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A Virtuoso Reader: Thomas Reid and the Practices of Reading in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

Paul Wood

Over the past thirty years one of the most fertile areas of growth in academe has been the interdisciplinary field known as 'the history of the book'. For at least some of the early pioneers of the field like Robert Darnton, the study of the history of the book was conceived of as a bridge between traditional forms of intellectual history and the then new 'social history of ideas'.[1] But as book history has developed since the 1980s scholars have been less concerned with rewriting the history of ideas than they have with exploring the various elements of Darnton's influential model of the 'communications circuit' between author and reader.[2] Because of the current taste for the genre of biography, individual authors have garnered a good deal of attention, as have the social, economic, and legal structures that conditioned the emergence of 'the author' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The careers and the roles played by publishers and booksellers in the communications circuit have likewise been scrutinized. So too has the book as a physical object and a cultural signifier. The study of readers has also expanded dramatically. Historians of reading have investigated a bewildering number of topics and, in doing so, have proposed a number of controversial theses regarding putative revolutions in modes of reading in pre-modern Europe involving shifts from communal to private, oral to silent, and intensive to extensive reading. If anything, the array of scholarship on reading signals a high degree of fragmentation within book history, for studies of reading range across such diverse subjects as literacy, the readerships for specific genres of books, annotations and marginalia, methods of note taking, geographies of reading, the politics of reading, theories of reading, and the social profile of readers.[3] Perhaps more than any other

[1] Robert Darnton first linked intellectual history with the history of the book in his influential review article, 'The Social History of Ideas', which was initially published in 1971 and subsequently reprinted in his *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York and London, 1990), 219–52.

[2] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', in *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 107–35; this essay was first published in 1982.

[3] This fragmentation was in evidence by the mid-1990s. See the comments in Anthony Grafton, 'Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Budé and His

facet of the history of the book, work on reading mirrors the trajectory of neighboring disciplines like literature and history insofar as traditional notions of the canon have been abandoned and the search for the archetypal 'common reader' has been replaced by the reconstruction of difference marked by class, gender, and race.[4] And for some scholars such as Roger Chartier the history of reading now forms the core of a new configuration of knowledge that both subsumes and supersedes what was once known as 'the history of the book'.[5]

Despite the recent reorientation of research within the history of the book, book historians have nevertheless greatly enriched our knowledge of Enlightenment in the Atlantic world. Well before the history of the book coalesced as a discipline, Daniel Mornet laid the foundations for an analysis of the relationship between Enlightenment political ideas and the French Revolution through his study of eighteenth-century private libraries.[6] Robert Darnton was among the first to take up Mornet's problematic in a series of highly influential books and articles on the communications circuit in eighteenth-century France, and his use of book history to understand the social and cultural contours of Enlightenment has been widely emulated.[7] Due partly to the strong native tradition of bibliophilia and bibliography, the history of the book in Scotland has flourished over the past three decades,

Books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 91 (1997): 139–57, on 142–3.

[4] Some sense of how the study of reading has changed since the 1980s can be gained by comparing Darnton's 'First Steps toward a History of Reading', in *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 154–87, with Leah Price, 'Reading: The State of the Discipline', *Book History* 7 (2004): 303–20. One leading scholar claimed that a 'new' history of reading emerged in the 1980s that was characterized by questions regarding 'not merely the what, but the how, or process of reading. We have come to realize that modes of using and understanding print changed over time'; David D. Hall, 'The History of the Book: New Questions? New Answers', *Journal of Library History* 21 (1986): 27–38, on 30. For a more recent (and lucid) overview of the literature on the history of reading see Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695–1870* (Basingstoke and New York, 2007), 1–28.

[5] Roger Chartier, 'Frenchness in the History of the Book: From the History of Publishing to the History of Reading', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., 97 (1987): 299–329; idem, 'Texts, Printings, Readings', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1989), 154–75, on 171. Jonathan Rose likewise identifies the history of reading with ' "new" book history' in his 'Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 (1992): 47–70, on 47–8.

[6] Daniel Mornet, *Les origines de la Révolution Française, 1715–1787* (Paris, 1933)..

[7] See especially Darnton's *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1979), and his *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1982), as well as a number of the essays collected together in *The Kiss of Lamourette*.

much to the benefit of those interested in the Scottish Enlightenment.[8] Publishers, printers, and booksellers have attracted the most attention and, thanks to the research done thus far on the production and distribution of books by Scottish authors, we know a good deal about the diffusion of the intellectual achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment across the Atlantic world.[9] By contrast with the book trade, however, authorship in eighteenth-century Scotland has not as yet been the subject of systematic study and no one has framed the career of any of the leading Scottish literati in terms of print culture as Justin Champion has recently done with the Anglo-Irish Deist John Toland.[10] Various aspects of the history of reading have also been investigated, including literacy, student marginalia, and especially libraries, whereas the responses of individual Scottish readers remains a relatively under-explored topic.[11] Reader response is, of course, a notoriously difficult

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[8] For a general overview see now *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume II: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707–1800*, ed. Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall (Edinburgh, 2012).

[9] For example, see: Stephen W. Brown, 'William Smellie and Natural History: Dissent and Dissemination', in *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Charles W. J. Withers and Paul Wood (East Linton UK, 2002), 191–214; Warren McDougall, 'Charles Elliot's Medical Publications and the International Book Trade', in Withers and Wood, *Science and Medicine*, 215–54; Richard B. Sher, 'Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in Comparative Perspective', *Book History* 1 (1998): 32–93; idem, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (Chicago and London, 2006); and William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (Oxford, 1998).

[10] Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester and New York, 2003).

[11] On literacy see R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1985); and idem, 'Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh', *History* 78 (1993): 373–92. Student marginalia are discussed in Matthew Simpson, ' "O man do not scribble on the book": Print and Counter-print in a Scottish Enlightenment University', *Oral Tradition* 15 (2000): 74–95. The literature on eighteenth-century Scottish libraries is especially strong. See *inter alia* the seminal articles by Paul Kaufmann: 'A Unique Record of a People's Reading', *Libri* 14 (1964): 227–42, and 'The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 59 (1965): 233–94. Kaufmann's *Libraries and their Users: Collected Papers in Library History* (London, 1969) brings together his essays on eighteenth-century English and Scottish libraries. See also: W. R. Aitken, *A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955* (Glasgow, 1971); John C. Crawford, 'The Ideology of Mutual Improvement in Scottish Working Class Libraries', *Library History* 12 (1996): 49–61; David Allan, 'Provincial Readers and Book Culture in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Perth Library, 1784-c.1800', *The Library*. 7th ser.

subject to examine because direct evidence about how and what historical actors read is more often than not lacking, but there is little reason why we should know less about reading in eighteenth-century Scotland than elsewhere, given the rich archival and print resources available.[12] To illustrate this point I focus in what follows on Thomas Reid, who was one of the major figures of the Scottish Enlightenment and of the Enlightenment of the Atlantic world more generally. Reid's surviving papers and other related materials provide us with an exceptionally detailed portrait of his reading habits and practices, a hitherto unexplored facet of his life which sheds significant new light on the question of his intellectual identity. Moreover, my discussion of Reid serves to widen the range of case studies illustrating the diversity of forms of reading in early modern Britain. For whereas previous work on the subject has mapped the diverse reading practices of men and women from different social ranks who can be seen as 'common' readers, comparatively little has been said about learned academic readers like Reid who were directly involved in the propagation of Enlightenment.[13]

3 (2002): 367–89; K. A. Manley, 'Scottish Circulating and Subscription Libraries as Community Libraries', *Library History* 19 (2003): 185–94; Vivienne S. Dunstan, 'Glimpses into a Town's Reading Habits in Enlightenment Scotland: Analysing the Borrowings of Gray Library, Haddington, 1732–1816', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 26 (2006): 42–59; Mark R. M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750–1820* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), chs. 1–4. For studies of individual libraries: P. J. M. Willems, *Bibliotheca Fletcheriana: Or, the Extraordinary Library of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun* (Wassenaar, 1999); Roger Emerson, '*Catologus Librorum A.C.D.A.*: The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll (1682–1761)', in *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Paul Wood (Toronto, 2000), 13–39; David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, *The David Hume Library* (Edinburgh, 1996); Hiroshi Mizuta, *Adam Smith's Library: A Catalogue* (Oxford, 2000); Brian Hillyard, *David Steuart Esquire: An Edinburgh Collector* (Edinburgh, 1993); and Kenneth Crawford, *Dugald Stewart and His Library* (London2004). On Scottish readers and reading: J. Crawford, 'Reading and Book Use in 18th-Century Scotland', *The Bibliotheck* 19 (1994): 23–43; Roger L. Emerson, 'What Did Eighteenth-Century Scottish Students Read?', in idem, *Essays on David Hume, Medical Men and the Scottish Enlightenment: 'Industry, Knowledge and Humanity'* (Farnham UK and Burlington VT, 2009), 49–75; Paul Wood, 'Marginalia on the Mind: John Robison and Thomas Reid', in *The Culture of the Book*, 89–119; Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, chs. 5–8.

[12] The point that the literature on the history of the book in Scotland is skewed towards the book trade and largely ignores readers and reading is forcefully made in David Allan, 'Some Methods and Problems in the History of Reading: Georgian England and the Scottish Enlightenment', *The Journal of the Historical Society* 3 (2003): 91–124.

[13] Perhaps the closest parallel to Reid discussed in the literature is Samuel Johnson, who stands as an exemplar of a prominent man of letters. On Johnson as a reader see Robert DeMaria Jr., *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading* (Baltimore and London,

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I begin by enumerating the different forms of reading that Thomas Reid engaged in during his lifetime. The first was individual reading. Inasmuch as one can say that there is a master narrative about the history of reading, one component of this narrative has been the supposed shift over time from collective to so-called 'solitary' or 'private reading'.[14] When we consider the evidence we have about Reid's reading practices, however, the terms 'solitary' or 'private' do not straightforwardly apply to the changing circumstances of his career nor do they entirely capture the quotidian realities of his life. As a young man Reid may have had relatively private spaces in which to read, although he may have had to share rooms as a student at Marischal College Aberdeen. He probably had a room to himself as a boarder in the 1730s and when he first moved to the manse at New Machar in 1737.[15] But once he married his cousin Elizabeth in August 1740 and became a father in 1742, it is unlikely that he would have had his own study or another private room. From 1751 to 1764, while he was a regent at King's College, his family grew in size.[16] Domestic space was therefore likely at a premium, as it evidently

1997). Although DeMaria claims that the four modes of reading he identifies in Johnson's reading practices ('study', 'perusal', 'mere reading', and 'curious reading') can be applied to other readers, there is insufficient evidence to make these categories work when applied to Reid; see De Maria, *Samuel Johnson*, xiv–xv, 4–5, 15–16. For other case studies of more 'common' readers see, for example: Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, chs. 2 and 3; John Brewer, 'Reconstructing the Reader: Prescriptions, Texts, and Strategies in Anna Larpent's Reading', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge, 1996), 226–45; and especially David Allan, *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740–1830* (New York and London, 2008).

[14] On the three elements of the master narrative of the history of reading identified here compare Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Reading', 166, and his *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1994), 16–18.

[15] On student accommodation at the two Aberdeen colleges at the turn of the eighteenth century see Colin A. McLaren, *Aberdeen Students, 1600–1860* (Aberdeen, 2005), 60–1. The address on the first extant letter to Reid shows that he took lodgings 'at Mrs Dean's in the School hill'; James Darling to Thomas Reid, 8 January 1736, in Thomas Reid, *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid*, ed. Paul Wood (Edinburgh, 2002), 3. No evidence survives regarding the physical layout of the manse that Reid (and later his family) lived in.

[16] According to A. Campbell Fraser, Reid and his family rented the Canonist's Manse from the College; Fraser, *Thomas Reid* (Edinburgh and London, 1898), 44. The King's College account books are difficult to decipher, but they suggest that Reid did indeed rent the Canonist's Manse; see 'Procuration Accounts, 1751–1752' and 'Procuration

was after their move to Glasgow in the summer of 1764. Writing to his friend Dr. Andrew Skene, Reid said of their new tenement flat in the Drygate that 'You walk upstairs to a neat little dining room & find as many other little Rooms as just accomodate my family so scantily that my appartment is a closet of 6 foot by 8 or 9 off the dining room'.[17] The evidence we have regarding room use in eighteenth-century Glasgow suggests that his 'appartment' functioned as a space where he slept as well as a working space where he kept books and papers.[18] By the autumn of 1766 the Reids had left their rented accommodation in the Drygate and taken up residence in the Professors' Court at the College. Begun in the 1720s, the Professor's Court was bounded on three sides by what Thomas Pennant subsequently described as 'good houses' for the professoriate.[19] Unfortunately we do not know which of the houses the Reids were initially assigned or whether Reid had his own room.[20] It is reasonable to assume that as the family gradually shrank through the 1770s and 1780s, he was finally able to have a study exclusively to himself, although it is possible that the Reids took in boarders to increase their income. After his retirement from teaching he certainly needed a room of his own to store his personal papers, as well as his modest library of over 70 volumes.[21] For most of Reid's life, therefore, his individual

Accounts, 1752–1753', Aberdeen University Library, MS K 57/29 and 57/30. See also Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/7/III/12, fol. 2v, where Reid notes that he had established through observation the latitude of the Canonist's Manse. Three sons were born while the Reids lived in Old Aberdeen: George (1755), Lewis (1756), and David (1762). Lewis died in 1758.

[17] Reid to Skene, 14 November 1764, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 37.

[18] Stana Nenadic, 'The Middle Ranks and Modernisation', in *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830*, ed. T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester and New York, 1995), 285–91. The dining room Reid mentions would have functioned as a public reception room and could conceivably have held some of his books.

[19] Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides 1772*, ed. Andrew Simmons (Edinburgh, 1998), 132. For details of the Professors' Court see David Murray, *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow: Some Chapters in the History of the University* (Glasgow,, 1927), 368–75.

[20] At the end of his life, Reid was living in house no. 7 in New Court and he asserted his right to house no. 11 after the death of John Anderson: 'Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 1794–1800', Glasgow University Archive Services, GUA 26695, 86–7.

[21] We know that Reid owned at least 70 volumes because at some point before 1796 he told his daughter Martha that 'such of his Books as the College might choose, should be given to the Publick Library' at his death. His instructions were followed and by February 1797 Patrick Wilson, George Jardine, and Archibald Arthur had selected 'Seventy Volumes and upwards' for the University library; 'Minutes of Senate Meetings, 1787–1802', Glasgow University Archive Services, SEN 1/1/2, 236 (entry for 22 February 1797). The list of books drawn up by Wilson and his colleagues has

reading in a domestic setting was neither entirely private nor solitary in the senses in which we currently understand these terms. Rather, his reading was largely carried out in the midst of the bustle of the home and not in the scholarly seclusion of a space solely dedicated to the realm of the mind.

Another element in the master narrative of the history of reading is the relationship between oral and silent reading, with the former associated with reading in groups and the latter the encounter between individuals and texts. In Reid's case, it would seem that these two forms of reading were not mutually exclusive. By 1785 at the latest Reid was suffering from deafness. In September of that year his kinsman Dr. James Gregory enquired about his 'distemper' and he replied that 'the more I walk, or ride, or even talk or read audibly, I am the better'.[22] There is thus some evidence that Reid read aloud to himself (and perhaps to others in the family), although it is unlikely that he did so on a routine basis.

A third component of the master narrative of the history of reading is the controversial distinction between intensive and extensive reading habits first proposed by Rolf Engelsing. According to Engelsing, until the mid-eighteenth century individuals read intensively, that is, they owned only a few books (like the Bible) which they continuously re-read, typically aloud and in a group setting, so that the readers and their hearers came to know the texts more or less by heart. But then a revolution in reading habits occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth century, prompted in part by the spread of newspapers and the rise of the periodical press. Those who could read now did so extensively: instead of being closely familiar with a small number of works, readers consumed a wide range of newspaper and journal articles, novels, and other printed materials which they read through once before turning their attention to new texts.[23] Englesing's thesis has attracted a good

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apparently not survived. Thus far I have only been able to identify 48 titles owned by Reid. It is unlikely that Reid had a sizeable personal library because there are no shelf marks on the books that we know he possessed. In early modern Scotland private owners of extensive libraries resorted to the use of shelf marks in order to find individual titles. On this point see Murray Simpson, 'Housing Books in Scotland before 1800', *The Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, no. 4 (2009): 23.

[22] Reid to Gregory, 23 September 1785, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 179.

[23] Engelsing's thesis is summarized in Darnton, 'First Steps toward a History of Reading', 165–6. Engelsing's analysis is developed in Reinhard Wittmann, 'Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst, MA, 1999), 284–312. Engelsing's categories are applied to the history of reading in Scotland in Crawford, 'Reading and Book Use in 18th-Century Scotland'.

deal of criticism, not least because intensive and extensive forms of reading seem to be complementary modes of interacting with the printed word rather than distinct temporal stages in the history of reading. Nor does Englesing's distinction capture key features of scholarly reading habits, insofar as the ideals of erudition and learning imply a combination of close attention to the details of texts with a knowledge of a wide array of writings. In Reid's case, his experience as a reader encompassed both intensive and extensive reading. Like the vast majority of his literate contemporaries, Reid was an intensive reader of the Bible and perhaps also of some classical and modern literature, whereas he was also an extensive reader of newspapers, journals, literary works, and at least some scholarly texts.[24] Rather than showing Reid to be a transitional figure caught up in a reading revolution, as Englesing would have it, the evidence we have about Reid's use of print suggests that eighteenth-century readers habitually combined intensive and extensive modes of reading and that the kind of reading that they engaged in was to some extent dependent upon the type of text involved.

As I have indicated, Reid also engaged in collective or communal reading and he did so in a number of different ways. It is almost certain that he would have read the Bible with his family, although we have no direct evidence to prove this, and it may be that he read to his children. Outside of the domestic sphere, we know that he read aloud in the company of friends. Being a man of candor, Joseph Priestley sent copies of his *An Examination of Dr. Reid's Inquiry … Dr. Beattie's Essay … and Dr. Oswald's Appeal* … to Reid, James Beattie, and James Oswald when the book appeared in the autumn of 1774. Soon afterwards Henry Home, Lord Kames, informed the Edinburgh bookseller William Creech that 'Dr Reid is here [at Blairdrummond] whom I employed to read passages out of Priestly for the amusement of us all. For my own part I never once cast an eye upon it'.[25] A few years later, Priestley again figured in another instance of communal reading, this time with Reid's colleague, the Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, John Anderson. While the College was out of session through the summer and

[24] Evidence for Reid's appetite for polite literature comes in a letter written by William Ogilvie to Lord Buchan in January 1764 transcribed in Buchan's papers; see Glasgow University Library, MS 201/65.

[25] 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* (London, 1774), [iii]–v; Kames to Creech, 4 October 1774, National Archives of Scotland, Dalguise Muniments, GD38/2/19.

autumn of 1782 Anderson decamped to nearby Dumbarton, where he carried out a series of gunnery experiments at the Castle. Reid visited Anderson for a few days in late October and while they were together they read 'the Review, McLeod on Patronage, Monboddo's 3d Volumes Priestly &c:.'[26] Reid can also be seen to have been a member of various communities of readers during the course of his life.[27] One such community was made up of the circle of friends and associates who in 1736–7 participated in the Philosophical Club that probably met at Marischal College.[28] Later, another community gradually emerged that centered on Reid, George Campbell, and Alexander Gerard.[29] Made up of clergymen affiliated with the Moderate Party in the Church of Scotland, this group shared a common reading of Hume which they promulgated during the 1750s and 1760s in a variety of contexts, including the Aberdeen Philosophical Society.[30] But once Reid moved to Glasgow, his

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[26] 'Dumbarton Castle', Archives and Special Collections, Andersonian Library, University of Strathclyde, MS 33. The titles listed indicate that Reid and Anderson were reading: the *Monthly Review*; possibly the anonymous pamphlet *The Case of Patronage Stated, according to the Laws, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the Realm of Scotland. By a Member of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1782), which may have been written by their colleague, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Hugh Macleod; the first three volumes or just the third of Lord Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (Edinburgh, 1773–1776); and either or both of Priestley's *Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit* (London, 1777) and *A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism, and Philosophical Necessity, in a Correspondence between Dr Price and Dr Priestley* (London, 1778). Another work that the two of them may have read was Priestley's *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Birmingham, 1782). A second edition of Priestley's *Disquisitions* was also published that year, although Reid never refers to this edition in his published or unpublished writings.

[27] In invoking the concept of a 'community of readers' I take as my starting point James Raven, 'New Reading Histories, Print Culture, and the Identification of Change: The Case of Eighteenth-Century England', *Social History* 23 (1998): 268–87, on 270–2; see also Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, 13–15.

[28] Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/6/I/17 and 7/V/6. For a brief discussion see Paul Wood, 'Science and the Aberdeen Enlightenment', in *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Peter Jones (Edinburgh, 1988), 39–66, on 52–3.

[29] The New Machar parish records show that George Campbell served as a substitute preacher for Reid from 1746 to 1752. Alexander Gerard substituted for Reid in 1751–2; 'The Session Register of the Parish of Newmachar Containing an account of the Sessionall affairs from the Thirteenth of March Seventeen hunder [sic] and Seventeen years', National Archives of Scotland, CH 2/281/3, 276, 277, 301, 317, 325, 326, 334, 339, 340, 343, 345, 346, 348.

[30] That is, one way of thinking about the origins of common sense philosophy is to see the ideas of Reid, Campbell, and Gerard as growing out of a shared reading of Hume's writings that was articulated in the late 1740s and early 1750s. Their ideas were expounded in sermons, lectures, and print. See Paul Wood, 'David Hume on

letters to friends back in Aberdeen show that he felt himself to be somewhat isolated intellectually and it would seem that he was never able fully to recreate the close-knit communities of readers to which he belonged during his years in the North East.[31]

Collective oral reading was, in addition, central to Reid's professional life. One form of this mode of reading in which he engaged was delivering sermons and 'lectures' on specific Biblical texts. Reid initially developed his skills as a preacher and an expositor of Scripture as a divinity student and then as a probationer and preacher in the presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil in the years 1726 to 1733. It was only after he became parish minister at New Machar, however, that he was obliged to give sermons and lectures on a regular basis. We know that Reid read to his parishioners published sermons by such English figures as the Latitudinarian John Tillotson and the Dissenter John Evans. In doing so, Reid followed an established practice of the day rather than displaying diffidence about his abilities as a stylist, as Dugald Stewart was the first to suggest.[32] Unfortunately none of Reid's own sermons or notes for sermons survive and hence we have no direct evidence about his preaching style. Reports of his performance in the pulpit differ, and the differences relate directly to the religious sensibilities of the reporters. Ramsay of Ochtertyre, a moderate Presbyterian who knew Reid personally, recorded that 'from all I can collect, his style of preaching was far from being popular or alluring, being clear, plain, mathematical reasoning, little indebted to voice or action'.[33] By contrast, James Mackinlay, an evangelical who was one of Reid's students at Glasgow, recalled that Reid's

> earnestness at the dispensation of the Sacrament in the College Hall, at which he once presided, was never forgotten … 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

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Thomas Reid's *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*: A New Letter to Hugh Blair from July 1762', *Mind* 95 (1986): 411–16; idem, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: The Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1993), 110–19, 129–30.

[31] For Reid's sense of intellectual isolation, specifically with reference to the study of pneumatology, see Reid to David Skene, [July 1770], in Reid, *Correspondence*, 63.

[32] 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* (Edinburgh, 1803), 16–17.

[33] John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, *Scotland and Scotsmen of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Alexander Allardyce. 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1888), 1: 472.

> 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.[34]

Reid's surviving lecture notes on pulpit oratory indicate that Ramsay of Ochtertyre's characterization of Reid's preaching style was the more accurate one. While recognizing the need to 'touch … the Human Heart', Reid told his Glasgow students that the most important task of the preacher was to 'enlighten the Understanding of his hearers'. Reid pointedly warned against the emotive style of preaching cultivated by the High Flyers in the Church of Scotland, and insisted on the value of 'Perspicuity' when writing and delivering a sermon. Reid's Glasgow lectures on rhetoric, therefore, suggest that his oral reading from the pulpit was calculated to curb 'Enthusiasm' and promote 'Rational Piety' amongst his auditors.[35]

The second form of collective oral reading that Reid engaged in professionally for much of his adult life was lecturing in university classrooms. The best known description of Reid's teaching style comes from Dugald Stewart, who attended his mentor's moral philosophy lectures in the 1771–2 session.[36] According to Stewart,

> 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 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 reading calculated to increase the effect of what he had committed to writing.

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[34] 'Memoir of the Rev. James Mackinlay, D.D.', in Rev. James Mackinlay, *Select Sermons. With a Memoir by his Son; and Published under his Superintendence* (Kilmarnock, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, 1843), 13. This passage may be the source for James McCosh's statement: 'the tradition is that, in dispensing the sacrament of the supper, tears rolled from his eyes, when he spoke of the loveliness of the Saviour's character'; McCosh, *The Scottish Philosophy, Biographical, Expository, Critical, from Hutcheson to Hamilton* (London, 1875), 199. McCosh shared Mackinlay's evangelicalism.

[35] Reid, *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Edinburgh, 2005), 246.

[36] Stewart matriculated in John Anderson's natural philosophy class; W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow: From 1728 to 1858* (Glasgow, 1913), 95 (no. 3015).

> Such, however, was the simplicity and perspicuity of his style; such the gravity 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.[37]

Other accounts of Reid's manner of lecturing in his public class likewise stressed his unvarnished mode of delivery. For the evangelical clergyman, Rev. William Thom of Govan, Reid was one of the Glasgow professors who were notorious for teaching 'in a manner so dry and unentertaining that no epithet so proper and characteristic as that of *drowsy* could be applied to them', and Thom compared their style of reading to 'those old nurses who have the art of lulling children asleep'. Moreover, he also complained that 'if I hear the lectures or read the books of [Adam Smith and Reid] with all the care I can, my heart is never affected by them: I feel no sort of emotion, nor any desire of virtue, nor even of knowledge'.[38] A less jaundiced estimate of Reid's plain style of reading lectures in his public class was given a few years later by Alexander Peters, who had studied under James Beattie at Marischal College Aberdeen.[39] In the 1778–9 session Peters was acting as a tutor and, in addition to attending the logic, Greek, and Latin classes at Glasgow with his young charge, he took the opportunity to hear Reid. Writing to Beattie, Peters reported that 'I have been several times in Dr Reids Class; his Lectures are extremely sensible and perspicuous; but his Language is unmusical, and his manner ungainly'.[40]

As for Reid's private class (which he gave at noon three days a week), even less evidence survives regarding his style of delivery. His private

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[37] Stewart, *Account*, 50–1.

[38] William Thom, 'The Trial of a Student in the College of Clutha in the Kingdom of Oceana', in *The Works of the Rev. William Thom, Late Minister of Govan, Consisting of Sermons, Tracts, Letters, &c. &c. &c.* (Glasgow, 1799), 404–5. This tract was first published in 1768 and was written in defense of the student David Woodburn, who was disciplined by the University of Glasgow in that year. Woodburn reportedly said that it was better to attend the theater than 'the drowsie shops of Logic and Metaphysics', that is, the classes of the Professor of Logic, James Clow, and Reid. The record of the proceedings survives in Glasgow University Archive Services, GUA 26682. See also Innes Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, 73 (no. 2306).

[39] Peters graduated from Marischal College in 1772 and was given a D.D. in 1809; *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis: Selections from the Records of the Marischal College and University MDXCIII-MDCCCLX*, ed. P. J. Anderson. 3 vols. (Aberdeen, 1889–98), 2: 339.

[40] Alexander Peters to James Beattie, 8 December 1778, Aberdeen University Library MS 30/2/322.

pupils have apparently left no comment on his teaching practice, and the only clues we have come from his extant lecture notes, which imply that he may have included more extempore discussion of his material than he did in his public class.[41] A slightly different form of collective reading, which is best described as 'interactive', took place in the hour Reid devoted daily to examining his students. An anecdote recorded by Reid's friend and colleague, the Glasgow Professor of Logic and Rhetoric George Jardine, indicates that in the examination hour both he and his students read and discussed together Cicero's *De finibus* and most likely a few other texts by classical moralists.[42]

What is most striking about the reading styles Reid apparently adopted in the Kirk and the classroom is the close similarity between them. We have seen that Reid himself valued 'Perspicuity' in pulpit oratory and Ramsay of Ochtertyre's description of his sermons suggests that his own practice reflected his rhetorical principles. Furthermore, both Stewart and Peters agreed that Reid's lectures were 'perspicuous' and otherwise owed little to the arts of the orator. But the seeming neutrality of Reid's delivery in both the pulpit and the lecture hall exemplifies a style of reading that was enmeshed in contentious religious and philosophical disputes. From the 1730s onwards, religious life in Scotland was sharply divided because of the fissures created within the Church of Scotland by the issue of patronage. Reid had first-hand experience of the divisiveness of the politics of patronage early in life because his election at New Machar was opposed by the Rev. John Bisset, a Popular Party demagogue who stirred up hostility to Reid in the parish. From then on Reid aligned himself with moderate men in the Kirk, and both his own preaching and his treatment of pulpit oratory in his Glasgow lectures on rhetoric speak to a form of reading that was developed in opposition to that associated with the

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[41] Reid detailed his teaching routine in a letter to his friend Andrew Skene written shortly after his move to Glasgow; Reid to Skene, 14 November 1764, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 36. The fragmentary character of a number of Reid's surviving notes for his private class indicate that he most likely lectured extempore on at least some topics and read fully prepared texts on others.

[42] George Jardine, *Outlines of Philosophical Education, Illustrated by the Method of Teaching the Logic Class in the University of Glasgow; Together with Observations on the Expediency of Extending the Practical System to Other Academical Establishments, and on the Propriety of Making Certain Additions to the Course of Philosophical Education in Universities*. 2nd ed., enl. (Glasgow, 1825), 263–4. That Reid was reading Cicero with his students in the examination hour suggests that he followed the example of Adam Smith, whose teaching practice is recounted in William Richardson, 'An Account of Some Particulars in the Life and Character of the Author', in Rev. Archibald Arthur, *Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects* (Glasgow, 1803), 507–8.

Popular Party. The divide between moderates and evangelicals was especially pronounced in Glasgow, and Reid's affiliation with the Moderate Party partly explains why he was subsequently a target for William Thom.

Moreover, Thom's criticism of Reid's lectures also signals a disagreement over how moral philosophy was to be taught. Thom had studied under Reid's predecessor Francis Hutcheson, and he greatly admired his teacher's 'magical power to inspire the noblest sentiments, and to warm the hearts of youth with the admiration and love of virtue'. Yet Thom was ambivalent about Hutcheson's course because the value of his lectures on ethics and politics was compromised by wasting 'three or four months a-year … on metaphysical and fruitless disputations'.[43] That is, Thom approved of his teacher's 'Warmth in the Cause of Virtue'[44] and believed that academic moralists should focus on the inculcation of practical moral principles rather than on such 'metaphysical' topics as the science of the mind. Reid's lecturing style in his public class, on the other hand, was the antithesis of Hutcheson's. Whereas Hutcheson usually spoke extempore without notes and discoursed eloquently while walking about the classroom, Reid normally read the text of his lecture with little physical movement or variation of voice or gesture. To use David Hume's terminology, Reid was the archetypal 'anatomist' of the mind who maintained that moral instruction had to be grounded on 'accurate and abstruse' philosophy.[45] Hence the manner in which he read his lectures embodied a distinctive approach to the teaching of philosophy which differed markedly from that cultivated by Hutcheson.[46] Reid's style of oral reading may have been 'perspicuous' but it was by no means neutral or uncontroversial in the context of Enlightenment Scotland because it represented a rejection of the form of preaching common to members of the Popular Party in the Kirk and the kind of philosophical preaching popularized by Francis Hutcheson.

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[43] Thom, 'Letter to J---- M----, Esq., on the Defects of an University Education … ', in Thom, *Works*, 269.

[44] The phrase is David Hume's; see Hume to Francis Hutcheson, 17 September 1739, in *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), 1: 32.

[45] Hume drew the contrast between the painter and the anatomist of the mind in his letter to Hutcheson cited in n. 42 above. See also David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Tom L. Beauchamp (Oxford, 1999), 88.

[46] I have developed this point in greater detail in: 'Science and the Pursuit of Virtue in the Aberdeen Enlightenment', in *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. M. A. Stewart (Oxford, 1990), 127–49, and ' "The Fittest Man in the Kingdom": Thomas Reid and the Glasgow Chair of Moral Philosophy', *Hume Studies* 23 (1997): 277–313.

A third type of collective oral reading that Reid engaged in was the delivery of papers before the members of learned societies. This type of reading was also to some extent interactive, and it had a significant overlap with polite conversation. During the course of his life, Reid was a member of five such bodies that we know of: the Philosophical Club, the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, the Gordon's Mill Farming Club, the Glasgow Literary Society, and the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Of these five, he was only marginally involved in the Farming Club and the Royal Society of Edinburgh, whereas he was active in the two Aberdeen philosophical societies and the Glasgow group.[47] It is reasonable to assume that meetings of the Philosophical Club were structured much like those of the Wise Club and the Literary Society; that is, one of the members probably read a paper which was then discussed and criticized by his fellow participants. In the Wise Club and the Literary Society, the members also formulated questions for debate at meetings. The Aberdeen Philosophical Society adopted the practice of having a member draw up a written summary of the discussion prompted by the question addressed which was subsequently read at a later meeting and incorporated into the Society's records, whereas the convention within the Glasgow Literary Society was that a member would propose a question and read a formal paper on the topic which was then debated. This type of collective oral reading was thus firmly embedded in the context of polite, learned conversation amongst males. Moreover, the interaction stimulated by the texts read could, at times, become rather heated. The meetings of the Glasgow Literary Society were especially fractious (due in large part to university politics), and we know that Reid was occasionally embroiled in disputes with colleagues whom he otherwise counted as friends. Reid and John Millar are said to have engaged in 'frequent debate' over the cogency of Hume's philosophy, and Millar's biographer John Craig indicated that these exchanges sometimes degenerated into 'acrimonious disputation'.[48]

Reid also periodically fell out with John Anderson at the Society's meetings. One episode is described by Alexander Peters. In late 1778 Scotland was deeply divided over Henry Dundas' proposal to introduce legislation for the relief of Scottish Catholics, and this divisive issue was taken up in the Society amid

[47] On Reid's involvement with the Gordon's Mill Farming Club see P. B. Wood, 'Thomas Reid, Natural Philosopher: A Study of Science and Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment'. Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 1984, 116–19.

[48] 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*. 4th ed. (1806; rpt.: Bristol and Tokyo, 1990), lxi–lxii.

anti-Catholic agitation in Glasgow.[49] On 13 November the Society resolved that 'in case Dr. Stevenson do not give his discourse next night Mr. Millar is to open his voluntary question viz. Is it expedient to give an unlimited Toleration to the Roman Catholic Religion in Britain'. Stevenson failed to produce his discourse the following week and the Society duly tackled Millar's question. Peters recounted that

> Dr. Reid maintained mildly, that the Repeal would be attended with no bad consequences, Mr. Anderson &c, that it would.—The Natural Philosopher compared the Papists to a Rattle-Snake, harmless when kept under proper restraints: but dangerous like it, when at full liberty; and ready to diffuse a baleful poison around.[50]

In this highly charged debate it appears from Peters's report that Reid echoed the position taken by the Moderate Party, whereas Anderson and his allies supported the 'No Popery' line of the Rev. John Erskine and those clergymen affiliated with the Popular Party. The Literary Society was thus as divided as Scottish society more generally over the question of relief for Scottish Catholics, which points to the fact that the type of collective oral reading that Reid performed in learned societies could be as politicized as the reading of sermons or lectures.

II

I want to return now to Reid's individual reading and focus on the ways in which he engaged with the hand-written and printed word, that is, with manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and ephemera. First, we need to examine how Reid was able to gain access to the texts that he read during the course of his life. Given that both of Reid's parents came from families who figured in the European republic of letters, it is reasonable to assume that there was at the very least a modest library at the manse when he was growing up in Strachan in rural Kincardineshire.[51] After being sent by his parents to the nearby parish

[49] On the 'No Popery' tumult see Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1985), 277–97.

[50] 'Laws of the Literary Society in Glasgow College', Glasgow University Library, MS Murray 505, 73; Peters to James Beattie, 8 December 1778, Aberdeen University Library MS 30/2/322.

[51] On his father's side one of Reid's ancestors was Thomas Reid (d. 1624), Latin Secretary

school at Kincardine O'Neil and, briefly, to the Aberdeen Grammar School, he entered Marischal College in 1722. Institutional libraries thus increased Reid's access to books during his student years. Moreover his stint as Librarian at Marischal from 1733 to 1736 not only reinforced his ties to the college library and gave him free run of the collection but also introduced him to the problem of how best to order and catalogue books.[52] Following his move to New Machar, he was presumably largely reliant on his own personal library, as well as the libraries of friends and associates like Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, although the reading notes from works by Maupertuis and Pierre Bouguer on the shape of the earth that survive from this period suggest that he continued to use books from one of the college libraries in Aberdeen.[53] While teaching at King's College he again had an institutional library directly to hand, which may have been better stocked than its rival in the New Town.[54] Friends and colleagues probably also continued to lend him books and one of his letters to Lord Kames indicates that manuscripts may have been circulating in the circles in which he moved in the North East.[55] In addition, his personal

to James I (1618–24) and a notable benefactor to Marischal College. His mother Margaret was a member of the remarkable Gregory family which produced a long line of talented mathematicians and medics from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

[52] During Reid's tenure as Librarian he worked on a new shelf catalogue for the college library; Iain Beavan, 'Secretary Thomas Reid and the Early Listing of His Manuscripts; or, Did the Librarians Make Matters Worse?', *Northern Scotland* 16 (1996): 175–85, on 176.

[53] In November 1739 Reid took detailed notes from an English translation of Maupertuis's *La figure de la terre*; see Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/2. He returned to the issue of the shape of the earth in January 1751 when he read Bouguer's *La figure de la terre*; see Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/7. One book that Reid subscribed to while he was at New Machar was Patrick Cockburn, *An Enquiry into the Truth and Certainty of the Mosaic Deluge, wherein the Arguments of the Learned Isaac Vossius, and others, for a Topical Deluge are Examined; and some Vulgar Errors, relating to the Grand Catastrophe, are Discover'd* (London, 1750). I thank M. A. Stewart for this reference.

[54] On the library at King's see Robert S. Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen: A History* (Aberdeen, 1895), 328–30. In the mid-1730s the two Aberdeen colleges fought a legal battle over the receipt of books from Stationers' Hall in London. In July 1738 the dispute was settled in favor of King's College, which meant that from this point onwards the collection at King's continued to grow as new books were added on a regular basis. Reid and his colleagues also purchased books for the college library on an individual basis. Thus in 1763 Reid bought three titles on mathematics and natural philosophy for the library from the Edinburgh bookseller Gavin Hamilton; the receipt survives in Aberdeen University Library MS K 257/21/36/2.

[55] Reid to Kames, 29 December 1762, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 22.

library likely grew through book subscriptions and purchases from booksellers in both Aberdeen and Edinburgh.[56] As for more ephemeral reading materials like newspapers, he may well have read them in one of the local taverns or a coffee house.[57]

We know much more about how Reid gained access to the written and printed word during his Glasgow years. Coffee houses or rooms, for example, had figured in the urban life of Glasgow since the 1670s.[58] After his family's move to Glasgow he undoubtedly frequented a coffee room to read newspapers and socialize and in his retirement he was one of the original subscribers to the Tontine Society, which funded the construction of a notable coffee house which opened in late 1782 or early 1783.[59] Writing in 1797 the historian James Denholm enthused about the Tontine coffee room and said that it offered subscribers 'the use of the room, newspapers and magazines; of which no Coffee Room in Britain can boast a greater variety'. He went on to say that the Tontine stocked

> not only the whole Scotch papers, but also the greatest part of those published in London, as well as some from Ireland, France, &c. besides reviews, magazines, and other periodical publications. At the daily arrival of the mail, a more stirring, lively, and anxious scene can hardly be imagined. Indeed, no part of the day passes without some concourse of subscribers … At those hours when the news of the morning may be said to have grown cold, the monthly publications claim attention in their turn, or people meet for the sake of looking out their acquaintance, or of engaging in casual parties of conversation.[60]

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[56] The letter from William Ogilvie to Lord Buchan cited above in n. 22 above implies that Reid purchased a copy of the *Letters* of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu while he was in Edinburgh. The first edition of the *Letters* appeared in 1763.

[57] Advertisements in the *Aberdeen Journal* indicate that there were at least three coffee houses open in Aberdeen in the period 1751 to 1764; see *Aberdeen Journal*, 22 January 1751, 21 November 1752, and 21 March 1763, for references to a coffee house operated by Miss Erskine Catto, the Royal Coffee House, and Wyllie's Coffee House.

[58] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven and London, 2005), 188.

[59] Colin Dunlop Donald, 'The Tontine Building', in *The Regality Club*. 2nd ser. (Glasgow, 1893), 82. John Anderson was one of the Managers of the Tontine Society.

[60] 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* (Glasgow, 1797), 109. On the Tontine see also Andrew Brown, *History of Glasgow; and of Paisley, Greenock,*

According to Ramsay of Ochtertyre, Reid 'loved conversation' but as the years passed his increasing deafness inevitably interfered with his ability to participate in the kind of socializing carried on in the coffee room.[61] Nevertheless, he was active in the affairs of the Tontine. In 1786, for example, he was among a group at the Tontine who responded to announcements in the London papers by pledging subscriptions for a proposed monument to honor the prison reformer John Howard. Reid himself donated two guineas and wrote on behalf of the group to the Committee of Subscribers in London informing them of the Glasgow initiative.[62] The Tontine coffee room thus provided Reid with both an array of newspapers, journals, and ephemeral publications and a site for collective reading, conversation, and civic engagement.

Moreover, Denholm's description of the Tontine serves to remind us that reading itself can have a daily rhythm which varies through the year and across the course of a lifetime.[63] In Reid's case, his individual reading had to be adjusted to suit his teaching schedule while he was still active in the classroom. During the session in Glasgow he gave his public lectures Monday through Saturday from 7:30 to 8:30 a.m., held an examination class weekdays from 11:00 a.m. until noon, and then immediately afterwards taught his private course three days a week.[64] His collective oral reading of lectures was thus done according to a rigid daily schedule when the University was in session.[65] In turn, this meant that serious or sustained individual reading had to be done largely in the afternoon or evening from late October through to May prior to his retirement from teaching. And, even after he retired, he still had to endure the interruption of the often fractious faculty and senate meetings which he dutifully attended during much of the year throughout his tenure of the Glasgow moral philosophy chair.

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and Port-Glasgow; Comprehending the Ecclesiastical and Civil History of these Places, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time: And Including an Account of the their Population, Commerce, Manufactures, Arts, and Agriculture. 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1795–97), 2: 51–2. If Brown's figures for the number of subscribers to the Tontine are accurate, the coffee room would have been one of the major sites for social interaction in Glasgow.

[61] Ramsay of Ochtertyre, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, 1: 477. On the state of Reid's hearing towards the end of his life see Reid to John Robison, 12 April 1792, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 230.

[62] On this episode see Reid, *Correspondence*, 186–7, 304.

[63] James Raven raises the question of when people read in his 'New Reading Histories', 283.

[64] Reid to Andrew Skene, 14 November 1764, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 36.

[65] His collective oral reading of sermons and 'lectures' while he was minister at New Machar likewise followed the set patterns of religious observance within the Church of Scotland.

Reid's personal library grew steadily once he was settled in the 'Venice of the North'. In Glasgow, he most likely bought the majority of his books from the noted booksellers and University printers Robert and Andrew Foulis, and, after 1776, from their successor Andrew the younger. His surviving correspondence shows that he also acquired new and used books from the Edinburgh booksellers William Creech and John Bell.[66] His standing as a Glasgow Professor ensured that he received his share of letters from authors requesting that he subscribe to their works and his name appears as a subscriber to a diverse range of titles.[67] Other books were sent to him as gifts by critics and admirers alike, including Joseph Priestley and Alexander Crombie amongst the former, and Richard Price, Edward Tatham, Archibald Alison, James Gregory, and Dugald Stewart amongst the latter.[68] In addition, Reid seems to have accumulated a small collection of manuscripts, including letters from David Hume to himself and to George Campbell which he evidently prized. Samuel Rose, who was the son of the co-founder of the

[66] Reid to Creech, 19 May 1778; Reid to Bell, 23 March 1786 and 21 February 1788, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 103, 180, 195–6. See also the letter to an unknown recipient dated 27 January 1789 (203), which is most likely addressed to Bell. Bell shipped Reid's books to the Glasgow printer and bookseller James Duncan Jr.

[67] Thomas Reid, Archibald Arthur and Archibald Davidson to [Thomas Brydson], 1 August 1788, and Robert Douglas and William Gordon to Reid, undated, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 200–1, 238–9. See also Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/7/VII/26 for a subscription flyer for Robert Fleming, *Christology, or a Discourse concerning Christ; in himself, his Government, his Offices, &c.*, which was eventually published in Edinburgh in 1795. Reid did not subscribe. Reid did subscribe to: the Foulis edition of John Milton, *Paradise Lost, a Poem* (Glasgow, 1770); Francis Douglas, *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland, from Edinburgh to Cullen* (Paisley, 1782); Rev. Rest Knipe, *A Course of Lectures: Containing Remarks upon the Government and Education of Children, Thoughts upon the Present Plan of Education, and an Essay upon Elocution* (Edinburgh, 1783); and Andrew Shirrefs, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Edinburgh 1790). I thank John Price for the reference to the Foulis Milton and Kurtis Kitagawa for bringing the Shirrefs subscription list to my attention.

[68] Reid to James Gregory, [late February 1788] and 30 July 1789, [October 1793]; Reid to Archibald Alison, 3 February 1790; Reid to Edward Tatham, October 1791, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 196, 205, 208, 224, 232; William Gregory to Allan Maconochie, 5 April 1774, Meadowbank Papers (Microfilm), Edinburgh University Library Mic.M 1070; Richard Price to [James Wodrow], 20 January 1790, in *The Correspondence of Richard Price*, ed. Bernard Peach and D. O. Thomas. 3 vols. (Durham, NC, 1983–94), 3: 270–1; 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* (London, 1774), [iii]. Dugald Stewart dedicated the first volume of his *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (London, 1792) to Reid and would have sent him a copy. Stewart's presentation copy of his *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* (Edinburgh, 1793) survives in a private collection.

Monthly Review, Dr. William Rose, and a distant relative of Reid's, matriculated in Archibald Arthur's moral philosophy class in the autumn of 1783. Shortly after Rose's arrival in Glasgow he informed a correspondent that

> I have once or twice drank tea with Dr Reid … Dr Reid is a very worthy man and very free of communicating his knowledge. He shewed me the other night a Literary Curiosity. It was a letter of Mr Hume's to Principle [sic] Campbell on the subject of Miracles, on which subject those two Gentlemen had a Controversy. It was couched in the most polite and most diffident Terms. The Dr also promised to shew me a Letter of Mr Hume's to himself on the subject of his Book.[69]

Reid also had family papers of significance for subsequent historians, including a 'Genealogy of the Gregories', and it may be that he collected other kinds of documents given that he presented the University library with 'a Manuscript Introduction to the Irish or antient Scotch Language' in March 1773.[70] Unfortunately much of the family history material has now been lost, and there is no other evidence that speaks to the kinds of manuscripts he may have acquired.

When it came to borrowing books and periodicals Reid's friends and colleagues periodically lent him titles of interest but most of the printed material Reid borrowed probably came from the University library.[71] As part of his professorial duties Reid was closely involved in the administration of the library and, as an ex-librarian, he made his views known about how best to

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[69] Rose to E. Foss, 29 October 1783, Glasgow University Library, MS Gen 520/55; Innes Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, 135 (no. 4268). For Hume's letter to Campbell see Hume, *Letters*, 1: 360–1. Hume's letter to Reid was preserved amongst family papers and survives as Aberdeen University Library MS 2814/I/42; for the text of the letter see Hume to Reid, 25 February 1763, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 29–30.

[70] Reid to James Gregory, 7 April 1783, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 162 and 300n.; 'Minutes of Senate Meetings, 1771–1787', Glasgow University Archive Services, SEN 1/1/1, 61.

[71] For examples of Reid being lent books and periodicals see James Oswald of Methven to Reid, 16 October 1766, and [Robert Findlay] to Reid, [spring 1779], in Reid, *Correspondence*, 56, 119. Although there is no surviving evidence of Reid having done so, he could have borrowed books from the circulating library run by the bookseller John Smith and his son John Smith Jr. in the Trongate or, during the last years of his life, Stirling's Library (which opened in 1791); Denholm, *Historical Account*, 174–6, and James Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow, comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Charities, and the Rise and Progress of the City*. 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1816), 2: 433–42. However, it is unlikely that he borrowed a significant number of books from such sources.

organize a printed catalogue of the collection in a paper given to the Glasgow Literary Society in 1777.[72] From an administrative point of view he therefore had a clear sense of the Library collection and, as a user, he quickly built up an intimate knowledge of the books owned by the University. Writing to David Skene in September 1767, he reported that over the summer 'my time [was] at <my> command' and he was thus

> tempted to fall to the tumbling over Books, as we have a vast Number here which I had not access to see at Aberdeen … To pour Learning into a leaky vessel is indeed a very childish & ridiculous occupation Yet when a Man has leisure and is placed among books that are new to him it is difficult to resist the temptation.[73]

As it turned out, Reid was unable to resist the lure of the library. His borrowings are documented in the minutes of the University Senate and the remarkable set of 'Professors Receipt Books', which record the books taken out of the University Library by each of the Glasgow professors from 1751 to 1789. The Senate minutes show that Reid regularly borrowed books primarily on mathematics and natural philosophy from the collection bequeathed to the University by the distinguished Professor of Mathematics, Robert Simson, at his death in 1768.[74] The fact that Reid went through the formal process of

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[72] Reid served on various Library committees and was the Quaestor of the Library from 1781 to 1783. For evidence of his involvement in the management of the University Library see: 'Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 1753–1755 and 1761–1771', Glasgow University Archive Services, GUA 26650, 124; 'Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 1776–1780', Glasgow University Archive Services, GUA 26691, 362; 'Minutes of Senate Meetings, 1771–1787', Glasgow University Archive Services, SEN 1/1/1, 242, 260; 'Notes regarding the Old Library by Dr Reid', Glasgow University Archive Services, GUA 8558; 'Account [of] Dr Reid as Quæstor for the University Library of Glasgow from June 10th 1781 to Ditto 1783', Glasgow University Archive Services, GUA 8617. Reid discussed the question 'In a printed catalogue of a publick Library Whether is it most convenient that the books should be disposed in an Alphabetical order or in the order in which they stand' on 4 April 1777; 'Laws of the Literary Society in Glasgow College', 51–2. The conversation in the Literary Society was related to the preparation of a new catalogue for the University library, which was eventually published in 1791. Reid's protege Archibald Arthur served as University Librarian from 1774 to 1794 and Reid undoubtedly offered his advice on library matters to Arthur.

[73] Reid to Skene, 14 September 1767, in Reid, *Correspondence*, 60.

[74] 'Minutes of Senate Meetings, 1771–1787', Glasgow University Archive Services, SEN 1/1/1, 7, 107, 139, 294; 'Minutes of Senate Meetings, 1787–1802', Glasgow University Archive Services, SEN1/1/2, 174.

asking permission from Senate to borrow these books strongly suggests that they were not for casual browsing but rather for serious study.

The 'Professors Receipt Books' list approximately 615 books that Reid took out of the University Library during the period 1767 to 1789.[75] As one might expect, he signed out some of these books more than once, some he kept only briefly, and some he retained for a few weeks or even months. The borrowing lists are fragmentary for the years 1765 to 1770 (with one extensive list being undated) and they do not contain the level of bibliographical detail found in subsequent lists. Consequently, at best we can say that prior to the calendar year 1770 he took out roughly 116 books. The lists covering May 1770 to May 1789 form a coherent sequence and are much more informative. They show that the number of books he borrowed declined from 51 in the calendar year 1770 to a low of 9 in 1774, and then gradually increased (with another dip to a low of 6 in 1777) to a high of 66 books in 1787 before dropping back to 31 and 20 books in 1788 and 1789 respectively. Retirement from teaching in the spring of 1780 clearly gave him more time for reading, although his use of the Library was far from negligible when he was still active in the classroom.

A preliminary analysis of the entries in the receipt books indicates that some of the books that Reid borrowed were used in his teaching, but most were not. The encyclopedic range of subjects covered by the books he took out corroborates the portrait of Reid penned by his associate William Ogilvie in 1764:

> It is not in Metaphysicks 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

[75] 'Professors Receipt Book, 1765–1770', Glasgow University Library, Spec Coll MS Lib (uncatalogued); 'Professors Receipt Book, 1770–[1789]', Glasgow University Library, Spec Coll MS Lib (uncatalogued). The receipt books also record that Reid borrowed books for other readers, including his sons George and David, his son-in-law Dr. Patrick Carmichael and 'F Douglas', presumably Francis Douglas, the author of *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland*, to which Reid subscribed (see above n. 65). In 1782 Reid borrowed for Douglas Sir Robert Sibbald's *A Collection of Several Treatises in Folio, concerning Scotland, As it was of Old, and also in Later Times* (Edinburgh, 1739). Douglas may have used the work when preparing his own book for the press.

> whom I have conversed with who make the particular deppartments their Study.
>
> Nor has he cultivated the Sciences to the neglect of other literature. He reads Richardson's works with great eagerness, and happening when last at Edinburgh to get the letters ascribed to Lady Mary Worthley Montague after supping in a Tavern, he sate up and readd the three volumes before Breakfast.[76]

Of the 615 books (459 titles) borrowed by Reid, I have been unable to identify 26 titles (6%). These unidentified titles are scattered across a number of topics and therefore their lack of identification does not skew my analysis of Reid's reading habits. The remaining 589 books (433 titles) can be classified according to the following categories: learned journals; polite literature; classical literature; miscellaneous and reference works; history; antiquities; chorography; travel literature; theology and church history; medicine; mathematics; natural philosophy; natural history; chemistry; natural law; law; politics; political economy; moral philosophy; rhetoric; and education. The numerical results of this classification are shown in Table I. Starting at the lowest end of the table at under one per cent of the titles, Reid borrowed two works dealing with education and four each on law and rhetoric. All of the legal titles (which included Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*) were devoted to the English law, which suggests that for whatever reason Reid endeavored to familiarize himself with details of the English legal system. Next we find five books on antiquities (1%) and a further five on chorography (1%). Reid is not thought of as someone with antiquarian interests, but the 'Professors Receipt Books' show that he read at least some of the works by the great French Benedictine scholars Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) and Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741), as well as William Stukeley's *Itinerarium curiosum* and two books on ancient coins. In a related vein, Reid would have learned about English and Scottish antiquities in the topographical works that he borrowed from the Library, which included William Camden's *Britannia* and Sir Robert Sibbald's *Scotia illustrata*. Although the number of titles in these two categories is relatively small we need to bear in mind that both antiquarianism and chorography overlapped with history, travel, and natural history, and I will return to this point below.

[76] Ogilvie to Buchan, January 1764, as cited above in n. 22.

TABLE I

Theology and Church History	62
Moral Philosophy	42
History	42
Polite Literature	39
Miscellaneous	38
Natural Philosophy	28
Travel Literature Natural History	24
Mathematics	23
Learned Journals	20
Politics	19
Medicine	15
Natural Law	13
Classics	12
Political Economy	7
Chemistry	6
Antiquities Chorography	5
Rhetoric Law	4
Education	2

Another field linked to natural history was chemistry. During his Glasgow years Reid used six (1%) of the Library's books on the subject, most notably in the spring of 1789 when he took out William Nicholson's recently published four-volume translation of Antoine-François de Fourcroy's *Elements of Natural History, and of Chemistry*. Dated 22 May 1789, a set of highly detailed reading notes from this text amounting to some 30 pages in length survives which shows that it was through his reading of Fourcroy that he was introduced to the theoretical innovations that constituted the core of the Chemical Revolution initiated by Fourcroy's fellow Frenchman Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743–94).[77] Another seven volumes (2%) taken out by Reid covered a subject that he surveyed in his lectures, namely political economy. What is most noteworthy about the list of books he consulted is not so much the titles it contains, but those that are absent, such as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

Reid's borrowings of editions of classical authors was decidedly modest, and limited to eleven titles (2%), of which he signed out more than once

[77] Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/16. Reid also borrowed works by Herman Boerhaave, G. F. Stahl, and Torbern Olof Bergman along with a book on alchemy.

the writings of Apuleius and Homer. In purely numerical terms his use of books on natural law was only slightly greater than the editions of the classics, insofar as the lists contain thirteen natural law titles (3%). However, he repeatedly borrowed various editions of Hugo Grotius's *De jure belli ac pacis libri tres* (presumably largely for teaching purposes) which makes his use of the Library's natural law collection more significant than it might otherwise seem. And even if his reading of the natural law corpus was apparently relatively limited, he nevertheless familiarized himself with the writings of such figures as Francisco Suárez, Samuel Pufendorf, and J. G. Heineccius. The fifteen titles on medicine (3%) that Reid took out attest to his serious avocational engagement with medical theory and practice, which was partly stimulated by his friendships with the Edinburgh medical professors John Gregory and his son James (to whom he was related), the Aberdeen physicians Andrew Skene and his son David, and, after 1777, his son-in-law the Glasgow medic Patrick Carmichael.[78] The medical books he read were an eclectic mix by mainly Scottish authors, primarily covering anatomy, physiology and midwifery, with multiple withdrawals of William Smellie's *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* and *Dr. Albert Haller's Physiology; being a Course of Lectures upon the Visceral Anatomy and Vital Oeconomy of Human Bodies*. A slightly larger group of 19 titles (4%) was devoted to politics, another of the subjects Reid covered in his public lecture course. Although one might expect that much of his borrowing was related to his teaching, it turns out that he consulted just over half of these titles after he retired from the classroom, with seven of them read in 1786. Most of the works on politics register Reid's reformist and radical Whig politics, insofar as a number of them deal with republican theory and delineate republican polities, while others articulate various forms of country, commonwealth man or Old Whig ideology.

Learned journals form the next largest category of borrowings with 20 titles (4%), of which a number were borrowed repeatedly, such as the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*. The majority of the journals covered the natural sciences and thus register his scientific interests, but he also read widely in general periodicals reviewing books dealing with the full spectrum of human learning and was thus in touch with recent developments in a Republic of Letters that stretched from St Petersburg to Philadelphia. Reid's scientific interests were further manifest in his use of

[78] Reid presumably steered his son George (1755–80) towards the study of medicine. The younger Reid attended the lectures of William Hunter in London and had embarked on a career as a medic in the military before his premature death.

23 titles on mathematics (5%) and 24 on natural history (5%). His reading in mathematics was decidedly eclectic, ranging from the works of Leonhard Euler to texts on bookkeeping and annuities. In the field of natural history, on the other hand, his reading was much more focused and centered on the writings of Linnaeus. The 'Professors Receipt Books' show that he sought out books on all three of the kingdoms of nature, as well as gardening, agricultural improvement, and the controversial subject of the history of earth which he had earlier grappled with in Aberdeen. Reid also selected 24 titles (5%) drawn from the voluminous literature on travel. This category is far from self-contained for it overlaps in significant ways with works on the natural histories of the earth and humankind, as well as history and chorography, and his reading of a comparatively large number of travel accounts was thus bound up with his serious cultivation of the sciences of nature and man. His curiosity extended from Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* and Thomas Pennant's tours in Wales and Scotland, to the records of journeys through various parts of Europe and Asia and on to the narratives of circumnavigations of the globe by George Anson and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville. Like so many of his contemporaries, therefore, his knowledge of 'men and things' was rooted not only in his own somewhat limited experience of the world but also in the pages of the many travel books that he consulted. The sixth largest category of titles borrowed by Reid encompasses the various branches of natural philosophy. The 28 volumes (6%) that he signed out form something of a miscellaneous group. Not surprisingly, editions of Newton's writings figure prominently, as do the works by leading Newtonians such as Colin Maclaurin and Henry Pemberton. But so too do texts dealing with the sciences Reid had considerable expertise in, namely astronomy and optics. Pneumatics also features in the lists, along with a number of books written by leading seventeenth-century men of science like Robert Boyle, Pierre Gassendi, Robert Hooke, Johannes Kepler, and John Wilkins.

The remaining five categories are significantly larger numerically than those already discussed. I have classified 38 titles (8%) as miscellaneous because none of them fits neatly under the other headings I have used. Included here are reference works such as the *Encyclopédie*, library catalogs, grammars, dictionaries, how-to manuals (including John Byrom's *The Universal English Short-Hand* and two books on chess) and a work which occupied the nebulous space between science and showmanship, *Breslaw's Last Legacy; or, The Magical*

Companion.[79] Polite literature was the fourth largest class of books borrowed, with 39 titles (9%) recorded in the 'Professors Receipt Books'. As William Ogilvie indicated in his tribute to the catholicity of Reid's intellect, Reid was an inveterate reader of novels. The lists show that he was especially fond of those by Henry Fielding and Tobias Smollett, although his reading extended to Fanny Burney and other novelists fashionable in the period but now little known. He also had a wide-ranging taste for poetry which encompassed earlier Scottish Latin poets, the English Augustans Matthew Prior and Alexander Pope, Thomas Gray, and James Macpherson among others. In addition, he took home the prose writings of Colley Cibber and his son Theophilus, Jonathan Swift, Fielding, Samuel Johnson, and various minor essayists of the day. The most surprising category of works in terms of size is that of history, which accounted for 42 titles (9%). The texts that Reid selected well illustrate the diversity within history writing in the early modern period. He read universal histories, standard narrative histories of England and Scotland, histories of Great Britain and Ireland, Polybius, histories of various European nations, histories of China, editions of historical documents, histories of the native peoples of North America, histories of military campaigns, political histories, histories of ancient Greece and Rome, histories of law and of printing, as well as examples of philosophical history written by his colleague John Millar, David Hume, William Robertson, James Dunbar, Adam Ferguson, William Falconer, and Voltaire. Of these works, the library records suggest that he studied most closely volume one of Robertson's *History of Scotland* and the first two volumes of Hume's *History of England*, insofar as he took all three out on 13 September 1769 and returned them on 22 February 1770.[80] Thus we see that Reid's science of man was no less firmly grounded in history than Hume's, even though Reid's *Inquiry* and two *Essays* effectively mask this fact.

Equally varied was Reid's reading in moral philosophy. Over the years covered by the 'Professors Receipt Books' he borrowed 42 titles (9%), and

[79] Philip Breslaw (1726–83) was a German emigré who settled in London and became a popular magician; see Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2002), 86–7. Reid borrowed *Breslaw's Last Legacy; or, The Magical Companion: Containing All that is Curious, Pleasing, Entertaining, and Comical; Selected from the most Celebrated Masters of Deception; As well with Slight of Hand, as with Mathematical Inventions … in which is Displayed, the Way to make the Air Balloon and Inflammable Air*. 4th ed. (London, 1784).

[80] Reid's reading of Hume's volumes on the history of the Stuarts provides a further illustration of the pattern of Scottish responses to Hume's *History* noted by Mark Towsey; see Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, 79–80, 235

checked out more than once works by Aristotle, Plato, Sir Francis Bacon, Ralph Cudworth, John Locke, G. W. Leibniz, Pierre Gassendi, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, and James Beattie, among others. As this list of authors indicates his borrowing was weighted towards the seventeenth century, for he also made use of books by Bartholomäus Keckermann, Gerhard Johann Vossius, Franco Burgersdijk, René Descartes, Joseph Glanvill, Henry More, Theophilus Gale, and Pierre Bayle. His borrowing of eighteenth-century texts was slightly more limited, with volumes by John Toland, Christian Wolff, J. Lyons, Robert Dodsley, James Harris, Joseph Spence, Joseph Priestley, John Bruce, Lord Mondboddo, J. J. Winckelmann, and the Jesuit critic of Voltaire, Claude-Adrien Nonnotte, entered in the lists.[81] However, by far the largest group of books taken out by Reid was devoted to theology and church history. The library records show that he borrowed 62 titles (14%) that deal with various facets of the Christian religion. A few of the volumes he signed out deal with the early history of the Christian church, but just one related to the Church Fathers. As a good Protestant he was interested in Paolo Sarpi; however, the only other continental Catholic authors whose religious works he read were Erasmus, Blaise Pascal, and the noted preacher Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663–1742). Biblical criticism is also noticeable by its relative absence, although he did borrow a manuscript version of the octateuch in Greek which he seems to have made available to the controversial Scots Catholic scholar Alexander Geddes (1737–1802), who in the early 1780s was working on a new translation of the Bible.[82] His borrowing was primarily focused on titles by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English divines and on works that expounded the reasonableness of Christian belief. From the seventeenth century he read various texts by Richard Baxter, John Bramhall, the Puritan polemicist William Prynne, John Wilkins, and the Cambridge Platonist John Smith. The names of eighteenth-century Anglican churchmen repeatedly crop up in the library lists, most notably Thomas Sherlock, Thomas Secker, Beilby Porteus, Robert Lowth, and Conyers Middleton, whose writings were evidently of great interest to him given the number of works by Middleton that he borrowed. Significantly, Reid took out far fewer books by English Dissenters and his fellow Scots.

[81] Reid also borrowed [Samuel Jackson], *Supplement to the Life of David Hume, Esq. containing Genuine Anecdotes, and a Circumstantial Account of his Death and Funeral. To which is added, a Certified Copy of his Last Will and Testament* (London, 1777).

[82] For Reid's contact with Geddes and Geddes's work on the Glasgow manuscript see the slightly garbled account in John Mason Good, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Alexander Geddes, LL.D.* (London, 1803), 37–8, 88, 111.

The most prominent Dissenters he perused were his nemesis Joseph Priestley and Nathaniel Lardner, while his reading of Scottish religious literature was confined to titles by the seventeenth-century Glaswegian Zachary Boyd and later clergymen like John Anderson, James Oswald, Alexander Gerard, and his colleague from 1782 onwards, Robert Findlay. The one common thread connecting many of these ecclesiastics is that they were known for their stylish preaching and well crafted sermons and there is little doubt that he read them partly with an eye to their style.

What, then, do the 'Professors Receipt Books' tell us about Reid and his reading habits?[83] First, they show that he had a reading competence in English, French, Latin and Greek, as well as in higher mathematics. He was thus an able linguist even though he was not a polyglot by the standards of the day.[84] Secondly, and more importantly, the pattern of his book borrowing suggests that Reid can best be understood as a figure whose intellectual priorities reflect those of the virtuosi who initially shaped the Scottish Enlightenment. As Roger Emerson has argued, Enlightenment in Scotland was first promoted by a cohort of men active at the turn of the eighteenth century like Sir Robert Sibbald.[85] Sibbald and his fellow virtuosi were patriotic improvers who were inspired by a Baconian vision of human progress fueled by the growth of knowledge gained through observation and experiment, the compilation of natural histories, and the application of the inductive method. From Bacon the virtuosi also appropriated the view

[83] Although it might be objected that the receipt books tell us more about the strengths of the University library than they do about Reid's intellectual interests, the objection ignores the fact that the pattern of his borrowings broadly conforms to what we might expect given William Ogilvie's portrait of Reid quoted above. Moreover, the range of subjects covered by Reid's reading notes discussed below is much the same as that of his borrowings recorded in the receipt books, even though the balance of subjects differs. Also, Reid's comments to David Skene in his letter of 14 September 1767 quoted above indicate that he was able to read books in Glasgow that he was unable to consult in Aberdeen, that is, that his use of the University library was a function of the fields he was interested in. Consequently, the 'Professors Receipt Books' seem to me to provide us with a reliable indication of Reid's intellectual priorities.

[84] Apparently Reid did not think that his linguistic abilities were especially strong; see the anecdote recorded in William Beattie, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. (London, 1850), 3: 227.

[85] Roger L. Emerson, 'Sir Robert Sibbald, Kt, the Royal Society of Scotland and the Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Annals of Science* 45 (1988): 41–72; idem, 'Science and the Origins and Concerns of the Scottish Enlightenment', *History of Science* 26 (1988): 333–66.

that all of the various branches of learning constituted a unified whole, and hence that the sciences of nature and humankind were interrelated. The modalities of improvement meant that the polite gentleman envisaged by the virtuosi was as likely to experiment with new plantings on his estate(s) as he was to scrutinize Scotland's troubled history or to try to fathom the physical principles governing Newton's system of the world. Consequently the virtuosi set about the study of natural philosophy, natural history, mathematics, history, antiquities, chorography, medicine, and morals, collected coins and artefacts, sunk mines, drained land, built steam engines, redesigned farm implements, recorded local lore, mapped and surveyed the nation, wrote letters to like-minded men across the Atlantic world, formed clubs, and traveled both within Scotland and abroad to observe 'men and things' in order to bring about a Great Instauration.

The 'Professors Receipt Books' allow us to see more clearly than ever before that Reid inherited the set of assumptions that structured the world view of Sibbald's generation of Scottish virtuosi. Although he questioned their belief in the unity of knowledge, he nevertheless remained true to their outlook.[86] Even though his published writings provide a limited sense of the continuities between his own researches and those of his predecessors, the detailed examination of his extant manuscripts and correspondence, along with little known sources like the 'Professors Receipt Books', demonstrate that he self-consciously built on the foundations that they had laid. His surviving letters to his kinsman James Gregory from the 1780s show that he saw himself as perpetuating the Gregory family's scientific and mathematical legacy, and there was thus for Reid a personal as well as an intellectual link to the virtuosi who launched the Scottish Enlightenment. And like them he cultivated in varying degrees many different branches of learning, including, as we now know, mathematics, natural history, medicine and natural philosophy, as well as the science of the mind. In addition, the 'Professors Receipt Books' reveal for the first time that he too was fascinated by history, antiquities, and chorography, and that he shared their taste for the Baconian blend of human and natural history to be found in travel accounts. Moreover, his reading of books on topics such as agricultural improvement, navigation, and bookkeeping point to the fact his understanding of Enlightenment, like that of the virtuosi, was framed in terms of both theoretical inquiry and practical action. I have

[86] I have explored Reid's conception of the map of human knowledge in 'Thomas Reid and the Tree of the Sciences', *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 2 (2004): 119–36.

previously posed the question, 'Who was Thomas Reid?'[87] Having analyzed the 'Professors Receipt Books', I suggest that we can now say that he was a Scottish virtuoso.

III

How did Reid read books? One important source of evidence for past reading practices and reader response is marginalia and annotations.[88] In Reid's case it is striking that the books that he owned contain almost no marginalia and are largely unannotated. Apart from his characteristic signature 'Tho Reid' (usually in the top right corner of the title page), his books typically lack marginal notes or comments.[89] Occasionally he added references to other works, while in some of his books he corrected typographical errors using the book's errata list and, in the case of his copy of the first edition of Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man*, he inserted some minor textual revisions.[90] The only book that was once in his library that I have been able to trace that appears to incorporate significant marginal marks is his copy of the collected sermons of the seventeenth-century Anglican churchman Robert Sanderson. In this work, Reid has written either 'NB' or placed an 'X' next to passages of interest in five sermons in the collection. However, he has left no trace of why he thought that these passages were worth flagging and hence their meaning

[87] Paul Wood, 'Who was Thomas Reid?', *Reid Studies* 5 (2001): 35–51.

[88] The most widely cited essay that uses marginalia to illuminate the practice of reading is Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, ' "Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey read His Livy', *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30–79. See also Grafton's 'Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise?' cited above in n. 3, and, for a general survey, H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven and London, 2001).

[89] The one surviving title from Reid's library that is not signed at the top right corner is his copy of Francis Hutcheson's *A System of Moral Philosophy*. 2 vols. (Glasgow and London, 1755). The title pages of both volumes are signed vertically along the left margin. The first volume is signed 'Tho. Reid', and the second 'Tho Reid P.P.D.', indicating his status as a Professor of Philosophy at King's College Aberdeen.

[90] For an example of an added reference see Reid's copy of Henry Pemberton, *Epistola ad amicum de Cotesii inventis, curvarum ratione, quæ cum circulo & hyperbola comparationem admittunt* (London, 1722), 14. The corrections indicated in the errata list have been made in the text of his copy of *Samuelis Werenfelsii SS. Theolog. Doctoris ejusdemque in academia Basiliensis professoris opuscula theological, philosophica et philologica* (Basil, 1718). These two titles are held by Glasgow University Library. His copy of Kames's *Sketches* is now in the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds.

for him remains elusive.[91] Yet even if the pages of his books tell us little about his response to what he read, there is one annotation which indicates that he was a discerning buyer of used books. His copy of the Scottish mathematician John Craig's *De calculo fluentium libri duo* is of some note because on the front fly leaf the book is inscribed 'Ex dono Viri Clarissimi D. Gulielmi Burnet/Colin McLaurin Londini Junii 26 1719'. Reid clearly appreciated the importance of the copy for he wrote on the fly leaf 'The Autograph of Maclaurin', that is, the hand of the man who had briefly taught him mathematics at Marischal College in the 1720s.[92]

Reid's responses to the books that he read are recorded in numerous manuscripts that survive.[93] I have identified 94 sets of notes and extracts, along with five 'abstracts' and seven sets of what he variously called 'remarks', 'reflections', or 'observations'. Some of these items can be correlated with the entries in the 'Professors Receipt Books' but most record other titles read by Reid at various stages in his career starting with the earliest reading notes taken in October 1729 to the last set dated 4 August 1796, just two months before he died.[94] The sets of reading notes and extracts range in length from the simple entry of a title to the thirty-two pages of detailed notes from Pierre Bouguer's *Le figure de la terre* taken in January 1751, which he updated with a brief addendum a few years later.[95] While the vast majority of these

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[91] Robert Sanderson, *XXXVI Sermons. Viz. XVII ad aulam. V ad clerum. VI ad magistratum. VIII ad populum. With a large preface*, 8th edn (London, 1689), bound with *XXI Sermons. Viz. XVII ad aulam. III ad magistram. I ad populum* (London, 1686), 39, 88, 91, 93, 94, 95, 133, 142, 353, 603, 608, 635, 638. This book is in Glasgow University Library. The lack of detailed annotations recording Reid's personal responses in the books that he once owned aligns his reading practices with those that H. J. Jackson argues were typical of the period prior to 1700; see Jackson, *Marginalia*, 44–53.

[92] Reid's copy of the Craig title is in Glasgow University Library. Maclaurin acquired the book on his first trip to London in the summer of 1719, and was most likely given it by Gilbert Burnett's eldest son William (1688–1729), who was then still living in London.

[93] The surviving sets of reading notes speak to Reid's place in the tradition of learned readers in early modern Europe. As Anthony Grafton has observed, 'Reading in early modern Europe—at least learned reading—implied copying and sorting as well as scanning'; Grafton, 'Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise?', 156. Reid's notes attest to his adoption of these reading practices.

[94] The earliest surviving set of notes is from Isaac Newton's *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica* (London, 1687); see Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/7/III/15. The last dated set is from Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. 6th ed. 2 vols. (London, 1790); see Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/29.

[95] For entries of only a title see Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/16, fol 3v, and 4/I/3, p. 19. For the notes from Bouguer see Aberdeen University Library MS

documents deal with published material, one set of reading notes was taken in August 1767 from a two-volume manuscript collection 'containing letters & papers' of the seventeenth-century Scottish cleric and Principal of Glasgow University, Robert Baillie (1602–62).[96] By contrast, all of the abstracts and the sets of remarks focus on published books. The extant abstracts vary in length from less than a page to the twenty pages devoted to Joseph Butler's *The Analogy of Religion*. We also know of an important and most likely lengthy abstract lost to us, namely the one that he made of Hume's *Treatise*.[97] The lengths of the sets of remarks are likewise variable, the shortest being a one-page critical discussion of a section in volume two of J. T. Desagulier's *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*, and the longest the fifty-page 'Observations on the Modern System of Materialism'.[98]

Reid differentiated between these three categories of document and, for him, they represented three different moments in the reading process. Of the three, his notes and extracts contain his most immediate response to the texts that he encountered. His notes are often (but unfortunately not always) headed with a date and typically begin with the word or phrase 'Read', 'I read', or 'Began to read'. There follows information about the book or pamphlet he is reading or has just read, written in a format derived from John Locke's 'A New Method of a Common-Place-Book'. 'To take notice of a Place in an Author from whom I quote something', Locke wrote,

> I make use of this Method: Before I write any thing, I put the Name of the Author in my *Common-Place-Book*, and under that Name the Title of Treatise, the Size of the Volume, the Time and Place of its Edition, and (what ought never to be omitted) the Number of Pages that the whole Book contains.[99]

2131/3/I/7.

[96] Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/18. At least some of the materials that Reid read in manuscript were subsequently published in Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals: Containing an Impartial Account of Public Transactions, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military, in England and Scotland, from the beginning of the Civil Wars in 1637 to the Year 1662* …. 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1775).

[97] Reid mentions this abstract in the so-called 'abstract' of the *Inquiry* transmitted to Hume via Hugh Blair; see Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/2/III/1, 1.

[98] Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/5/I/2 and Aberdeen University Library MS 3061/1–4. For the text of MS 3061/4 see Reid, *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation: Papers Relating to the Life Sciences*, ed. Paul Wood (Edinburgh, 1995), 173–217.

[99] John Locke, 'A New Method of a Common-Place-Book. Translated out of French from the Second Volume of the *Bibliotheque Universelle*', in Locke, *The Works of John*

Although Reid thought that Locke's method had led to the proliferation of the 'Dictionaries of Arts and Sciences which distinguish the present Age from all preceeding ones', he nevertheless recommended the method as one of the main tools for improving memory in his Glasgow lectures on the culture of the mind.[100] Hence Reid knew Locke's 'New Method' well and while he did not himself keep common place books he followed Locke's precepts in the format of the headings of his reading notes. As for the body of these notes, they typically contain a miscellany of direct quotations; summaries of individual chapters, sections or the whole work; details of books cited; and commentary on the contents of the text in question. If the book was in French or Latin his notes are sometimes in the original language, although he also took notes in English, so that an act of translation was involved in the reading and writing process.[101] And if the notes were taken from a book on mathematics or natural philosophy, on occasion he worked through the proofs and noted mistakes made or problems encountered.[102] In terms of the level of critical response there was thus some overlap between Reid's reading notes and his abstracts and sets of reflections, but he nonetheless regarded them as constituting distinct genres.

The difference between a set of reading notes and an abstract for Reid seems to have been one of degree rather than kind, with abstracts typically incorporating detailed summaries rather than direct quotations and excerpts. In Reid's mind at least, the making of an abstract was also closely related to Locke's method of compiling common place books, for in his Glasgow lectures he conjoined the two activities and gave his students instructions on how to draw up abstracts.[103] Moreover, for Reid abstracts were apparently written after a text had been read and thoroughly digested, a point implied by his comment that 'I read [Hume's] treatise over and over with great care, made an abstract

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Locke Esq. 3rd edn. 3 vols (London, 1727), Vol. 3, 488. For discussion of Locke's 'New Method' see Richard Yeo, 'John Locke's "New Method" of Commonplacing: Managing Memory and Information', *Eighteenth-Century Thought* 2 (2004): 33–69.

[100] Reid, *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, 64. See also Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/4/I/7, fol 1v, where Reid also refers to Sir Francis Bacon.

[101] For example, compare Aberdeen University Library MSS 2131/3/II/12 and 3/II/13.

[102] One significant example of this occurs in the notes Reid made from the first edition of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* on 6 October 1729, Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/7/III/15. On these notes see Niccoló Guicciardini, 'Thomas Reid's Mathematical Manuscripts: A Survey', *Reid Studies* 4 (2001): 71–86, on 79.

[103] Reid, *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, 64; Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/4/I/7, fol 1v.

of it and wrote my observations upon it'.[104] In the sequence he recalled here, it is the 'reflections' or 'observations' that come last and they are therefore the documents written at the greatest temporal and cognitive remove from the initial act of reading.[105] The most extreme surviving example of this distance is Reid's 'Some Observations on the Modern System of Materialism', which has its origins in his reading of Joseph Priestley's *Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit* and related writings. The 'Observations' grew out of various sets of reading notes as well as discourses before the Glasgow Literary Society, and the surviving drafts of the work illustrate that Reid extensively reworked his text before arriving at something like a final version.[106] Consequently, the temporal gap between his initial reading of Priestley's *Disquisitions* and the composition of the 'Observations' may have been as much as ten years or more, and the intellectual gap separating his first and final thoughts on Priestley's materialism was likewise considerable. And although the other surviving sets of 'remarks', 'reflections', and 'observations' were more closely connected both temporally and intellectually with the printed texts that provoked them, they all represent a further step beyond his immediate response to those texts, which in one case led on to an anonymous attack on Priestley published in the *Monthly Review*.[107]

What do these various manuscripts tell us about Reid's reading habits? Compared with the 'Professor's Receipt Books', they provide a rather different profile of his intellectual interests and priorities (see Table II). The 106 surviving sets of notes, abstracts and reflections deal with a total of 98 titles. These documents record that Reid read one title each (1%) in the categories of antiquities, medicine, miscellaneous, natural law, newspapers, polite literature, political economy, reference, and rhetoric. He took reading notes or made extracts from only two religious titles (2%), Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De veritate* and Hugh Blair's *Sermons*. His papers contain notes on three titles in history (3%), including a brief set on William Robertson's *History of Charles V*.[108] A further three dealing primarily with the natural sciences fall in the

[104] Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/2/III/1, p. 1. Compare Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/8/I/19, fol 1r, 'Resolved to make an Abstract of Locke's Chapter on Maxims & to make Remarks upon it'.

[105] This is also implied in his Glasgow lecture notes; see Reid, *Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, 64, where Reid writes 'Abstracts of Books. & Judgments of them'.

[106] The genealogy of the 'Observations' is discussed in my editorial introduction to Reid, *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation*, 38–41.

[107] Reid's 'Miscellaneous Reflections on Priestley's Account of Hartleys Theory of the Human Mind' (Aberdeen University Library MS 3061/9) appeared in a much abbreviated form in the *Monthly Review* for July 1775 and January 1776.

[108] See Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/4/III/21.

category of learned journals (3%), while politics accounts for another four (4%). According to Table II we would have to say that all of these subjects were of minor interest to Reid if it were not for the evidence provided by the 'Professors Receipt Books'.

With nine titles (9%) natural history ranks as his fourth most popular form of reading. A few of the books he consulted like Henri-Louis Du Hamel de Monceau's *La physique des arbres* (1758) provided content for his natural history lectures at King's College, but his reading of works by Bonnet, Buffon, Fourcroy, and Tournefort was prompted by his broader engagement with the classification and description of the three kingdoms of nature.[109] Mathematics is in third place with 17 titles (17%). Some of the mathematical books were used for his teaching at King's; however, a significant proportion of his reading took place both before and after his time there as a regent. As his notes show, over the course of his life he expended considerable intellectual energy grappling with the technicalities of Newton's fluxional method, the properties of numbers, the practical applications of mathematics, and, from the mid-1750s onward, the foundations of Euclidean geometry.[110]

Moral philosophy is second on the list with 25 titles (26%). His earliest notes and abstracts deal with such figures as Samuel Clarke, Peter Browne, Epictetus, Xenophon, and, most notably, Joseph Butler, whereas his later ones focus on thinkers whose philosophical doctrines he opposed, namely Archibald Campbell, David Hume, Francis Hutcheson, Lord Kames, Joseph Priestley, and Adam Smith, whose *Theory of Moral Sentiments* sparked his critical interest in 1759 and at the end of his life in 1796. Marginally ahead of moral philosophy in first place on the list in Table II is natural philosophy, with 26 titles (27%). The chronological spread of his notes and abstracts is much like those related to moral philosophy, insofar as they date from 1729 right through to the 1790s and encompass each phase of his career from a student at Marischal College through to a Glasgow professor retired from the classroom. Consequently at least some of his reading was done in conjunction with writing lectures at King's. But the majority of titles on the various branches of natural philosophy were read for other reasons. His engagement with Newton's system of the world is a continuing thread through his notes, as is his interest in mechanics, physical optics and the theory of vision, and astronomy considered not only

[109] On his reading of Buffon see my 'Buffon's Reception in Scotland: The Aberdeen Connection', *Annals of Science* 44 (1987): 169–90.

[110] I have dealt with his work on the foundations of Euclidean geometry in 'Reid, Parallel Lines, and the Geometry of Visibles', *Reid Studies* 2 (1998): 27–41.

mathematically and physically but also practically. Three sets of notes derive from works on the popular sciences of electricity and pneumatics (including two books by his critic Joseph Priestley), although he seems not to have shared the widespread mania for these fields.[111] As a man of science, then, his tastes were for the mathematical rather than Baconian sciences, his expertise as

TABLE II

Natural Philosophy	26
Moral Philosophy	25
Mathematics	17
Natural History	9
Politics	4
History	3
Learned Journals	3
Religion	2
Antiquities	1
Medicine	1
Miscellaneous	1
Natural Law	1
Newspapers	1
Polite Literature	1
Political Economy	1
Reference	1
Rhetoric	1

an experimentalist notwithstanding.[112] In terms of the body of evidence encapsulated in Table II, therefore, Reid would be best characterized as a natural philosopher, moralist, and mathematician who had a strong predilection for natural history. He thus emerges here as he did in Table I as a Scottish variant of Robert Boyle's Christian virtuoso, although his wide reading in religion, history, and travel literature are, for reasons which remain unclear, virtually unrecorded in his surviving manuscripts.

[111] Reid read Priestley's *The History and Present State of Electricity* in August 1768 (Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/9), and Priestley's *Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air* in 1781 (Aberdeen University Library MS 2131/3/I/24).

[112] For the distinction between the mathematical and Baconian sciences see Thomas S. Kuhn, 'Mathematical versus Experimental Traditions in the Development of Physical Science', in his *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago and London, 1977), 30–65.

IV

There can be few eighteenth-century readers who have left more of a trace of how and what they read than Thomas Reid. From a close examination of his surviving papers, the books he once owned, and institutional records such as the 'Professors Receipt Books' we can learn a good deal about reading practices in the age of Enlightenment. Regarding what I have called the 'master narrative' of the history of reading, we have seen that his changing domestic circumstances and the realities of his daily life point to the problematic nature of the terms 'private' and 'solitary' when applied to what I have preferred to call 'individual' reading in the eighteenth century. In Reid's case, it is more accurate to say that he typically read in the company of others to whom he was not reading orally and there is no reason to think that he was in any way exceptional. This is not to say, however, that Reid did not read aloud to small domestic groups for it is likely that he read to his family and we know that he read convivially to his friends Lord Kames and John Anderson. Within the circles of his family and his friends, there was thus a mix of individual and collective as well as silent and oral modes of reading. And as for Rolf Engelsing's thesis that there was a reading revolution during the eighteenth century prompted by the replacement of intensive by extensive modes of reading, apart from the general criticisms I have already noted, Reid's reading habits bring into question the legitimacy of Engelsing's clumping together of novels, newspapers, and periodicals as the forms of print most closely associated with extensive reading. The 'Professors Receipt Books' record that Reid signed out Smollet's *Peregrine Pickle* in February 1769 and again in April 1786, which strongly suggests that he read some novels more than once. Hence Reid's reading habits indicate that novels were occasionally read and reread in the same manner as the kinds of texts Engelsing claimed were earlier subjected to intensive reading. *If* Reid was in any way a typical reader, it would thus seem that eighteenth-century readers did not necessarily conceive of novels in the same way as they did newspapers or periodicals.

When we focus on Reid's reading practices, we also come to appreciate more fully the different types of silent and especially oral reading that he engaged in during the course of his career. In a seminal article on the history of reading, Roger Chartier provided a preliminary survey of the various ways in which early modern Europeans read aloud for leisure in the company of family and friends and in doing so briefly drew attention to three main forms

of public and professional 'vocalized reading', namely delivering sermons and conducting church services, reading in legal and political contexts, and lecturing in colleges and universities.[113] Reid's experience as a reader illustrates virtually all of the modes of reading aloud identified by Chartier. His reading of Priestley's *Examination* to Lord Kames and the assembled company at Blairdrummond is an instance of where 'the book is placed at the center of a literate social gathering, one that is friendly, worldly, and cultivated', while his reading of texts with John Anderson at Dumbarton evokes Chartier's 'individual readings' carried out amongst a few friends '[that] nourished study and personal meditation'.[114] The many papers he presented to the Philosophical Club, the Aberdeen Philosophical Society and the Glasgow Literary Society instantiate the world of polite, formalized sociability Chartier associates with the salon and academy.[115] Moreover, it is almost certain that he followed the Protestant practice of reading the Bible to his family and catechizing them, and it is likely that he read, or was read to, in a domestic setting.[116] And in the public sphere, his preaching and teaching serve as telling examples of the professional forms of oral reading that Chartier points to, with his Glasgow classes being particularly revealing because his examination hours show that even within the highly formalized and hierarchical setting of the university there was room for what I have called 'interactive' reading involving the interplay between professor and student. Reid's life as a reader was thus a varied one. He read silently and he read aloud; he read individually and he read collectively to very different audiences ranging from his family to his students; he read for both personal and professional reasons; and he read for pleasure and for profit. Reading for Reid was, therefore, a complex of related activities prompted by a mixture of motives in a variety of settings and his experience typifies the multifaceted nature of reading in early modern Europe.[117]

To conclude, we can appropriate an apt phrase from Roger Chartier and characterize Thomas Reid as a 'virtuoso reader'.[118] In the sense intended by Chartier, Reid was a virtuoso reader because he was a scholar able to read

[113] Roger Chartier, 'Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe', in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark, NJ, 1989), 103–20.

[114] Chartier, 'Leisure and Sociability', 105, 107. Reid's reading of Priestley was not a 'gift' in Chartier's terms (109–10) because he was asked to read by Lord Kames.

[115] Ibid., 107–9.

[116] Ibid., 115–18.

[117] On this point see also Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, chs. 2 and 3.

[118] Chartier, 'Frenchness in the History of the Book', 324.

and translate between a number of languages (including the languages of mathematics) and to comprehend complex textual forms as well as sustained and highly abstract arguments. But Reid was a virtuoso reader in a second, culturally specific, sense, namely that he shared and propagated the intellectual priorities and tastes of the virtuosi who had earlier initiated the process of Enlightenment in Scotland. This double layer of meaning speaks to the fact that the ways in which individuals read is structured not only by their material but also by their cultural circumstances.

To consider Reid as a reader is, therefore, also to (re)consider his place in the Enlightenment. What we know of his preaching style and his comments on pulpit oratory indicate that he was a defender of a moderate, rational brand of Protestantism who resolutely opposed the evangelical Calvinism of the High Flyers within the Kirk. The numerous books on religion and church history that he borrowed from Glasgow University Library also suggest that his religious outlook was akin to that of William Robertson and the Moderates, although it also bore the inflection of his upbringing in the North East of Scotland. And if he eschewed zeal in the pulpit, he also avoided displaying 'warmth in the cause of virtue' in the classroom. For all of his ardent opposition to what he and many eighteenth-century readers took to be Humean scepticism, he nevertheless proved himself to be Hume's 'Disciple in Metaphysicks' in his lectures by cultivating the dispassionate style of the anatomist of mind rather than the 'easy and obvious manner' perfected by the painters of virtue.[119] Like George Campbell and Alexander Gerard within his community of readers in Aberdeen, he sought to refute Hume primarily using the skills of the logician rather than those of the mere rhetorician. His reading practices when preaching and teaching thus situate him within the ambit of the Robertsonian Moderates who similarly condemned the irreligious implications of Hume's doctrines while respecting his person, and who also shared Hume's distaste for superstition, religious enthusiasm, and the pulpit demagoguery of the Popular Party and their ilk. Furthermore, the pattern of Reid's reading revealed in the 'Professor's Receipt Books' and his surviving manuscripts allows us to bring his place within the Enlightenment into even better focus than his preaching and teaching for they demonstrate that his intellectual profile bears a close family resemblance to that of Sibbald's generation of virtuosi. Following in their footsteps, he sought to improve both the material and moral condition of humankind by cultivating polite and useful learning in the various branches of

[119] Reid to David Hume, 18 March 1763; in Reid, *Correspondence*, 31; Hume, *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, 87.

civil and natural history, mathematics, medicine, moral and natural philosophy, and in newly emerging fields like political economy. He was undoubtedly better equipped to appreciate the significance of the Newtonian revolution than many of his forebears, but he nevertheless adapted the essentials of their Baconian program to the changing circumstances of Scotland during the course of the eighteenth century. Reid was thus an exemplary virtuoso reader of the Scottish Enlightenment.

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