The Scottish Enlightenment

Dr David Allan

448 items

I. INTRODUCTION (20 items)
The works listed here constitute some of the most accessible, relevant or widest-ranging work on eighteenth-century Scottish culture – sometimes approached from a British or European perspective, sometimes from one which is insularly Scottish. It is likely that they will all have to be consulted quite regularly, and that you will become familiar with most of them.

Recommended reading (4 items)
These texts are perhaps the very best general studies or collections currently in print or available second-hand and so might be regarded as the items most likely to be worth buying yourself

[Book] | Suggested for student purchase

The Scottish Enlightenment: an anthology - Broadie, Alexander, 1997
[Book] | Suggested for student purchase

The Scottish Enlightenment: the historical age of the historical nation - Broadie, Alexander, 2001
[Book] | Suggested for student purchase

The social theory of the Scottish Enlightenment - Berry, Christopher J., 1997


The Scottish Enlightenment - Hugh Trevor-Roper, 1967
[Article]

Lord Dacre and the Politics of the Scottish Enlightenment - Colin Kidd, 2005
[Article]

The Scottish Enlightenment: a social history - Chitnis, Anand C., 1976
[Book]

The Scottish Enlightenment - Davie, George E., 1981
This topic focuses on the culture and intellectual character of the later seventeenth century. Most commentators during the Scottish Enlightenment roundly dismissed their native predecessors. Posterity has usually followed suit. However, recent research has emphasised significant developments in literature, science and legal studies which may have proved surprisingly influential in shaping the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. We
will assess the merits of both standpoints.

**Primary sources (4 items)**

The history of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland: from the Restauration [sic] to the Revolution: collected from the publick records, original papers, and manuscripts of that time, and other well attested Narratives. By Mr. Robert Wodrow, Minister of the Gospel at Eastwood. *Nec studio nec odio* - Robert Wodrow, 1721

- **Book** | This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: TypBE.D21WW

A hind let loose: Or, An historical representation of the testimonies of the Church of Scotland, for the interest of Christ. [...] - Alexander Shields, 1770

- **Book** | This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: Hay BX9071

Moral gallantry: a discourse wherein the author endeavours to prove that point of honour (abstracting from all other ties) obliges men to be vertuous, and that there is nothing so mean (or unworthy of a gentleman) as vice [...] - George Mackenzie, 1685

- **Book** | This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: TypBL.C85SM

*The institutions of the law of Scotland* - James Dalrymple Stair, 1981

- **Book** | Online resource links to 1681 edition.


- **Book**

*Humanism in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Scottish Literature* - John MacQueen

- **Chapter**

*Prudence and Patronage: the Politics of Culture in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* - David Allan, 1994

- **Article**

*Reconciliation and Retirement in the Restoration Scottish Church: The Neo-Stoicism of Robert Leighton* - David Allan, 1999

- **Article**


- **Article**

“*In the Bosome of a Shaddowie Grove*”: Sir George Mackenzie and the Consolations of Retirement - David Allan, 1999

- **Article**

*Philosophy and politics in later Stuart Scotland: neo-Stoicism, culture and ideology in an age of crisis, 1540-1690* - Allan, David, 2000

- **Book**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: royalist politics, religion and ideas</td>
<td>Clare Jackson</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some aspects of later seventeenth century Scotland</td>
<td>Meikle, Henry W.</td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York in Edinburgh: James VII and the Patronage of Learning in Scotland, 1679-1688</td>
<td>Hugh Ouston</td>
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<td>Systems of Property: Grotius and Stair</td>
<td>D. L. Carey Miller</td>
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<tr>
<td>Law and enlightenment in Britain</td>
<td>Tom Campbell</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Origins and Development of the Scottish Scientific Community, 1680-1760</td>
<td>John R. R. Christie</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Robert Sibbald, Kt, The Royal Society of Scotland and the origins of the Scottish enlightenment</td>
<td>Roger L. Emerson</td>
<td>1988</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural Philosophy and the Problem of the Scottish Enlightenment</td>
<td>Roger Emerson</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Cultural Change, 1660-1710 and the Union</td>
<td>Roger Emerson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tradition of Scottish philosophy: a new perspective on the Enlightenment</td>
<td>Alexander Broadie</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Occult laboratory: magic, science, and second sight in late seventeenth-century Scotland</td>
<td>Michael Cyril William Hunter</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural rights on the threshold of the Scottish enlightenment: the writings of Gershom Carmichael</td>
<td>James Moore, Michael Silverthorne</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Week 2. Scottish conditions: a Revolution in a poor country (17 items)

Early eighteenth-century Scots were the beneficiaries of the Protestant, Williamite revolutions of 1688-90 across Britain. Many, however, also believed they lived in a backward country in urgent need of economic modernization. This gave rise to an obsessive concern for “Improvement” which underpinned the Enlightenment. We will
examine the consequences of the Revolution and try to assess Scotland’s real material position in its immediate aftermath.

**Primary sources (3 items)**

Claim of Right, Act Abolishing Prelacy, Abolition of Committee of Articles and Acts Establishing Presbyterian Government and Transferring Patronage

Select transactions of the Honourable the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland [...] - Robert Maxwell, 1743

Book Read, ‘A List of the Members’. [This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: TypBE.D43SM[

Selections from the Monymusk Papers (1713-1755) - Henry Hamilton, 1945

Book

Scotland in the Age of Improvement: essays in Scottish history in the eighteenth century - Nicholas Phillipson, Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), 1996

Book

Scottish population history from the 17th century to the 1930s - M. W. Flinn, 1977

Book

Agriculture and society in seventeenth-century Scotland - I. D. Whyte, 1979

Book

Scottish Agriculture before the Improvers—an Exploration - T C Smout, Alexander Fenton, 1965

Article

Before the Improvers - Ian Whyte, 1995

Article

The making of the Scottish countryside - M. L. Parry, Terry Slater (eds.), 1980

Book

The transformation of rural Scotland: social change and the agrarian economy, 1660-1815 - T. M. Devine, 1994

Book

Scottish trade on the eve of Union, 1660-1707 - Smout, T. C., 1963

Book

Kindred and Adjoining Kingdoms - K. Wrightson

Chapter

The Scottish Nobility and the Revolution of 1688-89 - Bruce Lenman

Chapter
The parliamentary act of Union with England in 1707 has always been seen as singularly important in making possible the subsequent Enlightenment in Scotland. We will examine the extraordinary national debate about Scotland’s political future, in which great significance attached to comparisons with the classical republics of antiquity and to the need to improve the country’s position in the world.

### Primary sources (4 items)

**The Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England**

See, e.g.: [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aosp/1707/7](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aosp/1707/7)

**Political works** - Andrew Fletcher, John Robertson, 1997  
[Book] | Alternatively, use Daiches ed.(see below)

**Selected political writings and speeches [of] Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun** - Fletcher, Andrew, Daiches, David, 1979  
[Book] | Alternative to - Political Works (ed.) John Robertson

**The history of the union between England and Scotland** - Daniel Defoe, George Chalmers, 1786  
[Book] | This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: r DA807.D3

**Scotland: a new history** - Lynch, Michael, 1992  
[Book] | Caps. 18, 19, and 22

**The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition** - J. G. A Pocock, 1975  

**Republicanism, liberty, and commercial society, 1649-1776** - David Wootton, 1994
Week 4. Kirk and university: toleration and the triumph of Moderatism

Tradition asserts that the eighteenth-century Enlightenment across Europe was a comprehensive attack on organized religion and orthodox belief. Yet there are grounds for thinking that the Scottish experience was very different. The Kirk, the clergy and the universities played a crucial role both in promoting intellectual freedom and in producing
the great literary and philosophical works of the age. This topic explores the peculiar flavour that this gave both to Scottish religion and to the Enlightenment in Scotland.

Primary sources (5 items)

Ecclesiastical characteristics [...] - John Witherspoon, William Bradford, Thomas Bradford, 1767

This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: s BX9178.W5F6

Sermons - Hugh Blair, Finlayson, James, 1820

Multiple e-book editions of all volumes also available.

An historical disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India: and the progress of trade with that country prior to the discovery of the passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope: with an appendix - William Robertson, 1791

This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: s PA3016.I6R7

The autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk 1722-1805 - Burton, John Hill, 1990

Heads of a course of lectures on civil history - William Wight, 1772

This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: TypBG.D70FC

The theology and theologians of Scotland: chiefly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries - Walker, James, 1872

"From Protest to Reaction": the Moderate Regime in the Church of Scotland, 1752-1805 - I.D.L. Clark

Church and university in the Scottish Enlightenment: the moderate literati of Edinburgh - Richard B. Sher, 1985

Church and theology in enlightenment Scotland: the Popular Party, 1740-1800 - John R. McIntosh, 1998

Enlightened evangelicalism: the life and thought of John Erskine - Jonathan M. Yeager, 2011

Available in the Library and as an e-book.

Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union, 1707 - Jeffrey Stephen, 2007

Available in the library and as an e-book.

Protestantism, Presbyterianism and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scottish
History - David Allan


Patronage and Party in the Church of Scotland, 1750-1800 - Richard Sher, Alexander Murdoch

"Bustling Artisans": Church Patronage at South Leith in the 1740s and 1750s - R. A. Houston, 1994


Enlightenment and religion: rational dissent in eighteenth-century Britain - Knud Haakonssen, 1996

‘Aikenhead the Atheist’: The Context and Consequences of Articulate Irreligion in the Late Seventeenth Century | Available in the library and as an e-book.


Moderate and Evangelical Thinking in the Later Eighteenth Century: Differences and Shared Attitudes - F. Voges, 1986


The Scottish Episcopalian Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism - Bruce Lenman

The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Moderate Divines - John Dwyer

Scottish Universities in the Eighteenth Century, 1690-1800 - Roger Emerson, 1977


The Scottish Professoriate and the Polite Academy, 1720-1770 - Peter Jones
Eighteenth-century Scots had a deeply ambivalent identity—sometimes proud Scots, sometimes insecure North Britons. Their political arrangements also entangled them in a web of government patronage, whose damaging effects on liberty greatly concerned many of Scotland’s most intelligent Whig thinkers. We will examine what it was, in the light of Union, to be “Scottish”, and why “corruption” so preoccupied the Scots.

Primary sources (4 items)

**Essays, moral and political: By David Hume, Esq** - David Hume, 1748
- "On Parties in General", "Of the Parties of Great Britain", "Of Civil Liberty" [This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: r B1470.D48 (SR) ]

**Political discourses. By David Hume, Esq** - David Hume, 1754
- "Of Public Credit" [This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: r B1453.D50 (SR) ]

**View of the political state of Scotland in the last century** - Charles Elphinstone Adam, 1887

**Letters of Alexander Hume Campbell to Earl of Marchmont**

**Patronage and politics in Scotland 1707-1832** - Ronald M. Sunter, 1986
The management of Scottish society 1707-1764: power, nobles, lawyers, Edinburgh agents and English influences - John Stuart Shaw, 1983


Scottish county government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - Whetstone, Ann E., 1981

“Nothing but Struggalls and Coruption” - David Brown

The people above: politics and administration in mid-eighteenth century Scotland - Alexander Murdoch, 1980


Academic patronage in the Scottish enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews universities - Roger L. Emerson, 2008

Henry Dundas Revisited - John Dwyer, Alexander Murdoch, 1988


The Dundas despotism - Michael Fry, 1992

The Scottish Enlightenment and the militia issue - John Robertson, 1985

The Nation as Community - John Dwyer, 1990

Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in Later Eighteenth-Century Scotland - T. C. Smout

IV. POLITE SOCIETY (93 items)

Week 7. Addison and Ramsay: the renovation of culture and society? (27 items)
Joseph Addison and The Spectator enjoyed immediate and lasting success in Scotland. Avidly read and constantly imitated, his masterly essays on sociability shaped the literary renaissance of Watson and Ramsay as well as defining for eighteenth-century Scots normative standards in propriety, reasonableness and taste. We will explore the problems of reviving Scottish literature in a manner that was strongly influenced by English models, and some of the many resonances that Addison’s concern for “politeness” struck in Scottish circles.

Primary sources (6 items)

The Spectator - Addison, Joseph


The works of Allan Ramsay - Allan Ramsay, 1972

[Book] | "Journal of the Easy Club*"

The gentle shepherd: a Scots pastoral comedy: with the songs. By Allan Ramsay - Allan Ramsay, 1776

[Book] | Numerous print editions also available in Special Collections.

The ever green: a collection of Scots poems, wrote by the ingenious before 1600 - Allan Ramsay, 1876


Poems - Allan Ramsay, 1974

[Book] | Read - Preface

A choice collection of comic and serious Scots poems - Watson, James, 1977
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Scottish Merchant Community, 1680-1740</td>
<td>T.M. Devine</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Social Background of the Scottish Renaissance</td>
<td>John Clive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Culture and Society in the Eighteenth-Century Province: the Case of</td>
<td>Nicholas Phillipson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tics, Politeness and the Anglicisation of Early Eighteenth-Century</td>
<td>Nicholas Phillipson</td>
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<td>Scottish Culture</td>
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<td>Politics and Politeness in the Reigns of Anne and the Early</td>
<td>Nicholas Phillipson</td>
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<td>Hanoverians</td>
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<td>Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and</td>
<td>Lawrence E. Klein, 1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociability and power in late-Stuart England</td>
<td>Susan E. Whyman, 1999</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allan Ramsay</td>
<td>Martin, Burns, 1931</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allan Ramsay and the Easy Club</td>
<td>Alexander Law, 1989</td>
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<tr>
<td>Were the Easy Club Jacobites?</td>
<td>Murray Pittock, 1990</td>
</tr>
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<td>Watson’s Choice, Ramsay’s Voice</td>
<td>A.M. Kinghorn, 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Intellectual Background to the Vernacular Revival before Burns</td>
<td>F.W. Freeman, 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Englishness of Watson</td>
<td>Harriet Wood</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Enlightenment and Social Structure</td>
<td>Roger Emerson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virtuous discourse: sensibility and community in late eighteenth-</td>
<td>John Dwyer, 1987</td>
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<td>century Scotland</td>
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Week 8. The enlightened metropolis: Edinburgh

Edinburgh was the definitive “hotbed of genius” and the self-appointed “Athens of the North”, home to a galaxy of academic and literary talent, the traditional focus for Scottish professional life and, by the last quarter of the century, a centre of cultural excellence recognised internationally. This topic will try to discover how the social fabric of Edinburgh life, the physical environment of the Old Town as well as the bold departure of the eighteenth-century New Town, both generated and reflected the patriotic and cultural obsessions of the age.

Primary sources

“Proposals” for Edinburgh’s New Town - 1752

Memorials of his time - Henry Cockburn, 1971

Traditions of Edinburgh - Robert Chambers, 1967

Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century - John Ramsay, 1888

The history of Edinburgh - Hugo Arnot, 1779

Edinburgh life in the eighteenth century, with an account of the fashions and amusements of society: selected and arranged from “Captain Topmam’s letters” - Topham, Edward, 1900
Capital of the mind: how Edinburgh changed the world - James Buchan, 2003

Edinburgh: the golden age - Mary Cosh, 2003

The social life of Scotland in the eighteenth century - Henry Grey Graham, 1937

Sociability and society in eighteenth century Scotland - John Dwyer, Richard B. Sher (eds.), 1993

Edinburgh - David Daiches, 1978


Order in space and society - 1982

Domes of Enlightenment: Two Scottish University Museums - Thomas A. Markus

Class and Classification in the Buildings of the Late Scottish Enlightenment - T. A. Markus

James Craig, 1744-1795: "the ingenious architect of the New Town of Edinburgh" - Catherine Cruft, Andrew G. Fraser (eds.), 1995

George Drummond - W. Baird, 1911

Edinburgh in the age of reason - Douglas Young, 1967

Edinburgh in the age of Sir Walter Scott - Douglas Young, 1965

Edinburgh: the Golden Age, 1769-1832 - Michael Joyce, 1951

Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh - R. A. Houston, 1993

Social change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660-1760 - R. A. Houston, 1994

Fire and Filth: Edinburgh’s Environment, 1660-1760 - R.A. Houston, 1994
Week 9. Provincial cultures: Glasgow, Aberdeen and beyond? (26 items)
The role of Glasgow and Aberdeen in eighteenth-century Scotland was both complex and dynamic. On the one hand these towns were home to smaller-scale reflections of Edinburgh developments. On the other, distinctive religious and political traditions, as well as rapidly changing economic structures, made them natural counterweights to Edinburgh, and even focuses for ideas which contrasted starkly with those of the Scottish capital. We will explore the tensions which emerged between Scotland’s major towns as the eighteenth century progressed, and consider the case for regarding the Scottish Enlightenment as a truly national phenomenon.

Primary sources (3 items)

The theory of moral sentiments - Adam Smith, 2000

The minstrel: or, the progress of genius: in two books. With some other poems. By James Beattie, LL.D - James Beattie, 1797

A Treatise on Rhetorick - Robert Watson

Provincial Readers and Book Culture in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Perth Library, 1784-c.1800 - D. Allan, 2002

The Scottish Enlightenment and the Politics of Provincial Culture: The Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society, ca. 1784-1790 - David Allan, 2003


Aberdeen and the Enlightenment: proceedings of a conference held at the University of Aberdeen - Jennifer J. Carter, Joan H. Pittock (eds.), 1987

Professors, patronage and politics: the Aberdeen universities in the eighteenth century - Roger L. Emerson, 1992
Science and the Aberdeen Enlightenment - Paul Wood

Science and the Pursuit of Virtue in Aberdeen - Paul Wood

Aberdeen and the European Enlightenment - Paul Wood

The Aberdeen enlightenment: the arts curriculum in the eighteenth century - Paul B. Wood, 1993

Orthodoxy and enlightenment: George Campbell in the eighteenth century - Jeffrey Suderman, 2001

The Glasgow Enlightenment - Andrew Hook, Richard B. Sher (eds.), 1995

Presbyterians and Provincial Society - Ned Landsman

Adam Smith and the Glasgow Merchants - J. A. Gherity, 1992

Glasgow - David Daiches, 1977

Glasgow: the making of a city - Andrew Gibb, 1983

Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow - Richard Sher

Ayrshire in the Enlightenment - John Strawhorn

Scotland's Neglected Enlightenment - Roy Campbell, 1990

The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century - John Brewer, 1997

A Dance in the Mind: The Provincial Scottish Philosophical Societies - Kathleen Holcomb, 1992

Provincial Intellectuals: Identity, Patriotism, and Enlightened Peripheries - Michael Kugler,
Week 10. Clubs and societies (16 items)
To a degree unimaginable today, eighteenth-century social life for the professional classes revolved around attendance at clubs, societies and other membership-based private institutions, which met in taverns, oyster bars and coffee houses not only in London, Dublin and Philadelphia but in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Shaped by Addison’s journalism, these activities had profound cultural and political significance. We will examine the concerns of those who formed and patronised these organisations, and the role that they played in creating the civic world of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Primary sources (2 items)
Minute Book of the Newtonian Society (1760) (Edinburgh University Library, MS. Gen. 1423)
[photocopy]

H. Lewis Ulman, (ed.) Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 1758-1773 (1990)
[photocopy]

The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century - John Brewer, 1997
Book | Esp. cap. 1. [Available in the library and as an e-book.]

Scotland’s age of improvement: a survey of eighteenth-century literary clubs and societies - Davis D. McElroy, 1969
Book

British clubs and societies 1580-1800 - Peter Clark, 2000
Book

The Enlightenment and Social Structure - Roger Emerson
Chapter

The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, 1737-1747 - Roger L. Emerson, 1979
Article

The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh 1748-1768 - Roger L. Emerson, 1981
Article

The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh 1768-1783 - Roger L. Emerson, 1985
Article
Before the eighteenth century was over, Scotland’s philosophers had acquired an international reputation whose impact may be traced in the university curricula of the nineteenth-century world. Frances Hutcheson, the proponent of the “moral sense”, was the philosophical founding father of the Scottish Enlightenment. Later, the “common sense” school of Reid and Stewart, which attempted to counter the dangerous scepticism of David Hume, ensured the dominance of the “Scottish Philosophy”. This topic will try to sketch out the cultural roots and the social and political context of these ideas.

**Primary sources (8 items)**

**Francis Hutcheson: an inquiry concerning beauty, order, harmony, design** - Francis Hutcheson, Peter Kivy (ed.), 1973

**An inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue** - Francis Hutcheson, 1738

**Dissertations moral and critical** - James Beattie, 1783

| This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: s |
The theory of moral sentiments - Adam Smith, Knud Haakonssen, 2002

Essays on the intellectual powers of man - Thomas Reid, 2002

An inquiry into the human mind - Thomas Reid, 1997

Elements of the philosophy of the human mind - Dugald Stewart, 1813

Outlines of moral philosophy - Dugald Stewart, 1870

A history of Scottish philosophy - Alexander Broadie, 2009

Studies in the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment - M. A Stewart, 1990

Philosophy and science in the Scottish Enlightenment - Peter Jones, 1988

Philosophers of the Scottish enlightenment - V. Hope, 1984

Francis Hutcheson: his life, teaching and position in the history of philosophy - William R. Scott, 1992

Francis Hutcheson - T. D. Campbell

Reid on ethics - Sabine Roeser, 2010

James Beattie - Everard H. King, 1977

Hume and the Origins of the Common Sense School - George Davie, 1952

Hume and his Scottish Critics - David Fate Norton

[also other essays in this collection]
Week 2. David Hume: sceptical empiricism (14 items)
David Hume was the most important and most original thinker produced by eighteenth-century Scotland. His principal achievement was to undermine faith in a series of prevailing philosophical orthodoxies and to advance the claims of scepticism to be taken seriously. His work, which greatly troubled his Scottish contemporaries, demands our own attention. We shall be especially concerned with his Scottish environment and with his contributions to contemporary Scottish debates.

Primary sources (3 items)

Dialogues concerning natural religion and other writings - David Hume, 2007


Selected essays - Hume, David, 1993

The Edinburgh history of Scottish literature - Brown, Ian, 2007
Following the progress made in economic improvement and philosophical empiricism, the Scottish Enlightenment also claimed to be able to advance human knowledge and understanding of the natural world. The chemist Joseph Black and his friend James Hutton, the first modern geologist, tried to make good this claim. This topic will explore the connections between scientific and other thought in Scotland.

**Primary sources (3 items)**

- **History of Astronomy** - Adam Smith
- **An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries: in four books** - Colin MacLaurin, 1750

**Book**
Church and university in the Scottish Enlightenment: the moderate literati of Edinburgh - Richard B. Sher, 1985

Seeking nature's logic: natural philosophy in the Scottish enlightenment - David B. Wilson, 2009

Science and medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment - Charles W.J. Withers, Paul Wood, 2002

The Rise and Fall of Scottish Science - J. R. R. Christie

Philosophical chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment: the doctrines and discoveries of William Cullen and Joseph Black - Arthur L. Donovan, 1975

Scottish philosophy and British physics, 1750-1880: a study in the foundations of the Victorian scientific style - Richard Olson, 1975

Hospital life in Enlightenment Scotland: care and teaching at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh - Guenter B. Risse, 1986


The University of Edinburgh in the Late Eighteenth Century: Its Scientific Eminence and Academic Structure - J. B. Morrell

Science, culture, and politics in Britain, 1750-1870 - Jack Morrell, 1997

James Hutton on Religion and Geology: the Unpublished Preface to his Theory of the Earth (1788). - Dennis R. Dean

James Hutton: the founder of modern geology - Donald Bertram McIntyre, Alan McKirdy, 1997

Property, Patronage, and the Politics of Science: The Founding of the Royal Society of Edinburgh - Steven Shapin, 2009

The Audience for Science in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh - Steven Shapin, 1974
VI. THE SCIENCE OF MAN (72 items)

Week 4. Materialism and commercial society (37 items)
A central achievement of the Scottish Enlightenment was the development, within what Hume called the “Science of Man”, of a sophisticated analysis of the historical evolution of society as a reflection of its economic structure. Epitomised by Smith's Wealth of Nations and often dependent on conjectural theories of general human progress, the Scottish project was shaped both by commonplace Enlightenment assumptions and by the topical questions arising in a country undergoing rapid commercial and industrial change. Taking as our texts some of the most important works of European economic thought, we will ask why it was that eighteenth-century Scotland produced them.

Primary sources (5 items)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political discourses</strong></td>
<td>David Hume</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>Esp. “Of the Origin of Government”, “Of Commerce”  [1752 edition may be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: TypBE.D52FH ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sketches of the history of man</strong></td>
<td>Kames, Henry Home</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Various e-book editions also available via Saulcat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Man and society: the Scottish inquiry of the eighteenth century</strong></td>
<td>Gladys Bryson</td>
<td>1968</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The social theory of the Scottish Enlightenment</strong></td>
<td>Christopher J. Berry</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Caps. 2-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Virtue, learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: ideas of scholarship in early modern history</strong></td>
<td>David Allan</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Esp. caps. 4 and 5.</td>
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<td><strong>The Scottish Enlightenment: an anthology</strong></td>
<td>Alexander Broadie</td>
<td>1997</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The Scottish Enlightenment, Unintended Consequences and the Science of Man</strong></td>
<td>Craig Smith</td>
<td>2009</td>
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<td><strong>The Scottish contribution to Marxist sociology</strong></td>
<td>Ronald Meek</td>
<td>1954</td>
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<td><strong>Social Science and Human Flourishing: the Scottish Enlightenment and Today</strong></td>
<td>Ryan Patrick Hanley</td>
<td>2009</td>
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<td><strong>Economics and History - the Scottish Enlightenment</strong></td>
<td>A. S. Skinner</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<td><strong>Origins of Sociology: The Case of the Scottish Enlightenment</strong></td>
<td>Alan Swingewood</td>
<td>1970</td>
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<td><strong>Conjectural History and the Origins of Sociology</strong></td>
<td>Frank Palmeri</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<td><strong>The Scottish moralists on human nature and society</strong></td>
<td>Louis Schneider</td>
<td>1967</td>
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<td>Scientific Whiggism: Adam Smith and John Millar</td>
<td>Duncan Forbes</td>
<td>1954</td>
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<td>From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment</td>
<td>H. M. Hopfl</td>
<td>1978</td>
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<td>Scotland as the Model of Mankind: Lord Kames' Philosophical View of Civilization</td>
<td>George Stocking</td>
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<td>The Origin of Property and the Development of Scottish Historical Science</td>
<td>Paul Bowles</td>
<td>1985</td>
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<td>The rise of political economy in the Scottish enlightenment</td>
<td>Tatsuya Sakamoto (ed.)</td>
<td>2003</td>
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<td>Hume</td>
<td>Nicholas Phillipson</td>
<td>1989</td>
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<td>'This Inquisitive Age': Past and Present in the Scottish Enlightenment</td>
<td>David Allan</td>
<td>1997</td>
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<td>Sceptical Medievalism: The Problem of Arthurian Historicity in the Scottish Enlightenment</td>
<td>David Allan</td>
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<td>Adam Smith: an enlightened life</td>
<td>N. T. Phillipson</td>
<td>2010</td>
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<td>Adam Smith and the character of virtue</td>
<td>Ryan Patrick Hanley</td>
<td>2009</td>
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<td>The age of the passions: an interpretation of Adam Smith and Scottish Enlightenment culture</td>
<td>John Dwyer</td>
<td>1998</td>
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<td>Inventing human science: eighteenth-century domains</td>
<td>Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, Robert Wokler</td>
<td>1995</td>
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<td>The rise of social theory</td>
<td>Johan Heilbron, Sheila Gogol</td>
<td>1995</td>
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<td>On the wealth of nations: contemporary responses to Adam Smith</td>
<td>Ian Simpson Ross</td>
<td>1998</td>
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Barbarism and religion - J. G. A Pocock, 1999

Society and sentiment: genres of historical writing in Britain, 1740-1820 - Mark Phillips, 2000

Language, Sociability and History: Reflections on Smith’s Science of Man - Nicholas Phillipson

The case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680-1760 - John Robertson, 2005

The idea of commercial society in the Scottish Enlightenment - Christopher J. Berry, 2013


Week 5. Adam Ferguson: progress and decay (17 items)
Adam Ferguson, now interred in the Priory churchyard in St Andrews, was one of the eighteenth century’s most original and most influential thinkers. His singular achievement was to mingle classical Roman political morality with fashionable Enlightenment philosophizing in such a way as to produce a sceptical and thought-provoking analysis of modern society – selfish, deceitful and, in his view, on the road to destruction. This topic will examine how, in developing a critique of the moral basis of commercial society, this Scot managed to establish the new discipline of sociology.

Primary sources (2 items)

Essay on the history of civil society - Adam Ferguson, 1995

The history of the progress and termination of the Roman Republic - Adam Ferguson, 1852

Adam Ferguson - David Allan, 2006


The social and political thought of Adam Ferguson - David Kettler, 1965
Man and society: the Scottish inquiry of the eighteenth century - Gladys Bryson, 1968

Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and the Problem of National Defense - Richard B. Sher, 1989

Ferguson and Montesquieu: Tacit Reproaches? - Sheila Mason, 1988

Adam Ferguson and the Surprising Robustness of Civil Society - Ernest Gellner

Conjectural History, Sociology and Social Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland - J. D. Brewer

Civil or Commercial? Adam Ferguson’s Concept of Civil Society - J. Varty

Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish civic discourse in eighteenth-century Germany - Fania Oz-Salzberger, 1995

Barbarism and religion - J. G. A Pocock, 1999

Society and sentiment: genres of historical writing in Britain, 1740-1820 - Mark Phillips, 2000

The passionate society: the social, political and moral thought of Adam Ferguson - Lisa Hill, 2006

Adam Ferguson in the Scottish enlightenment: the Roman past and Europe's future - Iain McDaniel, 2013


Week 6. William Robertson (18 items)
Robertson was perhaps the age's most popular historian, an international best-seller who combined elegantly philosophical histories with leadership of the Kirk and Principalship of the University of Edinburgh. His studied moderation, his scepticism of previous historical orthodoxies and the extraordinary scope which conjectural methods gave to his narratives make him an example of Enlightenment history at its most distinctive. Again we will examine his works to see how they relate to the condition of eighteenth-century Scots.

Primary sources (2 items)
The History of the Reign of Emperor Charles V - William Robertson, 1782

The 1869 edition may also be available to consult at Special Collections at classmark: s D7.P8E69

The History of America - William Robertson, 1777

Narratives of enlightenment: cosmopolitan history from Voltaire to Gibbon - Karen O'Brien, 1997

Caps. 3, 4 and 5. [Available in the Library and as an e-book.]

William Robertson and the expansion of empire - Stewart J. Brown, 1997

Philosophical History and the Scottish Reformation: William Robertson and the Knoxian Tradition - Mary Fearnley-Sander, 2009


The Historical Writings of William Robertson - D. J. Womersley, 1986

Hume and Robertson's History of Scotland - D.J. Raynor, 1987


William Robertson and the History of Europe - J. G. A. Pocock

Society and sentiment: genres of historical writing in Britain, 1740-1820 - Mark Phillips, 2000

Barbarism and religion - J. G. A Pocock, 1999


The "Progress of Ambition": Character, Narrative, and Philosophy in the Works of William Robertson - Neil Hargraves, 2002
In giving rise to the English-speaking world’s best-known compendium of existing knowledge, the Scottish Enlightenment revealed much about its intellectual culture and about its assumption of the value of universal learning to polite, commercial society. More widely, the Encyclopaedia in successive editions provided a focus for the work of many leading Scottish scholars. This topic will also examine the condition and status of the “literati” – Scotland’s writers and thinkers – in their own time.

Primary sources

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1st edition (1768-1771), sample articles

Dissertation Exhibiting a general view of the progress of metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy since the revival of letters in Europe - Dugald Stewart, 1822

My own life and times, 1741-1814 - Thomas Somerville, 1861

Diary of George Ridpath - George Ridpath, James Balfour Paul (ed.), 1922

The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century - John Brewer, 1997

The early Britannica: the growth of an outstanding encyclopedia - Frank A. Kafker, Jeff Loveland, 2009
Week 8. Ossian and the novelists: sentiment and sensibility (26 items)

In the translated Gaelic epic poems of Ossian, the Scottish Enlightenment unintentionally provided Napoleon Bonaparte with his favourite reading. However, their ingenious creator, James Macpherson, had also practised on Edinburgh’s gullible literati one of the world’s most notorious literary confidence tricks. Above all, Ossian tapped into a burgeoning cult of sentiment and sensibility among Scotland’s readers and critics, a movement particularly associated with the raging fashion for the novels of Smollett and Mackenzie. We will examine how it was that the literati rashly embraced Macpherson’s work, and why Scots from the 1760s onwards became caught up in the taste for literary emotionalism which ultimately gave rise to Romanticism.
<table>
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<th>Primary sources (3 items)</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The expedition of Humphry Clinker</strong> - Tobias Smollett, 1990</td>
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<td><strong>The man of feeling</strong> - Henry Mackenzie, 2001</td>
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<td><strong>The poems of Ossian</strong> - James Macpherson, 1830</td>
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<td><strong>Smollett and the Scottish school</strong> - M. A. Goldberg, 1959</td>
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<td><strong>Tobias Smollett: Gentleman by Birth, Education and Profession</strong> - M. A. Goldberg, 1982</td>
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<td><strong>Scots, Savages, and Barbarians: Humphry Clinker and the Scots' Philosophy</strong> - Andrew Sharp, 1994</td>
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<td><strong>Smollett's Scotlands: Culture, Politics and Nationhood in &quot;Humphry Clinker&quot; and Defoe's &quot;Tour&quot;</strong> - Tom Keymer, 1995</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A Scottish man of feeling: some account of Henry Mackenzie</strong> - Harold William Thompson, 1931</td>
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<td><strong>Virtuous discourse: sensibility and community in late eighteenth-century Scotland</strong> - John Dwyer, 1987</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fragments of History and The Man of Feeling: From Richard Bentley to Walter Scott</strong> - Everett Zimmerman, 1990</td>
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<td><strong>A ‘Sickly Sort of Refinement’</strong> - W.J. Burling, 1988</td>
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<td><strong>Scottish literature and the Scottish people, 1680-1830</strong> - David Craig, 1961</td>
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<td><strong>The paradox of Scottish culture: the eighteenth-century experience</strong> - David Daiches, 1964</td>
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<td><strong>Inventing and resisting Britain: cultural identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789</strong> - Murray Pittock, 1997</td>
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</table>
The "Great Unknown", the long-anonymous author of Waverley and of several other Scottish-based novels which enjoyed sensational literary success in Britain, Europe and North America, was a complex product of the Scottish Enlightenment, both an admiring pupil and a wary critic of its leading figures. In Scott the exploration of Scotland’s own identity and historical development reached out to a worldwide audience, in the process shaping an understanding of “Scottishness” - a land of misty mountains, lonely glens and betartaned heroes - which remains extraordinarily prevalent to this day. Our task will be to explain why this happened and how Scotland’s experiences in the eighteenth century shaped what were the first genuine historical novels.
### Primary sources (1 items)

**Waverley** - Walter Scott, Andrew Hook (ed.), 1985  
[Book]

[Book]

**Sir Walter Scott and history: with other papers** - James Anderson, 1981  
[Book]

**The Manufacture of Scottish history** - Ian Donnachie, Christopher A. Whatley (eds.), 1992  
[Book]

**The Rationalism of Sir Walter Scott** - Duncan Forbes, 1953  
[Article]

**Making History: Scotland, 1814** - David Richards  
[Chapter]

[Article]

[Article]

**Scott and his Scotland** - Victor Kiernan, 1993  
[Article]

**Scott's Guy Mannering: The Limits and Limitations of Anglo-British Identity** - Andrew Lincoln, 1999  
[Article]

**The high road: Romantic tourism, Scotland, and literature, 1720-1820** - John Glendening, 1997  
[Book]

**Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the story of tomorrow** - Caroline McCracken-Flesher, 2005  

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### VIII: DECLINE AND FALL (23 items)

**Week 10: Why did the Scottish enlightenment die?**  (23 items)

By as early as the 1790s and with growing finality by the 1820s, Scottish commentators expressed the view that their Golden Age was over: the Scottish Enlightenment had fizzled out. Explaining this has remained a major problem for the historian: was Scotland’s cultural decline simply about the death of certain key individuals or was there something
more fundamental at work, a changed and hostile environment or the growing influence of new and less conducive ideas and philosophies? We will examine some contemporary testimony, and attempt to answer this question for ourselves.

### Primary sources (3 items)

- **The Modern Athens: a dissection and demonstration** - Robert Mudie, 1825  
  [Book](#) | This may also be available to consult in Special Collections at classmark: s DA890.E4M8

- **Peter’s letters to his kinfolk** - John Gibson Lockhart, William Ruddick (ed.), 1977  
  [Book](#)

- **Signs of the Times** - Thomas Carlyle, 1829  
  [Article](#)

- **Church and university in the Scottish Enlightenment: the moderate literati of Edinburgh** - Richard Sher, 1985  
  [Book](#) | esp. cap. 8

- **Virtue, learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: ideas of scholarship in early modern history** - David Allan, 1993  
  [Book](#) | esp. cap. 6.

- **The Age of Pericles in the Modern Athens: Greek History, Scottish Politics, and the Fading of Enlightenment** - David Allan, 2001  
  [Article](#)

- **The Rise (and Fall?) of the Scottish Enlightenment?** - Alexander Broadie  
  [Chapter](#) | Available in the library and as an e-book.

- **The democratic intellect: Scotland and her universities in the nineteenth century** - George E. Davie, 1981  
  [Book](#)

- **Popular Philosophy in Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland** - Nathalie Rosset, 2007  
  [Article](#)

- **The strange death of Scottish history** - Marinell Ash, 1980  
  [Book](#)

- **That noble science of politics: a study in nineteenth-century intellectual history** - Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, J. A. Burrow, 1983  
  [Book](#)

- **Rethinking the politics of commercial society: the Edinburgh Review 1802-1832** - Biancamaria Fontana, 1985  
  [Book](#)

- **Politics and reviewers: the 'Edinburgh' and the 'Quarterly' in the early Victorian age** - Joanne Shattock, 1989  
  [Chapter](#)
The Scottish Enlightenment and early Victorian English society - Anand C. Chitnis, 1986

An Enlightenment Tory in Victorian Scotland: the career of Sir Archibald Alison - Michael Michie, 1997

Subverting Scotland's past - Colin Kidd, 1993


Scotland and the French Revolution - Henry W. Meikle, 1969

Enlightenment to Renaissance: Scottish Culture in the Nineteenth Century - Christopher Harvie

The eclipse of Scottish culture: inferiorism and the intellectuals - Craig Beveridge, Ronald Turnbull, 1989

Scotland in the age of the Disruption - Stewart J Brown, Michael Fry (eds.), 1993

Scottish men of letters and the new public sphere, 1802-1834 - Barton Swaim, 2009

Intellectual politics and cultural conflict in the Romantic period: Scottish Whigs, English radicals and the making of the British public sphere - Alex Benchimol, 2010

Week 11: t.b.a.
The Scottish Enlightenment refers to the period of intellectual ferment in Scotland, between roughly the 1740s and 1790s. During this period, Scottish academicians and intellectuals distinguished themselves for numerous breakthroughs in philosophy, ethics, history, jurisprudence, sociology, political science and, of course, economics. These questions were foremost on the minds of the Scottish philosophers of the 18th Century. As so many times before, they looked to their French counterparts for answers.
The Scottish Enlightenment began in the mid 18th century and continued for the best part of a century. It marked a paradigm shift from religion into reason. Everything was examined: art, politics, science, medicine and engineering, but it was all begot by philosophy. The Scottish people thought, discovered, discoursed, experimented, wrote, but above all questioned! The Scottish Enlightenment (Scots: Scottis Enlightenment) was the period in 18th century Scotland characterised by an outpouring of intellectual and scientific accomplishments. By 1750, Scots were among the most literate citizens of Europe, with an estimated 75% level of literacy.[1] But it was a few hundred men who made the Enlightenment.