother's brothers.
- 257/30 Reid went to London in 1736 and 1740. Reid visited David Gregory during his first trip to London in 1736; see Reid to James Gregory, 24 August 1787, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 190.
- 257/31 Reid's uncle in London, Dr George Reid.

#### 3.

- 258/5 Reid's letter is apparently no longer extant.

- 258/21 Stewart may here allude to the passage found in Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 81, line 10 through p. 82, line 2.
- 259/2 The third edition of the *Inquiry* was published in 1769; for the passage referred to here see Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 176, lines 30–7.
- 259/4 Stewart's letter to Reid is apparently no longer extant.
- 259/15 For Reid on visible figure see Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 95–103.
- 259/23 Compare Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 120–31.
- 4.**
- 259/36 This letter is apparently no longer extant.
- 259/38 John and William Gregory, the sons of Reid's friend and kinsman Dr John Gregory. William matriculated in Reid's moral philosophy class in 1773, while John matriculated in George Jardine's logic class in 1775; see W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, from 1728 to 1858*, pp. 103, 110.
- 260/2 Reid refers here to the Snell Exhibition scholarships. The two additional places that he mentions were not created until 1777. William Gregory became a Snell Exhibitioner on 5 November 1777, having already matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, on 10 December 1776; Addison, *The Snell Exhibitions from the University of Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford*, pp. 22, 56. William Gregory assiduously cultivated interest on his behalf before he was chosen as a Snell Exhibitioner; see his letters to Sir William Forbes dated 30 September, 16 November and 1 December 1775, in NLS, Acc. 4796, Box 3, Folder 1.
- 260/5 Robert Traill had occupied the Glasgow chair of divinity from October 1761 until his death on 19 October 1775.
- 260/10 Two rival candidates were in contention to succeed Robert Traill: the Glasgow Professor of Ecclesiastical History, William Wight, and James Baillie. Although Wight's candidacy was backed by David Hume and the Edinburgh Moderates and their allies in Glasgow, Baillie was the brother-in-law of the renowned physician Dr William Hunter, who exercised considerable influence in the University because of the substantial donation he was expected to make in his will. On this election see Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 168–9. Reid presumably wanted to maintain confidentiality so as not to offend Wight and his supporters.
- 260/13 Reid refers to the private Edinburgh bank Sir William Forbes, James Hunter & Co., formed in 1773 by Sir William Forbes and his partner James Hunter, later known as Sir James Hunter Blair.

260/14 Dunlop, Houston & Co. (popularly known as the Ship Bank) was a private bank in Glasgow founded in 1749.

**5.**

260/28 This letter is apparently no longer survives.

260/30 Morthland's guarantors for the bond were his son John, who was an advocate, and Robert Carrick, who was a manager and partner in the Ship Bank, Glasgow (a private bank founded in 1749).

260/38 That is, for the calendar year 1772.

**6.**

261/17 The Greek class was taught by Professor John Young.

261/18 John Anderson, the Glasgow Professor of Natural Philosophy.

261/25 Dr James Gregory, who in June 1776 was elected as the Edinburgh Professor of the Institutes of Medicine.

262/6 See Editorial Note 260/13 above.

262/7 See Editorial Note 260/14 above.

**7.**

262/15 This letter is apparently no longer extant.

**8.**

262/33 This letter apparently no longer exists.

263/7 This letter to James Gregory is no longer extant.

263/36 Presumably the banker Robert Carrick.

**9.**

264/9 Compare Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 263–4, 265 (III.4). Reid apparently first gave serious thought to the question of personal identity in the 1730s in response to discussions of the issue by John Locke, Samuel Clarke and Joseph Butler. A number of manuscripts related to the proceedings of the Philosophical Club that met at Marischal College in 1736–37 show that Reid had already been carefully considering at least some sections of Locke's *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*; see AUL, MSS 2131/3/III/1, f. 1v, 6/1/17 and 2131/6/1/34–35. In Reid's later writings he emphasised the indivisibility of the soul and of individual consciousness. In doing so he followed the argument formulated by Samuel Clarke in *A Letter to Mr Dodwell, Wherein All the Arguments in His Epistolary Discourse Against the Immortality of the Soul Are Particularly*

- Answered, and the Judgment of the Fathers concerning that Matter Truly Represented* (1706), pp. 33–4, and in the subsequent pamphlet exchange with Anthony Collins prompted by Clarke's *Letter*. Reid was reading and taking detailed notes from Clarke's works in the 1730s; see AUL, MSS 2131/3/II/7–8. In November 1738 Reid summarised the argument of Butler's dissertation 'Of Personal Identity' appended to *The Analogy of Religion*; see AUL, MS 3061/10, f. 12r.
- 264/22 For Reid's earliest extant exploration of these issues see the manuscript dating from 22 October 1748 transcribed in Reid, *Inquiry*, pp. 316–18.
- 264/23 Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 340–6 (II. xxvii.16–26); compare Reid's comments in Reid, *Inquiry*, p. 17, and Reid, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 275–9 (III.6).
- 10.**
- 264/28 This fragment indicates that the letter from which it was detached was written by Reid to James Gregory in the spring or summer of 1784, when Reid was negotiating the publication of the *Intellectual Powers*; compare Reid to James Gregory, [June 1784], and Reid to John Bell, 12 September and 26 September 1784, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 169–72.
- 11.**
- 265/6 John Bell was a prominent Edinburgh bookseller and publisher who, in the context of various partnerships, published the four lifetime editions of Reid's *Inquiry* and the two volumes of Reid's *Essays*.
- 265/14 In June 1785 Reid had instructed Bell to send presentation copies of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* to: James Gregory and Dugald Stewart in Edinburgh; the Aberdeenshire parish ministers Alexander Leslie and John Rose, who had both married half-sisters of Reid; the merchant and Reid's distant kinsman David Gregory in Dunkirk; and, in England, William Rose, Richard Price and the prominent abolitionist James Ramsay; see Reid to John Bell, 27 June 1785, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 177–8.
- 265/16 Bell co-published the fourth edition of the *Inquiry* in 1785.
- 265/22 Bell's letter to Reid is no longer extant. The letters mentioned in the correspondence included here in Appendix A bring the count of letters known to be lost to ninety-three. Reid's 'house in the Country' was located at Greenhead, an area to the east of Glasgow adjacent to the High Green and just north of the Clyde.

- 265/24      The *Intellectual Powers* was published in July 1785; reviews of the book began to appear in September.
- 265/26      Although Reid did not live to publish a second edition of the *Intellectual Powers*, Bell seemingly planned to issue one based on Reid's corrected copy; see Reid to [John Bell], 28 June 1796, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 236.

## 12.

- 266/1      Adair Crawford matriculated in Reid's moral philosophy class at the University of Glasgow in November 1764. He subsequently took his MA in 1770 and gained an MD from the University in 1780. During the winter of 1776–77 he attended the chemistry lectures of Reid's colleague, William Irvine the elder, which prompted him to launch an experimental investigation of the nature of combustion and heat. He reported his results to Reid, Irvine and Patrick Wilson in the autumn of 1777. These experiments formed the basis of Adair Crawford, *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat, and the Inflammation of Combustible Bodies. Being an Attempt to Resolve These Phenomena into a General Law of Nature* (1779).
- 266/13      For the context of this letter see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. clxxxii–clxxxvii.

## 13.

- 266/14      On Newton's supposed Scottish ancestry see also Reid to James Gregory, 14 March 1784, and Reid to John Robison, 12 April 1792, in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 167–8, 227–30.
- 266/18      John Douglas of Fechel was a noted agricultural improver in the north-east of Scotland and, like Reid, was a member of the Gordon's Mill Farming Club (*fl.* 1758–64). He also fought on behalf of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart, in the '45. Douglas's son, Sylvester (later Baron Glenbervie), recounts his father's friendship with Reid in Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie, *The Diaries of Sylvester Douglas (Lord Glenbervie)*, ed. Francis Bickley, vol. II, pp. 367–8. The conversation with John Douglas to which Reid refers probably took place in the period 1757–59.
- 266/20      James Hepburn of Keith, who participated in the Jacobite uprisings in 1715–16 and 1745–46.
- 266/22      See Editorial Note 176/7 above.
- 266/37      'Sir Isaac Newton . . . descended from the elder branch of the family of Sir John Newton Baronet. The Manor of Woolstrobe [*sic*] had been in his Family near 200 years. The Newtons came thither

- from Westby in the same County, but originally from Newton in Lancashire'; Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, *The Elogium of Sir Isaac Newton* (1728), p. 3.
- 267/4 William Crosse, who held the Glasgow chair of civil law as a sinecure from 1745 until his resignation in October 1749. Crosse was also the Sheriff Depute of Lanark from 1747 until his death in 1775.
- 267/6 Presumably Reid refers not to Sir Robert Murray Keith, the soldier and diplomat, but to Keith's father Robert, who (*inter alia*) served as the British ambassador in St Petersburg from 1758 until 1762. After his retirement, the elder Keith settled in Leith and became a member of the Poker Club. To his Edinburgh friends such as David Hume and William Robertson he was known as 'Ambassador Keith'.
- 267/20 According to Sir David Brewster, John Robison intended to write a life of Isaac Newton and therefore endeavoured to confirm the details of Reid's account of Newton's Scottish ancestry. In 1794 Robison corresponded with the judge Alexander Murray, Lord Henderland, who was related to the Newtons of Newton. Henderland reported that, according to family tradition, Isaac Newton had contacted the Newtons of Newton, believing that they were related to him. In August 1800, Robison received further evidence that Isaac Newton had written to the Newtons of Newton in a letter from 'Hay Newton of that ilk'; see John Robison, 'Professor Robison's Common Place Book', Special Collections, St Andrews University Library, MS Q171.R8, vol. II, fols 7–8, 12, and Sir David Brewster, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton*, vol. II, pp. 543–4. Robison also wrote to James Watt about the question of Newton's Scottish ancestry; see Robison to Watt, 3 May 1797, in Eric Robinson and Douglas McKie (eds), *Partners in Science: Letters of James Watt and Joseph Black*, pp. 272–3.
- 267/27 Patrick Wilson; see Editorial Note 201/26 above.
- 267/29 James Hutton's mother, Elizabeth Ayscough, was the daughter of one of the brothers of Isaac Newton's mother, Hannah Ayscough. Hutton was a London bookseller and a leading figure in the Moravian church in England. For Hutton on Newton see the letter to the *Monthly Review* signed 'I. H.' published in 1774 under the title 'Further Anecdotes of Sir Isaac Newton'.
- 14.**
- 268/5 Reid's comments were almost certainly addressed to Alexander Crombie, whose *An Essay on Philosophical Necessity* (1793)



- attacked Reid's defence of human free will in the *Active Powers*. See also Reid to James Gregory, [October 1793], in Reid, *Correspondence*, pp. 232–5. It may be that this incomplete manuscript is what remains of Reid's comments on the draft of *An Essay on Philosophical Necessity* sent to him by James Gregory; on this point see James A. Harris, *Of Liberty and Necessity: The Free Will Debate in Eighteenth-Century British Philosophy*, p. 211, note 28.
- 268/11 Compare Reid, *Active Powers*, pp. 196–7 (IV.1).
- 268/20 Crombie, *An Essay on Philosophical Necessity*, esp. pp. 69–74.
- 268/24 Crombie, *An Essay on Philosophical Necessity*, pp. 292–303.
- 268/31 Aristotle, *De interpretatione*, 18<sup>a</sup>28–19<sup>b</sup>4, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. I, pp. 28–30.
- 269/30 Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, trans. Frederick W. Shipley, II.xxxv.2: 'Descended from Marcus Cato, the first of the Porcian house, who was his great-grandfather, [Marcus Cato] resembled Virtue herself, and in all his acts he revealed a character nearer to the gods than of men. He never did a right action solely for the sake of seeming to do the right, but because he could not do otherwise'. In this paragraph Reid restates the argument of Reid, *Active Powers*, p. 198 (IV.1).
- 269/32 Thomas Hobbes, *Of Liberty and Necessity* (1654), in *Hobbes and Bramhall on Liberty and Necessity*, ed. Vere Chappell, p. 26. In the *Treatise* Hume refers to Sallust's characterisation of Cato when challenging the distinction between natural abilities and moral virtues, and argues that merit can be ascribed to involuntary or necessary actions; Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, pp. 387–91 (3.3.4).
- 269/35 The Scots phrase 'Deil con him thanks for his Goodness' is roughly equivalent to 'the Devil is grateful for his Goodness'.
- 270/10 Compare Reid, *Active Powers*, p. 254 (IV.10); for the relevant passage in Aristotle see Editorial Note 268/31 above.
- 270/12 Reid included among the 'modern Fatalists' Anthony Collins, Jonathan Edwards, David Hartley, David Hume, Lord Kames and Joseph Priestley.
- 270/31 'Nothing can be known at present, except *itself*, or its *necessary cause*, exist at present'; Joseph Priestley, *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity Illustrated; Being an Appendix to the Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit* (1777), p. 21.
- 270/39 Priestley, *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity Illustrated*, pp. 19–24; Anthony Collins, *A Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty* (1717), pp. 82–6; Jonathan Edwards, *A Careful and*

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*Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of the Will, Which Is Supposed to Be Essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame* (1762), pp. 164–83.

271/5 Compare Reid, *Active Powers*, pp. 258–9 (IV.10), and Reid to James Gregory, 8 June 1783, in Reid, *Correspondence*, p. 163.

271/24 From the fact that something exists, it follows that it is possible.

### **Appendix B: Thomas Reid on the Measures of Heat**

274/6 On these measures of heat compare Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. 135–6; see also Adair Crawford, *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat, and the Inflammation of Combustible Bodies; Being an Attempt to Resolve These Phenomena into a General Law of Nature*, second edition (1788), pp. 1–6. Crawford credits William Irvine the elder with the invention of the term ‘absolute heat’ (p. 2).

274/19 Compare the wording in Letter 12 above in Appendix A, p. 266.

274/28 Crawford drew a distinction between weight and magnitude; Crawford, *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat*, pp. 6–7.

275/26 On this issue see Crawford, *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat*, pp. 18–53. The question of whether thermometers provided a reliable measure of quantities of heat was widely discussed in the eighteenth century; see Reid, *On Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*, pp. clxxxiii–clxxxiv.

# Textual Notes

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## Part One: Reform and Union

### 8/V/1: Scheme of a Course of Philosophy

- 3/10 or City *added*.
- 3/30 Lime *inserted*.
- 4/11–12 Skin . . . &c *inserted*.
- 4/21 Mechanics . . . & Machinery *added*.
- 5/4 Projectiles *added*.
- 5/17 simple Perception *added*.
- 5/18 Beauty & Harmony *added*.
- 5/19–20 first More Simple or primary *added*.
- 5/21 Volition *added*.
- 5/22–3 Imitation . . . Affections <?> *added*.
- 5/27 of Design . . . Criticism *added*.
- 5/30 –1 Painting . . . Behaviour *inserted*.
- 6/29 *Because in the manuscript the overlap between the two different sequences of numbered points is confusing, the numbers of the main sequence have been printed in bold.*
- 6/32–3 Or of Interest . . . or Many *inserted*.
- 6/34–5 Strength of Body & Hardiness of Constitution. *added*. Reid *mis-numbered this point '3'*.
- 6/36 Science . . . Good Manners in Proportion] Knowledge in Proportion. *The 'in' is a conjectural reading.*
- 7/1–2 the Arts of Popularity *added*.

### Statutes and Orders of King's College

*The statutes approved by the masters and Principal of King's in August 1753 are recorded in the College minutes; see 'King's College Minutes, 1733–1754', AUL, MS KINGS/1/4/1/8, pp. 366–73. At the meeting of 17 August 1753, it was agreed to print copies of the statutes for circulation and the pamphlet, Abstract of Some Statutes and Orders of King's College in Old Aberdeen, was duly produced by the University printer, James Chalmers, dated 1753. At*

*a meeting held on 6 April 1754, the masters and Principal endorsed an additional set of regulations, and the minutes of the meeting record the following resolution: 'Seing The Copies of the former Regulations are almost all Distributed, The Meeting Appointed a New Impression of the former Regulations, having those presently agreed upon Subjoined to it'; 'King's College Minutes, 1733–1754', p. 394. The additional regulations are then entered into the minutes, pp. 394–7. I have collated the first version of the pamphlet with the second version of the pamphlet, issued in 1754 and reproduced above. Minor variations in spelling, punctuation and the setting of lines indicate that the second version was entirely reset. The significant variants are recorded below.*

- 10/18 to be] be  
 10/21 Bed Stead] Bed  
 10/23 Bed Stead] Bed  
 10/24 Bed Stead] Bed  
 13/33 Students.] Students.† *The footnote reads: † The Professor of Divinity and Professor of Oriental Languages, give each two Lectures in the Week at their own Houses, gratis to those who attend them.*  
 14/38 Geography, and Civil History] Civil History

### **The Union of King's and Marischal College**

*This pamphlet was a polemical pièce d'occasion and was apparently published only once. The text of the 'Articles of Union' agreed upon in 1754 was later printed on one sheet, which is dated 'Aberdeen, July 20th, 1786'; a copy survives in AUL, MSU 557/2. A more elaborate version of this text, which also lists the signatories from both colleges to the 'Articles of Union', was included in Anon., A Complete Collection of the Papers relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen: Containing, Not Only Those Already Published by Authority, but also Several Original Papers, and Many by Anonymous Writers on Both Sides of the Question (1787), pp. 2–4.*

### **2/II/1: The Education of Children**

*Folios 1r and 2r–v in this manuscript appear to contain notes for Reid's lectures at King's College, Aberdeen, on the culture of the mind and on the theory of morals. An earlier transcription of*

*the portion of the manuscript included here is to be found in J. C. Stewart Robertson, 'The Well-Principled Savage, or the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment', p. 512.*

40/13

ill thoughts *conjectural reading of overwritten characters.*

40/30

assisting] opening

## Part Two: Philosophical Orations

*The Latin texts of Reid's orations were transcribed and first published in Thomas Reid, Philosophical Orations of Thomas Reid: Delivered at Graduation Ceremonies in King's College, Aberdeen, 1753, 1756, 1759, 1762, ed. Walter Robson Humphries. According to Humphries (p. 10), the manuscripts of the orations were in the possession of Reid's descendent, Miss Hilda M. Leslie Paterson, of Birkwood in Banchory, who lent the manuscripts to King's College to enable Humphries to make his transcriptions. It is not known exactly when the manuscripts were gifted to the University of Aberdeen; presumably Miss Paterson did so after Humphries completed his transcription of them in 1937. The manuscripts were initially given the reference number MS K 222, and this number has been pencilled on folio 1r of Oration II, folio 1r of the first draft of the opening of Oration III and folio 1r of Oration IV. The manuscripts of the orations had been sorted into a discrete group, either by Reid himself or after his death by his friend and colleague George Jardine. What appears to be the original wrapper for the orations is preserved with them and the note on the outside of the wrapper is almost certainly written in the hand of Jardine. The note reads: 'Latin Orations on Subjects in Pneumatology which were delivered by Dr. Reid in the Common Hall at Aberdeen on the Day of Graduation'. The deposit has recently been recatalogued with the reference number KINGS/8/1/1.*

*Humphries' transcription of the orations was used for the English translation of the Latin texts in Thomas Reid, The Philosophical Orations of Thomas Reid: Delivered at Graduation Ceremonies in King's College, Aberdeen, 1753, 1756, 1759, 1762, ed. D. D. Todd and trans. Shirley Darcus Sullivan. Alexander Broadie has made a new transcription of the orations, which is published here along with his English translation of the Latin texts.*

*Reid himself does not use the term 'philosophical orations' as a heading for his texts. Humphries was the first to describe Reid's*

orations as 'philosophical'. They could equally well be referred to as 'graduation orations', given that they were delivered at graduation ceremonies held at King's College. Humphries' title has, however, been retained because, as Humphries himself pointed out (pp. 6–7), his wording places Reid's orations in the context of the tradition of the many 'theses philosophicæ' published from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries by successive generations of Scottish regents. Reid's predecessors typically set disputation topics for their graduands after presenting their own position regarding philosophical matters, and his orations presumably furnished specific themes for his pupils to address in their own formal presentations which they delivered at the graduation ceremonies that he presided over.

## Oration I

*This oration is written on two sheets folded in half, with the second sheet tucked in the first, to produce a quire of four folios. Fol. 4v is blank.*

- 42/20 Politici *in ms.*
- 42/24 fuit olim Stagirita & post eum alij cum magno] fuit Stagirita magno
- 44/5 Solutam Vagam] Vagam Solutam
- 44/34 Confit. *in ms.* The dot functions as a full-stop tout court, or it functions as a sign both that 'Confit' is an abbreviated form and that it is followed by a full-stop. The latter reading is adopted here.
- 48/13 fastuoso *in ms.*
- 48/18 et numinis Reverentiam *inserted.*
- 48/24–7 De Platone . . . Phantasmatis Argutijs vitiaverit. *This sentence is an afterthought. The initial two words De Platone are squeezed into the lower right-hand corner of the page and the rest of the sentence is written vertically down the left margin of fol. 2r.*
- 48/26 et lascivientis *inserted.*
- 48/28 Discipulos] Auditores *uncancelled.* Discipulos is written above Auditores and appears to be an afterthought.
- 50/11–13 nos fortunatos nimium, . . . antecellenti,] nos Politia beatos, omnes quas vel historia exhibuit vel Imaginatio finxit, antecellenti, & fortunatos nimium,
- 50/14 Reid has written 'in pretio habere' above 'æstimare', which indicates that the former wording was perhaps intended to replace the latter.
- 50/18 Reid has written 'desiderantur' above 'quærantur', which indicates that he may have intended to alter the wording.

- 50/20 verum nimium Credulus et idcirco *inserted*.
- 50/27 & adjumenta *added*.
- 50/28 *The second last letter is an omega, the Greek long o. The hybrid term represents the genitive plural of the Greek term that means 'of phaenomena'.*
- 50/31 in hoc genere *inserted*.
- 50/32 ab ijs *inserted*.
- 52/28 singulari et *inserted*.
- 54/4 quidem *inserted*.
- 54/23 propositionibus *inserted*.
- 54/24 huic contrarium *inserted*.
- 54/26 neque in ea . . . indiget *inserted*.
- 54/37–  
56/13 Opus hoc ingenti . . . magnus ejus Author] Opus hoc ingenti Animo conceptum ex parte parte peractum, cætera delineatum reliquit. Neque ullus adhuc ausus est tanti Opificis operi perficiendo manum admoveri. Hic primus Philosophandi legem unam eamque maximi Momenti posuit cui jam Saniores Philosophi assentiunt, visi unus tamen excepto Newtono paruit hanc nempe Philosophiam non esse humani Ingenij fœtum sed Naturæ ipsius seu Dei operum justam et Legittimam Interpretationem. Hic etiam solus docuit quomodo vera hæc Naturæ Interpretatio Experimentis & legitima Inductione assequenda sit. Adeo ut novum Organum, Opus sui generis primum & ultimum Naturæ Grammaticam appellari liceat vel potius Magnus ejus Author Naturæ Mystagogus dicendus] Hic primus docuit Philosophiam Naturalem non esse humani Ingenij fœtum sed Naturæ ipsius seu Dei operum justam et legitimam Interpretationem Ipse *Reid placed the initial wording Hic . . . Ipse between crosses. He then rewrote and expanded this passage in the right-hand margin of fol. 3v. This expanded version was subsequently revised and the final text was written at the end of Oration I on fol. 4r.*
- 56/14 Janua in ms. It should be either 'Januam', i.e. door; or 'Januas', i.e. doors.
- 56/28 Newtonum *inserted*.
- 56/31 & utilia *added*.
- 56/34–7 Restat adhuc instituti . . . Auditores] Hujusmodi quid, Auditores *The expanded passage is written at the foot of fol. 3v.*
- 58/1 saltem *added*.
- 58/8 Ms has 'Accademicæ', a feminine adjective meaning 'academic', which qualifies no noun. The term is presumably a misspelling of *Accademicæ*.

- 58/12 sublati dexteris] extensâ dextera, *that is, Reid replaced the singular phrase 'extensâ dextera', i.e. 'with the right hand extended', with the plural phrase 'sublati dexteris', i.e. 'with right hands raised'.*
- 58/14 puro *added.*

## Oration II

*This oration is written on two folded sheets with fols 1r–2v being the first sheet and fols 3r–4v the second.*

- 60/6–22 Artium omnium Liberalium Leges . . . Illustrandas & confirmandas. *added from the left margin of fol. 1r.*
- 62/15–16 fælicem non videtur eas adhuc esse adeptas verumtamen] fælicem eas non ad huc adeptas esse apparet verumtamen
- 62/21 Nempe Philosophi] Philosophi nempe
- 62/32 Questiones nempe] Nempe Questiones
- 62/35–6 Subtiles sæpe quidem, sed vel supra humanum captum positas vel vanas] Subtiles quidem sed vanas
- 64/8 sordes & *inserted.*
- 64/12 nostrates *added.*
- 64/13–24 Ast Antiquitatis reverentia . . . Philosophicæ Nomine Venditare<.> *inserted. Two versions of the insertion are found in Reid's manuscript: one in the right-hand margin of fol. 1v and one which incorporates a few insignificant changes (mainly to the word order) on a sheet Reid has attached to fol. 1v. The latter is clearly a later version and has been used in the text.*
- 64/23 *The version of the insertion in the right-hand margin of fol. 1v reads 'vilia & frivola' meaning 'worthless and trivial things'.*
- 64/25 Vera & genuina Philosophia] Vera genuina Philosophia
- 64/31 non ad Controversias] neque ad Controversias
- 64/32–3 non ad Heresin] neque ad Heresin
- 64/34 non ad novam] neque ad novam
- 64/38 depinxit] descripsit
- 66/22 florum Papilionum aut Cochliarum] Papilionum
- 66/39–40 vel fan<at>icam vel *inserted.*
- 68/6 utiles *in ms.* 'utiles' (masculine or feminine plural adjective meaning 'useful') should probably be 'utilia' (neuter plural adjective meaning 'useful') qualifying 'Phænomena'.
- 68/40 habitas] spectatas
- 70/6 deinde *added.*



- 70/19–20 orbata & surculis relicta est, truncus ridendus et inutile lignum] & surculis orbata, truncus ridendus et inutile lignum relicta est,
- 70/31 esse diu non potest nunquam debet.] neque diu potest nec unquam esse debet.
- 70/35 Philosopho. *in ms.*
- 72/3 & illis relinquimus qui in bicipiti Parnasso Somniarunt *inserted.*
- 72/6–7 Hoc equidem hominis nati] Hoc vero hominis nati
- 72/12–14 alienum tamen est . . . Sensus interpretandi] perdifficile tamen ad rerum ipsarum sensum legitima interpretatione <one or two words illegible>
- 72/17–18 *Reid began this sentence with Enarrant etiam sed, which he then cancelled and replaced with Sed Enarrar. Reid probably intended to cancel this latter phrase also.*
- 72/25 Hoc est revera Philosophum agere. *added.*
- 72/35–74/2 Et tamen Philosophis . . . Philosophia certe non est. *inserted from the right margin of fol. 3v.*
- 74/8–9 Medicorum Principem *added.*
- 74/9–10 Hypothesibus missis, præcepta,] præcepta, Hypothesibus missis, vero *inserted.*
- 74/16
- 74/21–2 hujusque Interpretationis regulas ex parte exposuit *inserted.*
- 74/25 fictas *inserted.*
- 74/26 volumus] sit.
- 74/29 rebus humanis] Scientijs
- 76/6 *Reid almost always spells David Hume's name in Latin as 'Humius' rather than as 'Homius'. Many members of Hume's family, including his father, spelled the Scots name 'Home'.*
- 76/6–7 Sensibus Memoriae testimonio Demonstrationi] neque Sensibus neque Memoriae neque testimonio vel Demonstrationi
- 76/8–9 omnino sine causa] sine causa intelligente
- 76/16 *In light of his previous practice one might have expected here 'Quinta lege' or 'Quinta philosophandi lege' ('As the fifth law' or 'As the fifth law of philosophising'), but Reid has written only the numeral '5' in the left margin at the beginning of the sentence.*
- 76/33–8 Ut in unaquaque . . . danda sunt omnia *inserted. The inserted sentence is written at the foot of fol. 4r.*
- 78/27 inauguremini. *in ms.*
- 80/5 idgenus *in ms.*

**Oration III**

*Preserved with the manuscript of Oration III is a first draft of the opening paragraphs. This draft is written on one sheet folded in half to produce two folios, which are here designated d1r–v and d2r–v. A second draft, which starts at the top of fol. 1r of the manuscript of Oration III, is similar in wording to the first, but it is not as heavily worked over and appears to be a revised fair copy of the material found in the first draft. This second draft has therefore been used in the text of Oration III. The manuscript of Oration III consists of three sheets of paper folded in the middle and tucked together to produce a quire that makes up fols 1r–6v. Folio 7r–v is a single sheet added to the quire.*

82/1

*The text of the first draft is as follows:*

[d1r]

1759

pauca de Intellectu humano, ejusque primis et simplicissimis Operationibus hoc tempore proponere, & Docti hujus Cœtus candori & Judicio eâ quae par est Verecundiâ permittere, animus est.<v>

Dudum equidem suspicabar jam vero pro comperto habeo, Intellectus humani Philosophiam, quamvis ab Excellentibus Ingenijs hoc & superiori Seculo exulta sit, tamen hucusque tenebris obvolutam esse & Hypothesibus potius atque humani ingenij Idolis, quam accurata operationum Intellectus Analysisi, innixam. Cur ita crediderim partim ex dicendis uti spero palam fiet. Interea omnibus in hac Philosophiâ parte modice versatis notum est. Dogmata ubique recepta de Ideis de Judicio de Apprehensione non Solum Subtilitatibus nodosis implexa esse sed etiam paradoxa plerumque et a communi hominum sensu abhorrentia, atque Acatalepsiæ Scepticorum quam sanæ & utili Scientiæ magis amica.

Hinc fit sine dubio quod cordati homines quæstiones et disputationes abstractas quas vulgo metaphysicas apellant & quæ ab humani Intellectus Philosophia pendent parum sapiunt utpote quarum neque fructum aliquam expectant neque exitum sperant. Imo experientiâ compertum est viros acutissimos qui Intellectus operationes subtilius rimati sunt, plerumque vel Scepticos factos esse vel tela Scepticis idonea fabricasse. Ex hisce Indicijs suspicio haud levis oritur Statum hujus Philosophiæ partis non esse felicem. Et idcirco Axiomata

vulgata, de Ideis de Judicio de Apprehensione simplici, utcunque a Philosophis pro indubitatis recepta non esse temerè admittenda, sed accurato examini denuo subjicienda, nequid falsi vel ambigui ijs subsit, quod Menti veritatis cupido negotium facessere, & velut ignis fatuus in sterilem et tristem Scepticismi Solitudinem seducere possit.

[d1v] Per Apprehensionem intellegunt Philosophi nudum rei cujusvis conceptum, absque ulla affirmatione vel negatione⟨.⟩ Apprehensiones nudæ sæpe uno sepe pluribus verbis exprimuntur. ut Mons. Vir doctus, mare tranquillum, Mons præalta nive obducta rupibus aspera; & similia, quæ cum neque affirmant quid neque negent non propositiones sed termini | àpellantur vel simplices vel magis compositi.

Ea vero intellectus operatio quæ aliqua affirmatione vel negatione exprimitur judicium appellatur, ejusque expressio est propositio velle affirmans vel negans. Ita Vir sapiens est terminus Apprehensionem simplicem significans, sed, vir sapiens est qui pauca loquitur, est propositio, judicij signum. Ut Apprehensio sæpe pluribus verbis ita judicium sæpe uno continetur, præcipue in sermone Græco & Latino⟨.⟩ Ita diruit, edificat, mutat, sunt tres propositiones totidem verbis expressæ. Observandum tamen nos non terminos solum sed etiam propositiones Simpliciter apprehendere posse absque Judicij Operatione. Nemo est enim etiam ex vulgo qui nescit aliud esse propositionem intelligere aliud de illa Judicium ferre atque veram esse vel falsam credere⟨.⟩ Adeo ut Apprehendere idem sit atque intelligere, concipere, imaginari, ast Judicium ferre, est assentiri vel dissentiri, scire, credere, opinari⟨.⟩

Hucusque caute satis, dilucidè philosophi procedere videntur. Neque culpandi sunt qui Apprehensionis et Judicij definitionem logicam non tradunt, culpandi potius ii qui Actus vel facultates Mentis simplices definitione Logicâ terminare ausi sunt. Ut enim Albedini, Extensioni, Durationi, et similibus Compositionis omnino expertibus, Definitio non competit, & si cui ignaro quid hæc verba valeant, exponere velimus hoc fieri oportet aut per verba Synonima aut per periphrasin aut oculis vel menti exhibendo id quod volumus; idem omnino de Apprehensione de Judicio imo & de Ratiocinio dicendum diversi sunt et dissimiles mentis actûs, vel facultates quisque sui generis. Uti cæcus natus, quid sit albedo numquam ulla definitione intelligere potest, ita nemo unquam intellet quid sit Apprehensio quid Judicium quid ratiocinatio qui omnibus hisce facultatibus non est præditus & earum operationes non sentit.

Quamvis enim iudicium apprehensionibus terminatur & sine Apprehensione non potest esse Iudicium, non inde sequitur hoc esse compositum quid ex illa aut ejus modificationem quamdam ut Philosophi nonnulli volunt. Quamvis etiam Ratiocinium non potest esse sine Iudicio, & Propositiones sunt omnis Ratiocinij quasi termini, tamen Ratiocinium seu Illatio non est aliquid ex Iudicijs compositum aut eorum Modificatio sed aliquid diversi omnino generis. Credere enim & ratiocinari, propositioni assentire & ex una alteram deducere, sine dubio non idem sunt neque ejusdem generis operationes. Liceat harum intellectus Operationum Discrimen illustrari Similitudine ducta ab Extensione corporum re maxime familiari. Tria novimus esse Extensionis Genera seu tres dimensiones. lineam Scilicet Superficiem & Solidum. Superficies a lineis terminatur, tamen non est linearum modificatio neque aliquid ex lineis compositum. sed alteris prorsus generis, adeo ut inter Superficiem et lineam nulla intercedit ratio. Solidum Superficiebus terminatur. tamen neque modificatio est superficiei neque quid ex ea compositum, sed diversum extensionis genus. Simile prorsus modo se habent tres Intellectus Operationes.<.>

Hoc itaque ratum esse volumus A<p>prehensionem Iudicium & Ratiocinium tres esse diversas prorsus & distinctas Intellectus humani Operationes, quæque sui generis, non minus quam Olfactus, Gustus, & Auditus, et quod Natura & Differentia harum Operationum non est Definitione Logica Explicanda sed Conscientia ipsarum Operationum percipienda. |

[d2r]

Atque hoc ideo magis observandum quod Philosophi vel non satis id animadvertisse videntur vel aliter omnino sensisse.<.> Iohannis Lockius, vir et de Philosophia & de humano Genere optime meritus, innuit, non sine Jactantia quadam Inventoribus condonanda, se primum ostendisse quid sit Iudicium de quo tum Philosophi tum Idiotæ quotidie loquuntur, nemo ante se ejus Definitionem dedisse.

Multum sane apud me valent Lockij Nomen & Auctoritas vereor tamen ne vir acutissimus Definitione sua hanc animi facultatem obscuriorem reddiderit & multis erroribus ansam præbuerit. Quid sit Iudicium omnis probe & distincte noscimus, si non quæris; at si quæris quid sit, hærent etiam Philosophi. Ita est in omnibus rebus Simplicibus et sui generis; & ita esse oportet.<.> Cum enim Definitio omnis ex Genere & Differentia Definiti constet, Genus ipsum Definitionem non capit nisi sit Species altioris cujusdam & Simplicioris Generis.<.>

Utcunque audiamus quid sit Judicium secundum hunc Philosophum<.> Est inquit Perceptio Convenientiæ aut Discrepantiæ Idearum. Hic quærere liceat. Quid sit Perceptio? Necesse est enim ut Perceptio hic significet vel Apprehensionem simplicem vel Judicium. Si Perceptio in hac Definitione Apprehensionem simplicem significet, exinde sequitur Judicium esse Speciem vel Modificationem Apprehensionis, quod communi hominum Sensui repugnat, neque uspiam ab hoc Philosopho disertis verbis affirmatur.

Si vero Perceptio, Judicium significet, Definitio hæc Accuratisimum Lockium minime Sapiet. Nunquam enim dixisset Judicium esse Judicium de Convenientia aut Discrepantia Idearum. Hinc ni fallar satis patet virum clarissimum, vel sensisse Judicium esse Apprehensionis Simplicis Speciem, vel certe non satis animadvertisse has operationes esse omnino diversi generis<.>

De Ideis postea agemus intera observare liceat mirum videri virum adeo perspicacem non vidisse quod secundum ipsius Systema Judicia ferre possumus non solum de convenientia vel discrepantia Idearum, sed etiam de multis alijs exempli gratia de Existentia tum Idearum tum Rerum quarum sunt Imagines, de convenientia aut Discrepantia Rerum quas Ideæ nobis | exhibent & de convenientia aut Discrepantia Rerum cum Ideis, unde Ideæ ab illo dicuntur vel veræ vel Falsæ.

[d2v]

Bene notat hic Philosophus alibi, multa esse quæ Definitionem non admittunt & merito reprehendit Definitionem Temporis seu Durationis ab Aristotele traditam, vereor ne hæc ejus Definitio Judicij eidem obnoxia sit censurae.

David Humius Philosophus recentior & audacior, Metaphysico acumine et ingenio insignis, in tractatu de Natura Humana & in tentaminibus Philosophicis, diserte docet Judicium nil aliud esse quam Apprehensionem fortem & vivacem: Audacter pro more suo affirmans Sensationem<.> Imaginationem, Memoriam, & fidem seu persuasionem quum idem habent objectum idem esse gradu tantum inter se differre. Adeo ut Æsopi fabulas credere nil aliud sit quam fortem & vivacem earum Ideam habere, has fabulas vero intelligimus et non credimus quam debilem & languidam earum Ideam habemus. Si quæritis Auditores quo Argumento nitatur Delirium hoc Philosophicum En habetis<.> Qui fabulas credit inquit easdem omnino Ideas in Mente habet quas ille qui solum intelligit. Nullo modo igitur inter se differunt intelligere & credere nisi quod dum credimus Ideæ sunt magis vivaces dum intellegemus

languidiores. Mirum est Philosophum adeo acutum hic Substitisse cum Argumentum ejus ultra nos ducent. Eodem prorsus modo ita Argumentari possumus. Qui fabulam veram esse credit easdem Ideas habet quas ille qui credit esse falsam. Ergo credere aliquid verum esse & credere falsum idem sunt re ipsa gradu tantum differunt prout Ideæ sunt vel fortiores vel languidiores. Et hic certe nos docere debuisset Philosophus num Ideæ cujuslibet Propositionis fortiores sunt cum creditur esse vera an cum creditur esse falsa. Difficile est equidem talia Opinionum Monstra serio refellere. Si quis dixisset Motum esse Magnitudinis gradum vel Modificationem redendus esset non refutandus. Neque minus absurdum dicere mihi videtur qui Judicium vult esse Apprehensionis modum vel Gradum. In re itaque tam aperta hoc solum observasse sufficit. Mentem humanam circa idem Objectum facultates seu actus omnino et toto genere diversos exercere posse. Iræ & Amoris Intellectus & Voluntatis idem potest esse Objectum non tamen inde Sequitur Iram esse Amoris gradum vel voluntatem Intellectus. Eodem modo propositionem eandem possumus vel nude concipere seu apprehendere, possumus præterea de eadem Judicium ferre verane sit vel falsa, dubia an certa, utilis an inepta neque minus distincte & clarè distinguuntur ab invicem hæ operationes quam Intellectus a Voluntate aut Auditus ab odoratu.

Hæc dicta sufficiant de Distinctione Apprehensiones a Judicio re equidem satis facili & perspicuâ nisi Philosophico pulvere abducta telis araneis obducta et implicita fuisset.

Philosophorum turba docet, Apprehensionem simplicem triplicis esse generis Sensationem scilicet Imaginationem & Intellectum purum. verum hanc Divisionem non esse accuratam aut ex natura rei petitam suspicor. Primo enim quamvis forte quid per Sensationem volunt satis intellegitur, nimirum eas Mentis Operationes quæ mediantibus Sensibus externis exercentur visu nempe Auditu Odoratu Gustu & Tactu: tamen mihi videtur has operationes Judicia potius esse quam Apprehensiones simplices. Doctum hunc Cætum oculis cernere nequeo, quin et presentiam ejus credam et verecundia commovear.

Sensus sunt testes rerum, eorum testimonium natura Interprete intellegimus, eademque Natura Duce huic testimonio assensum præbemus firmissimum. Eadem opera rem sensibilem apprehendimus

- 82/6 *It is not clear why Reid has marked the second and third vowels of Philōsōphiam as long. See the marked forms of 'philosophia' elsewhere in paragraph 2 and also in paragraphs 3, 9 and 22.*
- 82/10 credam] crediderim. *The first draft of Oration III has 'crediderim' ('I would have believed'), not 'credam' ('I would believe'). In the second draft, Reid initially wrote 'crediderim' but changed the word to 'credam'.*
- 82/32 homini] menti
- 84/17 dissentiri in ms. in both drafts.
- 84/37 *The roles of 'hoc' and 'illa' in this sentence are not easily determined.*
- 86/9 tamen] neque sed
- 88/1 convenientiæ Idearum inserted.
- 88/12 *Here and three times more in this paragraph Reid marks the first letter of 'idea' and its declined forms as long, though it is in fact short; compare 88/32, 100/12 and 108/32 in paragraphs 15, 32 and 48.*
- 88/33 languidum in ms. *The ending should be 'languidam' to agree with 'Ideam'.*
- 90/1 hoc modo] ita
- 90/16 gradum added.
- 92/28 recepta] pro indubitata recepta
- 92/29 et absentia inserted.
- 92/40–94/1 Platonici . . . Humius added.
- 94/5 & generales an vero omnes sint singulares added.
- 94/5 singulares] particulares.
- 94/40–96/1 Hinc Idearum Theōria nata est inserted.
- 96/12 adumbrant] representant
- 96/14 semper] continuo
- 96/38 materiali] coporeo
- 98/2 *Reid's 'oo' represents the Greek ω (omega). At 94/39 in paragraph 23 he spells 'phænomenon' with the omega.*
- 98/24 Hypothesibus] suppositionibus
- 100/10 una res aliam] unam aliud
- 104/12–13 Tales autem Ideas . . . ne quidem concipere.] Tales autem Ideas neque in mente mea invenire imo ne quidem concipere possum.
- 104/39 ut] quod
- 104/40 evenit] sit
- 106/14–15 se mutuo afficere nequeunt.] se mutuo immediate afficere nequeunt.
- 106/17 conjunctum] unitum
- 106/22 conjunctionem] unionem

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| 108/6  | Præterio <i>in ms.</i>  |
| 108/6  | ponitur] supponitur   |
| 108/10 | probat] valet   |
| 108/15 | sine medio <i>inserted.</i>   |
| 108/15 | nonne] Annon  |
| 108/16 | opportet <i>in ms.</i>  |
| 108/39 | consequentia doctrinæ Idearum] doctrinæ Idearum consequentia                    |
| 110/8  | missam <i>in ms.</i>  |
| 110/14 | certo scire] noscerto scire posse   |
| 110/15 | <i>With this exception in the Orations Reid always spells the term 'Ideis'.</i> |
| 110/20 | cumulatum] ornatum  |
| 112/8  | constitue <i>in ms.</i>   |
| 112/9  | docendi scribendi] scribendi docendi  |

#### Oration IV

*The manuscript of Oration IV is irregular in its physical make-up. The manuscript consists of a quire of three folded sheets of paper, with fol. 6r–v occupying a single sheet inserted in the quire between fols 5r–v and 7r–v.*

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 116/18    | tria esse genera] <?> esse  |
| 122/15    | retininendas <i>in ms.</i>  |
| 122/22    | ad eo <i>in ms.</i>   |
| 124/3     | nec unquam] nunquam   |
| 124/29    | Non minus] Neque minus  |
| 128/28–9  | Apprehensionis simplicis itaque unicum genus agnoscimus Imaginationem <i>added.</i> |
| 130/11–12 | Si vero de explication<e> & definitione sataget] Si vero explica<?> sataget         |
| 132/40    | objectum operationes] objectum facultates seu operationes                           |

### Part Three: Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow

*The 'Statistical Account of the Universities of the Universities of Scotland' (in which the account of the University of Glasgow appeared as the initial entry, pp. 1–50) was published as an appendix in Sir John Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland (1791–99), vol. XXI, pp. 1–140. A manuscript version of the section on the 'Present State' and the conclusion of the account of the University*



of Glasgow (pp. 29–49) survives among the papers of Thomas Gordon and Robert Eden Scott at the University of Aberdeen; the manuscript is catalogued as AUL, MS 3107/7/5. The provenance of this manuscript is unknown. It may be a fragment of the copy of the statistical account of Glasgow that was sent by Sir John Sinclair to the members of King's College on 3 November 1794; see Sir John Sinclair, 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Statistical Account of Scotland', in Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. XX, p. lviii. The manuscript may well have been in the possession of Thomas Gordon, who was heavily involved in the compilation of the statistical account of King's College, Aberdeen, before his death in 1797. The text of the manuscript version differs from the published text and contains variants in accidentals, paragraph divisions and wording. There are also instances of copying errors, although it is not known whether the manuscript was copied from a preliminary draft or from a fair copy of the statistical account of the University of Glasgow. Because there is no evidence to suggest that this manuscript version should be regarded as having any textual authority, the substantive variants in wording found in the manuscript have not been recorded.

When it was published in 1799, the statistical account of the University of Glasgow stated that the final version of the manuscript of the text was sent to Sir John Sinclair by Reid's friend and long-time colleague George Jardine. Although the final version of the account included material contributed by Reid's colleagues (notably the 'Additions and Corrections', pp. 169–70), there is good reason to think that Reid was the primary author of most of the text that eventually appeared in Sinclair's *Statistical Account*. Reid's colleague, the Humanist William Richardson, stated in his biography of Archibald Arthur that the statistical account of the University 'was all written by Dr. Reid, excepting the statements respecting the business of particular classes, and which was much shortened in the printed copy'; William Richardson, 'An Account of Some Particulars in the Life and Character of the Rev. Mr Archibald Arthur, Late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow', in Archibald Arthur, *Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects* (1803), p. 507, note. Later, Sir William Hamilton stated in his edition of Reid's works that the account of the University of Glasgow had 'always been attributed to our author [Reid]' and that the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, John Lee, had told him

*in conversation that in a dispute over professorial privileges at Glasgow the account 'was produced and founded on as the work of Reid'; Thomas Reid, The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D. Now Fully Collected, with Selections from His Unpublished Letters, ed. Sir William Hamilton, fourth edition (1854), p. 721, note. On the basis of this evidence Hamilton included the statistical account of the University of Glasgow in the canon of Reid's writings, although he stated that the 'Additions and Corrections' were not by Reid (p. 739, note). While I recognise that the final text incorporates material that was not written by Reid, I nevertheless follow Hamilton's example in ascribing to Reid primary authorship of the statistical account of the University of Glasgow.*

157/2 *The list of errata states: The Rev. Dr. Walton's first donation was anno 1767, and his second anno 1788.*

## Part Four: Biography

### Some Farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons

171/1 *'Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons, communicated by Dr Thomas Reid, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, a Nephew of the late Dr David Gregory Savilian Professor at Oxford'. In Charles Hutton, A Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary: Containing an Explanation of the Terms, and an Account of the Several Subjects, Comprized under the Heads Mathematics, Astronomy and Philosophy Both Natural and Experimental: With an Historical Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of These Sciences: Also Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Authors, Both Ancient and Modern, Who by Their Discoveries or Improvements Have Contributed to the Advancement of Them, 2 vols, London, 1795–96, vol. I, pp. 555–8. AUL, MS 3061/25 is a fair copy in Reid's handwriting of 'Some farther Particulars of the Family of the Gregorys and Andersons'. The recto of the first leaf the manuscript is headed 'Account of the Gregories —'. Below the heading, 'By Dr Reid' has been added in pencil in a different hand. The first page of the manuscript is dated 'June 24. 1788.' '1788' appears to be in Reid's handwriting but not 'June 24.' In the published version there are a number of minor variants in the accidentals as well as a few variants in wording and three instances*

*in which material has been omitted. The substantive variants are listed below in the form 'published text] manuscript'.*

- 171/13 upon this subject.] *Following this sentence in the manuscript Reid has written:* Dr Hutton may pick out of the Whole what he judges to be for his purpose.
- 172/20 and they still continue] and continue
- 172/38 he encouraged] encouraged
- 173/27 discovered] known
- 173/29 and as] & an account that
- 173/38 Newton's] Newton
- 175/30–1 from them, and] from them who thought themselves honoured by their Relation to him and
- 175/33 David and James were] David & James Gregory were
- 176/3 viz,] to wit
- 176/40 viz,] to wit
- 177/1–2 He was an intimate friend of Dr. Reid's.] He was the intimate Friend of Dr Reid from the time of their being at the Gramar School to his Death in 1766, and from his early years was so firm in resisting every Temptation to wrong Conduct, that Dr Reid attributed in a great Degree his being kept from Dissipation in his Youth, to the Example of his Friend. A Rivalship in Love made no breach in their Friendship. In this Mr Stewart had the greatest Merit as he happened to be the unsuccessful Lover
- 177/3–4 Skene, who, besides] Skene(.) Besides
- 177/4 had applied] he applied
- 177/8 his pupils] their Pupils
- 177/10–11 midwifery . . . Edinburgh.] Midwifery, that the young Men might be the better prepared for attending the Medical College at Edinburgh. Dr Skene likewise instructed young Women in Midwifery, who by a Subscription in country Parishes were trained to the practice of that Art in the Parish that supported their Education. By this Means the poor in many parts of the Country were furnished with Midwives who knew what was to be done to the Mother and Child in ordinary Cases, & who could consult a Physician in Cases of Difficulty, in place of Midwives who by their ignorance, temerity, & selfconceit did more hurt than good. He died in the prime of Life unmarried & very much regretted.

*On page 10 of the manuscript, after Reid's text ends there is an addition not in Reid's handwriting headed in the right margin 'Page 61' which reads: I think, (says Dr. Reid in a separate note on the*

Subject of the life of Dr. G. prefixed to his works) that Lord Bacons rules of Philosophising are contrasted with Sir Isaac Newtons, to the disparagement of the former. I am not quite pleased with this. No man ever followed the method prescribed by Lord Bacon so closely & so chastely as Sir I. Newton. Had Lord Bacons rules been properly attended to, Philosophy would an hundred years ago have been in that advanced state, in which it now is; and all the Improvements that have been made are owing either to those who followed Lord Bacons rules, or to those who imitated them who followed them. Dr. John Gregory was as great an Admirer of Lord Bacon as I am — *The page reference is to Alexander Fraser Tytler, 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr John Gregory', in John Gregory, The Works of the Late John Gregory, M.D. (1788), vol. I, p. 61, where Tytler contrasts the methodological contributions of Bacon and Newton.*

### Sketch of the Character of the Late Thomas Reid

*The authorship of the 'sketch' has traditionally been attributed to Thomas Reid's colleague, friend and physician Robert Cleghorn. The 'sketch' itself was first published as a letter to the editor in the Glasgow Courier for Thursday, 20 October 1796. It was then republished, along with an anonymous obituary of Reid that had appeared in the Glasgow Courier for 8 October 1796 and the text of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation', an excerpt from Reid's discourse, 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System', which he had delivered to the Glasgow Literary Society on 28 November 1794. The text of 'On the Danger of Political Innovation' was later republished as an appendix in Archibald Arthur, Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects (1803), pp. 518–23.*

185/18 'with' occurs in Reid's manuscript of 'Some Thoughts on the Utopian System' and I have substituted this word for the 'which' in Cleghorn's version of the text; see Reid, On Society and Politics, p. 136, line 25.

### Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid

*Dugald Stewart's biography of Reid appeared in three editions during Stewart's lifetime. The first (hereafter referred to as I) was published in 1802. Collation of copies of the 1802 edition in the National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh University Library*

*reveals that there were two different states of this edition printed by Adam Neill and Company, with one copy (NLS, shelfmark BCC B5319) bearing an annotation on the inside front cover stating that it was a presentation copy printed on thick paper. In 1803 the first edition was reset by Neill's firm and included as a prefix to Reid's two Essays repackaged in three volumes as Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind and to the four-volume edition of The Works of Thomas Reid, which were both published by the Edinburgh booksellers John Bell and John Bradfute. There is no evidence to suggest that Stewart was consulted about the repackaged text of the Account by either the printers or the booksellers. In 1803 Stewart's Account was also differently reset by Neill and appeared separately in what can plausibly be seen as a 'popular' second edition (hereafter referred to as 2) published by the Edinburgh bookseller and Bell's former employee, William Creech, in partnership with the London booksellers Longman and Rees. This edition incorporates a number of textual revisions made by Stewart. In 1803 Bell and Bradfute, as well as Creech and his associates, added to the newly published collections of Reid's writings and to the second edition of Stewart's Account a frontispiece consisting of a portrait engraving by the Edinburgh engraver Robert Scott based on the antique version of the medallion of Reid created by James Tassie. The engraving states that it had been published by Bell and Bradfute in 1800. The present edition of the Account is based on the third and final lifetime edition (hereafter referred to as 3), which was revised by Stewart and published in 1811 in his Biographical Memoirs, of Adam Smith, LL.D. of William Robertson, D.D. and of Thomas Reid, D.D. Read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The Biographical Memoirs was printed in Edinburgh by George Ramsay and Company and sold by a large consortium of Edinburgh and London booksellers, including Creech, Bell and Bradfute, and Stewart's friend Archibald Constable. The third edition of the Account was accompanied by a new portrait engraving based on the antique version of the Tassie medallion of Reid drawn by the portrait painter John Jackson and engraved by Charles Picart. This engraving was published in London by the firm of Cadell and Davies on 25 November 1811. Given that this is the date of publication stated on the portrait engravings of Adam Smith and William Robertson included in the Biographical Memoirs, this was presumably the publication date of the book itself.*

*The textual notes below only indicate substantive changes in the text and do not record changes in accidentals (i.e. capitalisation, punctuation, spelling) or typographical conventions. Three minor typographical errors involving accidentals have also been silently corrected.*

- 187/7 Edinburgh in the year 1802.] Edinburgh. **1–2**
- 187/18 biography. . . . learned retreat,] biography; – strenuously devoted to truth, to virtue, and to the best interests of mankind; but spent in the obscurity of a learned retirement, **1–2**
- 187/19–23 fame; – unembellished . . . characters.] fame. After **1–2**
- 187/29 Thomas Reid, late] Thomas Reid, D. D. late **1–2**
- 188/12 early impressions and associations] early associations and habits **1–2**
- 188/31 the period] that period **1–2**
- 189/13 subject] task **2**
- 189/39 through] in **2**
- 190/19 schoolmaster] parish schoolmaster **1–2**
- 190/22–3 so . . . genius.] contributed so powerfully to the success of his philosophical researches.\* *Footnote:* \**“If I have done the Public any service, it is due to nothing but industry and patient thought.”* Sir ISAAC NEWTON’S *First Letter to Dr BENTLEY*. **2**
- 191/1 only to be acquired] to be acquired only **2**
- 191/14 in] on **2**
- 191/21–4 unfortunately . . . predecessors,)] the circumstances in which he entered on his preferment were far from auspicious. The intemperate zeal of one of his predecessors, and an aversion to the law of patronage, had so inflamed the minds of his parishioners against him, **1–2**
- 192/13–14 he had neglected . . . his studies.] in his youth, he had cultivated the art of composition, with less assiduity than might have been expected from his studious habits. **2**
- 192/20 at this period] in this stage of his inquiries **2**
- 192/21 researches] speculations **2**
- 192/31 speculations about this period.] his studies at the time when it was written. **2**
- 193/16 Pitcairn] ARBUTHNOT **1**. In **1** ARBUTHNOT was recorded as an erratum and corrected to PITCAIRN. The form in which the erratum is recorded provides evidence which serves to distinguish between **1** and the reset versions of the Account published by Bell and Bradfute in 1803.
- 193/27 Author’s reading] Author’s metaphysical reading **2**
- 194/12–13 “in testimony . . . and abilities.”] in testimony . . . and abilities. **1–2**

- 194/19 individual] professor **1–2**
- 194/21 the professor] he **1–2**
- 194/22 combine] possess **1–2**
- 201/3 1763] *corrected to 1764 in the list of errata in 2*
- 202/40 part of winter] part of the winter of **2**
- 203/28 himself, with an undivided attention,] himself wholly to **2**
- 203/29 1781] *corrected to 1780 in the list of errata in 2*
- 203/30 upwards of] *phrase deleted in the list of errata in 2*
- 208/1–2 affords us some] affords some **2**
- 212/12–13 parts of . . . more successful;] speculations which he has conducted with greater success; **2**
- 216/2 “philosophical fancy”] *footnote added in 2: An expression applied by GIBBON to the eloquence of BURKE.*
- 218/14 they had been] they have been **2**
- 222/24–6 in this circumscription . . . no less] “this circumscription of the field of our inquiries concerning the mind tends to damp the ardour of philosophical curiosity,” is a charge not less **2**
- 222/33 Dr Reid’s writings] Dr REID **2**
- 225/14–15 an unnecessary . . . instinctive principles.] “an unnecessary . . . instinctive principles.” **2**
- 231/12 they furnish] it furnishes **1–2**
- 232/24 that we mean] that which we mean **2**
- 234/9–12 The criticisms . . . bestow on them;] To examine in detail the criticisms which have been made on what Dr Reid has written concerning the Principles of Common Sense, (an article of his philosophy which has been supposed “to sanction an appeal from the decisions of the learned to the voice of the multitude,”) would lead me into discussions inconsistent with the limits of this Memoir: **2**
- 234/13 criticisms (of such . . . meet with) demands] criticisms demands **2**
- 234/17 antagonists] opponents **2**
- 237/8 doctrine] mode of expression **2**
- 237/13 argument] doctrine **2**
- 239/2 no less eminence] equal talents **2**
- 239/19 doctrines] theories **2**
- 240/10 Dr Reid’s first] Dr REID’s life, of his first **2**
- 246/22 their own social] their social **1–2**
- 246/39 confident that I] confident I **2**
- 247/18 late Rector] now Rector **1–2**
- 247/33 sixteen] fifteen **1–2**
- 251/12 *Footnote to heading in 1–2 omitted in 3: If another Edition of this*



Memoir should ever be called for, I must request that the Printer may adhere to the plan which I myself have thought adviseable to adopt, in the distribution of my notes. A mistake which has been committed in a late Edition of my Life of Dr ROBERTSON, where a long Appendix is broken down into *foot-notes*, will sufficiently account for this request, to those who have seen that publication.

251/24 Reid are copied] REID may, perhaps, be acceptable to some of my readers. They are copied 1–2

255/32 THE END.] FINIS. 1–2

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Additional Letters

#### 1.

257/4 I That the Love of Sensible pleasure is the onely principle of action which is natural and original to us. That this principle is necessary & immutable & the same in all. That all the other affections take their rise from this and may be strengthened weakned or quite extinguished by Custom Education or Discipline. That When *Reid initially wrote this passage at the top of the page and did not delete it.*

257/8–13 We Seek these things . . . any farther view(,.)] We Love these things at first onely as means of procuring Sensible good to our Selves. But finding my Constant Experience their tendency to our good we come at last to look on them & love them as good in themselves

257/8 Seek] pursue

257/12 *Reid has written the alternative wording esteem of them above affection to them.*

257/23 *On the verso of the sheet, under the heading 'Eccl 8.11' (i.e. Ecclesiastes 8: 11, 'Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil'), Reid has listed references to fourteen biblical passages which collectively deal with human sinfulness and God's punishment of the unrighteous. The structure of this list suggests that these passages were to be used as the basis for a sermon.*

#### 2.

257/30 to you & conjectural reading.

#### 6.

261/15–16 the Greek Class, which John attended] the Class, that John attended.



## 13.

*The text of this letter as it appears in John Robison's commonplace book differs significantly from the version published in the nineteenth century by Sir David Brewster and included in Reid, Correspondence, pp. 227–30. Compare John Robison, 'Professor Robison's Common Place Book', Special Collections, St Andrews University Library, MS Q171.R8, vol. II, fols 5–6, with Sir David Brewster, Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton (1855), vol. II, pp. 543–4. Brewster had earlier published this letter in 'Account of the Family of Sir Isaac Newton, in a Letter from the Late Thomas Reid, D.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy, Glasgow, to the Late John Robison, LL.D. F.R.S.E. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh', Edinburgh Philosophical Journal 3 (1820): 293–6.*

267/25–6 and they employed a Solicitor in London to see if *their* proof of kindred would be admitted *added*.

## 14.

269/35–9 Apply it to particular Virtues . . . in the want of Power? *inserted from the left margin.*

269/40 the Expression] it

269/40 is figurative and *inserted*.

271/3 this] the same

271/6 Events] free Actions

**Appendix B: Thomas Reid on the Measures of Heat**

274/1 *The text to which I have given the title 'The Measures of Heat' was first transcribed in William Irvine and William Irvine the younger, Essays, Chiefly on Chemical Subjects (1805), pp. 153–8. The original manuscript apparently no longer survives.*

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