

A HISTORY of the SCOTTISH PEOPLE

4 THE UNION OF PARLIAMENTS 1689-1760

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This is Chapter 2 of 5. Including the Overview, this set comprises 6 PDFs. The others are:

Overview, Chp1 1450-1540, Chp2 1540-1603, Chp3 1603-1689, Chp5 1760-1840

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INTRODUCTION

Both the long and short term causes of the Union are fertile ground for historical debate. Was it an inevitable result of growing social and economic integration of the island of Great Britain or a response to a single crisis? Was it a result of the failure of the regal Union of the previous century or its natural culmination? Was it a balanced solution to the tensions between the interests of Scotland and England or the absorption of a trouble-making province by a major power? Was it the act of far-sighted politicians thinking of the future of their country or a consequence of bribery and self-interest? What, indeed, were the priorities of the members of the last Scottish Parliament: fear of poverty, fear of war, or fear of Catholicism? These contrasting interpretations were current in 1707 and are still current today.

A similar debate surrounds the consequences of Union. The higher hopes of its supporters were not realised in the next three decades. England dominated Scotland to a far greater extent than had been expected. Economic benefits did not materialise. Political resentment grew and linked with Jacobitism. Even the preservation of Presbyterianism seemed increasingly hollow as the church began to lose its hard won monopoly of faith in Scotland. Only by the middle of the eighteenth century could it be more convincingly argued that Scotland had gained peace, stability and some wealth from the Union. Recent historians have debated not so much how quickly things got better as the question of whether the Union made very much difference at all.

POLITICAL CHANGE

Three events in the 1690s emphasized the continuing differences between English and Scottish interests in William and Mary's British empire - the massacre of Glencoe, the famines of 'King William's Years' and the Darien disaster. The killing of Macdonalds at Glencoe in 1692 pointed up several themes in Scottish politics: the tension between Clan Campbell and its enemies within the Highlands, the mutual misunderstanding of Gaelic society and the Edinburgh government and the dominance of William's anti-French foreign policy over traditional means of managing Scotland. The last of these was the easiest for contemporaries to grasp when the incident was publicized. Though the Master of Stair was found guilty by an investigative commission, William's government got the blame.

When starvation hit Scotland in the 1690s, a demoralized population made the connection with the new regime in London. In fact it was the last famine Scotland saw. But it coincided with an economic disaster which hit the wealthy, the Darien expedition. The Company of Scotland wished to build an entrepot in Panama where the inhabitants were aggressive, the climate murderous and the trade non-existent. However once again, with more justification, interference from England could be blamed for failure.

William chose the interests of his larger Kingdom twice. He supported the East India Company's embargo on fund-raising in England. Then he prevented help from English colonies in the Caribbean for fear of upsetting Spain. Hundreds died by the time the scheme was abandoned in 1700 and around half of Scotland's liquid assets were lost. The political classes of Scotland again questioned the benefits of one monarch ruling two countries. Historians continue to argue over the political process which led to Union but at least agree that the central issue was sovereignty.

The 1701 English Act of Settlement gave the succession to the House of Hanover. Then, following the succession of Queen Anne, Scotland was required against her economic interests to enter the war with France. In neither case was the Scottish Parliament consulted, as it should have been by the 1689 settlement. It responded in 1703 by threatening to agree a different succession when the new Queen, Anne, died. To persuade the Queen's English government, it passed the Act Anent Peace and War, claiming control over foreign policy, and the Wine Act, asserting Scotland's right to trade with France despite England being at war with her. These were strategic challenges to England.

By 1705 the issue was stark: if the London government did not take account of Scotland then the Regal Union might be at an end. In 1705 England issued an ultimatum in the form of the Alien Act. This effectively threatened to cut off Anglo-Scottish trade unless negotiations were started for a parliamentary union. In the light of famine and the Darien disaster it focused minds sharply. In the Scottish parliament debates were genuinely heated and it demonstrated its independence in a way that threatened the government. The judicial murder in Edinburgh of the crew of the 'Worcester', accused of piracy, raised tensions further, as did the return from Europe of the successful army of Marlborough.

The Union Treaty was to be written by Commissioners from both countries; therefore the choice of the Scots Commissioners was crucial. A turning point came when the Duke of Hamilton, leader of the opposition Country Party, proposed that the Queen should nominate them. This enabled a treaty to be written between April and June 1706 which fully 'incorporated' the two parliaments into one. Already the debate in Scotland between its supporters and those who wished for a looser 'federal' Union - or no Union at all - had led to sophisticated political arguments. Now the writings of Andrew Fletcher were supported by the speeches in Parliament of Lord Belhaven. Public opinion was demonstrated by anti-English rioting in Edinburgh and petitions from burghs expressing economic fears.

Among the issues worrying opponents of the Union - trade, wealth, power, church, law, security - the common underlying theme was the loss of sovereignty. Pro-Union propaganda centred on the guarantees which the Union would offer to protestantism, peace, political liberty and trade. During the long winter evenings of 1706 it came down to parliamentary arithmetic. Every clause was debated but every clause passed. Members' motives often mixed personal or family advantage with political conviction. Fear of the alternatives - the end of the Regal Union, even war with England - also played a part. On 25 March 1707 the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament were brought to an end.

The Union of 1707 was a product of its time. Scotland retained more autonomy than would have been the case before 1689. Her social and political life had developed further independence during the century, as the country questioned an absentee monarchy. Scottish law had gained a distinctive philosophy, recognised by the Treaty of Union. The position of the Kirk was guaranteed and, implicitly, so was that of the education system. The central bargain of the Union remained succession in return for trade. Sovereignty was, in theory, lost on both sides and regained together, in what was supposed to be an entirely new parliament of the United Kingdom.

The most ingenious aspect of the Union was the Equivalent, a sum to soften the transition to a united economy - part of the process of threats and bribery which influenced Scottish MPs to pass the Treaty. The evidence of the first decades after the Union bore out the fears of its opponents. English political domination was achieved piecemeal, through the abolition of the Privy Council, the extension of the English treason law, the assertion of the House of Lords as the appeal court. Each issue reflected Scottish political impotence in the united Parliament. Economically, the wool trade collapsed but the linen, grain and cattle trades did better, though probably in consequence of longer term influences.

The Kirk's position was undermined by the toleration granted to Church of England ministers and their prayer book and by the restoration of lay patronage of ministers in 1712. When taxes on malt were raised to English levels in 1713, a motion to end the Union failed narrowly in Parliament. Discontent sought another outlet. Jacobitism remained the most dangerous political issue in Scotland for several reasons. The French encouraged it, Highland loyalties could still be raised for it, and discomfort with the Union increased support for it. Parliamentary union, it seemed, could be reversed only by undoing regal Union too.

In 1708 a French squadron tried to land the Pretender, the son of James VII, in Scotland. Though it failed, government nervousness showed how broad support for Jacobitism was in the early years after the Union. Mar's rebellion of 1715, incompetent though it was, demonstrated the degree of active support for Jacobitism in the Episcopalian northeast and the southern Highlands. The leniency with which Mar's supporters were treated suggests a still wide sympathy for the aims of the rebellion, if not for the exiled Stewarts in person. The Union set up a British state, which evolved through the years.

At first, Scottish politics were merged into English - there was no Privy Council in Edinburgh and no one in London had responsibility for Scotland. New boards or commissions were set up in Scotland providing jobs in return for government support. After 1725 the pattern of politics became clearer because of the Earl of Islay. From London he controlled a network of appointees using a portfolio of patronage, handled in Edinburgh by Lord Milton. In the 1740s Islay's supporters lost their majority of Scottish MPs but this was restored after the Jacobite rising of 1745-6. By the 1750s the political system had stabilised and the British state was established. Political managers implemented the British government's wishes rather than representing Scotland to the government. This tension has existed ever since.

The 1745 Jacobite rising led by Charles Edward Stewart was an unexpected rebellion which made its successes seem more dramatic and its failure more complete. During the 30 years after Mar's rebellion of 1715, the exiled Stewart Court had become more riddled with unrealistic intrigue and the London government less paranoid about what the Jacobite international might achieve. The only serious attempt to establish physical control over the Highlands had been the building of General Wade's roads, 1727-36, but the forts - the key to the system - were undermanned in the 1740s.

The Jacobite rebellion's aim was to encourage and link with a French invasion of southern England. It gained its momentum from the Highlands. But even there he found the loyalties of his subjects divided. Being short of weapons, he had to rely on persuasion and connections to raise an army. Charles had won the service of an outstanding general, Lord George Murray. The Jacobites captured Edinburgh, avoiding a battle in the Highlands and defeating Cope's raw recruits at Prestonpans. Yet it was another month before he gathered enough troops to march south. The Jacobite army progressed quickly to Derby but failed to win English support. London and the hoped-for French invasion seemed too far away. Charles retreated to Scotland to regroup.

Despite victory at Falkirk, failure to capture Stirling Castle made another retreat to the Highlands necessary. At Culloden in April 1746 a well-resourced government army finally caught up with the Jacobites. With Murray sidelined, a series of tactical blunders led to disaster. The 'summer's hunting' of Charles became a romantic story even while it was happening because the Jacobite threat had evaporated.

RELIGIOUS CHANGE

The victory of Presbyterianism in 1689 was not as clear-cut as historians have often maintained. It was primarily the result of James VII's policy of toleration. This undermined the position of the bishops as the link between the crown and the established church. It also allowed militant Presbyterianism to regroup so that it could take advantage of the collapse of James' government. Over 200 ministers were ejected by force from their parishes in the 'rabblings' of early 1689.

The Claim of Right which condemned episcopacy was passed by a Convention Parliament guarded by Cameronians and fearful of the first Jacobite rising. William reluctantly agreed to abolish episcopacy and Parliament the following year restored Presbyterian government and then went on to abolish lay patronage. The General Assembly of 1690, consisting of only 180 ministers, all from the south, set in motion the deprivation of what was eventually two thirds of all ministers. This was a larger purge than at either the Restoration of 1660 or even the Reformation of 1560. However, the new Kirk did not gain complete freedom from the state; candidates for the ministry had to be nominated by the elders, many of whom were still landowners.

Politically, the victorious Presbyterian church had to operate within the Anglo-Scottish tensions of the revolution settlement. It was no longer the central pillar of national resistance. Within five years of the Union a British solution had undermined the Presbyterian dominance of Scottish Christianity and created tensions which were to split the Kirk internally. As intended, the Union of 1707 did preserve Protestantism in its distinctive form in Scotland. Yet, as in many other areas, the Union developed further after 1707. The Greenshields case of 1711, settled in a Tory-dominated House of Lords, allowed the use of the Anglican Prayer book by an Episcopalian minister. Next year, the Toleration Act allowed freedom of worship to Episcopalians and the Patronage Act restored the right of landowners to choose ministers. Tensions within the Kirk began to re-emerge in a new form.

In 1722 the Assembly condemned the 'Marrow Brethren', a small evangelical group. In 1732, a larger group, led by Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, actually seceded. Their protests were against patronage and also political control of the Kirk by the court party. In the following years the court party became dominant to the extent of calling themselves 'Moderates'. At a period when religion reached its greatest hold on the Scottish people, it had come to lose its central place in Scottish politics. Intertwined with the loss of political influence after 1707 was a change in the dominant theology of the Church.

For a generation after 1689, the General Assembly castigated the moral lapses of the nation and regularly called for atoning fasts. By the 1730s two influences were leading to a change in the ministry: the liberal teachings of Francis Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, and the appointment under the Patronage Act of ministers whose attitudes reflected those of landed society. After the '45 the very security of the Kirk made its internal divisions more obvious.

In 1751 some young ministers set up the Moderate party to defend the General Assembly against protest. They also wanted freedom from political control in return

for their responsible behaviour. So they emphasised order and hierarchy in society and took pride in their involvement in intellectual and cultural activities. In 1756 John Home, minister of Athelstaneford, arranged a performance of his play 'Douglas' under the patronage of Argyll and Milton. The Edinburgh Presbytery condemned him and ministers who attended it. The General Assembly overruled it in favour of the Moderates, confirming their domination of the Kirk and the revolution in theological attitudes over the previous half a century.

The church was still the centre of most Scottish people's lives, but the majority of them were unsympathetic to Moderate attitudes. Yet the people's faith was changing too. In 1696 a student, Thomas Aikenhead, was executed for blasphemy but already a crucial weapon in the moral control of the Kirk Session had been removed with the ending of civil penalties for excommunication. Absence from church remained synonymous with immorality but defiance became less rare. The anti-Moderates were known, correctly, as the 'popular party'. They remained in key with the faith of most of the population while the landowners asserted their position with the building of lairds' lofts and pews.

Family instruction, kirk-stool discipline and strict Calvinism were disseminated slowly among artisans, peasants and the lower middle class. As the eighteenth century progressed, the nature of faith was becoming more fragmented. As well as secessions, there were evangelical revivals such as the mystical 'Cambuslang wark' of 1747. Geographical differences were apparent in the persistence of Episcopalians in the north-east and Cameronianism in the south-west.

By 1760 dissenting churches claimed many thousands of members. Their absence weakened the defence of the puritan 'high-flyers' against the Moderate take-over of the Kirk. In the Highlands a different battle was fought. The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge set up schools to promote Protestantism, supported after 1725 by government money. The Catholic Church set up a separate Scottish Mission in 1694 and a Highland Mission in 1732. In practice, the dominance of each in a locality depended on the faith of the landowner - Protestant in Sleat, Catholic on Barra.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

One historical interpretation of the Union is that it was the only way out of an economic dead-end for Scotland. This view was countered by those who argued that it was the result mainly of political manoeuvring. These arguments have recently been linked, but the economic problems of the 1690s are seen as short-term rather than structural. William's French wars removed a major trading partner. Dundee's revolt disrupted the cattle trade. Poor harvests forced grain imports, shortage of cash, disruption of credit and collapse of manufacturing. The grain harvest failed due to bad weather in 1696, 1698 and 1699, now seen as the last throes of the 'Little Ice Age'.

Scottish agriculture did not keep enough of a surplus to survive such a cumulative famine. Nor could food be distributed across the country's poor transport network.

Upheaval in the Kirk undermined poor relief. In parts of Aberdeenshire one in five may have died. Fertility levels dropped sharply as a result for a generation and began to recover only in the 1730s. When the disastrous fantasies of the Darien scheme became clear, it appeared to contemporaries that the Scottish economy was on the verge of collapse. This is why the Alien Act of 1705 was so alarming.

The English Parliament threatened the half of Scottish exports which now went to England. The 15 economic clauses of the Union were a balancing act. Scotland wanted access to English markets but protection for vulnerable parts of its own economy such as salt and coal, especially as many landowners made money from these. Freedom to trade with English colonies is now regarded as less of an issue; Glasgow merchants were solidly against the Union because they could trade illegally with America anyway.

The Union changed the context of the Scottish economy but did not guarantee success. It allowed ideas, skills, capital and technology to enter from England. It made easier the fashionable imitation of England which already existed in the late seventeenth century. However, until the 1720s the economy remained stagnant. There was some movement in the next decade but from the 1740s growth became noticeable and by 1760 it had become a cause for national self-congratulation. Looking across the period 1690-1760, historians now argue that Scotland possessed the means of economic modernisation but they were eventually activated by the circumstances created by the Union.

One long-term development gave Scotland a head start when the economic 'take-off' happened towards the end of the eighteenth century: banking. The Bank of Scotland, founded in 1695, was by charter to be controlled in Scotland and unconnected to the state. A second, Whig bank was founded in 1727, the Royal Bank of Scotland. This was used by the government as a channel for encouraging industry and fisheries. Competition improved the quality and diversity of banking services. The British Linen Bank issued notes from 1750 as well. Numerous private banks lent money directly to industry, in Glasgow as well as Edinburgh.

Some parts of the Scottish economy did do well after 1707 but there are different opinions as to how far this was the result of the Union. The raising and droving of cattle continued to expand thanks to demand from England. Ranches in Galloway, shielings in the Highlands and the great trysting rounds at Crieff and Falkirk bore witness to this. So did the exemption of drovers from the firearms prohibition after 1745. The tobacco trade was stimulated by the same markets but it was a continuation of the smuggling which the enterprising merchants of Glasgow had long been involved in. They capitalised on the shorter sea journey by setting up factories and warehouses in America. The trade provided an outlet for Scottish goods and capital for investment. The linen industry, however, brought more widespread economic benefits. Cheap Scottish labour and imported Dutch technology allowed the small-scale industrialisation of all its processes: rippling, retting, scutching, heckling, bleaching and beetling. Spinning flax was largely 'put out' to women and weaving was a part-time occupation of cottars.

After 1727 the Board of Trustees set up spinning schools and co-operated with academic researchers. By the 1740s some weaving firms had 70 looms in a building. Exports to America expanded twentyfold in the 1740s and 50s. Historians are now cautious about seeing industrialisation much before 1760 in Scotland. The linen industry still fitted into an agricultural society and economy. Coal mines remained largely rural enterprises where landowners made additional cash, such as the Clerks of Penicuik's mine at Loanhead. Only a few were drained by Newcomen steam engines before 1760.

Technological advances such as the waggonway at Tranent, or steam engines, were exceptional. Salt pans were closely linked to coal and most were landowners' enterprises. Neither coal nor salt made inroads into English markets. Early iron works, seeking charcoal in the Highland forests, were capital intensive but did not last long until the Bonawe ironworks of 1753. Limekilns to 'whiten the moors' were scattered round coastal inlets and uplands. It is the foundation of the Carron Ironworks in 1759 which used to be taken as marking the start of the industrial revolution in Scotland. Although it is now presented as an isolated development two decades ahead of its time, it brought together many features of a modern enterprise:

Anglo-Scottish capital and expertise, integrated production processes - blast-furnaces, forges, mills - and a premeditated siting near iron, coal, water, and transport. It was a wonder of its time but not a model until the 1780s. There was little agricultural improvement before 1760. Enclosures did provoke 'Levellers' in the south-west to tear down dykes. But there was a time lag between the spread of ideas and the implementation of new methods: enclosure, longer leases, consolidated holdings, crop rotation, selective breeding, planting, new buildings, new technology.

The Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture, founded in 1723, saw improvement as a patriotic programme, like their pre-Union forebears. But only a few lairds - Cockburn of Ormiston, Grant of Monymusk - put the ideas into action wholeheartedly. Macintosh of Borlum's influential 'Essay on Improvement' was even written while a Jacobite prisoner in 1729.

Highland history has tended to be written from the point of view of the chiefs and clans rather than the ordinary inhabitants. The clan system, which had arisen at the end of the Middle Ages, was beginning to change in the early eighteenth century. The '45 is now regarded as a point of acceleration rather than change of direction in the integration of Highland society into the rest of Scotland. The heart of the clan system was in the relationship between the chief and his close kinsmen who held land as tacksmen and sublet it. The kinship links of the whole clan were imagined as well as real. Collective occupation of an area also bound a clan in 'duthchas', a customary right of tenure. Together these gave clansmen a sense of community and a sense of hereditary trusteeship of the land. This could be stronger than the feudal overlordship recognised by the law, as in the Cameron control over Morven, legally held by the Duke of Argyll.

A sense of communal landownership did not compensate for poverty. Food shortages were likely on the poor soil of the Highlands but chiefs' paternalism played a similar role to poor relief. Population increase put further pressure on land: family

holdings were as little as an acre and a half in Ardnamurchan by 1727. Cattle were the main source of wealth, though weaving was later joined by flax spinning as additional source of income. Fishing remained a localised part-time occupation except in the Northern Isles.

The government failed to understand the increasing stability of Highland society. They were alarmed by the power of wardholding by which chiefs could call out an armed force. The racketeering of men like Rob Roy Macgregor in the 1720s and 1730s was mistaken for endemic violence. But the start of relationships based on money rather than kinship tended to undermine the clan structure. By the eighteenth century some proprietors were removing tacksmen and giving direct leases. The Duke of Argyll did this in Kintyre from 1710 and in Mull, Morven and Tiree from 1737. This partly accounts for the failure of the Campbells to raise many men against the Jacobites in 1745.

Highlanders were prepared to work for wages on Wade's new roads in the 1720s. Yet the essential features of Highland society such as respect for chiefs, payment of rent in kind, the maintenance of a high population and military service, were still the dominant features of the region, along with Gaelic language and culture. It was these features which were to be deconstructed after Culloden.

CULTURAL CHANGE

Historians still find it difficult tracing the origins of the Scottish Enlightenment. As with the agricultural revolution, there is a temptation to seek prototypes in the seventeenth century. Historians of ideas and philosophers are prone to emphasise the novelty of intellectual achievements. Other historians are more concerned with tracing the continuities between one period and another and so look for the 'origins' of the Enlightenment; many find them in the seventeenth century. But many contemporaries, such as William Robertson and David Hume, were keen to emphasise discontinuity - that the circumstances produced by the Union of 1707 had resulted in a new phase of civilisation.

The new patriotic programme insisted that Scotland had only just escaped its violent, sectarian past. Did it consist only of the internationally recognised achievements of a few writers, the 'men of genius' such as Adam Smith and David Hume with their rational reflection on the position of man in society? Should it include contemporary achievements in the fine arts and science? How far was it located in the 'hotbeds of genius' of Edinburgh and Glasgow? Or, can the whole social and economic life of Scotland be regarded as part of a single great achievement? Related to these points is the question of what the various phases of the Enlightenment were. Otherwise, it is difficult to analyse a movement which might encompass the better part of a century of intellectual history and achievement. Can, for example, the 'rage for improvement' of the 1720s justifiably be regarded as the initial phase, before the 'classic' phase of the 1740s and 1750s? All four definitions are the subject of current debate and likely to remain so.

Much recent interest has centred on the variety within Scotland from the mid eighteenth century onwards as well as on the contribution of urban centres such as Glasgow and Aberdeen and the distinctive nature of their intellectual life. The years after the Union saw a late flourishing of Latin poetry, antiquarianism and patriotic history. This largely Jacobite movement was epitomised by the printer Thomas Ruddiman, who became librarian to the Faculty of Advocates. Another side to it was the collection of vernacular Scots songs by Allan Ramsay. Paradoxically, the same national identity was sought through the Anglicisation of culture. This led to the reading of London periodicals such as the *Spectator* and *Tatler*, to the imitation of English speech and manners, to the teaching of the ideas of Newton, Locke and Berkeley.

The integration of the intellectual life of Scotland and England was not begun by the Union but it was accelerated after 1707. The development of Edinburgh as a cultural centre was the result of a similar paradox: the imitation of London by the professional classes whose dominance was due to the absence of the court and parliament. The General Assembly, Courts and University provided a formal context for professional contact, which benefited by the 1730s from newspapers, clubs, social events and of course taverns.

The reorganisation of the universities was vital to the intellectual developments of the eighteenth century. Specialist chairs had been founded at Edinburgh in the seventeenth century in mathematics, medicine, botany, history and law. In 1708 Principal Carstairs replaced the system of regenting with specialist professors on the Dutch model. Glasgow followed suit in 1727. By 1722, Edinburgh had chairs in Latin, Greek, logic, metaphysics, moral and natural philosophy and public and natural law. A major step forward was the creation in 1726 of the Edinburgh medical school, based on the model of Leiden's school, which had been the main place where Scots had been trained in the later seventeenth century.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Edinburgh had become the principal medical school in the English-speaking world. Glasgow specialised more in science and technology. The Universities provided both the training ground and careers for many of the major figures of the later eighteenth century Enlightenment. It has been argued that many of these men had a similar Calvinist background which provided a stimulating contrast with the liberal intellectual life of the universities they later attended.

The roots of what would later come to be called the Scottish Enlightenment can be detected in various spheres in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and in the first two quarters of the eighteenth. They include liberalism in the Church, changes in the curriculum of the universities, the development of Edinburgh as a middle class social centre, political stability, the decline of religious controversy, and growing wealth.

From about the 1720s onwards, there was a 'rage for improvement', which often seemed to be pursued with an evangelical zeal. Increasingly, it took on the stance of a patriotic programme. By the 1750s, Edinburgh had developed a reputation as the 'Athens of the North' and a 'hotbed of genius'. Other cities and towns, from Glasgow

to Thurso, followed suit in what was no less than an international ferment of new ideas about human knowledge. After 1760 Scottish scientists and philosophers, academics and theologians, landowners and professionals all began to develop an awareness of their national intellectual achievements in this European movement.

One figure stands out in the earlier period. Francis Hutchison brought an empirical approach to the study of man which many of his pupils at Glasgow developed. The next phase was dominated by the figure of David Hume. In 1739, he published his 'Treatise of Human Nature', his first and greatest philosophical work, which analysed human experience in the same way and reached more sceptical conclusions.

NOTES

This is Chapter 4 of 5. Including the Overview, this set comprises 6 PDFs. The others are:

Overview

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