

**JAMES WILSON—HIS SCOTTISH
BACKGROUND: CORRECTIONS AND
ADDITIONS**

Martin Clagett

**James Wilson before America: New Insights into the
Scottish Years**

James Wilson was one of the most vocal and earliest advocates for a separation from Britain, a member of the Second Continental Congress, a contributor to and signer of the Declaration of Independence, an ardent supporter for the passage of the Constitution and a strong central government, one of six individuals who signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, a justice of the first Supreme Court, and one of the original Founders. The events of his life, his actions, his political stands, his character, and his economic motivations are all in dispute among historians: "Indeed, he appears to have provoked more conflict than consensus among scholarly specialists."¹ An area of particular importance and specific neglect has been Wilson's family background, early economic and religious influences, and education.

A reliable narrative of James Wilson's life before America has been difficult to come by, and the literature available is often inaccurate. In the past, for information concerning the early years of Wilson's life scholars have relied either on Charles Page

Smith's *James Wilson: Founding Father, 1742–1798* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), or Geoffrey Seed's *James Wilson* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1978). Seed's analysis of Wilson's early years and education was succinct, Smith's expansive. Smith seems to have taken two letters found in the Montgomery Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—the first a letter from Wilson's mother and the second an account written in 1805 by Wilson's cousin, Robert Annan—as the foundation for an early history of Wilson's early life. Much of Smith's story is more romantic fiction than fact. Several other works have dealt primarily with Wilson's philosophical and political perspectives, with only fleeting or suppositional accounts of his early history. Among those are *The Works of James Wilson*, edited by Robert Green McCloskey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967); Randolph Greenfield Adams, "James Wilson and St Andrews," *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (1931); Andrew Bennett, *James Wilson of St Andrews* (St Andrews: J. and G. Innes, 1928); Burton Konkle, *James Wilson and the Constitution* (Philadelphia: Law Academy, 1907); and *Collected Works of James Wilson*, edited by Kermit Hall and Mark David Hall (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2007).

In April 2009 an important article by Professor William Ewald suggested that the final draft of the Constitution was far more a result of Wilson's philosophical viewpoints and considered convictions than it was of Madison's original design. Ewald maintains that the reason for the Madison predominance in the story of the Constitution is the centrality of the Virginia plan, the accessibility of his Notes of the Philadelphia convention (which focused on circumstances important to Madison), and to Wilson's diminished status at the end of his life. Ewald's reconstruction of the convention and the role played by the Committee of Detail speaks to Wilson's crucial contributions to the final draft of the Constitution that was presented to the delegates for ratification. The Committee of Detail was a group of five led by Wilson, Edmund Randolph and John Rutledge and "contrary to its instructions, significantly rewrote the Constitution, adding provisions that had never been discussed by the Convention and were ultimately to be of greater importance to constitutional law than the issue of equal State representation in the Senate."²

Ewald also demonstrated that the "internal workings of the Committee of Detail are not recorded in Madison's *Notes*, and its contribution is generally treated only sketchily in histories of the Convention."³ This new perspective will no doubt enhance Wilson's diminished reputation and increase the interest in the circumstances of his life. Specifically this study will shed light

on his early influences and training and also illustrate the importance of the connections between the *virtuosi* of the Scottish Enlightenment and certain of the Founders.

For half a century Charles Page Smith's version of James Wilson's life has been the foundation of many other studies, but the accounts of Wilson's Scottish years are filled with errors and fleshed out with conjectures. According to Smith, William Wilson (James Wilson's father) was an evangelical preacher who joined with the ultraconservative and radical reformers Ebenezer (not Ebenezer, which is correct) Erskine, Alexander (not Charles) Moncrieff, and James Fisher to form an associate presbytery at Gairney Bridge in response to the Episcopalian actions of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. William Wilson was also depicted as a founder of the Secession Church. Smith imaginatively conflated the impact of his firebrand father's brand of religion on James Wilson's early education and his later philosophical orientations. Geoffrey Seed tempered Smith's representation of the father but still claimed that William Wilson "was an elder in the Church of Scotland."⁴ However, there is no evidence available on which to make even this modest claim. The radical reformer, identified by Smith as Wilson's father, died on October 8, 1741—almost a full year before James Wilson of Carskerdo was born.⁵



FIGURE 1: Photograph of the Wilson Homestead at Carskerdo, Scotland. Randolph G. Adams, "James Wilson and St Andrews," *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, University of Pennsylvania (October 1931).

Smith took great license with constructing an idyllic childhood for “young Jamie” and portrays him as making his way to St Andrews for a bursary trial in 1757 in the company of his father. This was fanciful conjecture on Smith’s part. In 1747 the colleges of St. Leonard’s and St. Salvator’s joined to form the United College of St Andrews. Smith wrote that the principal of St. Mary’s, James Murison (not Murchison), was in charge of the renovation of the United College, while it was more likely the determined efforts of Principal Tullidolph that spurred on those efforts. Smith informs us that the professor of mathematics, David Gregory, was the brother of the famous George Gregory of Edinburgh. Although George Gregory of Edinburgh was related, he was not born until 1790 and spent the bulk of his career in London.⁶ Smith also indicates that the “year before Wilson came to St Andrews (1757), the faculty was strengthened by the addition of David Gregory.” Actually David Gregory had succeeded his father, Charles Gregory, as professor of mathematics in 1739.⁷

Both Smith and Seed have Wilson spending four full years (1757–61) at the United Colleges and then progressing to a divinity program at St. Mary’s. Smith wrote: “When he had completed his four years at Saint Salvator [*sic*], he moved on to St. Mary’s College and spent a year studying under Dr. Andrew Shaw.”⁸ Seed affirmed this: “In his four years as an Arts Student he studied the compulsory subjects. . . . Wilson then proceeded to St. Mary’s, the theological college of the university, to Study Divinity with a view to ordination in the Church of Scotland.” However, there is no documentation to support these contentions, and recently recovered records indicate that Wilson was back in Cupar as early as May 1759, a date that conforms neatly with the last date of Wilson’s borrowings from the Library at the University of St Andrews. Other primary documents, with Wilson’s signature, place him, in a different situation, in Cupar in December 1761. Seed also maintained:

It has often been asserted that he studied in turn at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, but there is no clear evidence of this, and the records of those universities reveal no trace of him. In any event, it is likely that whatever intellectual stimulus was given him by a formal education came mainly from St Andrews.⁹

Earlier, Burton Konkle had placed Wilson at the University of Edinburgh: “Just how long or when he studied at Edinburgh is not known, although records show he was entered upon [Hugh] Blair’s Studies in Rhetoric in

1763 and began Logic under Stevenson and Ferguson respectively in 1765.”¹⁰ However, examination of records and inquiries made at the University of Edinburgh archives failed to produce any documentation that James Wilson ever attended the institution. In addition, new documentation with Wilson’s signature demonstrates that he attended the University of Glasgow between 1763 and 1765 and even indicates some of the professors under whom he was studying and which books he was reading. In 1978 Seed wrote that “Wilson’s subsequent reputation as a political thinker and legal scholar was based on his ability to assimilate the philosophical scholarship of St Andrews with the legal scholarship of Philadelphia.”¹¹ But Wilson was in fact influenced by his extended training in the classical languages at Cupar Grammar School, his apprenticeship in Scots law with the clerk of Cupar, and his liberal instruction under distinguished professors at Glasgow before coming to America.

In a letter to James Wilson’s son, Bird Wilson, on May 16, 1805, Robert Annan (James Wilson’s cousin and childhood companion) gave his account of Wilson’s early days. According to Annan, James Wilson’s parents were William Wilson and Alison Landales. Alison was born on February 23, 1713, in Wemyss Parish, to John Landale and Jean Smith.¹² William Wilson (son of James Wilson), a tenant farmer in Largo Parish, was baptized on March 19, 1693; however, the name of his mother was not recorded. James Wilson’s parents were married by the minister of Scoony, Mr. Melville, on March 8, 1734.¹³ At the time of the marriage the husband was almost twice as old as the wife. The couple first settled in Kennoway and their first three children were baptized in that parish—all girls and all at regular intervals: Margaret on September 23, 1736; Rachel on December 19, 1738; and Jean on November 8, 1740.¹⁴ Tradition holds that James Wilson was born on September 14, 1742, and the Old Parish Registers record that he was baptized on June 14, 1743. Four other children, three sons and another daughter, followed: John was baptized in 1745, Elizabeth in 1749, William in 1748, and Andrew in the little town of Ceres in 1752.¹⁵

The family resided on a rural farm called Carskerdo about three miles from Cupar. Robert Annan wrote: “I was boarded at his Father’s house when we were both pursuing our classical Studies at a Grammar school in the Neighborhood.”¹⁶ A former tenant, Miss Aileen Melville, who lived at Carskerdo as a young girl, remembered the cottage before it was reduced to rubble. In 1931 Professor Bennett from the University of Michigan visited the site and produced a photograph of the still-intact residence for his article “James Wilson and St Andrews.”¹⁷ The photograph shows a building of

moderate size, with a roof of tiles, four large rooms, six windows, two doors, and a fireplace—a cozy enough home in its time. The house has since been cannibalized and its converted parts have been resurrected as stone fences, with a scattering of stones and door hinges left behind as a reminder of days past.

In 1560 John Knox's democratic plan for the reformation of education in Scotland, the First Book of Discipline, was introduced to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It was an ambitious program calling for every parish to have a school and every town of considerable size a grammar school. Its intention was to establish a national system of universal education including elementary schools, grammar schools, and universities to be supported from the wealth of the old Roman Catholic Church. These combined efforts made Scotland, although a relatively poor country, one of the best educated nations in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the eighteenth century, Scotland boasted five universities, while England had two. Scots made up a large number of the tutors and clerics who came to colonial America. There were nine burgh schools in Fife, of which Cupar, Dunfermline, St Andrews, and Kirkcaldy were the most important.¹⁸ Records from the beginning of the eighteenth century until the end consistently reflect that schoolmasters in Cupar were better paid, more satisfied with their posts, taught a greater diversity of subjects, and were more numerous and better educated than any other district in Fife.¹⁹

John Knox's plans made education in Scotland more inclusive and accessible and often made classmates of the gentleman's son and the "poor scholar." Attendance at school was not universal, but in her study of the history of the town of Cupar, Paula Martin could not find a single reference to a child who never attended school and concluded that it is likely that "the vast majority of Cupar children went to school, even if only briefly." Few children stayed at school as long as five years, the usual length of attendance being between one and three years. Nor was attendance consistent.²⁰ A consequence of this tradition was an educational system that promoted democratic attitudes and encouraged a demanding and competitive curriculum. Children were generally sent to school at the age of five or six in the burghs and transferred to grammar schools at seven or eight. Students "destined for college" might matriculate as early as eleven or twelve but some as late as fifteen or sixteen. If Wilson followed the accustomed path, he would have entered Cupar Grammar School around 1750, at the age of eight, and at the age of fifteen (1757) would have attended the bursary trials at St Andrews.

The curriculum in the grammar school likely included writing, English, arithmetic, church music, and Latin, which prepared the students for college. Candidates for schoolmaster were examined by the council and in 1708 the Cupar schoolmaster was judged “abundantly qualified both in Latin and Greek.” By 1763, geography, bookkeeping, “the three parts of navigation,” and the “principalls of geometry” were also a part of the curriculum. However, the primary focus still revolved around Latin grammar and the systematic, sequential, and logical progress that its study encouraged. Latin authors provided students with the fundamental of language, extolled republican virtues, and offered exact discipline in the “*ars scribendi*.” According to a schoolmaster of the time the texts commonly used included, “Disputers [Disputer’s Latin Grammar], Dicta, Cato, Cordelius, Ovids epistles and the Metamorphosis, Virgil, Horace, Maiora et Minora Colloquia Erasmi, Buchanan, [and] Salust.” Cato, Horace, and Sallust praised republican Roman virtue and deplored the city’s vices; Virgil praised Aeneid’s love of country. Erasmus was the great Renaissance critic of clerical corruption and exponent of religious toleration.²¹

Students attending grammar school for more than three years were “destined for the law.”²² James Wilson likely would have entered primary school around 1748 or 1749 and probably started grammar school in 1750 or 1751. His master at Cupar Grammar School was John Halket, who taught Wilson when he first arrived around 1751 and again when he returned in 1759. Halket distinguished himself before arriving at Cupar and again after he left. Born in 1707 Halket had been the private tutor to two sons of Lord Lovat and schoolmaster at Prestonpans Grammar School. In April 1744 Halket resigned from Prestonpans and advanced to the Cupar Grammar School and remained in that post until he was appointed rector of Grammar School on July 7, 1762. He continued at until he retired on pension on July 17, 1786, and died in that town on April 1, 1798.²³

In the fall of 1757 James Wilson was awarded a bursary at the United College of St Andrews.²⁴ In 1747 St. Leonard’s and St. Salvator’s had merged into one institution, the United College of St Andrews. There were “eight Foundation bursars, who, along with the Moncreiffe bursar, were entitled to maintenance for four sessions at the public table out of the funds of the College.” Originally these bursaries, or scholarships, were intended for poor students only, but on October 12, 1747, it was agreed that “the Foundation bursaries should be disposed of by comparative trial, the presumption no doubt being that only those who really required them would compete

for them.”²⁵ At first the trials were limited to proficiency in the Latin language; later, trials in Greek and mathematics were added. Since the initial emphasis was Latin, Wilson’s success testifies to Halket’s capacity in that area.

At the time that Wilson was awarded a bursary, Thomas Tullidelph was the principal of United College, where the undergraduates were taught, and James Murison was principal of St. Mary’s, which housed the postgraduate divinity school. From the founding of the United College in 1747 until about 1850, the accustomed sequence of classes for an arts degree included Latin and Greek in the first session, with mathematics and logic added in the second. Moral philosophy (logic, jurisprudence, and ethics) substituted for logic in the third, with natural philosophy (all the useful branches of science) substituting for moral philosophy in the fourth.²⁶

On November 10, 1757, three days after he was selected as bursar at St Andrews, Wilson began borrowing books. The record of books borrowed continues until February 19, 1759. In 1758 James Wilson is recorded as having borrowed Clarke’s translation of Homer’s *Iliad*, volume 1, from November 1 until December 5. Wilson also borrowed two volumes of Hook’s Roman History and the *Life of the Earl of Crawford*. Both the natural progression of studies and the fact that several books that Wilson borrowed from the university library—Clark’s Justin, Watson’s Horace (Lat/Eng) and Clark’s Sueton[ius] (Lat/Eng)—indicate that Wilson was enrolled in Alexander Morton’s humanity classes from November 1757 through, at least, January 1758.²⁷

Among Wilson’s borrowings from the library was a volume of *Tillotson’s Sermons*. John Tillotson (1630–94) was the archbishop of Canterbury during the last three years of his life, and was a noted advocate of religious toleration. And finally, certain volumes from the library borrowings of Wilson point generally to the field of rhetoric and belles-lettres and specifically to the influence of his professor, Robert Watson. Wilson checked out a collection of articles from Joseph Addison’s paper, *The Guardian*, volume 2, on November 1757, only three days after being selected a bursar. He returned the collection on November 19, but checked it out again from January 31 to March 6, 1758. The two other listings strongly suggest that Wilson was studying English literature include *Swift’s Works*, volume 5, and *Plays*, volume 1. An article by Paul Bator in 1994 entitled, “The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at the University of St Andrews, 1756–1778,” examines the class notes of two of Watson’s students.²⁸ Of particular value to the question

of Wilson's attendance at Watson's lectures is that one of the notebooks contains class notes from lectures during the same period that Wilson would have attended.²⁹ The student's notes reveal Watson's emphasis on Swift, on Addison, and on William Duncan and Common Sense philosophy.

Watson relied heavily on Addison's writings as exemplars of good style. Bator noted, "Watson, as he often does, selects several modern authors for comparative lessons, including some of his favorites like Lord Bolingbroke, Swift, Addison, and Shaftesbury."³⁰ The edition *Plays*, volume 1, may well have included Addison's influential *Cato*, an extremely popular but controversial drama that extolled the virtues of individual liberties, Republicanism, and the importance of the logical processes in the improvement of the state of man.³¹

Perhaps the most interesting revelation from the class notes was Watson's lectures on logic, which were "divided generally into four basic parts: the Powers of the Understanding; the several species of Evidence; the Causes and Species of Error; and practical observations concerning other Means of Improvement." The student noted that after explaining the central framework "of an investigation of the nature and operation of human understanding as it searches for truth through reason and judgment," Watson proceeded to explicitly define the different "terms, propositions and syllogisms as the signs . . . by which the powers of understanding are generally established and expressed." Bator more specifically stated,

In this respect, Watson's method resembles two of the more popular logics of the eighteenth century, Isaac Watts' *Logick; or, the right use of reason in the Enquiry after Truth* (1725), to which one of Watson's student notetakers makes reference, and William Duncan's *Elements of Logick* (1748), to which Watson makes direct reference in his lectures.³²

Thus, if Wilson attended Robert Watson's class, which circumstantial evidence strongly supports, then his basic philosophical orientations as well may well have been first been established in St Andrews. Watson's instruction may have provided the foundations for Wilson's much-admired skills of speaking with logical precision, profound erudition, and impeccable style.

Wilson's knowledge of Duncan's philosophy was later amplified in Glasgow by Thomas Reid himself. Duncan and Reid had been colleagues at the University of Aberdeen, with Duncan at Marischal College and Reid at

King's College during this time frame. Duncan was an instructor of William Small, Thomas Jefferson's only professor, and established many of the foundations upon which Common Sense philosophy was based. Reid followed Duncan's process of intuitive self-evidence as a basis for a system of reasoning that has been called "the official metaphysic of the American Revolution."³³

Duncan drowned before Reid was able to launch the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, or Wise Club, as it was locally known. Here Reid refined Duncan's precepts into his own philosophical agenda, which he expounded as the professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow. The results of Duncan's original foundation and Reid's completion of its concepts was published as *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* in 1764. This work was to have a significant impact not only in Britain but also in the American colonies. As will be discussed, Wilson may have even attended Reid's lectures on moral philosophy and jurisprudence in the fall of 1764 and winter of 1765 and later used his notes from the class for his own lectures on law at the University of Pennsylvania. Wilson appeared in the rolls of Charles Gregory for mathematics, and in the rolls of Walter Wilson for Greek. The titles of books borrowed from the library also indicate that he studied civil history with William Vilant or his son Alexander Vilant, and Latin with Alexander Morton.

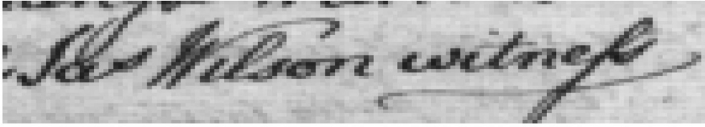
The last books that James Wilson was recorded to have borrowed from the library at St Andrews, *Rollin's Roman History*, volumes 6 and 7, were returned on April 4, 1759, just in time for Wilson to return to Cupar Grammar School and his old master, John Halket. Wilson is recorded as having paid fees at the school from May, 1759 through January, 1761: "2 shillings for May 1759, and 2 shillings, 6 pence for November 1759 to February 1761."³⁴ According to Robert Annan, it was during this period that Wilson "became for some time a tutor in a gentleman's family. His genius being too sublime for such [low] drudgery he formed a resolution to try his fortune in America."³⁵ If he did, however, the gentleman in question is unknown.

However, James Wilson's name and signature as an apprentice to lawyer William Robertson (not to be confused with the noted historian and principal of the University of Edinburgh) appear in the Cupar Town Record Book as early as April 16, 1762. A second case was recorded by Wilson on December 1, 1762, and a third on April 16, 1764.³⁶ These documents involved civil rather than criminal litigation. A typical term of service for an apprentice was two to three years, after which time the apprentice would customarily be promoted to the status of a clerk, unless the apprentice was either

unqualified or had a break in service. Just as the records from the St Andrews library lending lists end immediately before Wilson's reappearance at Cupar Grammar School, his schedule of fees at the school coincide with his legal apprenticeship. The importance of Wilson's apprenticeship in Cupar, previously unknown, lies not only in its early date, but in the impact it may have had on Wilson's orientations, opinions, and underlying philosophy in regard to the law. Until the discovery of these papers it has always been assumed that Wilson's legal orientation and philosophy derived from his training with John Dickinson, the famous Philadelphia lawyer, and that his experience was exclusively grounded in English common law. Wilson's apprenticeship in Cupar was based on Scots law. The two traditions diverge in philosophical orientation, academic versus vocational preparation, and the underlying precepts concerning the foundations of legal decisionmaking. The question of Wilson's important contribution to the United States Constitution thus now becomes as well the question of how Scots law influenced that fundamental document.³⁷

Wilson's connection with Scots law becomes even more evident considering that he definitely attended the University of Glasgow following his stay in Cupar. Wilson's signatures appear both on the University of Glasgow's library lending list from the fall of 1763 through the spring of 1765, and from a stent list of a class of natural philosophy conducted by John Anderson in January 1765.³⁸ While there were three James Wilsons at Glasgow at this time (one from Ayr and another from Clydesdale), the signatures here match those on the St Andrews list with those on the records from the Cupar Council and Burgh Records; for the signatures on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the handwriting is the same. The partial library lending list from the University of Glasgow finds the same signature that appeared in the St Andrews lending lists of 1758 and 1759 and reappeared in the Cupar Register of Bonds in 1761, and shows up in Glasgow's list for 1763–65.³⁹

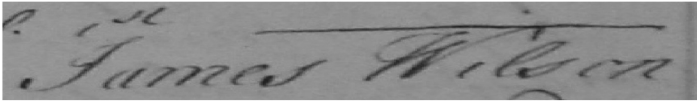
The most reliable knowledge about James Wilson's classes and professors at the University of Glasgow is the same as it was for the University of St Andrews—the library lending lists.⁴⁰ The lending lists at Glasgow are more informative than the ones at St Andrews, for the lists at St Andrews gives the student's signature on signing out the book, the date signed out, the title of the book, the date returned and the student's return signature; however, the lending lists at Glasgow give the student's signature, the student's class, the shelf mark, the title of the book, the assigning professor, date checked out, and date returned. The Glasgow list allows the researcher to know what class



Cupar. Legal Apprentice, 1764



Stent. University of Glasgow, January 1765



St. Andrews Library lending list, 1758



Glasgow Library lending list, 1765



Declaration of Independence, 1776



U.S. Constitution, 1787

FIGURE 2: Comparison of James Wilson signatures from 1757 through 1787. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

the student was in and who his professor was, as well as the date he took the course.

In addition to the library lending list, a stent roll for John Anderson's natural philosophy class was found bearing James Wilson's signature as a stent master.⁴¹ A stent roll was, in the context of the University of Glasgow, a list of payments for examination fees and ceremonies.⁴² The payments were adjusted according to the student's ability to pay. The Glasgow student receipts records are in some respects more helpful than those from St Andrews and in some aspects less certain. The Glasgow records include students' names, class, pressmark, shelf, number, name of book, date borrowed, and date returned; the St Andrews list includes the year, date borrowed, student name, name of book, and date returned. The Glasgow records include the name of the assigning professor and class, which is helpful in determining the student's instructor but in their current state are incomplete. Although this catalogue is dated 1758–63, the presence of Thomas Reid's name among the assigning professors extends this date to 1765—as Reid did not take office until October 1764. The St Andrews lists, while providing less information, are complete and arranged by student.

In the Glasgow records, as they stand, James Wilson's name first appears in the list on November 16, 1763, and the last record has him returning *Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers* on January 16, 1765.⁴³ His assigning professors include William Leechman (professor of divinity and principal), George Muirhead (professor of humanity), Robert Trail (professor of divinity), and John Anderson (professor of natural philosophy). Since certain pages of the register are not presently available and attending lectures did not specifically necessitate borrowing books, Wilson may well have attended other professors and lectures as well.

The first record of Wilson's signature among the borrowings seems to have been on November 16, 1763—*Rapin's History of England*, volumes 3 and 4, with Principal Leechman assigning. Wilson classified himself as a theology student at the time. He may well have entered under this denomination in order to obtain the Dundonald (Dondonald) Mortification, a fellowship that paid more (£93) to theology students than to other classifications (£80), although it was limited to two years rather than four.⁴⁴

Wilson next checked out *Rapin's History of England*, volumes 7 and 8, for Professor of Divinity Robert Trail, on December 15, 1763. Robert Trail, like Thomas Reid, had been a member of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society and a protégé of Lord Deskford. The Aberdeen Philosophical Society, it will

be remembered, was the incubator for Thomas Reid's influential work *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, first published in 1765. Undoubtedly the two outsiders from Aberdeen were fast friends and kindred spirits in a competitive environment. Whether this camaraderie may have increased the likelihood of Wilson's attendance of Reid's lectures on jurisprudence, given in the fall of 1764 and winter of 1765, is not yet established. Moreover, Wilson again was instructed by Trail in the winter of 1764. His second borrowing was again for Robert Trail on February 15, 1764—*Rollin's Belles-Lettres*. This class, which refined the moral senses through the appreciation of literature, may have evoked his studies with Robert Watson at St Andrews.

During that same session, on February 28, 1764, George Muirhead, the professor of humanity, or Latin, assigned Wilson to read *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, honing Wilson's appreciation for English literature, classical style, and moral instruction at the same time. The book was returned on March 16, 1764. Wilson likely went back to Cupar for the long summer session and returned in late October, for his signature reappears in the Cupar Record Books on April 16, 1764 as an apprentice to William Robertson, town clerk of Cupar.⁴⁵ Wilson's last borrowing from the library occurred on January 10, 1765—*Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers*—assigned by the professor of natural philosophy, John Anderson.

Besides the assigning professors, already mentioned, with the ambiguity and potential lacunae in the records, there is the intriguing, although not documented, possibility that James Wilson also attended lectures given by Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, and John Millar. At Glasgow, the chair of moral philosophy was supplied in succession from 1729 to 1780 by three of the most influential philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment: Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid.⁴⁶ Francis Hutcheson was described as the most popular professor of his time, a "man of cheerful and buoyant disposition" who was well trained "in the topics of Moral Philosophy" as well as in jurisprudence, government, ancient systems of ethics and natural religion. During his time as professor, Hutcheson developed a set of written lectures which would be published posthumously as *System of Moral Philosophy*.⁴⁷

One of Hutcheson's students, Adam Smith, followed Hutcheson in the chair in 1746. "Smith's course in Moral Philosophy embraced four divisions—natural theology, ethics, general jurisprudence, and the nature of political institutions."⁴⁸ The section on ethics was published as *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in 1759, and the last section on the nature of political institutions,

after much revision and elaboration was published in 1776 as *The Wealth of Nations*. Smith's method of lecturing was unique and he may have used his students as a sounding board for many of his ideas.

Smith prepared his matter and committed it to paper, but did not content himself with merely reading to his students a set of lectures fashioned in his study. He rather chose to think out a subject afresh in their presence, setting out a number of leading statements or ideas, which he explained, illustrated, and exhibited in relation to each other. He was sometimes rather slow and hesitating at first, but became more fluent and animated as he went on, defending his tenets, combating objections to them, and pouring forth illustrations.⁴⁹

To replace Smith, on May 22, 1764, the faculty of the College of Glasgow elected Thomas Reid, "whose Abilities and Qualifications for the Professorship of Moral Philosophy are well known to the Masters." On his first day of class, Reid requested that students provide him with copies of Adam Smith's lectures so that he could continue in the most convenient method. It was already Reid's habit of presenting ideas at the meetings of the Wise Club and refining them afterwards. This *modus operandi* would have appealed to him and may have provided Wilson with an unfiltered version of some of the material that would later resurface in his lectures at the University of Pennsylvania.⁵⁰

Thomas Reid, born in 1710, had graduated MA from Marischal College, Aberdeen, at the age of sixteen. In 1737 the masters of King's College foisted Reid on parishioners of New Machar Church as their minister. In 1752 Reid was appointed professor of philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, where he taught in regent rotation natural history, physics, and mental philosophy. Together with his cousin, John Gregory, he formed the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, or as it was locally known "the Wise Club," in 1758. Members of this society included James Beattie, Alexander Gerard, Francis Skene, Robert Trail, and two of his relatives. Their activities focused chiefly on scientific matters, instead of the usual literary and religious fare. Reid was known as the "Father of the School of Common Sense Philosophy" and published *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* shortly before taking his chair at Glasgow. This work was in reaction to the variations in the skeptical writings of Descartes, Berkeley, and Hume. The pragmatic, concrete, and utilitarian themes of his writings and lectures were to have great impact on a number of the American Founders and in many ways

became the underlying foundational philosophy of the post-Revolutionary scientific movement in America.⁵¹

John Millar was born in 1735 in Lanarkshire and was a first cousin to William Cullen and a close friend of James Watt. He was described as “a fine muscular man, somewhat above the middle size, with a square chest, a prominent chin, grey eyes that were unmatched in expression, and a head that would become a Roman senator.” He graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1746 and, after several years as a practicing lawyer, became Regius Professor of Law in 1761. The law school at that time had few or no students but within a short time, under Millar’s leadership, it became as famous for law as Edinburgh was for medicine. Millar instructed in continental and Scots law and started off his students with a course in Justinian’s *Institutes*, followed by more advanced instruction in the *Digest*. Philosophically he followed his old mentor, Adam Smith, and David Hume. About 1764 he lectured on natural jurisprudence, Scots law, and gave a series of lectures on public and private law and government. Whether Wilson attended any of Millar’s lectures is purely speculative but would be a neat coincidence of time and place and interest.

John Millar was professor of law at Glasgow from 1761 to 1801, and was regarded as the authoritative source in Scots law. As an intern at Scots law for some time preceding his arrival at the University of Glasgow and his return to his apprenticeship in times when he was not in attendance, it is reasonable to believe that Wilson would have attended Millar’s classes as well. The intermingling of the secular with the ecclesiastic seems at first counterintuitive, but as William Ewald writes in his monograph on Wilson and the Scottish Enlightenment, “In fact, in the Scotland of the eighteenth century the study of law and of theology were closely related, so that the two disciplines cannot be sharply divided.”⁵² Thus, subject content, courses, and readings crossed back and forth in a regular fashion and it is not remarkable to find Wilson at the beginning of his career at Glasgow registered as a theology student (Dundonald’s Mortification) and at the end classifying himself as a student of natural philosophy.

In an overview of books that the various professors assigned Wilson and his fellow students at Glasgow recurring themes emerge—an emphasis on classical works, historical works, rhetoric and belles-lettres, science, mathematics and religious subjects. This trend continued across the lines that divide philosophical subjects and religious areas. Authors or editions that seem to materialize most often are Rapin, Rollins, Robertson, and Newton.

These general trends align themselves with the Scottish Enlightenment precepts of improvement, utility, and the refinement of the senses through moral and aesthetic sensibilities. This underlying outlook likely provided Wilson with a positive view of his fellow man, a reason for faith in his good intentions, and a hope for a government that proved a universal good to its citizens by their own direction.

However, there were not enough opportunities for young James Wilson in Glasgow. It seems that he returned to Cupar and worked for a short time in his former position as an apprentice-at-law with William Robertson. After he was able to save a little money and borrow some from friends and family, it seems that he went to Edinburgh to study mercantile accounting with his cousin Thomas Young at his English School.⁵³ Wilson left behind his friends, his family and, evidently, a desire to return home. He took with him his hopes, his education, and his views on law, politics, and government, all of which would change the course of history.

Wilson's studies at Cupar and the universities of St Andrews and Glasgow, especially in Scots law, have been unexplored before now. With recent scholarship highlighting the enhanced role that Wilson played in the drafting of the Constitution and formulating a vision of American federalism, Wilson's early life assumes great importance. Legal scholar William Ewald recently suggested in his article on "James Wilson and the Scottish Enlightenment" that a striking feature of Wilson's "constitutional opinions when he was a Justice of the United States Supreme Court" was that "even though he had studied the common law, in his judicial opinions he tends to recur to first principles, rather than to parse the case law."⁵⁴

But the foundations of Wilson's judicial thought may be grounded as much in Reid's Common Sense philosophy as in the instructions of the *ius commune*. In one of Wilson's lectures given at the University of Pennsylvania, "Of the Nature and Philosophy of Evidence," he writes, "Nature should always be consulted. We are safe, when we imitate her in her uniform appearances. By following her as our guide, we can trace evidence to the following fourteen distinct sources." Wilson then enumerates the types of evidence, ranking them from the most certain and strongest to least credible. The first five and most robust forms all arise from the external senses and an aesthetic sense "by which we perceive and enjoy the beauties of nature or of art" and a moral sense "by which we have the original conceptions of right and wrong in conduct."⁵⁵ This process of evaluation was not only a basic premise of the Scottish Enlightenment and Scots law but also and more specifically a fundamental principle for Thomas Reid and Common Sense philosophy.

Thomas Reid wrote in his *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*:

It is so difficult to unravel the operations of the human understanding, and to reduce them to their first principles, that we cannot expect to succeed in the attempt, but by beginning with the simplest, and proceeding by very cautious steps to the more complex. The five external senses may, for this reason, claim to be first considered in an analysis of the human faculties. And the same reason ought to determine us to make a choice even among the senses, and to give the precedence, not to the noblest, or most useful, but to the simplest, and that whose objects are least in danger of being mistaken for other things.⁵⁶

Wilson followed Reid's dictates in his *regulae philosophandi* in respect to the relative strength or weakness of evidence. Thomas Jefferson's only professor and the man to whom Jefferson confessed he owed everything was William Small. Small had been a student at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and his mentors had been William Duncan and John Gregory. Duncan was Reid's philosophical touchstone for the basic beliefs of Common Sense philosophy; Gregory, Reid's cousin, was a cofounder of the Aberdeen Philosophical Club, which acted as a sounding board for his ideas supporting self-evident proofs and his opposition to the skeptical philosophy of Hume.

Did Wilson attend the lectures of Smith, Reid, and Millar? At present it is not known for certain, but any student who had completed two years of studies in Scottish universities during the late eighteenth century obtained the status of *cives* and was entitled then to attend lectures for free. At the very time when Wilson was at Glasgow the faculty of the university was almost unrivaled in talent and reputation—Joseph Black was lecturing in chemistry and medicine, John Anderson in natural philosophy, John Millar in law, and most remarkably Thomas Reid transitioned into Adam Smith's post as professor of moral philosophy in the middle of Wilson's attendance. The library lending lists show that Wilson was in attendance at Glasgow for two winter sessions: from November 1763 through April 1764, and from November 1764 through (at least) February 1765. During the first winter session, Smith was at his post as professor of moral philosophy lecturing on themes that would become the basis for *The Wealth of Nations*; the following fall Thomas Reid succeeded Smith in the chair of moral philosophy and concentrated on individual and public jurisprudence during that session in jurisprudence. Specifically, Reid focused on natural law, the rights and obligations of individuals, and the rights and obligations of society.

William Ewald made note in his study of Wilson and the Scottish Enlightenment of the following:

It has often been assumed that American constitutionalism, at least in its origins, belongs, somehow, to the tradition of the English common law. That is a point it would be futile to dispute; the influences are ubiquitous. The intellectual history here is complicated, and varies depending on which Founder is being considered. But, as a general matter, although the common law supplied the colonies with most of the concrete rules of daily life, at the level of abstract legal and constitutional thought, the continental tradition of the civil law was at least as important; and much of the work of conveying those ideas to the colonies was performed by thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment. From this point of view, the American legal system is as much an inheritor of the tradition of Roman law as it is of the common law.⁵⁷

The importance of Wilson first receiving legal training becomes more manifest at this point, for just as English common law has long been presumed to be the only influence in American jurisprudence, it was also taken for granted that Wilson's only instruction in law came at the hands of John Dickinson in Pennsylvania.

The real significance of this study may not be in what it has uncovered but what may evolve. Several of the more exciting prospects might include some of the following topics: was religion a compelling force in Wilson's destiny or were its effects negligible? Until now, biographers have stressed Wilson's strict Presbyterian upbringing in Scotland. But in America, he became a devout Episcopalian. One of his earliest and closest friends in Pennsylvania was William White, the first Episcopal bishop of Pennsylvania. Wilson married Rachel Bird, an Episcopal daughter of an Episcopal father. His son, Bird Wilson, became an Episcopal priest late in life after a career as a jurist, and wrote the first biography of Bishop White.

If Wilson's contributions to the drafting of the Constitution were as significant as they now appear to be, we may ask what parts of the Constitution were derived from Scots law and which from English common law? Since Wilson dealt in great part with legal and political abstractions, was his grounding in the tenets of the Scottish Enlightenment the basis for his concepts about popular sovereignty, justice, and American federalism? In short,

how important, not only through Wilson but through other Founders as well, was the impact of the Scottish Enlightenment?

Did the lectures of Adam Smith influence Wilson's views concerning the Bank of North America, and if so, in what ways? Was there a personal connection between Wilson and Smith, Wilson and Millar, Wilson and Reid? Are there more documents in the archival vaults of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and St Andrews that could more brightly illuminate the Scottish years of James Wilson? And finally, how does this strange confluence of personalities and ideas—known as the Scottish Enlightenment—come together in the big picture of the fostering of the Revolution, in the framing of the Constitution, and the founding of the New Republic?

NOTES

1. Morton M. Rosenberg, "In Search of James Wilson," *Pennsylvania History* 55 (July 1988): 107.
2. William Ewald, "James Wilson and the Drafting of the Constitution," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law* 10 (June 2008): 983.
3. *Ibid.*, 992.
4. Charles Page Smith, *James Wilson: Founding Father* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 7–11; Geoffrey Seed, *James Wilson* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1978), 3.
5. Stephen Conrad, "Wilson, James (1742–1798)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68676>; Burton Konkle cites September 14, 1742, as Wilson's date of birth, although I cannot confirm this through primary documentation. Burton Alva Konkle, *James Wilson and the Constitution* (Philadelphia: Law Academy, 1907), 7.
6. Smith, *James Wilson*, 16.
7. "David Gregory: Admitted Professor of Mathematics in the University 14th May 1739. Appointed first Professor of Mathematics in the United College 24th June 1747. Died 13th April 1765," *The Matriculation Roll of the University of St Andrews: 1747–1897*, ed. James Maitland Anderson (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1905), lxxix.
8. Smith, *James Wilson*, 16.
9. Seed, *James Wilson*, 4.
10. Konkle, *James Wilson*, 8.
11. Seed, *James Wilson*, 5.
12. Different references give alternative spellings for the mother's last name—Dictionary of National Biography, *Vide* James Wilson: Lansdale; Robert Annan to Bird Wilson, May 16, 1805: Landales; James Wilson family records: Landale; Old Parish Registers: Landals. The secondary source is a family history in possession of James Wilson, Carskerdo Farm, Fife, Scotland. However, there are records in the Old Parish Registers for Kennoway for four other children born to John Landale and Jean Smith: Anne (February 9, 1709), Jean (February 9, 1711), James (November 19, 1714),

- and Catherine (November 25, 1722), Old Parish Register, 459/00 0002, New Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland.
13. For William Wilson's baptism and James Wilson's parents' marriage, the secondary source is a family history in possession of James Wilson, Carskerdo Farm.
 14. Old Parish Register, Kennoway Parish Register, 443/00 0002, New Register House, Edinburgh. Also listed in a secondary source, which is a family history in possession of James Wilson, Carskerdo Farm.
 15. Old Parish Register, Largo Parish, 443/00 0002, and Ceres Parish, 415/00 0002, New Register House, Edinburgh.
 16. Robert Annan, letter to Bird Wilson, May 16, 1805, Benjamin Rush Papers, 43:133, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
 17. Randolph G. Adams, "James Wilson and St Andrews," *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (October 1931): 20.
 18. Bruce Lenman, *Integration and Enlightenment: Scotland—1746–1832* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 45; James M. Beale, *A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife*, ed. Donald Withrington (Edinburgh: Lindsay and Co., 1983), 127.
 19. If the salaries of the faculty are an indication of the excellence of the school and the importance of a quality education to the community, Cupar fared very well by eighteenth-century standards. "In 1708 the schoolmaster at Cupar did the best with 15 pounds a year. . . . By the end of the century Cupar was still paying [the] most." In addition to a schoolmaster, or rector, the Cupar school maintained two doctors, or subordinate teachers. Beale, *A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife*, 144, 160, 162.
 20. Paula Martin, *Cupar: The History of a Small Scottish Town* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Press, 2006), 128.
 21. Beale, *A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife*, 145, 132. "The most important subject of scholarly learning was still Latin; and the authorities laid down the authors, 'prose and poetical' to be Studied—Corderius, Erasmus, Buchanan, Terence, Horace, Virgil, and Juvenal—and prescribed the number of themes to be given each week. It was the duty of the maters to see that the Latiners spoke only Latin in the classroom and the schoolyard" (150).
 22. Martin, *Cupar*, 128.
 23. John Halket, Minister of Dunkeld, studied at St. Leonard's College, received his A.M. from St Andrews University on July 19, 1705, and was ordained on September 19, 1705. He married Margaret Sibbald on October 25, 1706. The couple had four sons (James, John, David, and Lawrence) and three daughters (Margaret, Helen, and Jean). Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, vol. 2, pt. 2, *Synods of Fife, and Perth, and Sterling* (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1899), 796. Halket died April 1, 1798, at St Andrews: "Mr John Halket, aged 89, who filled the office of Rector at the Grammar School there for many years with much honour. He was respected as a gentleman, and lived and died as a philosopher." *Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany for April 1799* (London: Murray and Highley, 1799), 480.
 24. Personal communication courtesy of Robert Smart, Moira MacKenzie, and Paula Martin. See also RH9/1/121, St Andrews Burgh Records and Archives, University of St Andrews—StAU B13/14/2-9, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh (hereafter NAS).
 25. Minutes of the United College, University of St Andrews, November 7, 1757 (UYUC400/1/167–68), reproduced courtesy of University of St Andrews Library.

26. Ibid., xxv.
27. Courtesy of M. A. Stewart; personal communication, Sandy Stewart to Martin Clagett, February 4, 2012. Justin was the Roman author Marcus Justinus . . . a second-century author of an epitome of an Augustan-age *History of the World* by a writer called Pompeius Trogus. It was an absolutely standard text used in first year Latin classes at college level throughout Britain and Ireland in the eighteenth century. The Clarke of both the Justin and Suetonius was John Clarke (1687–1734), a famous eighteenth-century English schoolmaster who was a prolific writer of Latin textbooks and dual-language editions, and works on educational and moral theory.
28. Paul G. Bator, “The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at the University of St Andrews, 1756–1778,” *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 12, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 84.
29. “The manuscripts which do exist provide a record of the lectures Watson delivered while Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at St Andrews from 1756 to 1778. One manuscript set of those lectures at St Andrews is identified at the end as the ‘Second Part of Rhetorick, which Mr. Robert Watson taught in the Year 1758.’” Ibid., 77. Indeed, the very student himself wrote in the bound notebook, “This Book contains all the Second Part of Rhetorick, which Mr. Robert Watson taught in the Year 1758. Finis, the End” (84).
30. Ibid., 96.
31. The only collection with “Plays” in the title published before the 1760s in Eighteenth-Century Collections Online was of Addison’s *Plays*, and Cato was the first play in the volume, published by J. Tonsor, London, in 1735.
32. Bator, “The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson,” 81, 79, 80.
33. Donald H Meyer, *The Democratic Enlightenment* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1976), 189.
34. RH9/1/121, NAS, courtesy of Paula Martin. Dr. Martin notes, “The least anyone paid was 1 shilling, and the most was 3 shillings. So he was in the top stream I would suggest, given his age.” Paula Martin, personal communication to Martin Clagett, January 17, 2011.
35. Robert Annan to Bird Wilson, May 16, 1805, Benjamin Rush Papers, 43:133, courtesy of Dr. Jack Gumbrecht.
36. Cupar Burgh Records, April 16, 1762, 119; December 1, 1762, 127; and April 16, 1764, 213, NAS, courtesy of Paula Martin.
37. See, of many sources, David M. Walker, “Some Characteristics of Scots Law,” *Modern Law Review* 18 (1955): 321–37.
38. University of Glasgow Faculty Minutes, April 4, 1764, by permission of University of Glasgow, Special Collections.
39. “Student receipt book 1758–63, uncatalogued ms in Library records,” by permission of University of Glasgow, Special Collections, courtesy of Sarah Hepworth and Leslie Richmond. The documents were only recently uncovered due to the diligence of archivist Sarah Hepworth, partially in response to a request made by the author. And, although it is described as 1758–1763, a close examination of the professors reveals that the actual dates are 1763–1765. For instance, Thomas Reid appears as an assigning professor in the last several pages of the lists and he first took over the professorship of moral philosophy from Adam Smith in October 1764.
40. Ibid.; Sarah Hepworth, personal communication to Martin Clagett, September 16, 2006.

41. Stent Roll 1764, John Anderson's Natural Philosophy Class, by permission of the University of Glasgow, Special Collections.
42. "The money required to defray expenses of graduation was raised by an assessment levied from the graduands, and from among these graduands . . . officers were chosen to collect the assessments, and to provide gloves and arrange for the printing of theses." James Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1909), 158.
43. Thomas Reid's name also appears on this same page of the lending lists. Reid did not take office until October 1764; this would have been his first January at Glasgow. The assigning professor was John Anderson; James Wilson was a stent master for Anderson class for the spring class of 1765.
44. *Report for the Commissioners*, vol. 12 (London: House of Commons, 1831), 269; *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations in the Colleges and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: The Maitland Club, 1850), 68; DunDonald's Mortification, Faculty Minute Books, June 24, 1763, (1) GUA 6643, by permission of the University of Glasgow, Special Collections.
45. Cupar Burgh Records, April 16, 1764, 213, NAS, courtesy of Paula Martin.
46. David Murray, *Memorials of the Old College of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1871), sec. 2.
47. New legislation brought in at Glasgow in the reforms of 1727 changed the lecture schedules to make it possible for third- and fourth-year students to attend each other's classes. So there is a record that some students who attended Hutcheson's moral philosophy class (nominally the third-year class) would keep coming back to hear it again even when they had gone on to natural philosophy in the fourth year and divinity in the next several years. Moreover it was the first class of the day at 7:00 in the morning. That arrangement would have continued into Reid's day at Glasgow, though he was a far less charismatic teacher and took a very wistful view of Ferguson's ability to pull in the crowds over in Edinburgh. Professor M. A. Stewart, personal communication to Martin Claggett, January 20, 2007. I am indebted to Professor Stewart's great wealth of knowledge concerning this and other subjects.
48. James Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1909), 221.
49. Ibid.
50. By permission of the University of Glasgow, Special Collections. Senatus Minutes. Coll.Glas. Die XI Junii A.D. MDCCLXIV.
51. See the thorough discussion by Benjamin W. Redekop, "Reid's Influence on Britain, Germany, France, and America," in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Reid*, ed. Terence Cuneo and Rene von Woudenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 327–35.
52. William Ewald, "James Wilson and the Scottish Enlightenment," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law* 12 (2010): 1056.
53. Thomas Young to James Wilson. January 24, 1785, James Montgomery Collection (#940), Box 3, James Wilson Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
54. Ewald, "James Wilson and the Scottish Enlightenment," 1096.
55. Kermit Hall and Mark David Hall, eds., *Collected Works of James Wilson*, vol. 2 (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007), 798, 799.
56. Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, chap. 2, sec. 1 (Edinburgh: Bell and Creech, 1785), 33.
57. Ewald, "James Wilson and the Scottish Enlightenment," 1106.