

# Study in Documents

## Finding “Enlightenment” in the National Archives of Canada: The Commonplace Book of James Sholto Douglas\*

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**RÉSUMÉ** Cet article présente l’exploration qu’a faite l’auteur relativement à la provenance et au contenu des documents d’archives laissés par James Sholto Douglas, qui fut étudiant de l’Université d’Edinburgh durant les années 1750. Dans la foulée du concept de science prêt-à-porter (“ready-made” science) mis de l’avant par l’historien des sciences Bruno Latour, l’auteur tente de démontrer que le processus d’acquisition, d’organisation et de description crée autour des documents une « boîte noire ». En ouvrant cette boîte, l’archiviste peut obtenir une meilleure compréhension, non seulement des documents, mais du processus de leur acquisition et de leur description. Ainsi, les archives de James Sholto Douglas ne sont pas qu’une excellente illustration de l’éducation et de la pensée durant la période des Lumières écossaise, ils permettent également de bien démontrer comment la déconstruction du contexte des documents est éclairante.

**ABSTRACT** This article chronicles the author’s exploration of the provenance and content of the papers of James Sholto Douglas, a student at the University of Edinburgh during the 1750s. Extrapolating from science historian Bruno Latour’s concept of “ready-made” science, the author argues that the processes of acquisition, organization, and description create a “black box” around the record. Through opening the black box, the archivist gains a better understanding, not only of the documents but also of the process behind their acquisition and description. The James Sholto Douglas papers are an excellent example of the education and thought which existed during the Scottish Enlightenment; they also constitute an excellent case study of how deconstructing a record’s context can bring enlightenment.

Usefull knowledge can have no enemies, out [*sic*] the ignorant, it cherishes youth, delights the aged, is an ornament in prosperity, and yields comfort in adversity. The great business of man is to improve his mind and govern his manners. ...

James Sholto Douglas to the Belles Lettres Society  
University of Edinburgh, December 1758

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Scotland during the eighteenth century produced some of the finest minds and most innovative thinkers in the Western world. The intellectual fecundity of this era, demonstrated in such varied fields as metaphysics, politics, literature, natural philosophy, and medicine, has been seen by contemporary intellectuals as constituting a Scottish Enlightenment, uniquely rooted in Scottish culture and institutions and also part and parcel of a larger European Enlightenment.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident from the historiography of early British North America that many of the professionals who came to Canada after the Conquest had been trained in the milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment.<sup>2</sup> Many of these professionals were Scots by birth; others were of British, European, and North American extraction, drawn to the universities of Scotland and then lured by the opportunities that the British American colonies offered. In Canada, these professionals often transcended their respective specializations to make greater contributions to the community, in particular, and to the colony, at large. Since it has been well established that the Scots, and the Scottish-educated, figured prominently in the development of early British North America, this then begs the question: did the epistemology of the Scottish

1 Enlightenment is a term that has been borrowed by intellectuals who analyse this period, the late eighteenth century, of Scottish history. But the origins of Enlightenment are much older. Early writers on Enlightenment defined it in many ways: as a process of education extending across many generations; an education in the use of reason; and the use of reason in public, freeing man from prejudice and superstition. While early writers on Enlightenment such as Moses Mendelssohn (1729–86) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) believed that Enlightenment was an ongoing process, intellectuals closer to our own age have seen *the* Enlightenment as more static: as a finite period delineated by the prevalence of certain ideas, similar to those espoused by Mendelssohn and Kant. See Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1–2.

2 The majority of the grand histories of the Scot in Canada have been written by authors of Scottish extraction. In some cases, the subtlety of the bias towards Scotia's sons is akin to the essence of peat in a single malt: ranging from the barely palpable to the barely palatable. Nonetheless, the existence of the Scot, or Scottish, educated in various professions and governance is quite well documented. For some examples of both ends of the spectrum see Wilfred Campbell, *The Scotsman in Canada* (London, 1911); Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London, 1966); J.M. Gibbon, *Scots in Canada* (London, 1911); J.M. LeMoine, *The Scot in New France: An Ethnological Study* (Montreal, 1881); William Rattray, *The Scot in British North America*, 4 vols. (Toronto, 1881); W. Stanford Reid, ed., *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto, 1976); James Alexander Roy, *The Scot and Canada* (Toronto, 1949); William Canniff, *The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, 1783–1850* (Toronto, 1894). It should be noted that in his work, Canniff does not underscore the achievement of the Scottish, or the Scottish-trained, physician in Canada. However, his survey of 268 of the most complete biographies of Upper Canada's most renowned medical practitioners shows that 27.6 per cent are noted as being Scottish, or having received medical instruction in Scotland. This compares to 18.7 per cent of those listed as being solely trained in the United States of America, 12.7 per cent being solely trained in Canadian medical schools, and 12.3 per cent who received their medical education in England. In the remainder of the biographies, the practitioners were trained either in the British Army or Navy, in a country not previously listed, or no specific training is mentioned.

Enlightenment travel with them? Furthermore, if such intellectual baggage did exist, what sources could have been created to document this phenomenon and have they been preserved to prove it?

While researching answers to these questions, I came across the lecture notes and commonplace book of James Sholto Douglas, part of the greater Sir Howard Douglas and Family collection (MG 24 A3) in the National Archives of Canada. Most of the documents in the collection recount the adult experiences of Sir Howard Douglas (1776–1861), military officer, Lieutenant-Governor, and founder of the University of New Brunswick. The lecture notes and commonplace book of James Sholto Douglas, however, relate to a more formative development, dating from the 1750s, when the young Douglas was a student at the University of Edinburgh. More specifically, the commonplace book of James Sholto Douglas is a veritable sampler of lectures, musings, poetry, orations from the University's *Belles Lettres* society, essays, and transcribed works of philosophy.

This article will analyse the commonplace book of James Sholto Douglas: a source that has become, for the author, the focal point for the convergence of three levels of *enlightenment* and, simultaneously, of the historical and archival disciplines. Two levels of this enlightenment can be considered to be anchored in the past and the primary, though not singular, interest of the historian. In the macrocosm, Douglas's musings, essays, and letters are indicative of the paradigm of the Scottish Enlightenment, reflecting an eclectic education of science and letters, imbued with philosophy. In the microcosm, perhaps unsurprisingly, the young Douglas of this era of Enlightenment was searching for self-illumination and direction, taking great pains to express these feelings in his commonplace book.

The third level of enlightenment is more contemporary, and can be considered to fall within the archivist's bailiwick. This third level became apparent through an examination and reconstruction of the provenance of the James Sholto Douglas papers and the investigation into the identity of Douglas himself. The Douglas papers proved to be not only a portal connecting contemporary Canada to eighteenth-century Scotland, but also the focal point of exploration into the recent archival past, that is, the history of the acquisition and description of the archival record. The records are akin to a looking glass which reflects how archivists imbue certain records with value and virtually ignore others. This examination of the history of the record resulted in an *éclairage* for the author, who views his own personal enlightenment intrinsically and unavoidably intertwined with the primary source.

### **Searching for Enlightenment: Opening the Black Box of the Ready-Made Archives**

The questions concerning James Sholto Douglas and his papers arose out of

an investigation which can be considered the opening of the black box of the ready-made archives. The investigation, in a sense was quite similar to Joanna Sassoon's chasing of archival phantoms.<sup>3</sup> However, instead of searching for a missing collection, I was searching for records that ought to exist concerning archival acquisition and provenance. More precisely (and the reason for the phrase "opening the black box"), the investigative story told here is an appeal to Bruno Latour's (b. 1947) concept of the black box of "ready-made science," or "all-made science."<sup>4</sup> Latour, French historian of science and technology, argues that this "ready-made" science is considered by its promoters to be already proven and, as such, does not require any further exploration into the origins or development of its premises. Latour argues that, to understand more clearly the creation and development of any scientific concept, the obscuring black box must be opened, thus leading to the deconstruction of the "ready-made" perceptions.

Similarly, the Douglas material was acquired, accessioned, described, and made available for consultation under a prevailing set of assumptions. Indeed, a "black box" has been created around this collection, and any indication of how the box was created is hidden within.<sup>5</sup> Latour argues that the black box is erroneously perceived to be complete. Elements or ideas enclosed within are not normally removed *from* the box. The only way to gain a better understanding of the box's contents is to open it, to deconstruct how it came to be.

The Sir Howard Douglas and Family collection, acquired between 1908 and 1973, consists predominately of the papers that chronicle the military and political career of Sir Howard Douglas, the third baronet of Carr. The collection also includes correspondence to Sir Charles Douglas (d. 1789), Sir Howard's father and the first baronet of Carr; the journals of a Captain William Douglas; the James Sholto Douglas material; a notebook described as being "anonymous legal case notes"; and a contract between Arnold Wise and William Loney of Gosport, dated 1764.

3 Joanna Sassoon, "Chasing Phantoms in the Archives: The Australia House Photograph Collection," *Archivaria* 50 (Fall 2000), pp. 117–24.

4 See Bruno Latour, *Science in Action* (Milton Keynes, 1987).

5 The word "black" does not imply that the box has been wrongly created, just that the decisions regarding its contents have been either forgotten or accepted as unquestionable truth. Note also that the idea of the "black box" that Latour advocates is quite different from the similarly named concept introduced into the archival literature by Frank Boles and Julia Marks Young in their "Exploring the Black Box: The Appraisal of University Administrative Records," *American Archivist* 48 (Spring 1985), pp. 121–40. (Boles and Young's "black box" is an ethereal, intellectual realm where the characteristics and values ascribed to records swirl around.) Latour's "black box" contains and shields scientific processes or accumulated knowledge. I aim to show that, by opening the box and questioning the processes behind the archival existence of the documents, new truths can be discovered, and in turn, augment or refocus the description, arrangement, and use of the material.

Very little is recorded about James Sholto Douglas, or the provenance of his papers. Indeed, upon first glance, all that is known is simply what can be found in the brief General Inventory description and in the similarly worded notice of acquisition from the 1973–74 *Public Archives of Canada Report*:

Douglas Family, additional (MG 24 A 3), 1754?–1828 (originals, 8 inches); correspondence, accounts and journals accumulated by Sir Howard Douglas during the Peninsular War; notebook of Captain William Douglas of the Royal Marines recording an expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe, 1759, and notebooks of James Sholto Douglas, 1754?–1759, kept while studying medicine at Edinburgh.<sup>6</sup>

In both sources, the papers are described as being the commonplace book and medical lecture notes of Douglas, pertaining to his years at Edinburgh between 1754 and 1759. There is no biographical information, no birth or death dates, no proof of relation to Howard Douglas, and even no indication of James Sholto Douglas ever having lived in Canada.

A search of the acquisition files for the Sir Howard Douglas and Family collection failed to provide any further information about James Sholto Douglas, and proved to be useful only for background information about the renowned Sir Howard Douglas and Sir Charles Douglas. The Douglas papers were acquired from various sources over a period of sixty years. Each acquisition added to the accession of papers is well documented, and brief biographical notes for Howard and Charles Douglas exist. However, for the last acquisition added to the Sir Howard Douglas Family collection – in which the James Sholto Douglas material appears – no information is provided either on the papers or the life of James Sholto Douglas. There is also no corroborative proof that Douglas actually studied medicine at Edinburgh and, thus one assumes that this conclusion must have been divined from a reading of the papers.

The lack of information about James Sholto Douglas and his papers is, in one sense, not surprising when one considers that this material constitutes only a small portion of the entire Sir Howard Douglas and Family collection. Indeed, a dearth of information also exists for the small collection of Captain William Douglas's journals which were acquired at the same time as the James Sholto Douglas commonplace book and lecture notes. Also absent from the acquisition file, unlike in the case of the previous additions to the Douglas papers, is any clear indication of provenance, or indeed any specific details on the acquisition itself. On the very last page, however, there is a clue. The material was purchased from Peter Eaton Ltd., a London bookseller, but no price is listed, nor any other purchase detail.

6 Government of Canada, *PAC Report 1973–1974* (Ottawa, 1974), p. 32.

A trans-Atlantic phone call to Margaret Eaton, the current codirector of Peter Eaton Ltd., shed some further light on the provenance of the Douglas papers.<sup>7</sup> After some searching, Eaton found and sent the author a photocopy of the auction catalogue from 1972. In a moment of epiphany, it became clear that not only were the James Sholto Douglas papers part of a larger Douglas acquisition, but also the Douglas acquisition itself was a portion of a much larger collection being offered for purchase. This larger collection, entitled by the dealer the “Wolfe-Burgoyne-Douglas” papers, was described as an “important collection of unique manuscript material mostly concerned with the American War of Independence.” Any hopes of identifying the original owner of the papers were dashed, however, with the final paragraph in the catalogue entry attributing ownership of the papers to the anonymous heirs of a nineteenth-century collector. Similarly, any hope of a quick answer to the question of James Sholto Douglas’s identity was confounded by a description of his papers and led to more questions than answers: “James Sholto [sic] Douglas – A number of notebooks in which a large part of the writing is in Latin. All appear to be concerned with legal matters.” With this description, the assumption that Douglas studied medicine is drawn into question. Opening the black box of the ready-made collection led to some answers, but it also brought more questions.

A return to the acquisition files verified that, in 1972, a collection entitled “Wolfe-Burgoyne-Douglas” was purchased from the London bookseller, Peter Eaton Ltd., and arrived in Canada sometime in late 1972 or early 1973. However, this material was never accessioned as a whole. By cross-referencing the descriptions of the documents found in the Eaton Auction Catalogue to the descriptions of recently acquired collections in the 1973 Public Archives report, it became apparent that, after arrival, the entire acquisition was broken up into three separate groupings.

As intrigue led to more in-depth investigation about the original acquisition and description, further context was provided by senior colleagues. Depending on how long the collection being studied has been at the archives, this resource is not always available; when opening archival black boxes, it is fortuitous to have access to senior colleagues who can provide insight into past practices. In this particular case, they also highlighted a tangible and valuable point: black boxes develop by necessity. Only a finite amount of time can be allotted to any one project as the constant flow of new acquisitions does not ebb. Descriptions have to be written and collection organization decided upon, and often no time is left to return to, or reinterpret, past work.

A senior colleague confirmed the author’s suspicions about the complexity and difficulties that must have existed in 1973 when archivists tried to create

<sup>7</sup> The author would like to express his thanks to Margaret Eaton whose assistance has been invaluable in reconstructing the acquisition history of the Douglas material.

order out of such a disparate collection. The military papers and ephemera of the Campbell family (whose existence is not acknowledged in the vague “Wolfe-Burgoyne-Douglas” title) were added to the Campbell of Barbreck and Auchindoun Family collection (MG 24 F 89). The Wolfe and Burgoyne material was subsequently attributed to Frederick Mackenzie, the occasional Deputy Adjutant General to the Commander of the Forces in British North America, and placed in a fonds under his name (MG 23 K 34). Finally, the remaining Douglas material was added to the existing Sir Howard Douglas and Family collection.

When it came to description of the Douglas material, the focus was, necessarily, the more substantial Sir Howard Douglas journals and the accounts from the Peninsular War. It appears that the other Douglas papers were included simply because of their physical association. As Brien Brothman observed in his article, “Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice,” the way archivists order collections, even the space allotted by them to documents, imparts a sense of value to the record.<sup>8</sup> The James Sholto Douglas material was seen to have some value, if only for the fact that it became part of the permanent holdings of the National Archives of Canada. However, it appears that this attributed value was mainly associative. James Sholto Douglas fell into the penumbra of his more prolific namesake, thus obscuring the independent value of his record.

An initial search of external primary and secondary sources proved equally fruitless in the attempt to determine the connection of James Sholto Douglas to the broader accession, and indeed his identity. Unlike Sir Charles and Sir Howard, there are no entries for James Sholto Douglas in the *Dictionary of National Biography* or *Burke’s Peerage*.<sup>9</sup> Original student lists held by the Special Collections of the University of Edinburgh reveal that Douglas was registered in William Cullen’s chemistry class for 1757; however, no indication could be found of his general course of study. A further search of the published *Catalogue of Graduates* for the University of Edinburgh also failed to reveal any information on Douglas.<sup>10</sup> This did not come as a surprise, how-

8 Sharing an affinity with the ideas Gerald Ham, Brothman wrote: “Thus, we are not simply ‘acquiring’ and ‘preserving’ records of value; we are creating value, that is, an order of value, by putting things in their proper place, by making place(s) for them. This process underlines the significance of order in archives.” See Brien Brothman, “Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice,” *Archivaria* 32 (Summer 1991), pp. 78–100.

9 The entry for Sir Charles Douglas is found on pages 1194 to 1196 in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1908) and on page 799 of *Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage* (1936). Sir Howard Douglas is mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography* on pages 1203 to 1206 and again on page 799 of *Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage*. There is no mention of a James Sholto Douglas in any of the family lineages in the works, or in earlier editions of *Burke’s Peerage* and *Burke’s Commoners*.

10 The author would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of Irene Ferguson, Assistant to the University Archivist, University of Edinburgh for researching the university’s student lists. A

ever. Due to poor university record-keeping before the nineteenth century, Douglas's omission from the published register does not necessarily reflect his failure to complete his course of study at Edinburgh. Also, the less regimented structure of the university in the eighteenth century led to students taking courses at Edinburgh without completing a formal degree.<sup>11</sup>

Such efforts to divine information on Douglas from external sources, again, constituted only an initial search. Listings of uniquely Scottish peerages and commoners, and primary and secondary sources detailing the lives of Scottish professionals, would have undoubtedly shed further light on the education and career of James Sholto Douglas. Unfortunately, such sources are difficult to find in Canada. Those published works that do exist are often not available for inter-institutional loan because of their age or condition. Thus, faced with a situation without any clear indication of Douglas's studies from published sources or university records, it seemed that the most expedient way to divine context about Douglas's life was to delve into the source itself. With luck, this would not only cement a familial relation to the other Douglasses, but also prove that James Sholto Douglas was indeed an active participant in the Scottish Enlightenment. If fortune smiled, these facts would culminate in tangible proof that Douglas came to Canada dispensing his eclectic, Enlightenment ideals as vigorously as his medicine.

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further thank you to Russell Manning, St. Edmund's College, Cambridge for searching a copy of the published *Catalogue of Graduates* from the University of Edinburgh found in the University Library, Cambridge.

11 To explain the situation, the following is taken from the official statement provided by the University of Edinburgh University Archive concerning student records: "The surviving records of Edinburgh University students between 1583 (when the University was established) and the present day vary greatly. Until the 1730's, the only evidence of a student's presence is a signature in the matriculation or enrolment books, dating from 1627, and, if the student graduated, a signature in the graduation album, dating from 1587. At no time was any information about family, parents, or anything else of a genealogical nature recorded. Only a few class lists survive for the eighteenth century, which give the place of origin of a student and it was not until after 1811 that this was methodically noted when the student enrolled. After 1833, records of medical students become more detailed, recording information on subjects studied, together with place and year of birth. Edinburgh is unique amongst the ancient Scottish universities in not systematically recording students' parent's names, with place and date of birth at enrolment until the early 1920's. This means that those with the commoner Scottish name combinations such as John Robertson, or Colin Campbell, are virtually indistinguishable from one another and cannot be identified. It is also worth noting that for much of the period between 1700 and 1858 and sometimes later, many students did not bother to go through the formalities of matriculation and especially graduation. Instead, they would attend various classes and if necessary, for future employment purposes, obtain a class certificate direct from individual Professors.

Arts students (and this designation included science, mathematics and agriculture), rarely graduated at all in the 200 years up to 1900. Consequently, whilst a student may have attended Edinburgh University in this period, it does not follow that he/she will be on record."



### Searching for Enlightenment from Within: Contextualizing the Source

Many who study the intellectual developments of the eighteenth century have used the heuristic framework of the Scottish Enlightenment to focus their analysis on how the underlying ideas or principles of the Enlightenment were exhibited in Scotland. As in studies of the Enlightenment in general, the meanings, significance, and chronology of this Scottish Enlightenment paradigm are by no means universally accepted among academics. As Richard Sher observed in the introduction to his *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, “ever since that term [Scottish Enlightenment] was introduced by William Robert Scott in 1900 there has been no consensus about its meaning.”<sup>12</sup> The chronology that David Daiches proposed in a 1986 article entitled “The Scottish Enlightenment” resonates most favourably with this author. Daiches proposed that the era could arguably be traced to the publishing of Francis Hutcheson’s *Inquiry into the Originals of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* in 1724; however, “the latter half of the Eighteenth century, perhaps a period as limited as 1760 to 1790, is more easily defensible as the true Golden Age. ...”<sup>13</sup>

Although there are many differing interpretations of the causes and events of the Scottish Enlightenment, it could generally be summarized as an era pervaded by a spirit of philosophy and polymathy.<sup>14</sup> The pursuit of knowledge through experience, the examination of nature, and the improvement of society were mankind’s most laudable goals. To this end it was not only encour-

12 Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 4.

13 David Daiches, “The Scottish Enlightenment,” in David Daiches, Peter Jones, and Jean Jones, eds., *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730–1790* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 1.

14 While the intricacies of the historiography are beyond the scope of this paper, it should be noted that it is very rich, and some contributions, such as the opinions brought forward by Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre), have sparked a spirited controversy over the origins and meanings of this era. Some of the works in this rich body of literature include: R.H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner, *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982); Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History* (London, 1976); David Daiches, et. al., *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730–1790* (Edinburgh, 1986); Roger L. Emerson, “Science and the Origins and Concerns of the Scottish Enlightenment,” *History of Science* 26 (1988), pp. 333–66; Nicholas Phillipson, “The Scottish Enlightenment,” in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context*, (Cambridge, 1981); Jane Rendall, *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment* (London, 1978); Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1985); M.A. Stewart, ed., *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1991); Hugh Trevor-Roper, “The Scottish Enlightenment,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 58 (1967), pp. 1635–58; Douglas Young, “Scotland and Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 58 (1967), pp. 1967–90.

15 NA, MG 24, A 3, vol. 3, James Sholto Douglas, Commonplace Book, University of Edin-

aged, but also expected, that a learned individual should have myriad interests outside a particular chosen profession.

The James Sholto Douglas material, comprised of two bound manuscript books, reflects a similar eclecticism. The first book, measuring 10.5 cm × 19 cm, contains lecture notes written primarily in Latin which appear to have been taken for a course in late Roman, early medieval history. The notebook contains lectures 49 to 75 and finishes with the phrases, “End of Volume 5<sup>th</sup> / James Sholto Douglas MM.” Most of the notes list a specific chapter from a text, or give a specific lecture number, while other notes begin with the date, written in English, and then continue in Latin. Unfortunately, Douglas does not provide any information on the author or title of the work which formed the subject of the lecture, other than one reference to *Tursell* and another to *Tursell epitome*. Nonetheless, it is clear from the chapter headings that the lectures concern all the late Roman emperors of note, from both the Eastern and Western empires, and then continue with the lives of the rulers of medieval France (see **Appendix I** for a table of contents).

The other bound manuscript book, Douglas’s commonplace book, is written almost entirely in English, unlike the lecture notes. The book measures 15.5 cm × 19.2 cm and, although similarly bound, it shows more wear on the cardboard cover and leather spine than the book of lecture notes. As with many commonplace books of the era, the writings commence at each end of the book and progress towards the middle. The year 1757–58 begins with a tract entitled “An Essay on the Nature and Utility of the Theatre” and, on the reverse side, an essay entitled “Notes and Observations on Rollin’s antient history” is the first composition for the year 1758–59. The writings are, for the most part, comprised of essays and orations either on history or on the lives of historical figures. There are also a few examples of writings on what could be considered medical topics, although there is no corroborative evidence of a specific lecturer or the utility of the information. For example, following the text of his oration on “Usefull Knowledge” to the Belles Lettres Society in December 1758, Douglas cites several medically oriented aphorisms attributed to Hippocrates (c. 460–c. 379 B.C.), Celsus (c. A.D. 14), and Plutarch (A.D. 46?–120) respectively. After these citations, there are six essays on health taken from James Mackenzie’s *History of Health* (1758) (for a table of contents, see **Appendix II**). In another section, Douglas writes at length about the Plague of Athens as described by Thucydides, and, finally, the commonplace book contains lecture notes in chemistry from one of the most renowned physicians of the eighteenth century, William Cullen (1710–90).

It is hard not to see examples that underscore the philosophy and teachings of the Scottish Enlightenment through a cursory search of Douglas’s commonplace book. Beside the title of “Hucheson [*sic*],” Douglas paraphrases many of

the ideas found in the writings of the Scottish philosopher Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), whose *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725) is considered one of the keystones of the Enlightenment in Scotland. The ideals of Hutcheson are again reflected in an untitled essay on virtue in which Douglas espouses, "...Virtue, the only sure guide and friend of human kind. ..."<sup>15</sup>

During the era of the Scottish Enlightenment, it was strongly believed that ideas and arguments should be expressed in the company of friends to obtain a broader and more informed opinion. The approval or criticism of friends, whether rendered at the club, salon, coffee house, or through correspondence, was a central characteristic of the Scottish Enlightenment milieu. For example, in 1754 David Hume wrote a letter to Adam Smith asking the opinions of his friends on his latest publication. "Pray tell me, & tell me ingenuously," he eagerly wrote:

What Success has my History met with among my Judges with you, I mean Dr. Cullen, Mr. Betham, Mrs. Betham, Mr. Leechman, Mr. Muirhead, Mr. Crawford, &c? Dare I presume, that it has been thought worthy of Examination, & that its Beauties are found to over-balance its Defects? I am very desirous to know my Errors. ...<sup>16</sup>

Dr. William Cullen, like the others mentioned above, participated in several popular philosophical and *literati* societies in Glasgow and Edinburgh, such as the Philosophical Society, the Select Society, the Poker Club, and the Revolution Club,<sup>17</sup> in which the important issues and philosophical matters of the day were discussed in lively company. Cullen, like Hume and others in the milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment, believed that the opinions of friends were a vital part of the intellectual process. As long as the friend was educated, it did not matter what profession or specific training he possessed. Such an environment encouraged discussion and critical evaluation. Whether a member of the aristocracy or *literati*, a popular philosopher or a common physician, new perspectives were encouraged and indeed demanded in this environment marked by its intellectual eclecticism.

James Sholto Douglas was also a member of several clubs and societies, most notably the Belles Lettres Society, the University of Edinburgh's student intellectual organization. This fact is quite clearly stated in the text of

15 NA, MG 24, A 3, vol. 3, James Sholto Douglas, Commonplace Book, University of Edinburgh, 1758–59, Untitled Essay on Virtue.

16 J.Y.T. Grieg, ed., *The Letters of David Hume*, vol. 1, Hume to Smith, 17 December 1754 (Oxford, 1932), p. 213.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 139.

three orations<sup>18</sup> and on the front page of his commonplace book where it is written, “*Amicis suis Egregius/ac/ patrice optime Merentitus/ Membris (Belles Lettres Society instituted at Edinburgh Jan. 1759) Societatis de Belles Lettres/ [?]/ Alma Matre Acadamia Edinburgena.*” Douglas’s membership in the Belles Lettres Society is also attested to in Paul Bator’s article, “The University of Edinburgh Belles Lettres Society (1759–64) and the Rhetoric of the Novel.” In this analysis of the role of students and the popularization of the novel, he utilizes the “Proceedings of the Belles Society” found in the Advocates’ Library, National Library of Scotland. Bator writes that Douglas, along with Walter Campbell, William Govane, James Grant, Charles Hunter, John Pringle, and Thomas Robins, was an initial member of the society in 1759.<sup>19</sup> In the commonplace book, Douglas writes a draft letter to William Govane concerning matters of the society after Govane’s departure from Edinburgh.

It is possible that Douglas was also a member of the Thistle Lodge, where, he writes, he attended a lecture by Francis Gentleman in May 1759. He may also have been a member of St. David’s Lodge, for the commonplace book also contains a speech entitled “An Opinion Concerning the 33, Law of the Constitutions, Delivered in St. David’s Lodge the of [sic] January 1759.” However, one noticeable omission, for an apparent student of medicine, is any reference to membership in medical or scientific societies, or attendance at lectures on medical topics.

Had Douglas been a medical student in the milieu of mid-eighteenth-century Edinburgh, he undoubtedly would have studied under one of the physicians who revolutionized medical teaching there. It has been argued that men, such as physician and anatomist Alexander Monro *secundus* (1733–1817), physician and botanist Francis Home (1719–1813), physician and chemist William Cullen, and, later, Cullen’s protégé, Joseph Black (1728–1799), changed the direction of medical teaching in Edinburgh and raised the reputation of the school and Edinburgh medicine throughout the world.<sup>20</sup>

18 There are several orations in the commonplace book that do not mention where they were given; however, of those that do, the following are observed as being delivered at the Belles Lettres Society:

1. “An Oration: *Ecce spectaculum dignum ad gerod respurit intentus suo opire Deus!* ... This oration pronounced in the Belles Lettres Society”
2. “[An Oration on Usefull Knowledge] ... The following oration was delivered at the Institution of the Belles Lettres Society 1758 Decemb:”
3. “A Character of a Heroic Patriot [William Wallace], An Oration &ct: ... to be delivered at the Belles Lettres Society at their weekly meeting on Friday 25<sup>th</sup> January 1759.”

19 Paul Bator, “The University of Edinburgh Belles Lettres Society (1759–64) and the Rhetoric of the Novel,” *Rhetoric Review* 14 (Spring 1996), p. 293.

20 One of the most comprehensive works on the Enlightenment nexus of change in the teaching and practice of medicine is Guenter Risse’s *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland: Care*

Indeed a cursory search of Douglas's commonplace book reveals not only lecture notes from William Cullen's classes, but also a draft letter to Ensign James Hoggane concerning his thoughts on taking classes with the renowned chemist and physician.

In Edinburgh, at this time, medical teaching as expounded by William Cullen placed a strong emphasis on his version of *modern* chemistry. It is this system of his own creation that he brought to Edinburgh when he was appointed the Professor of Chemistry in 1755. "Soon after I came here," Cullen reflected to his students in an introductory lecture in Edinburgh at the beginning of the 1783–84 term:

I was engaged to give clinical, that is practical, lectures; and in these I ventured to give my own opinion of the nature and cure of diseases, different in several respects from that of the Boerhaavians. This soon produced an outcry against me ... I was, however, no violent reformer; and by degrees only, I ventured to point out the imperfections, and even the errors, of Dr. Boerhaave's system. ...<sup>21</sup>

Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738), the messianic, late seventeenth-century professor of medicine at Leyden, had argued that the circulation of fluids was of quintessential importance to health and indeed life.<sup>22</sup> Cullen, on the other hand, believed that the nervous system was vital in the proper regulation and health of the body. As one contemporary source wrote of Cullen's theory:

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*and Teaching at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh* (Cambridge, 1986). Other works that bring light upon this era, or chronicle some of the changes include: John D. Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine*, vol. 1 (London, 1932); A. Doig, et al., eds., *William Cullen and the Eighteenth Century Medical World* (Edinburgh, 1993); A.L. Donovan, *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Doctrines and Discoveries of William Cullen and Joseph Black* (Edinburgh, 1975); Christopher J. Lawrence, *Medicine as Culture: Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University College London, 1984).

21 John Thomson, *An Account of the Life, Lectures and Writings of William Cullen, M.D.*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1859), p. 119.

22 The system of Boerhaave was all the rage in medical circles during early to mid-eighteenth century Europe and was no less popular in Scotland during this time. It was seen as a simple and concise system of physic that incorporated the best elements over two thousand years of Western medicine, from the writings of Hippocrates (c. 460– c. 379 B.C.) and Galen (A.D. 130–201), to William Harvey (1578–1657) and his discovery of the circulation of the blood. The anonymous English translator of Boerhaave's *Aphorisms* considered that the ordered and clear tenets of the work would provide a foil of medical professionalism to:

those who are forced to hide their ignorance, and confused and unsettled thoughts under the Cloak of Jargon, which they themselves do not understand, or who have not other Merit than the noisy Clamour of Oxford, Oxford! their Equipages, or the cunning sly Way of engaging Nurses and some ignorant Women in their Interest. ...

The *Aphorisms On the Diagnosis and Treatment of Diseases* (originally published in 1709) – the title being an indication of the author's reverence for the work of Hippocrates – illustrated

... according to our author, the nervous system is the substratum or fundamental stamina of the whole body; and indeed, as he explains it, our whole frame is so made up of nerves, that the body can be said to contain nothing else.<sup>23</sup>

Finding Boerhaave's chemistry ill-defined, inaccurate, and often unprovable in light of modern chemical experimentation, Cullen renewed the whole system of physic, viewing disease as primarily an affection, or irritation, of the nervous system. In turn, it was the nervous system that affected the regulation of bodily fluids. Cure, therefore, whether involving a chemical compound or other means of therapy, was directed towards this irritation of the nervous system that was considered the root of the disease.

Cullen gained a reputation as being an innovative teacher and a popular orator, not only in chemistry, but in all of his medical teachings. His lectures on *materia medica*, for example, were so popular that they were published by students without his permission. It has been noted in the historiography of William Cullen that, like Francis Hutcheson, he broke tradition by lecturing in the vernacular English rather than the ubiquitous academic Latin that pervaded the academic institutions of Britain in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Despite the fact that James Sholto Douglas wrote his compositions and criticisms in English, his only lecture notes that are not in Latin are indeed those taken from Cullen's classes.

The Scottish Enlightenment was a time of intellectual eclecticism. William Cullen, although a surgeon, physician, and chemist by profession, did not believe that one should be limited by professional specialization or one course of study. "I think you should always be engaged in two kinds of studies," Cullen wrote to Balfour Russell in 1759, "one that you should make a regular task of; and the other that you should make as a pleasure when opportunity offers and inclination prompts you."<sup>25</sup> In a draft letter to family friend Ensign

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that health, and indeed life, was dependent on the circulation of the body's fluids. This circulation was facilitated, or hindered, by the condition of the fine fibres which comprised the membranes of the body. Health, then, could be compromised through a constricting or an over-expansion of these fibres. These variations of the fibrous state of the body's *solids* could in turn be attributed to chemical reactions in the body, the health of the body being affected gravely by the acidity or alkalinity of the fluids that circulated throughout the body. Boerhaave, thus, in his system of physic, used the chemistry of his era to explain and incorporate many of the medical phenomena that had been known since the time of Hippocrates.

23 *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, &c on a Plan Entirely New*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1783), p. 4600.

24 *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Doctrines and Discoveries of William Cullen and Joseph Black*, p. 64.

25 *An Account of the Life, Lectures and Writings of William Cullen, M.D.*, vol. 1, Cullen to Russell, 4 October 1759, p. 130.

James Hoggane, James Sholto Douglas shared that attitude as he wrote of his excitement to be a student of the renowned physician:

Having always entertained an opinion, that in whatever sphere of Life we move, every part of learning is necessary, I am this winter a Pupil of Doctor Cullen's. This gentleman possesses a most surprising genius, by his skill in his profession, he has brought that unjustly neglected study into repute insomuch; that men of every business make Chemistry an object of their attention. I don't pretend to allot time enough for this study but having Dr. Cullen's lectures is sufficient to give anyone a knowledge of the Anatomy of Natural Bodies. ...<sup>26</sup>

It is quite clear in reading Douglas's account that he wholeheartedly believed in the spirit of polymathy which pervaded the milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment. However, it is increasingly unclear, through an examination of his writings, if he was actually a student of medicine, the course of study attributed to him in the initial description of his papers after their arrival at the then Public Archives. Douglas's words do not seem to be those of a medical student embracing a new method of learning. Instead, they appear to be the words of an open-minded scholar, capitalizing on an opportunity to increase the breadth of his learning. The facts – that Douglas was not involved in any groups that discussed medical matters and was a member of a rhetorical society, one known for its appeal to law students and whose proceedings were deposited at the Advocates' Library of the National Library of Scotland – cast further doubt on his studies in medicine.

One fascinating aspect of Douglas's commonplace book is his list of the publications that he had in his possession in a "Catalogue of Books my own" and his list of "Books Borrowed" (see Figures 1 and 3). These lists provide an excellent primary source for scholars investigating the nature and uses of printed works during the Scottish Enlightenment. An analysis of the books listed sheds light on the nature of Douglas's studies and perhaps clarifies if his interests were indeed in the medical arts.

In total, Douglas possessed sixty-nine works, owning thirty-nine of them (see **Appendix II**) and having borrowed another thirty titles (see **Appendix III**). The analysis of these lists is complicated by Douglas's shorthand, which, being illegible, at times makes it difficult to determine the subject matter or the language of the work. Nonetheless, even a simple review of Douglas's library reveals some interesting points and raises further questions concerning education during the Scottish Enlightenment.

26 NA, MG 24, A 3, vol. 3, James Sholto Douglas, Commonplace Book, University of Edinburgh, 1758–59, "Letters to Ensign James Hoggane."

Figure 1

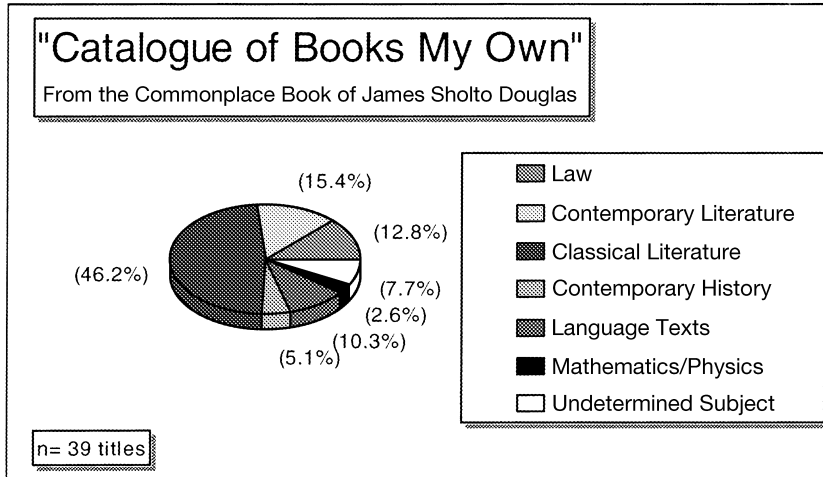
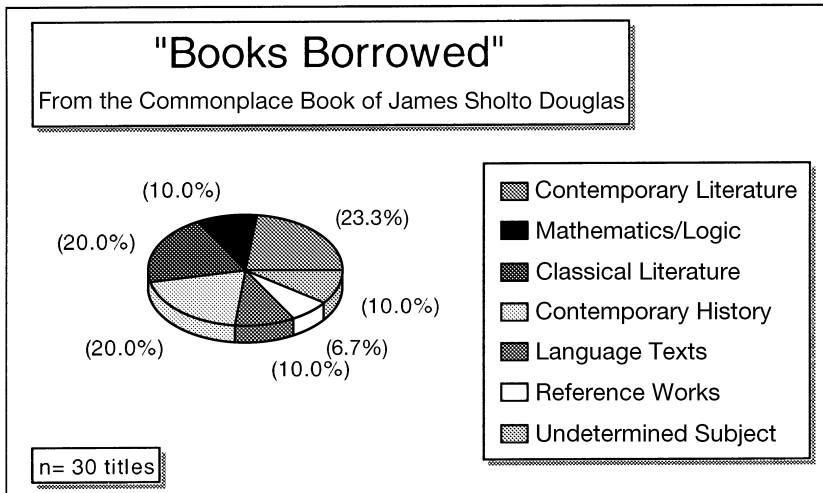


Figure 3



Taking the thirty-nine titles that he lists as "my own," eighteen of the titles, or 42.6 per cent, could be determined as "Classical Literature," that is, the histories, poems, and philosophy of classical Greek or Roman authors. This compares with four Latin and classical Greek "Language Texts," five works of legal instruction, six monographs of "Contemporary Literature" (tracts concerning politics, philosophy, and religion written within a century of Dou-



las's tenure at Edinburgh), and two works of "Contemporary History."<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, the subjects of three works in Douglas's "Catalogue of Books my own" remain undetermined, due partly to the illegibility of the script (see **Figure 1**). Several of these "illegible" titles appear to be grammar school texts, such as "Jeremey[?] Premium at H. School, 2 Class" or "[?] Greek Testament"; however, this cannot be verified and a title search of major British libraries' catalogues has proven unfruitful.<sup>28</sup>

Beside the title of a particular work, Douglas often wrote the language in which it was written. Thus, he would state "A Xenophon in Greek," or a "Latin Bible." In other instances, Douglas would write the title of certain works entirely in Latin such as "*Heineccii antiquitatum*" or "*Virellii opera*." Considering this practice, it is fair to conclude that Douglas owned the English version of any work entitled in English, or the English version of any work that did not have a specific language notation. If this assumption is followed, it can be argued that the works that Douglas owned were equally divided by language, with approximately half in English and the other half Latin and Greek (see **Figures 2 and 4**).

It is impossible to know when Douglas obtained the books that he owned, with two major exceptions. Perhaps he was especially proud of the two legal works by Johann Heineccius (1681–1741) that he purchased, or perhaps they were the two most recent acquisitions that he had made to his library before writing his list. Nonetheless, for these two works he also included the date purchased and price paid. He writes:

*Heineccius in Institutiones* – 4 s 6 d, bought Nov. 18 1758

*Heineccii antiquitatum* – 2 vol. bought 20<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1758, 12 s

Unfortunately for the historian, Douglas does not continue this practice of observing the price paid or date acquired for either the books that he owned, or for the books that he borrowed.

In addition to the thirty-nine titles that Douglas owned, he lists another thirty titles in his commonplace book that he borrowed. Douglas, however, does not mention the lending institution. Perhaps he borrowed some, or all, of the books listed from a literary society's library, or from friends. It is also quite possible that he borrowed the books from the University Library.

While the University of Edinburgh Library was officially a non-lending

27 Since the majority of the *Classical Literature* that Douglas possessed included works of history, the term *Contemporary History* is used to delineate when the book was written, not necessarily the subject matter therein. In fact, the majority of the *Contemporary Histories* that Douglas possessed (both owned and borrowed) were relatively modern accounts of events from ancient Rome, Greece, and Egypt.

28 The existence of current copies of the titles listed by Douglas was verified using the library catalogues of the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Bodleian Library (Oxford), and the University Library (Cambridge).

Figure 2

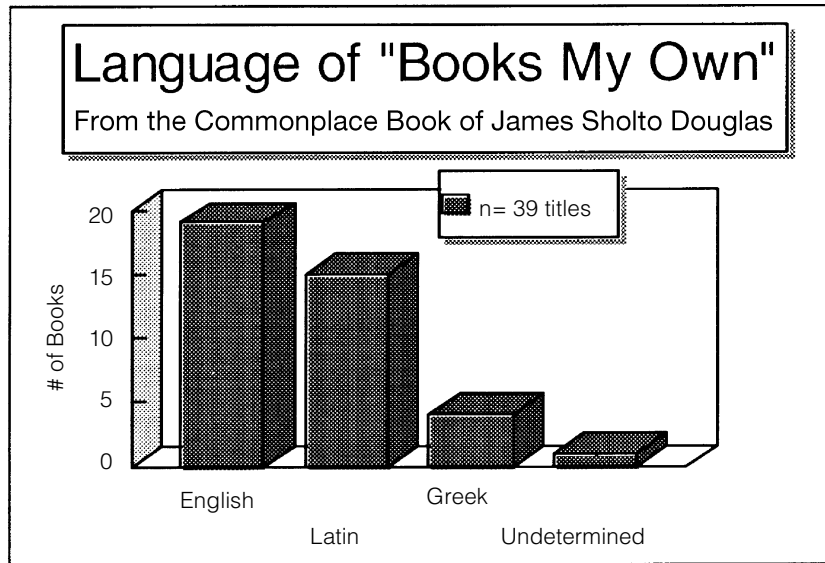
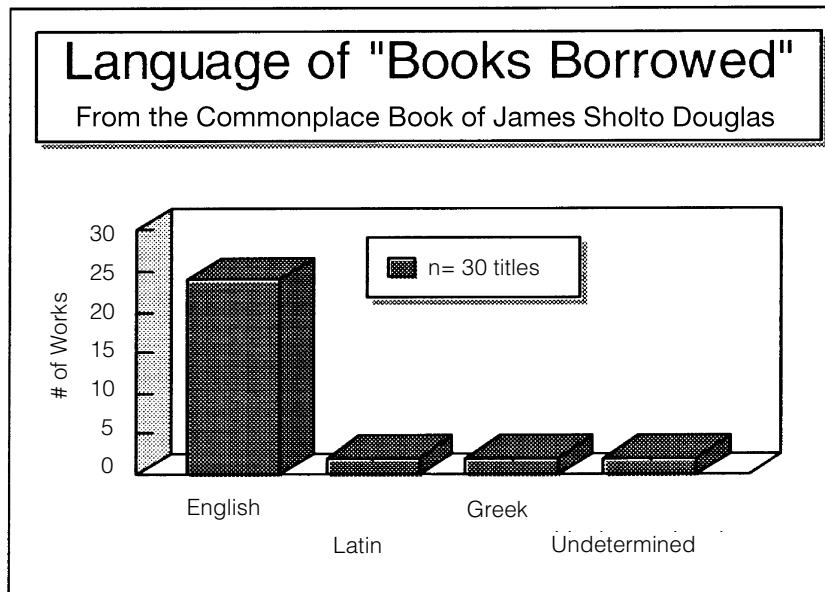


Figure 4



institution in the seventeenth century, this policy would have changed by the time Douglas arrived there in the mid-eighteenth century. For historians of the library collections at Edinburgh, the year 1710 was a watershed for the university library.<sup>29</sup> Three years after the union of Scotland with England, the university library (with the libraries of three other Scottish universities) was granted, under the *Copyright Act*, the right to obtain on demand a copy of every book centrally registered at Stationer's Hall. From that point, the collections of the University of Edinburgh grew to such an extent that in 1753 the books were systematically renumbered and moved to the original, though expanded, library building of 1616.<sup>30</sup>

Under the authority of Principal Robertson, professors were mandated to collect matriculation fees, as well as their own course fees, from students. The matriculation fee, which went in part towards the library, was set at 2 s. 6 d. but could be raised as high as a guinea for wealthier students.<sup>31</sup> In return, the student was issued a library reader's ticket which entitled him to a year's use of the university library. If Douglas borrowed the listed books from the library, he would have had to pay this fee and, as the rules also stated, leave a deposit for the cost of each book borrowed in full. Considering that fact that the library received the interest on the book deposits (leading the under-librarian to often overlook the official lending period of a fortnight),<sup>32</sup> it is quite possible that the thirty works that Douglas listed as borrowed (five more than the official limit) were indeed from the university library.

A breakdown of the "Books Borrowed" by James Sholto Douglas shows a marked difference from the books that he owned. Most notably, the combined works of "Contemporary History" (six titles) and "Contemporary Literature" (seven titles) comprised over 40 per cent of all the works listed. Works of "Classical Literature" on the other hand, which made up the majority of the books that he owned, only attributed to 20 per cent or six works, of those listed. It is also of interest to note that the books that Douglas borrowed were of a much more diverse nature than those owned, including more books on mathematics and logic and a couple of general reference works (see **Figures 3 and 4**).

One conclusion that could be drawn is that both the subject matter and language of academic discourse in Douglas's reading changed dramatically between the books owned and the books borrowed. It does appear that the books owned reflect his formal education and perhaps his tastes of an earlier, pre-university time. The works are primarily classical in nature and the language of discourse is evenly divided between the classical languages of Latin

29 For a most comprehensive history of the University of Edinburgh Library, see Jean R. Guild and Alexander Law, eds., *Edinburgh University Library, 1580–1980: A Collection of Historical Essays* (Edinburgh, 1982).

30 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

and Greek and English. On the other hand, the books borrowed are principally more contemporary in nature and the language of discourse is predominately English.

Such changes resonate favourably with existing ideas of an intellectual transition that occurred in the Scottish Enlightenment. Douglas's most recent (borrowed) readings from his time in the Edinburgh milieu are more eclectic in nature than his owned works. Rather than being comprised solely of classical canons, the borrowed works include contemporary histories like "Abercrombie's Martial Achievements," "Buchanan's Hist:[ory]," or the "Collection of the Pretender's Papers" that chronicled the history and politics, not of Rome and Greece, but of Scotland. His borrowed works also include several contemporary reinterpretations of classical events by Rollin and Smollet, and there are several examples such as "Sheridan on British Education," the "Essay on Trade," and "Gentleman's Religion" that reflect an interest in current thought in religious, political, economic, and intellectual issues. The overwhelming number of works in the vernacular points towards a preference of English as the language of academic discourse, a preference shared beyond Douglas's own proclivities, if the lecture habits of Cullen and Hutcheson are taken into account.

If indeed all of Douglas's books are listed here, perhaps the strongest conclusion that could be made is that Douglas was not a student of medicine. The works listed are primarily contemporary histories, or classical works. While there are some general works of natural philosophy and mathematics, there are no works of medicine listed either reflecting the new body of literature or the traditional canons.

A more thorough examination of the text of the commonplace book confirms that Douglas was not a student of medicine. In an obscure and uniquely introspective passage, found between a Latin lecture entitled "*Praemium*" and another entitled "*De Justitia & Jure*," Douglas puts to paper his thoughts on his own education and aspirations in life. In this passage, Douglas tells of his training in literature and the bold decision recently taken to pursue a career in law:

Having gone through the common course of Literature, as practis'd in our University, the time arriv'd when it was to look, and see what way of life I would chose Difficulties must certainly in following every branch of study – but if one would hope to pass thro' Life in the easiest and most rational manner; he ought to follow the naturall bent of his Inclination. Few is there indeed who are alike happy in Judgement to form and Capacity to Execute such a scheme Prudence and Sagacity at the Beginning. Perseverance and wisdom in its Continuance, are absolutely necessary to make a man push forward in the world. In any person superior merit claims the support of the good; but a mind superior to the attacks of prejudice and Calumny, raises a man far above the little arts of insinuations, and makes take [sic] a soaring flight, untouch'd by the Poison'd

arrows of Envy. When any person enters on a course of reading, which leads to a public appearance, great caution is necessary to make, a steady, and uniform scene of action; Confound'd and abash those who carp at every little failure. Many are the Professions which may seem fit to employ their cultivators. – The Learn'd Professions require a superior degree of erudition. The Law, a Laborious, and toilsome study, requires every exertion of every ability.

Judgement and Memory are the two most powerful assistants – Truth is the grand support of that, which the more feelingly uttered, the greater impression it makes. – 20<sup>th</sup> of 1758 I enter'd to the Civil Law Colleges in the University of Edinburgh and that same day was introduc'd to Mr. George Wallace professor of History and Antiquitys  $\delta\upsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\omega$  shall be may word ————— as thro' every period of my life I have fully experienced the hand, the bountiful and powerful hand of Providence, so in my Resolutions of following the Law, may Divine aid support Wisdom, guide and direct thro' every period of it ———

Mulltreeshill[?] Nov. 21<sup>st</sup> 1758 Ja: Sholto Douglas.<sup>33</sup>

Douglas's search for direction and personal enlightenment is one that resonates with young scholars – the author being no exception – today. His words tell of a youthful optimism and hope for the future, as well as a sense of conviction, untested, though ever trusting in Providence.

Several strong conclusions can be argued concerning the nature of James Sholto Douglas's academic propensities and his formal course of study, yet several other questions could not be answered through an analysis of the primary sources. For example, there is no direct evidence that James Sholto Douglas ever came to Canada. In his notes, there is no reference at all to friends or family in British North America, or any indication of a desire to see the British colonies. This revelation then dashes the initial hope that the James Sholto Douglas papers would be a source showing the early years of an Enlightenment thinker in Canada. Douglas may have visited or even lived in British North America, but it cannot be proven at this time.

My review of the commonplace book and lecture notes also fell short of proving that James Sholto Douglas was indeed a relation of Sir Charles Douglas, who died in 1789. James Sholto Douglas's known correspondents include William Grant, Arthur Duff, William Govane, and James Hoggane; however, no evidence exists of correspondence with other Douglases, nor is there any mention of other Douglases in the correspondence that is extant. The existence of the James Sholto Douglas papers in the greater Sir Howard Douglas and Family collection, therefore, owes more to the circumstances surrounding its purchase and acquisition than any clear provenance to the Douglas family.

33 NA, MG 24, A 3, vol. 3, James Sholto Douglas, Commonplace Book, University of Edinburgh, 1758–59.

(Now that it has been proved that Douglas studied law, an argument could be forwarded that the material described as “Anonymous legal case notes” and the Wise/Loney contract found with the Douglas papers might possibly be material originating from the law practice of James Sholto Douglas. As mentioned before, this material was acquired in the same purchase as the James Sholto Douglas material and was even considered in the original Eaton auction catalogue description as part of James Sholto Douglas’s writings, which all appeared “to be concerned with legal matters.” Upon examination, the “anonymous” book of legal case notes does have the surname “Douglas” written inside; however, the handwriting is different than that found in the commonplace book and lecture notes of James Sholto Douglas. These findings beg further exploration into the black box surrounding this “anonymous” material. To link the case notes intellectually with the rest of the James Sholto Douglas material, at this point, would be repeating the process of ascribing value merely because of associative properties. Thus, the situation will require more research, particularly into the records of the eighteenth-century Edinburgh legal community.)

### **The Pursuit of “Usefull Knowledge”**

James Sholto Douglas observed that useful knowledge cannot have enemies. While these words would resonate favourably with most today, the challenge is how to make knowledge useful and how to engage in the business of improving the mind. It has been argued that James Sholto Douglas’s era was intellectually predicated with the idea of experience. Through experience and the sceptical observation of nature and its systems, it was believed that order and even truth could be found. Even today, such techniques can be usefully adapted to the archivist’s or historian’s craft.

From the cursory investigation above, it is clear that the James Sholto Douglas material is an incredible source showcasing the thought and education of the Scottish Enlightenment. His writings reflect the intellectual eclecticism of this era, showing interests ranging from the history of Western civilization to the philosophy of Francis Hutcheson, and formal studies spanning from law and rhetoric to the chemistry of William Cullen. The commonplace book and lecture notes of James Sholto Douglas weave another thread into the tapestry of Scottish Enlightenment studies. Although a small sampler has been exhibited here, a greater historical analysis of the source would undoubtedly enhance the utility of this knowledge.

For archivists, it is also important to make knowledge useful. Archivists are arbiters of knowledge through their organization, description, and disposition of the record. In this process, we create what could effectively be termed a “black box” around the record. These black boxes, though a natural by-

product of the archival process, must not be sacrosanct from reinvestigation. Large and eclectic collections – those subject to complex or questionable provenance – especially need to be reinvestigated. Just as British historian E.H. Carr (1892–1982) advocated a reciprocity with the past in the writing of history,<sup>34</sup> the archivist should also develop a reciprocity with the record and its arrangement and description.

Admittedly, opening the black box – the ready-made archival collection – involves a process with myriad stages, and the time needed for this type of deconstruction is often not available. The analysis of the black box surrounding the Douglas papers would have been more complete if time had allowed for the consultation of rare works scattered across the country, or a trip to Scotland. Even though the unavoidable constraints of time will help ensure a healthy supply of black boxes for the future, the same constraints should not deter one from ever embarking on the process. One should also not be deterred by the fact that all questions may not be answered through a re-examination and contextualization. The odds are that if a question was unanswered originally, it may remain that way. Nonetheless, the process is a valuable and necessary one.

I was originally drawn to the Douglas material because it was described as a commonplace book and medical lecture notes. Hoping that this source would be key in my study of Scottish-trained physicians who brought the Enlightenment to British North America, I hungrily searched for any information on the collection's acquisition and provenance. By opening the black box which surrounded the "ready-made" Sir Howard Douglas Family collection, a quite different and more refined picture than I had anticipated slowly emerged. On the one hand, I failed to find the source, the proof, that I required for my argument. On the other hand, the journey that I embarked upon turned out to be much more valuable, much more enlightening.

The opening of the black box surrounding James Sholto Douglas has also led to a new value being placed on his record. This new value exists not because of where the record was found, but because of what the documents actually say. James Sholto Douglas was an introspective, eloquent, well-read man with a thirst for knowledge and understanding of the world around him. Even though efforts to better ascertain the provenance of his writings or to learn more about his life were fruitless, the contextualization of his life as part of the greater Scottish Enlightenment should be considered a success. In a sense, agency has been given to a voice previously overshadowed by a larger, *collected* chorus.

34 "And this reciprocal action also involves reciprocity between the present and past, since the historian is part of the present and the facts belong to the past. The historian and the facts of history are necessary to one another. The historian without his facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless." E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 30.

The opening of the archival black box, both in an historical sense and an archival sense, has led to a better understanding, not only of the record, but also of the era and processes germane in its creation and collection. The development of this better understanding, however, has not eliminated the black box but, rather, increased its size. With the completion of my present journey and the publication of this article, the lid of the box will slowly start to close. Only through a reciprocity with the record, a constant questioning of perceived fact, will the lid remain open and the source continue to enlighten: such is the pursuit of useful knowledge.

#### APPENDIX I:

#### Sir Howard Douglas and Family Collection, MG 24, A 3

#### A Table of Contents for James Sholto Douglas's Lecture Notes

Please note that only the information captured from the annotations at the beginning of each lecture is listed below. In any given lecture, several successive rulers are mentioned within. This attributes to any noticeable "gaps" in the chronology of the lecture titles.

1. "I / Lecture 49<sup>th</sup> / *Tursell Cap. XIII*" [Douglas does not provide any further information on the author or title of the work. However, it is possible that Douglas's annotation of "Tursell" and, elsewhere, "Tursell epitome" refers to the Latin form of Orazio Torsellino (1545–1599), and his *Horatii Tursellini, Romani, historiarum, ab origine mundi, usque ad annum, à Christo nato MDXCVIII, epitomae libri decem: Cum brebus notis, duplici item accessione, usque ad annum MDCXLII. ... Ultrajecti : Apud Gulielmum vande Water, 1718.*]
2. "Lecture 50<sup>th</sup> / Wednesday 21<sup>st</sup> February 1759 / 33d Cap. 16: *Elius* [Helvius?] *Pertinax*" [Roman emperor 1 January to 28 March, A.D. 193]
3. "Lecture 51<sup>st</sup> / *Heliogabalus Cap. 20<sup>th</sup>*" [*Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus, Roman emperor, A.D. 218–222*]
4. "Lecture 52<sup>d</sup> *Cap. 26*"
5. "Lecture 53 / *Cap. 32 Florianus*" [or Florian, half brother of Emperor Tacitus, himself emperor in A.D. 276, murdered after two months of rule by his own troops in Tarsus.]
6. "Lecture 54 *Cap. 37* [?] *Constatius Chlorus*" [Roman emperor, A.D. 305–306]
7. "Lecture 55 *Liber 4*"
8. "Lecture 56<sup>th</sup> *Cap. 38 Julianus*" [*Flavius Claudius Julianus, Roman emperor, A.D. 361–363*]



9. "Lecture 57, Monday March 5<sup>th</sup> 1759, *Cap. 7 / Theodosius*" [Theodosius the Great, Roman emperor of the East, A.D. 378–395]
10. "Lecture 58<sup>th</sup> *Cap. 9<sup>th</sup> / Honorus Theodosius*" [*Flavius Honorus*, Son of Theodosius the Great, Roman emperor of the West, A.D. 395–423]
11. "Lecture 59<sup>th</sup> Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> March 1759 / *Cap. 10* [?]"
12. "Lecture 60 *Cap. 12 / Leo I*" [Roman emperor of the East, A.D. 457–474]
13. "Lecture 61"
14. "Lecture 62<sup>d</sup> Monday 12<sup>th</sup> March 1759 Mr. [George] Wallace [Professor of History and Antiquities] / *Justinianus analp.[?]*" [Justinianus, emperor of Constantinople A.D. 527–563, also known as Justinian, author of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* which is comprised of the four legislative books *Institutiones, Digesta, Codex* and *Novellae*]
15. "Lecture 63<sup>d</sup>"
16. "Lecture 64<sup>th</sup>"
17. "Lecture 65<sup>th</sup> Monday, April 9<sup>th</sup> / *Cap. 9 Lib. 5 Heraclius*" [Emperor of Byzantium, A.D. 610–641]
18. "Lecture 66<sup>th</sup> / *Cap. 11 Lib. 6 / Discordia inter Saracenos – Constans Secundus*" [Constans II (*Heraclius Constantine*), Emperor of Byzantium, A.D. 641–668]
19. "Lecture 67<sup>th</sup> / +Wednesday April 11<sup>th</sup> 1759 +/ ff 22 *Cap. 18*"
20. "Lecture 68<sup>th</sup> Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> / *Lib. 6 Cap. 16<sup>th</sup> / Constantine Copronymus*" [Emperor of Byzantium, A.D. 741–775]
21. "*Constantius Porphyrol[?] / C 19 / Lecture 69<sup>th</sup>*" [Constantine Porphyrogenus, Emperor of Byzantium, A.D. 913–959]
22. "Lecture 70<sup>th</sup> / ff 29 *Lib. 7 Cap. I / Carolus* [Magnus?] *Serefrit[?] en[?] urbe*" [This lecture may continue from where lecture 69 ended concerning the rule of *Carolus Magnus* (Charlemagne). Unfortunately the only distinguishable word in the title is *Carolus*.]
23. "Lecture 71<sup>st</sup> / *Cap. 3<sup>d</sup> / Lue[?] Ludovinci[?] secundus*" [Since the later half of lecture 70 concerns "*Ludovinci Pious*" (Louis the Pious, King of France (A.D. 814–840) it is likely that this lecture concerns his later progenitor Louis II of France, A.D. 879–882.)]
24. "Monday 23<sup>d</sup> April 1759 / *Lecture 72<sup>d</sup> / Concerning the German, French and Scotch Affairs*" [There are no notes following this heading.]
25. "Lecture 73<sup>d</sup> Tuesday April 24<sup>th</sup> / *Tursell Epitome Cap. 7 ff 9<sup>th</sup>*"
26. "Lecture 74"
27. "Lecture 75 on Saturday April 27<sup>th</sup> / On the use of the Electors in Ger- / many B the affairs of the East, / as also the accession of [?] Caput to the Crown of France / in Prejudice of the Lawfull heir [There are no notes following this heading.]/ End of Volume 5<sup>th</sup> / James Sholto Douglas MM"

**APPENDIX II:****Sir Howard Douglas and Family Collection, MG 24, A 3****A Table of Contents to the Commonplace Book of James Sholto Douglas**

Please note that both Douglas's English and Latin spellings vary somewhat from what is now considered the standard appellation. All citations are considered "as thus" unless otherwise indicated. All titles of published monographs are underlined.

**Side A**

Inscription: "*Amicis suis Egregius (have left us) / ac / patrice optime Merentius / Membris (Belles Lettres Society / instituted at Edinburgh / Jan. 1759) Societatis de Belles Lettres / [?] / Alma Matre Academia Edinburgenal [?] qualescunc[?]; nugas / Rei Seler[?] cee non alienas / D.D.D. / J.S.D.*"

1. "An Essay on the Nature and Utility of the Theatre," [paginated by author, 1–13.]
2. "An Oration on the Life of Demosthenes Delivered before the Professors of the University of Edinburgh on the 12 of May 1757," [paginated by author, 14–34.]
3. "An Oration on Eloquence," [paginated by author, 34b- pagination stops.]
4. "A Character of a Heroic Patriot [William Wallace], An Oration &ct:"
5. "An Oration: *Ecce spectaculum dignum ad gerod respurit intentus suo opire Deus!*" "... This Oration Pronounced in the Belles Lettres Society."
6. "An Oration &ct:" [on memory, worth, goodness]

**Side B**

1. Inside of Cover: "Price 1s 6d"

First Page Top Inscription: "Notes and Observations on Rollin's antient history written by James Sholto Douglas H.J.S. B Edinburgh B May 20<sup>th</sup> 1758 B"

First Page Bottom Inscription: "Common Place Book of James Sholto Douglas 1758"

2. "Begun a Course of Universall History by myself on Wednesday 12 July 1759 – "
3. "Smith's Comparison of Thucidides" [possibly related to the Course in Universall History]
4. "An Irregular Ode in the honor of the late Mrs. \_\_\_\_"

5. Various observations on history and religion [possibly from the Course in Universall History]
6. Notes on “Thucidides Account of the Plague of Athens B.C. 430.”
7. Notes on the Cape of Good Hope and Africa.
8. “Rapins Reflect:”
9. “Mr. Chalmers 1<sup>st</sup> Sunday of Sept.— / Luke XI Chap. 35 Verse”
10. “On the Ascent of Elijah”
11. “To Death from the french of the King of Persia[?] by Dr. Hawksworth”
12. An Oration on “Usefull Knowledge” ... “delivered at the Institution of the Belles Lettres Society 1758 Decem<sup>b</sup>.”
13. Various untitled aphorisms on medicine and health: (1) [On dreams and the link to conscious disorders] “Hippocrates B *De insom* P. 376 L. 13;” (2) [On the necessity of exercise, good air and ailment for the “bookish man” or “man of business”] “Celsus;” (3) [On the importance of guarding the limbs from coldness] “Plutarch;” (4) [On the importance of temperance] “Plutarch.”
14. Six Essays from James Mackenzie (1680?–1761) The History of Health, and the art of preserving it: or, an account of all that has been recommended physicians and philosophers. Edinburgh: William Gordon, 1758: (1) An untitled essay on air; (2) “Aliment;” (3) “of Exercise;” (4) “of Sleep and Wakefulness;” (5) “of Repletion and Evacuation;” (6) “of the Passions and Afflictions of the Mind.”
15. “Letters to Ensign James Hoggane”
16. “Dr. Cullen’s Lecture/Dr. Cullen – 16 Nov. 1758/Dr. Cullen Friday, Nov. 17<sup>th</sup> 1758”
17. “Hucheson [*sic*]”
18. “Catalogue of Books my own”
19. “Borrowed Books”
20. “*Praemium*”
21. Untitled Biographic Narrative
22. “Wednesday 22d Nov. – *De Justitia & Jure*”
23. “Thursday Nov. 23d 1758 – *Interpres non ad verbal ...*”
24. Untitled Essay on Virtue
25. “*B*” Sonnet
26. “Notes on Professor Dick’s Lectures”
27. Letter “To William Grant, Esq. Of Ballendalloch”
28. “An Answer to the Compliment, in the Canongate Lodge, on St. John’s Night, 27<sup>th</sup> 1759.”
29. “An Opinion Concerning the 33, Law of the Constitutions, Delivered in St. David’s Lodge the of [*sic*] January 1759.”
30. An Oration not given paying respects to the grandmaster of the Grand Lodge.
31. “Question: Whether Trade and Commerce” [Pages Removed]

32. Letter "To the Honbl: Arthur Duff, Esq.
33. Letter "To the Honbl: Arthur Duff, Esq, – Rothemay – June 8, 1759."
34. "Lecture by Francis Gentleman. One of [?] Lectures Pronounced in the Thistle Lodge May – 1759."
35. "Letter Ist: To William Govane, Esq. At Gartness" [Govane was an initial student member of the Belles Lettres Society.]
36. "Letter 3: To the Hon:ble Arthur Duff, Esq." [Note: there is no "Letter 2" extant, nor was "Letter 3." actually written.]
37. "An Account of the Proceedings of the [?] of the County in thus making, Aug. 27 1759 to Consider of the Extension of the Royalty of Edinburgh"

### APPENDIX III:

#### Sir Howard Douglas and Family Collection, MG 24, A 3

#### An Annotated "Catalogue of Books my own" from the Commonplace Book of James Sholto Douglas

The annotations for this list were developed through searches of the University Library (Cambridge), Bodleian Library (Oxford), National Library of Scotland, and British Library catalogues. All findings were then cross-referenced with Sir William Smith's *Classical Dictionary* and Douglas's own writings. Since Douglas did not write which specific editions he owned in his commonplace book, the most contemporary edition found to his time in Edinburgh has been provided below. Monographs for which no bibliographic information could be found, or for which the title was illegible in Douglas's hand, have been marked with an asterisk. Since the express purpose of publishing this list is to engender further research, any suggestions for additions or alterations are welcome. All titles of published monographs are underlined.

1. "Heineccius in Institutiones – 4s 6d, bought Nov. 18 1758."  
[Heineccius, Johann Gottlieb (1681–1741). A. Vinnii ... in quatuor libros Institutionum Imperialium commentarius. [With the text.] ... J. G. Heineccius ... recensuit, et prææfationem notulasque adjecit. Editio novissima, cui accedunt ejusdem Vinnii Quææstiones Juris selectææ. [Also known as: Institutiones.] 2 tom. Lugduni, 1747.]
2. "Heineccii antiquitatum – 2 vol. bought 20<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1758, 12s"  
[Heineccius, Johann Gottlieb (1681–1741). Io. Gottl. Heineccii icti ... Antiquitatum romanarum iurisprudenciam illustrantium syntagma : secundum ordinem Institutionum Iustiniani digestum, in quo multa iuris romani atque auctorum loca explicantur atque illustrantur, Editio quinta auctior & emendatior.; Argentorati : sumptibus Io. Reinholdi Dulsseckeri, 1741. (Roman Law)]

3. “Justinian Epitome Bor [rowed?]”
4. “*Corpus Juris*”
5. “Shaftesbury Characteristicks – 3 vol.” [Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of (1671–1713).  
Characteristicks of men, manners, opinions, times: In three volumes. By the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury. The fifth edition, corrected. With the addition of a letter concerning design [London: printed by John Darby], 1732. The writings of Shaftesbury have also been considered influential upon the early Scottish Enlightenment thinker Francis Hutcheson. See Thomas Mautner, ed. Francis Hutcheson On Human Nature: Reflections on our Common Systems of Morality On the Social Nature of Man, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.]
6. “[?] Greek Testament” \*
7. “Buchanan’s Psalms, Latin” [Buchanan, George, (1506–1582). *Georgii Buchanani Scoti, ... paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica Glasgae: in aedibus Roberti Urie*, 1750.]
8. “Jerememy[?] Premium at H. School 2 Class” \*
9. “Rudiments of Rudimane 1<sup>st</sup> Class H. School” [Ruddiman, Thomas (1674–1757). The rudiments of the Latin tongue, or A plain and easy introduction to Latin grammar; wherein the principles of the language are methodically digested both in English and in Latin... By Tho. Ruddiman, M.A. Seventh Edition. Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1732.]
10. “Sallust 3<sup>rd</sup> Fourth Class” [Sallust (86–34 B.C.). The works of Sallust: translated into English. With political discourses upon that author. To which is added, a translation of Cicero's four orations against Catiline. London: printed for T. Woodward, and J. Peele: and sold by J. Osborn, 1744 .]
11. “Horace Last – Lee’s Class”
12. “Cornelius Nepos” [(100–25 B.C. Roman historian, correspondent and contemporary of Cicero.)]
13. “Phaedrus Fables” [Phaedrus (c. First Century A.D.), The fables of Phædrus: transeated [sic] into English prose ... With the Latin text and order of construction in the opposite page; and critical, historical, geographical, and classical notes, in English. For the use of schools as well as of private gentlemen. Second edition. London: printed for the assigns of Joseph Davidson, and sold by D. Browne, R. Manby, and J. Whiston and B. White, 1753.]
14. “Homer; Greek”
15. “Lucian Latin” [ Lucian, of Samosata (c. A.D.120–200). Luciani Samosatensis Dialogorum selectorum libri duo / a Guilielmo Du-Gardo recogniti & (variis collatis exemplaribus) multo castigatius quam ante editi: cum interpretatione Latina, multis in locis emendata & ad calcem adjecta

- Londini*: Typis E. Hodgkinson & T. Hodgkin: Impensis R. Scot, T. Basset, J. Wright, & R. Chiswel, 1677.]
16. “Clark’s Introduction” [Clarke, John (1687–1734). An introduction to the making of Latin.: comprising, after an easy, compendious method, the substance of the Latin syntax. ... To which is subjoin’d, ... a succinct account of ... ancient Greece and Rome; ... Twelfth edition. London: printed for C. Hitch; J. Hodges, 1740.]
  17. “Greek Grammar”
  18. “*S. Cecillii Cypriani Episcopi Cartha geniensis, et Matryrs opera*” [Cyprian, Saint, Bishop of Carthage (c. A.D. 200–258). Sancti Cæcillii Cypriani Opera/ recognita & illustrata per Joannem Oxoniensem episcopum; accedunt Annales Cyprianici, sive, Tredecim annorum; quibus S. Cyprianus inter Christianos versatus est, brevis historia chronologicè delineata per Joannem Cestriensem Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1682 .]
  19. “*Alerat[?]s Tractatus de vita Monastria*” \*
  20. “Sir William Temple’s Memoirs” [Boyer, Abel (1667–1729). Memoirs of the life and negotiations of Sir W. Temple, Bar.: containing the most important occurrences, and the most secret springs of affairs in Christendom, from the year 1665 to the year 1681. With an account of Sir W. Temple’s writings. London: printed for W. Taylor, 1714.]
  21. “A Defence of the answer to Mr. Whistons suspicions” [Thirlby, Styan (ca. 1686–1753). A defense of the answer to Mr. Whiston’s suspicions, and an answer to his charge of forgery against St. Athanasius. In a letter to Mr. Whiston. Cambridge: printed at the University-press, for Cornelius Crownfield. And are to be sold by John Morphew, London, 1713.]
  22. “Cicero’s Orations”
  23. “Ovid’s *Metaph* – [Metamorphoses]”
  24. “A small copy of Hor.[ace]”
  25. “Milton’s Paradise Lost”
  26. “Lock[e] on H: und: eo [Essay on Human Understanding]”
  27. “*Virellii opera*” [Virgil’s Works]
  28. “Proverbs”
  29. “Latin Bible”
  30. “A Life of King: Ro<sup>b</sup> Bruce” [Harvey, John (c. 1702–1729). The Life of Robert Bruce: King of Scots. A poem by John Harvey M.A. Edinburgh: printed by John Catanach, 1729.]
  31. “English Bible”
  32. “Puffendorff’s System of Moral Philosophy” [Pufendorf, Samuel, Freiherr von (1632–1694). De jure naturæ et gentium. (English Title:) The law of nature and nations: or, a general system of the most important principles of morality, jurisprudence, and politics. In eight books. Written in Latin by the Baron Pufendorf, ... Done into English by Basil Kennet, ...

To which is prefix'd, M. Barbeyrac's prefatory discourse, ... Done into English by Mr. Carew, ... To which are now added, all the large notes of M. Barbeyrac, translated from his fourth and last edition: together with large tables ... The fifth edition, carefully corrected. London: printed for J. and J. Bonwicke, R. Ware, J. and P. Knapton, S. Birt, T. Longman [and 11 others in London], 1749.]

33. "Keils Physicks" [Keill (or Keil), James (or John) Dr. (1673–1719). Mathematical Elements of Physicks, Prov'd by Experiments: Being an Introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. By Wm James Gravesande... Made English, and Illustrated with 33 Copper Plates. Revised and Corrected by Dr. John Keill. London: printed for G. Strahan, Arth. Bettesworth, W. Lewis, W. Mears, and T. Woodward, 1720.]
34. "Priors Poems" [Prior, Matthew (1664–1721). A New Miscellany of Original Poems, Translations and Imitations, By the Most Eminent Hands, viz. Mr. Prior ... London: Printed for T. Jauncy, 1720.]
35. "Baillies Edition of Craig *de feudis*" [Craig, Sir Thomas (1538–1608). Jus feudale (D. Thomae Cragii de Riccarton, equitis ... jus feudale, tribus libris comprehensum: ... Editio teritia, prioribus multò emendatior ... Accessit rerum & verborum index locupletissimus ... Opera & studio Jacobi Baillie ... Edinburi: apud Tho. & Walt. Ruddimannos, 1732.]
36. "A Greek Xenophon"
37. "A Latin Copy of *Command[?]us Eu-[?]teo*"\*
38. "Latin Grammar"
39. "Sacred Dialogues"

#### APPENDIX IV:

#### Sir Howard Douglas and Family Collection, MG 24, A 3

#### An Annotated List of "Books Borrowed" from the Commonplace Book of James Sholto Douglas

The annotations for this list were developed through searches of the University Library (Cambridge), Bodleian Library (Oxford), National Library of Scotland, and British Library catalogues. All findings were then cross-referenced with Sir William Smith's *Classical Dictionary* and Douglas's own writings. Since Douglas did not write what specific editions he owned in his commonplace book, the most contemporary edition found to his time in Edinburgh has been provided below. Monographs for which no bibliographic information could be found, or for which the title was illegible in Douglas's hand have been marked with an asterisk. Since the express purpose of publishing this list is to solicit further research, any suggestions for additions or alterations are welcome. All titles of published monographs are underlined.

1. "Biographical Dictionary – 2 vols." \*
2. "Praeceptor" [Dalton, John (1709–1763). An epistle to a young nobleman from his *præceptor*. London: printed for Lawton Gilliver, and Robert Dodsley, 1736.]
3. "Art of Speaking" [Many different books were in print during the early- to mid-eighteenth century that were entitled, or subtitled, The Art of Speaking, being concerning primarily with elocution and rhetoric. Douglas gives no further reference in the commonplace book to which specific work he possessed.]
4. "Sheridan on British Education" [Sheridan, Thomas (1719–1788). British education: or, the source of the disorders of Great Britain. Being an essay towards proving, that the immorality, ignorance, and false taste, which so generally prevail, are the natural and necessary consequences of the present defective system of education. ... In three parts. ... By Thomas Sheridan, ... Dublin: printed by George Faulkner, 1756.]
5. "*Epigom*[?] – 2 vol." \*
6. "*Q. Curtius* 2 vol." [Curtius Rufus, Quintus. Quintus Curtius his history of the wars of Alexander. Tr. by J. Digby. To which is prefix'd Freinshemius's supplement. 3rd ed., corrected by W. Young., 2 vols London: 1747.]
7. "Renus Rapin's Works" [Rapin, René (1621–1687). *Œuvres diverses concernant les belles lettres*. [English Title:] The whole critical works: of Monsieur Rapin, in two volumes. ... Newly translated into English, by Basil Kennet, ... and others. Second edition. London: printed for R. Bonwicke and Richard Wilkin; J. Walthoe and Tho. Ward; T. Goodwin, M. Wotton and B. Tooke; J. Nicholson; and S. Manship and R. Smith, 1716. – Douglas cites Rapin in a short essay on eloquence found in the commonplace book.]
8. "Universall History – one volume –" \* [Many "universall" histories were extant at the time. Douglas writes on page 35 (Side B) of his commonplace book that he "Begun a Course of Universall History by myself on Wednesday 12 July 1759." He indicates his intention to read Rollin's Antient History, but does not state if he is studying any other authors.]
9. "Rollin's *Belles Lettres* – 4 vol." [Rollin, Charles, (1661–1741). The method of teaching and studying the belles lettres.; or an introduction to languages, poetry, rhetoric, history, moral philosophy, physicks, ... Designed more particularly for students in the university. By Mr. Rollin, ... The fourth edition. In four volumes. Translated from the French. Dublin: printed by M. Rhames, for R. Gunne, R. Owen, J. Smith, A. Bradley (and 2 others in Dublin), 1742.]
10. "Thucidides History – 2 vol."
11. "Abercrombie's Martial Achievements – 2 vol." [Abercromby, Patrick (1656–1716?). The martial achievements of the Scots nation: Being an account of the lives, characters, and memorable actions, of such Scotsmen



as have signaliz'd themselves by the sword at home and abroad. And a survey of the military transactions wherein Scotland or Scotsmen have been remarkably concern'd, from the first establishment of the Scots monarchy to this present time. Edinburgh: Printed by Mr. Robert Freebairn, and to be sold at his shop ..., 1711–1715.]

12. "Crawford's Peerage" [Crawford, George (?). The peerage of Scotland: containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that Kingdom. ... By George Crawford, Esq; Edinburgh: printed for the author: sold by George Stewart, 1716.]
13. "Herodian" [Herodian (Third Century A.D.). Herodians of Alexandria: his imperiall history of twenty Roman caesars & emperours of his time/ First writ in Greek, and now converted into an heroick poem by C.B. Staplyton. London: Printed by W. Hunt for the author, 1652. Douglas's version of this work was undoubtedly a much later edition; however, a more contemporary edition was not found at time of publishing.]
14. "Sherwin's Tables" [Sherwin, Henry. Sherwin's mathematical tables.; contriv'd after a most comprehensive method: containing, Dr. Wallis's account of logarithms, Dr. Halley's and Mr. Sharp's ways of constructing them; with Dr. Newton's contraction of Brigg's logarithms, ... The third edition. Carefully revised and corrected, by William Gardiner. London: printed for William Mount and Thomas Page, 1742.]
15. "M<sup>c</sup>l[?]nrensall[?]"\*
- 16./17. "Euripides – Greek and Latin"
18. "Aristotles Art of Poetry"
19. "Watts Logick" [Watts, Isaac (1674–1748). The improvement of the mind: or, a supplement to the art of logick. London: printed for James Brackstone, 1741. Isaac Watts was conferred a D.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1728.]
20. "Gregory's Geometry" [Gregory, David (1659–1708). Exercitatio geometrica. [English Title:] A treatise of practical geometry: In three parts. By ... Dr. David Gregory, ... Translated from the Latin; with additions. Edinburgh: printed by W. and T. Ruddimans, for Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour, 1745.]
21. "Greek Lexicon"
22. "Latin Dictionary"
23. "Collection of the Pretender's Papers" [*Revolutions d'Ecosse et d'Irlande.* [English Title:] The secret history of Colonel Hooke's negotiations in Scotland, in favour of the Pretender; in 1707. Including the original letters and papers which passed between the Scotch and Irish lords at the Court of Versailles and St. Germans. Never before published. Written by himself. With a translation of letters, containing a narrative of the Pretender's expedition into Scotland in 1708. Dublin: printed by James Potts, and Samuel Smith, 1760.]

24. "Essay on Trade" [This title was used for many tracts on commerce at this time; however, one possible monograph that saw several editions at this time was: Browne, Sir John. An essay on trade in general; and, on that of Ireland in particular. By the author of Seasonable remarks. Dublin: printed by S. Powell, for George Ewing, 1728. Douglas does not elaborate on this essay in his commonplace book.]
25. "Gentleman's Religion" [Synge, Edward (1659–1741). A gentleman's religion: with the grounds and reasons of it, in which the truth of Christianity in general is vindicated, its simplicity asserted, and some introductory rules, for the discovering of its particular doctrines and precepts, are proposed. London: Printed for A. and J. Churchil ..., 1693.]
26. "Thomsons Seasons" [Thomson, James (1700–1748). The seasons: By Mr. Thomson. London: printed in the year, 1730.]
27. "Mason's Collection"\*
28. "1<sup>st</sup> vol. Buchanan's Hist:" [Buchanan, George (1506–1582). Buchanan's History of Scotland. In twenty books. ... The third edition, revised and corrected from the Latin original. In two volumes. Adorned with curious cuts engraven from the original paintings, by Mr. White, Mr. Vertue, &c London: printed for D. Midwinter and A. Ward, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. Batley, E. Curll, C. Rivington (and 11 others in London), 1733.]
29. "[?]: of ant: History by Rollin" [Rollin, Charles, (1661–1741). The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians. Macedonians and Grecians ... Translated from the French. The second edition, corrected. 10 vol. London, 1738–40. – Douglas's first essay being on Side B of the commonplace book is a page tract entitled "Notes and Observations of Rollin's antient history written by James Sholto Douglas" and dated "Edinburgh – May 20<sup>th</sup> 1758."]
30. "Ten numbers of Smollet History" [Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771). The Second Edition of Smollet's popular history was serialised in the late 1750s, this may have been what Douglas refers to having possessed "ten numbers of."]