

Writing in the Disciplines: America's Assimilation of the Work of Scottish “Pedagogic” George Jardine

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SCHOLARS DAVID RUSSELL, ROBERT CONNORS, AND CHARLES BAZERMAN, among others, trace the history of the American WAC movement and programs to two initiatives of the 1960s: the renewed interest of American scholars in the study of rhetorical history and composition pedagogy, and British educational reform, spearheaded by James Britton (and other educators), at the London College of Education—disseminated in the United States at the 1966 Dartmouth Conference (see Bazerman et al.). In “History of the WAC Movement,” Bazerman et al. outline the trajectory of this movement, beginning with early twentieth-century American educators’ displeasure with stand-alone composition courses. This history is recognized as the birth of WAC in the United States; however, in this essay, I wish to offer another—much earlier—chapter in the developing story of WAC’s history in the United States, one that dates back to eighteenth-century Glasgow, Scotland.

An examination of manuscript holdings in America reveals that Scottish-based educational philosophy, often labeled the “Princeton School,” an alternative to Harvard’s vastly influential curriculum, embodies salient components of the educational theories and practices of Scottish rhetorician George Jardine, Professor of Logic and Philosophy at Glasgow University for fifty years, from 1774-1824.¹ Jardine, one of Adam Smith’s favorite students at the University of Glasgow and friend of Thomas Reid and John Millar, instructed many influential Scots (i.e. Francis Jeffrey, Sir William Hamilton, Christopher North, and J. G. Lockhart), some of whom (see below) later emigrated to North America and held prestigious positions within higher education and religious circles. These educators brought to American education Reid’s common sense philosophy based on an epistemology of sensation and free will (and in part developed in opposition to Hume’s skepticism and Locke’s views of personal identity), exemplified in

Jardine's insistence that students must develop habits of thinking and study that lead to communicative competence and "usefulness" in their local communities (Jardine 108)—educational philosophies and practices ideally suited to a democracy valuing individual judgment and personal freedom. But perhaps the most notable and novel "habit" Jardine instilled in his students was the practice of writing in all disciplines in order to improve written communication skills and make meaning of new knowledge. Epistemic writing (including free writing, sequenced writing assignments, and peer evaluation) became the cornerstone of Jardine's teaching plan, and this pedagogy was widely adopted in the major Scottish universities. Jardine is routinely recognized as the primary codifier of the early nineteenth-century Scottish university educational approach based on written compositions (Chitnis, Davies, McCosh, Horner), and Linda Ferreira-Buckley has proven that Jardine's teaching methods were adopted at English universities in the early nineteenth century as well (174); however, the range of Jardine's interdisciplinary theories of education and his sphere of influence upon American education demands closer investigation. This essay describes the importance of writing within Jardine's curriculum and explores his influence, not only in Great Britain, but also in America.

Jardine's Reliance on Epistemic Writing as a Means of Learning and Assessment

A close reading of Jardine's *Outlines of Philosophical Education* (1818, 1825)—a culmination of pedagogy he began developing as early as 1774—reveals (1) the educator's rationale for revising educational practices based on scholasticism, (2) his innovative plan for peer review and collaborative learning, (3) his reliance on epistemic writing and sequenced compositions as a means for students to assimilate knowledge and develop life-long habits of study (4) his anticipation of modern composition pedagogy, and (5) his unique stance on the role teachers and administrators must play within the educational system.ⁱⁱ Jardine's plan for "active discipline" was instrumental in the establishment of composition as an integral component of Scottish instruction and assessment across the disciplines. Following Jardine's example, many teachers adopted the essay as a primary assessment tool for evaluating students' mastery of course material in many subjects, including math and physics, and for encouraging students to write on a variety of cultural subjects in logic courses (Davie 17). An examination of Jardine's teaching treatise *Outlines*, his letters (MS Gen 507), two sets of student lecture notes (MS Gen 166, 737) housed in the University of Glasgow manuscript library, and testimony about his teaching plan found in the national report on Scottish universities (*Evidence, Oral and Documentary*) reveals a philosophical rationale and practical

teaching plan for expanding introductory college classes to include not only the inheritance of enlightenment rhetoric (the study of *belle lettres*, the means of improving communication, elements of the science of the mind, and theories of language), but also the seedbed of modern composition practices and administration theories explicitly tied to students' needs. Jardine provides a theory for how composition should be taught, detailed commentary on the role of the teacher, curriculum development guidelines, and specific pedagogical advice for implementing composition instruction into existing courses. There was no such thing as a "writing across the curriculum" program at any of the Scottish universities; however, Jardine did offer both encouragement to and models for other teachers and administrators (from many disciplines) who wished to adapt their courses to include writing instruction and assessment.¹

In *Outlines*, Jardine explains the transferability of thinking and investigative skills across the disciplines that a student can gain from intensive writing instruction: "The efforts which the student is obliged to make in executing such exercises have a direct tendency to improve the powers of attention, discrimination, and investigation — to conduct the mind from phenomena to causes, from particular to general truths, and thus to produce habits of reasoning which may easily be applied to other subjects" (328). Comparing the acquisition of communicative skills to the process by which one learns to dance or play a musical instrument (*Outlines* 291), Jardine explains that teaching students to write and think (through progressive exercises) is far more difficult for teachers than composing lectures—but necessary (293); practice must follow instruction (292). He prescribes a series of frequent/repetitive/sequenced assignments on varied topics (294-95) designed to move the student from one level of writing skill and thinking/acquisition of knowledge to the next.

These assignments depend upon peer review and an embedded process approach to writing focused on revision: "Of one thing the youngest student must be made sensible from the evidence of his own consciousness, that he cannot expect to compose even the simplest theme, without directing and continuing his power of thinking upon it... that whatever talents or quickness of parts he may possess, he must employ both time and labour in proportion to the extent of the subject" (315). Jardine's students wrote frequently and revised in conjunction with peer editing. His method of conducting student-assisted learning began with the appointment of ten or twelve of the best

¹ For an analysis of Jardine's discussion of what we label Writing Program Administrator (WPA) issues, see Gaillet's "A Genesis of Modern Writing Instruction"

writers in the class as “examinators,” a term he chose over “critic” or “censor” because it was “less assuming” (367). The examiners were responsible for closely analyzing a certain number of themes (according to Jardine’s specific instructions) and giving a detailed written report attached to the theme back to the author (367). Because this plan was successful not only in decreasing his own grading load but also in improving the work of the examiners, Jardine extended the privilege of being an examiner to everyone in the class so that each student could be given “an opportunity for exercising his powers of criticism” (371). He found that “thus, opposed to each other, with as much equality as can be expected, each student is furnished with the strongest motives to exert his attention and his ingenuity. It becomes a sort of single combat, in the presence of many spectators, and it has been found to produce attention and diligence in many when other motives had failed” (372).²

In rejecting scholasticism and encouraging students to take ownership of their education, Jardine’s pedagogy is part of a rich epistemological tradition, not simply a “didactic” tradition associated with a reductive program of instruction. His modern theories of learning foreshadow the work of current scholar/teachers who reject traditional pedagogy that “invalidates teachers’ and students’ critical reflexivity on the act of knowing, and promotes the reduction of somebody else’s method of knowing into a sequential schematization of that method” (Salvatori 8). As Jardine explains, “The ornament of learning, and the dignity of science, cannot be transferred from one man to another: they cannot be inherited; they cannot be bought with a price; nor can they be bribed by favour. The tax of labour which is imposed upon every great and noble acquisition must be paid by the individual who aims at it” (107). Jardine insists that teachers reform classroom curricula and instruction so that it is student-centered and encourages students to develop habits that lead to life-long learning. He strived to prepare his pupils for careers in business and industry by training them in communicative competencies and investigative rhetorical practices; training in writing instruction relied, in part, upon mastering course content through the composition of written essays, but Jardine also specifically designed writing assignments meant to improve student writing skills through pedagogies we recognize as free writing, assignment scaffolding, peer review, and writing in/for communities.

² I fully explain Jardine’s rationale and plan for classroom peer review (including the rules, format for sharing criticism, conflict resolution guidelines, and the teacher’s role) in “An Historical Perspective on Collaborative Learning.”

Jardine's Reputation and Influence upon American Education

Acclaimed as the “contemporary spokesman for the Scottish [educational] system” (Chitnis 52), Jardine’s pedagogical reforms exemplify the best teaching practices of nineteenth-century Scotland, and while Jardine’s work foreshadows modern rhetorical theories and practices in North American college instruction, very few American educators are aware of his work. Why? Perhaps in part because we aren’t accustomed to looking at the work of innovative pedagogues outside our own discipline. Also, Jardine was first and foremost a teacher; he was influential in his own realm and in the United States through his students’ exportation of his teaching theories and practices. He was not prolific, publishing only the two editions of *Outlines* and an abbreviated text on logic, *Quaedum ex Logicae Compendiis Selectaie*. And finally, during his time (as is often the case today) the work of logicians/philosophers was privileged over the scholarly inquiry of teaching. McCosh offers Jardine backward praise as a pedagogue, tempering the teacher’s accomplishment and influence with criticism, illustrated in these passages: “He [Jardine] enlarged with much deeper interest on the human mind generally, and the various faculties: . . . showing no originality or grasp of intellect, but furnishing a course of great utility to young students” (316); and “His pupils acknowledged their deep obligations to him in interesting them in study and imparting to them a power of writing the English language. But certainly he did not advance the science of logic . . .” (317). It is ironic, then, as we will see below, how much McCosh was influenced by Jardine’s teaching theories.

Although Jardine’s comprehensive plan for integrating writing within the university curriculum, mingled with his fierce advocacy of both students’ rights and teacher responsibilities, offered a practical plan for implementing what we now label “writing across the university” curriculum—a plan developed at the end of the eighteenth century, codified by Jardine’s nineteenth-century published work *Outlines*, and brought to America soon thereafter by his students (discussed below)—his reputation and accomplishments did not have a lasting effect. In 1993, Winifred Bryan Horner laments that Jardine’s work “failed to influence the American universities of the nineteenth century either directly or indirectly” (*Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric* 179). For twenty years, I too have argued that Jardine’s teaching theories and plans prefigured, not directly influenced, twentieth-century educational theories in North America because I didn’t have evidence to support claims of influence, although I had found circumstantial evidence and brief, unsubstantiated published remarks suggesting that the Scottish professor did indeed play a role in the development of American curricula—Herman claims that Jardine’s *Outlines*, a teaching treatise, “became one of the most popular textbooks

in American higher education” (391). In my early investigations of Jardine, I thoroughly examined Scottish manuscript library holdings (at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, in the Scottish National Library, and in newspaper and government archives) addressing his work and career. Now, thanks to an e-mail from Thomas Olbricht, divinity scholar and minister in the Church of Christ, I have been introduced to American archival evidence that proves Jardine not only prefigured but also influenced North American educational practices and course design through the emigration of his influential students to America. Once professor Olbricht alerted me to Jardine’s influence upon religious educators Thomas and Alexander Campbell (documented in manuscript collections housed at Bethany College and the Disciples of Christ Historical Society), I then began to look outside my discipline for records and accounts supporting the claim that other American teachers and administrators, many of whom were Jardine’s students, adopted and lauded Jardine’s conception of education as published in his foundational treatise *The Outlines of Philosophical Education* (1818, 1825).

Both public records and manuscript archives indicate that nineteenth-century American readers and educators had access to Jardine’s 1825 edition of *Outlines of Philosophical Education* work in both public and university libraries.ⁱⁱⁱ Immigrant William Russell, student of Jardine at the University of Glasgow and founder of the *American Journal of Education* (*AJE*) in 1826, shared his admiration of Jardine’s teaching philosophies with American audiences; he wrote an extensive twenty-five page review (spanning two journal issues) of *Outlines* published in the first volume of the *AJE*. Paying homage to his esteemed professor, Russell writes: “The author of the *Outlines* — an eminent practical philosopher and a veteran in the service of education — takes the young instructor by the hand, and places him at the feet of a sound and enlightened philosophy, there to watch the development [sic] of the mind, and to ascertain that course of discipline, which is best adapted to the constitution and the condition of man” (547). Henry Barnard, Russell biographer, explains that Jardine’s instruction at the University of Glasgow provided Russell the encouragement and incentive leading to the establishing of the *AJE*—a groundbreaking publication unique to both the US and England (140), which led to the elevation of the teaching profession across the country. Jardine had many other admirers as well. In particular, the educational practices of influential educators Alexander Campbell at Bethany College and James McCosh at Princeton College clearly bear the mark of Scottish philosophy and pedagogy as codified in Jardine’s *Outlines*. In these educators’ adoption of Jardine’s practical teaching plan, we see early illustrations of thinking and writing across the curriculum in American schools.

Thomas and Alexander Campbell

“The Campbell Collection” (Manuscript L) housed in the TW Phillips Memorial Library at Bethany College, West Virginia—along with holdings at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee—provides another example of Jardine’s early influence upon American college curriculum and pedagogy. Before immigrating to America, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), religious reformer and Bethany College’s founder and first president, was Jardine’s student at the University of Glasgow, as was Campbell’s father, Thomas (1763-1854). Twenty-year-old Alexander attended Glasgow University—rather providentially—as the result of a storm and shipwreck on his voyage to meet his father in Philadelphia. Campbell could not book passage on another ship until the next summer, and while his family lodged in Glasgow, Campbell attended Glasgow University. “The Campbell Collection” (Manuscript L) at Bethany includes Campbell’s notes from Jardine’s lectures, and Carisse Berryhill’s dissertation, “Sense, Expression, and Purpose: Alexander Campbell’s Natural Philosophy of Rhetoric” details Jardine’s influence upon Alexander Campbell’s learning theories and practices (64-72)^{iv}. Although not widely recognized outside religious circles, Campbell’s educational influence is enormous, particularly within the Disciples of Christ denomination (see *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* for a thorough study of Campbell’s contributions). Father-son educators Thomas and Alexander Campbell helped lead this organization’s westward migration between 1809 and 1823, and many universities and colleges were formed in the wake of this westward expansion of the church under the guidance of the Campbells. Both Thomas and Alexander Campbell studied Baconian scientific induction and commonsense philosophy under George Jardine at Glasgow University, whose student-focused teaching plan uniquely suited the Campbells’ democratic philosophies of education and belief that individuals were capable of reading and comprehending scriptures. As Berryhill explains, “Common sense hermeneutics offered the Movement an evangelistic methodology very appealing to a population that appreciated individual judgment and personal freedom” (“Common Sense” 231). Berryhill’s recent discovery and transcription of Campbell’s notes on the logic course he took under Jardine at Glasgow provide a means for critically assessing and documenting Jardine’s influence in United States curriculum design.

Jardine required his students to transcribe/summarize the course lectures after class; Campbell’s notes on Jardine’s lectures are located in the Campbell Collection at Bethany in Manuscript L, titled “Lectures in Logick Delivered by Professor Jordan [sic] in the University of Glasgow, 1808.” Students were also asked to write essays and

assignments based on class discussions and lectures; copies of Campbell's responses to these assignments are preserved partly in this manuscript and partly in Manuscript B, published as *Alexander Campbell at Glasgow University* (Berryhill, "A Descriptive Guide"). Although we have no extant documents from Thomas Campbell's enrollment at Glasgow, Jardine's major treatise *Outlines of Philosophical Education* indicates that the curricula and pedagogy for the course Thomas would have taken in 1783 was very similar to the one taken by Alexander in 1808. According to Thomas Campbell scholar Frederick Norris, "The Scottish Common Sense Philosophy, particularly in the rhetoric of George Campbell and the logic of George Jardine, greatly influenced the elder Campbell" (see Campbell, *Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell* 267), and we have direct testimony from Alexander Campbell concerning his opinion of Jardine's teachings; he explains that Jardine, along with Greek Professor Young, were his friends and favorite professors in the university (Richardson 131). Five years before his death, Campbell specifically recalled Jardine's lectures of 1808 on "attention" as "[t]he most useful series of college lectures of which I have any recollection" (*Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell* 267).

In the "Introduction" to the transcribed essays Alexander Campbell wrote for Jardine's class (1808-09) in moral philosophy, Lester McAllister tells us that the "juvenile essays" reveal "that Campbell arrived on the American frontier in 1809 with superior equipment for the work that lay ahead of him" (5)—to train students to read and analyze scriptures. Campbell adopted the attitude that individuals were responsible for studying the Bible directly and living by its principles. The Scottish common sense philosophy Campbell learned from Jardine—visible in Jardine's learning theories and his innovative pedagogical reforms—ideally suited Campbell's American conception of individual freedom and responsibility based on competence in critical thinking, speaking, and writing.

Throughout his life as an educator and minister, Campbell was an ardent, dedicated follower of Jardine's teachings based on Thomas Reid's common sense philosophy.^v Thirty-two years after taking Jardine's course, in his opening speech at the founding of Bethany College, Campbell followed Jardine's analysis of the assumptions and history of logic and philosophy. Campbell condemned Scholastic and Aristotelian philosophy for its lack of scientific discovery and useless speculation. It was, Campbell said, echoing Jardine, "reserved to Francis Bacon . . . to strike out a new path to science." This new path was the Inductive Philosophy, which ushered in new discoveries 'of the greatest importance'"(Casey 205; see also *Introductory Lecture* 64). Echoing Jardine's concern with rhetorical engagement and civic involvement, Campbell states in this

address, “It is the offspring of a deep and long established conviction that the theory and practice of education are yet greatly behind the onward progress of the age, and that to improve education and to adapt it to the philosophy of human nature is, of all human means, the most likely to improve and reform the world” (*Introductory Lecture*). The Campbells’ work in establishing colleges and universities throughout the United States clearly bears the mark of Scottish philosophy and pedagogy—codified in Jardine’s lectures and *Outlines*.

Scholars interested in the history of educational practices will find religious references like *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* to be a treasure house of information and resources. In part, we have lost the trajectory of many important American educational practices because we have neglected to study the denominational records of early educators, most of whom had strong religious affiliations.

James McCosh

In his 1875 work *The Scottish Philosophy: Biographical, Expository and Critical from Hutcheson to Hamilton*, which describes the contributions of important Scottish philosophers, McCosh, the eleventh president of The College of New Jersey (Princeton) from 1868 until 1888, includes a brief section on the contributions of Jardine. McCosh attests to Jardine’s influence upon a number of other important philosophers of the period: “His pupils acknowledged their deep obligations to him in interesting them in study imparting to them a power of writing the English language” (317). McCosh did not view Jardine as a particularly innovative logician, but he did admire his reputation as an exemplary teacher, describing Jardine as a “Pedagogic” in the German Tradition (316). McCosh highlights Jardine’s classroom practices that lead students to think for themselves, deeply pursue topics of study, and think critically. While remarking upon Jardine’s novel introduction of question and answer sessions interspersed throughout traditional lectures, McCosh makes clear that it is Jardine’s systematic plan of writing instruction that is the most notable feature of the pedagogue’s contributions to learning theories: “But the most important part of his work is that in which he explains his views as the themes for composition, recommending that some be presented as fitted to enable the student to form clear and accurate notions and to express his thoughts, others to give a power of analysis and classification, a third to exercise and strengthen the reasoning faculties, and a fourth to encourage processes of investigation” (317).

Recognized as the “last major voice of Scottish Enlightenment” (Hoeveler ix), President McCosh breathed new life into the College of New Jersey following the dormant years of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Like his fellow Scot and predecessor John

Witherspoon, McCosh regularly taught classes in the history of philosophy and psychology and (like Jardine) held meetings in his home library, where guest lecturers presented papers and led discussions over a wide range of philosophical and ethical topics. His successful career as administrator, teacher, and prolific writer laid an enduring foundation for the liberal development of the college and brought to American colleges Jardine's insistence on developing communicative practices throughout the disciplines—although perhaps McCosh wasn't fully aware of his indebtedness to Jardine.

McCosh was educated at both Glasgow University (1825-1829) and the University of Edinburgh (1829-1834). Although McCosh came to Glasgow in 1825, the year after Jardine's retirement, McCosh probably met Jardine; McCosh biographer Hoeveler claims that he "certainly knew Jardine's work," and "endorsed it strongly" (41). In *The Life of James McCosh: A Record Chiefly Autobiographical* (1897), William Sloane tells us that the highlight of McCosh's education at Glasgow was "a system of regular examinations and written exercises, rigidly enforced and honestly carried out" (28). Sloane explains that "Dr. McCosh felt in particular that he owed more to the essays he was required to write than to any other, if not all other, elements in his education" (28). Although not acknowledged, the system of essay writing described by McCosh echoes the pedagogical plan for epistemic writing instruction prescribed by Jardine in *Outlines*. Reflecting Jardine's aim for educating Scottish students so that they might compete with British students for jobs and also enter the public/civic sphere prepared for rhetorical engagement, McCosh says of writing instruction at Glasgow, "So powerful was the influence of this single line of work that it enabled those trained by it to enter the professions and public life side by side with their more favored competitors from the English universities, at a very slight disadvantage" (in Sloane 28). McCosh suggested that all academic institutions might profit by adopting Scotland's pedagogical methods based on writing instruction, and Sloane claims that "McCosh was so deeply impressed at the time by the importance of written work for the student that many years later, in both the institutions where he was powerful in his mature life, the system was expanded and emphasized to a high degree" (28-29).

Even though McCosh did not enroll in a class taught by Jardine, it is highly probable that he benefited from Jardine's design of the course nonetheless; Jardine's conduct of the moral philosophy course, particularly his pedagogical practices, was enormously successful and continued by his successor in the logic class at the University of Glasgow, Reverend Robert Buchanan (*Evidence* 38). George Davie credits Jardine, the champion of a Scottish philosophical education based on written exercises and frequent oral and written examinations, for perfecting "its tuitional techniques" and extending the

components of philosophical education “to subjects outside the philosophical group” (25). Jardine’s reliance on written exams and instruction in composition was adopted by professors at other Scottish and English universities from a wide range of disciplines: i.e. Spalding at St. Andrews, North at Edinburgh, Hamilton at Glasgow, Bain at Aberdeen, Hoppus at University College, etc. According to Hoeveler, “McCosh had internalized much of the Scottish style of higher education, and he rejuvenated Princeton with its spirit” (40). In particular, McCosh rejected the social-class elitism inherent in the heavy training in the classics—characterized by Oxford and Cambridge, and Harvard in the United States. The order McCosh imposed at Princeton proceeds logically from his training at Glasgow and Edinburgh—universities based on a democratic system, emphasizing the study of philosophy, professional training, the preparation for civic engagement and a reliance on written compositions as a primary mode of learning in classes in various and diverse disciplines.

By the end of the nineteenth-century, McCosh’s curriculum, based on Scottish common sense philosophy, was losing ground in the face of an elective curriculum based on the Germanic concepts of specialized/scientific study and the rise in secular education. Even as Harvard became the model for American university education, the independent Scottish universities were likewise losing ground following the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, which in a sense “nationalised” university education, changed governance of the institutions, and served to “regulate the teaching and discipline of the University, and administer its property and revenues, subject to the control and review of the University court, as herein-after provided” (“Revised Statute”). These educational shifts account in part for why we lost the thread of pedagogical practices initiated by Jardine and other Scottish teachers.

Conclusions

Jardine’s work offers rich insights into eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rhetorical theory and practice, while providing opportunities for present-day research in writing instruction and administration, and political and social rhetoric. Public library records, the manuscripts held in the Campbell Collection and testimony from the career of Princeton President James McCosh indicate that Jardine’s sphere of influence reached across the Atlantic, but we are just beginning to understand the far-reaching influence of Jardine’s educational philosophies and practices. As yet, we have neither an intellectual biography of Jardine nor a full-length analysis of his teaching theories. I suspect further investigations into Jardine’s body of work will reveal that he not only codified Scotland’s educational plan but also contributed to the nation’s rhetorical theory, seen

particularly in his conception of epistemic writing instruction and assessment, and in his philosophies concerning student learning. Certainly, these aspects of Jardine's rhetorical theory were appealing to college founders and curriculum reformers Alexander Campbell and James McCosh, visible in these American educators' emphasis on student responsibility, focus on individual student judgment, and reliance on written compositions as a means of self-improvement and knowledge acquisition. One can't help but wonder what undocumented influence Jardine's theories perhaps had upon nineteenth-century American textbooks and teaching treatises as well. In justifying his adoption of essay writing in his classroom, Jardine explains, "[t]hat plan of instruction is unquestionably the best, which has the most direct tendency to make the student instruct himself, to put him in the proper track for acquiring knowledge, to inspire confidence in his own exertions, and to lead him to take pleasure in the activity of his own mind" (397). Twenty-first century WAC administrators, WPAs, and "critical thinking through writing" proponents will find these words very familiar.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ I wish to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for a summer research grant to investigate Jardine's influence upon American education.

ⁱⁱ I have published several articles (based on archival research conducted in the Scottish University libraries) that examine Jardine's pedagogical practices. See Gaillet's:

"A Genesis of Writing Program Administration: George Jardine at the University of Glasgow." *Historical Studies of Writing Program Administration: Individuals, Communities, and the Formation of a Discipline*. Eds. Barb L'Eplattenier and Lisa Mastrangelo. Lauer Series on Rhetoric. Series Eds. Catherine Hobbs and Patricia Sullivan. Parlor Press, 2004: 169-190.

"George Jardine: The Champion of the Scottish Commonsense School of Philosophy." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 28.2 (1998): 37-53.

"George Jardine's Outlines of Philosophical Education: Prefiguring Twentieth-Century Composition Theory and Practice." *Scottish Rhetoric and Its Influences*. Ed. Lynne Lewis Gaillet. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998: 193-208.

"An Historical Perspective on Collaborative Learning." *The Journal of Advanced Composition*. 14.1 (1994): 93-110.

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ⁱⁱⁱ The following select library catalogues represent of the availability of Jardine's *Outlines* (1825): Books on Education in the Libraries of Columbia University. 1901. Catalogue of the New York State Library. 1850.

Catalogue of the Public Library of Cincinnati. 1871.

Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia. 1835.

^{iv} I wish to thank Professor Berryhill for sharing her research with me and for her collegial collaboration in helping me bring Jardine to a new audience.

^v “Common sense, for Reid, are those tenets that we cannot help but believe, given that we are constructed the way we are constructed. This is not to say that nobody fails to believe the dictates of common sense. People often have beliefs that are in manifest conflict with common sense, but to have such beliefs, Reid thinks, is to be in deep conflict with one’s nature as a human being.” From the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/reid/>

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