

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the
*Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society*

FRANCE & SCOTLAND IN GRENOBLE

ECSSS celebrated its tenth anniversary in grand style last summer with a spectacular conference at Université Stendhal, Grenoble, on "France and Scotland in the Enlightenment." Over a four-day period (6-9 July), forty-three seminar papers were presented by scholars from ten countries, including (in addition to the usual array of Scots, English, Canadians, and Americans) Pierre Carboni, Patrick Clark de Dromantin, Sylvia Lafon, and Norbert Waszek from France; Ingmar Westerman and Frits van Holthoorn from the Netherlands; Vincenzo Merolle from Italy; Ference Hörcher from Hungary; Daisuke Arie and Shinichi Nagao from Japan; and Harvey Chisick and Fania Oz-Salzberger from Israel. There were panels on Art, Luxury and Ideology; Montesquieu; Civilization and Culture; Science and Social Science; The Scottish Novel; Boswell in France and Corsica; Scottish Song; Rebellion and Revolution; The French Reception of Scottish Philosophers; Gender and Social Issues; History and Political Economy; History and Book History; William Smellie and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Voltaire and the Scottish Enlightenment; and Hume Between East and West. Among the highlights were plenary talks by Paul-Gabriel Boucé of Université Paris III (Sorbonne) on "Scotland and France in Smollett's *Present State of All Nations* (1768-69)" and David B. Marshall of Yale University on "The Business of Tragedy: Accounting for Sentiment in *Julia de Roubigné*."

Although the weather was less than cooperative, the incessant rain could not stop the conference-goers from enjoying themselves. An excursion to La Grande Chartreuse gave the participants a chance to ascend a bit of the way up the majestic slopes that surround the town, as well as to sample some of the distinctive liqueur that bears the name of the local monastery (and I'm pleased to report that the members held their *liqueur* better than some held their *liquor* at an infamous past meeting). On the last night a magnificent banquet was held in the Hôtel Ibis. Your executive secretary was completely surprised, and deeply moved, when the members presented him with a plaque and a bottle of 17-year-old Glengoyne malt whiskey in appreciation for his decade of service.

The scholarly and social pleasures of the Grenoble conference were the result of herculean efforts by two people who deserve the Society's warmest thanks: Deidre Dawson, the Program Director, and Pierre Morère, the Conference Director, whose Groupement de Recherche Études Écossaises (CNRS) of Université Stendhal co-hosted the conference with ECSSS.

JIM MOORE TO HEAD ECSSS

At the Grenoble meeting last summer, James Moore of the Political Science Department at Concordia University in Montreal was elected President of the Society for a two-year term. A well-known specialist in Scottish moral philosophy and political theory, Jim brings his own special brand of rigorous scholarship and humor to the ECSSS presidency. The Society also re-elected as Vice-President Kathleen Holcomb, English, Angelo State University, who has been responsible for putting ECSSS on the World Wide Web and keeping us there. Other officers elected to two-year terms were Frits van Holthoorn (history, U. of Groningen, Netherlands) and John Cairns (Law, U. of Edinburgh) as Members-at-Large. Elected to four-year terms on the Executive Board were Ned Landsman (history, State U. of New York, Stony Brook) and Pierre Morère (literature, U. Stendhal Grenoble III). Finally, the membership elected Hiroshi Mizuta (political economy, Meijo U., Japan) to be Corresponding Member. The outgoing President of the Society, Susan Manning, who happily remains on the Executive Board for another two years, was thanked for her outstanding efforts on behalf of the Society during her tenure as President.

CHICAGO TAKES SHAPE FOR OCT. 97

Excitement is building for the joint ECSSS-Midwest ASECS conference at the Hotel Allegro Chicago (formerly the Bismarck Hotel) in Chicago on 16-19 October. Conference Director David Jordan and his committee at University of Illinois at Chicago are putting together a program with about two dozen sessions, in addition to three plenary lectures and a visit to the Art Institute of Chicago to view its newly acquired painting by Greuze. The plenaries will be delivered by Joan

DeJean, François Furet, and ECSSS's own Duncan Macmillan, who will speak on "The Busie Humm of Men": Images of the City in Eighteenth-Century Art."

Although the program deadline has passed, David Jordan has indicated that there may still be openings in some panels, and there are plenty of opportunities to chair sessions. Anyone interested should contact him as soon as possible at Dept. of History (m/c 198), 901 University Hall, University of Illinois at Chicago, 601 S. Morgan St., Chicago, IL 60607-7109; tel.: 312-996-3141; fax: 312-996-6377; email: dpj@uic.edu.

Additional information on the conference, including the conference registration form, is included in this mailing. Hope to see you in Chicago!

UTRECHT IN 98: CALL FOR PAPERS

Although the Chicago conference will soon be upon us, it's not too early to start thinking about ECSSS's conference in Utrecht, Netherlands, from 3 to 7 July 1998. The theme of the conference, "Scotland, the Netherlands, and the Atlantic World," is designed to focus attention on topics relating to direct connections between Scotland and the Netherlands in the eighteenth century, as well as broader issues concerning the Dutch and Scots in Europe, the Americas, and elsewhere. Paper proposals are particularly encouraged on relations, comparisons, or contrasts in regard to science and medicine, religion, commerce, cultural identity, the book trade, cities and conceptions of civic life, moral philosophy, republicanism and liberalism, the military, law, art and architecture, Jacobitism, and colonization and overseas interaction. Some papers relating only to Scottish themes may also be accepted.

The conference will be co-sponsored by ECSSS and the Dutch Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw). The Utrecht Research Institute and the faculty of the University of Utrecht have kindly agreed to act as our hosts, providing the conference with the use of the magnificent Senate Hall and other rooms in the university's centrally located Academy Building. Lodging will be at a variety of hotels in the immediate and general vicinity.

Although plans for the conference are still taking shape, at press time in May two plenary speakers had been confirmed: Margaret Jacob of the University of Pennsylvania and C. P. Courtney of Christ's College, Cambridge. There will be an excursion by boat to Slot Zuylen—where Belle de Zuylen was born, where James Boswell visited during the unhappy year he spent at Utrecht University, and where the conference will hear the plenary by C. P. Courtney (whose vast, profusely illustrated biography, *Isabelle de Charrière (Belle de Zuylen)*, was published by the Voltaire Foundation in 1993) on that ill-fated couple. A walking tour of medieval Utrecht is also being contemplated.

The Conference Director is Professor Wijnand Mijnhardt of the University of Utrecht. Others who

have helped in the planning of the conference include Program Director Kathleen Holcomb, Frits van Holthoorn, John Cairns, Michael Fry, Jim Moore, and Joyce Goodfriend.

Members wishing to present papers at the Utrecht conference should send (by 1 December 1997) a 300-word abstract of the proposed paper (with title) and a brief c.v. to: Kathleen Holcomb, Dept. of English, Angelo State University, San Angelo, TX 76909, USA; tel.: 915-942-2517; fax: 915-942-2155; kathleen.holcomb@angelo.edu.

DUBLIN IN 1999!

In July 1999 the city of Dublin will host the Tenth Enlightenment Congress, and ECSSS will be there. Working closely with the Congress Director, Andrew Carpenter, Michael Fry has defined five topical sessions over which ECSSS will have jurisdiction: 1. Berkeley and Hume; 2. Hutcheson and Moderation: Enlightened Presbyterianism in Glasgow and Ulster; 3. Celticism and Literary Nationalism (including Ossian); 4. Economic Improvement and Enlightened Identities in Ireland and Scotland; and 5. The Metropolis and the Millennium: Provincial Radicalism under the British Crown. Members interested in presenting papers in any of these sessions should write as soon as possible, providing the proposed title and a 300-word abstract, to: Michael Fry, 15 Rothesay Place, Edinburgh EH3 7SQ, Scotland, U.K.

In addition to these five sessions, the Society will co-sponsor a round table on Image and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scotland and Ireland. It is being organized by Murray G. H. Pittock on behalf of ECSSS and the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative, which consists of the universities of Aberdeen, Strathclyde, and Trinity College, Dublin (see article below). For further information on this round table, contact Murray G. H. Pittock, Dept. of English Studies, Glasgow G1 1XH, Scotland, U.K.; tel.: 0141-552-4400; fax: 0140-552-3493.

Finally, the Society is exploring the possibility of sponsoring a reception with a plenary speaker at the Enlightenment Congress in Dublin, as we did at the Eighth Enlightenment Congress in Bristol in 1991.

TORONTO IN 2000

Although details are still sketchy, we can now confirm that in mid-October 2000 ECSSS will hold a joint conference at Victoria College, University of Toronto, with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. Paul Wood of University of Victoria, British Columbia, has been appointed the ECSSS liaison with CSECS for purposes of planning this conference.

ECSSS SEMINARS AT ASECS

Nashville in 1997. At the annual conference of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Nashville, Tennessee, in April, ECSSS sponsored a very successful seminar on Empire Builders: Scots in Eighteenth-Century British America from Montego Bay to Hudson's Bay. Organized and chaired by Roger Fechner of Adrian College, the session featured talks by Bruce P. Lenman of the University of St. Andrews on "Schmoozing and Self-Betterment: Scottish Military Men and the Building of Colonial British America"; Geoffrey Plank of the University of Cincinnati on "Samuel Vetch's Imaginary Cauada"; and Stephanie Friedman of the University of Chicago on "Songs About America: Bardic Composition and Highland Emigrant Identity." Thanks to all concerned for making the annual ASECS seminar go so well.

Notre Dame, Indiana, in 1998. Roger Fechner is once again organizing ECSSS's seminar at the ASECS conference, which will take place 1-5 April 1998. The topic of the session is Scottish Political Thought. Those interested in participating should send a paper title and 300-word abstract by 1 August to Roger Fechner, History Dept., Adrian College, Adrian, MI 49221-2575, USA. Email: rfechner@adrian.edu.

CONFERENCES OF INTEREST

James Hutton Bicentennial. Since 1797 was the year of James Hutton's death as well as the birth of Sir Charles Lyell, an ambitious joint bicentennial conference has been planned by the Geological Society in London (30 July-3 August 1997) and the Royal Society of Edinburgh (5-9 August 1997). Details of the respective programs can be obtained from The Conference Dept., The Geological Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London W1V OJU, U.K., and/or The Conference Office, The Royal Society of Edinburgh, 22-24 George St., Edinburgh EH2 2PQ, Scotland, U.K.

Medicine, Science and Enlightenment, 1685-1789. On 11-14 August 1998 the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh will sponsor a major conference on this topic. The conference is being co-chaired by Roger Emerson (Dept. of History, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada N6A 5C2; email: emerson@sscl.uwo.ca) and Paul Wood (Dept. of History, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 3045, B.C., Canada V8W 3P4; email: pbwood@uvvm.uvic.ca), to whom proposals should be sent by 1 September 1997. Participants are also encouraged to take part in Institute Project: European Enlightenment at the Institute for Advanced Studies, University of Edinburgh.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON APPEARS!

William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire, edited by Stewart J. Brown, has just been published by Cambridge University Press, in association with the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society. The fifth volume in the Society's publication series, the book was launched at a reception at Edinburgh University on 12 May. A review appears later in this issue, and an enclosed flier provides information on the contents and offers the book to our members at a 25 percent discount.

Meanwhile, other publications in the series are in the pipeline, notably a volume on Scotland and the Americas that is being edited by Ned Landsman and another on Scotland and France in the Enlightenment that is being co-edited by Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère on the basis of papers originally presented at the Grenoble conference last summer.

NLS CLOSING, GUL OPENING

In a move that is sure to have serious repercussions for scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland, the National Library of Scotland will shut down its building on George IV Bridge for "essential alterations" from September 1997 to approximately September 1998. According to Ian Cunningham, Keeper of Manuscripts, during this period there will be no service for manuscript readers, with one exception: manuscripts that have been previously microfilmed will be available at the relocated General Reading Room in the NLS's Causewayside building. However, there is no convenient list or catalogue of which manuscripts have been microfilmed, and the staff will not be able to answer inquiries that require access to the manuscript collections. Things look almost as bad in regard to rare books, although some of these may be accessible to "a very limited number of readers" at Causewayside, according to Hector Macdonald of that department. As with manuscripts, books that have been previously microfilmed will be available to readers at the Causewayside facility. For information updates, email to enquiries@nls.uk or check out the NLS Web site at www.nls.uk.

Meanwhile, in the west, the Special Collections Department at Glasgow University Library should have completed its planned relocation by the time this issue of *ECS* reaches you. The department closed to the public on 31 March in order to move to a new Level 12 facility. At press time in May, David Weston, Keeper of Special Collections, has informed *ECS* that everything is on schedule for reopening the department in its new location on 9 June. He goes on to say that "the new reading room has 24 reader places, each provided with electrical power sockets at desk top. Some eight of these reader places have the potential for networking and are scheduled for activation in a second phase of development. The reading room faces northwards and boasts stunning views across Glasgow to the Campsie

hills. All the book stock is located adjacent to the reading room on 10km of mobile shelving units, permitting a speedy service to users. The reading room has three computer catalogue terminals, one of which will allow remote access to information via JANET as well as networked library CDs. There are also two booths, one for a microfilm reader booth and another for audio visual equipment. Next door to the reading room is a new seminar/conference room which will allow small group study of material in the Special Collections Department or larger meetings of up to fifty. This development is being funded with support from the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council."

SESSION PAPERS PROJECT: ON APPEAL

Many readers of this newsletter will be aware of the importance of Session Papers as a source for the history of Scotland in the eighteenth century. Session Papers were generated by the largely written procedure that developed in the Court of Session. They contain the legal arguments of the advocates as they presented it in "memorials" and "information" and also details of oral evidence reduced to writing. From the early eighteenth century it became the practice to have such documents printed. Given how many noted figures of the eighteenth century in Scotland were advocates, Session Papers can be seen as potentially greatly increasing the known corpus of writing of such men as Monboddo, Kames, and Boswell. Moreover, Session Papers also throw considerable light on the social life of eighteenth-century Scotland.

Those readers aware of the significance of Session Papers will also be aware of the difficulty of using them. Sets of the papers were collected by individuals. No single set is likely to contain all the papers in one case. Most sets, if they have an index, have only a primitive one. Most sets also are in need of conservation. This important historical and literary resource is currently largely unusable.

The largest collection of Session Papers is in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. The Library has conceived a project to conserve, microfilm, and index its eighteenth-century Session Papers. The aim is not only to preserve this part of the national heritage from the inevitable destruction of neglect, but also to make it accessible to scholars. This is a project which will require millions of pounds. Currently a bid for funding from the National Lottery is being prepared, but other sources of funding would also be welcome. Members of the Society with an interest in this project should contact the Advocates' Librarian, Mrs. Catherine Smith, at the Advocates' Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh EH1 1RF, Scotland, U.K. In preparing the bid for funding, any letters of support indicating the importance of the collection would be very useful, especially from scholars who have some experience of them and can indicate their importance in the study of Boswell,

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Kames, Monboddo, or any other noted member of the Scottish literati.

John W. Cairns, University of Edinburgh

IRISH-SCOTTISH ACADEMIC INITIATIVE (ISAI)

Members of ECSSS and other readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* may be interested to know of the above initiative, which has been developed as part of an increasingly general move toward collaborative research in universities. The ISAI's partner institutions are the universities of Aberdeen (departments of Celtic, English, and History), Strathclyde (departments of English Studies, History, and Language Education), and Trinity College, Dublin (schools of English and Irish and Celtic Languages, departments of Medieval and Modern History). Launched in the presence of representatives of the British and Irish governments, and subsequently promoted by the President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, ISAI aims to offer a collaborative interdisciplinary approach, pooling the resources and expertise of relevant departments; to develop academic exchanges at all levels; to promote joint research projects; to provide joint supervision of research students at different venues; and to arrange public lectures, seminars, symposia, and cultural events to reach out to the wider public in the U.K. and Ireland.

The Initiative possesses significant strength in the area of eighteenth-century studies, through scholars such as Ian Campbell Ross at Trinity College, Dublin, Allan Macinnes and Donald Meek at the University of Aberdeen, and Tom Devine, Murray Pittock, Andrew Noble, and Ken Simpson at the University of Strathclyde.

For further details, contact: Ian Campbell Ross at Trinity College, Dublin (icross@tcd.ie); George Watson at the University of Aberdeen (g.watson@abdn.ac.uk); and Andrew Noble at the University of Strathclyde (n.fabb@strath.ac.uk).

Murray G. H. Pittock, University of Strathclyde

NEW DNB TO ADD SCOTS

Ever look in the *Dictionary of National Biography* for a particular eighteenth-century Scot and found him or her missing? It's a common occurrence, because many important figures aren't there. Among them are Gershom Carmichael and George Turnbull in philosophy; Janet Little and Robert Galloway in poetry; William Thom, Patrick Cuming, John Farquhar, William Craig, and William Wishart among Presbyterian clergymen; professors such as John Stevenson, Charles Mackie, William and Hugh Cleghorn, James Williamson, and William Wight; Alexander Donaldson John Bryce, Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour, John Bell, and Alexander Kincaid among booksellers in Scotland; Robert Aitkin, David Hall, and Robert Bell among Scottish booksellers in colonial Philadelphia; the educators Francis Alison and William Smith, the jurist James Wilson, and the ar-

chitect Robert Smith, among other important emigrants to colonial America; and many, many others.

Fortunately, something can now be done about it. Under the editorship of Professor Colin Matthew, Oxford University Press is undertaking the *New Dictionary of National Biography*. All 37,000 of the subjects in the old *DNB* will be included, though each entry will either be revised or completely rewritten. In addition, approximately 12,000 new lives will be added, with emphasis on figures from groups with minimal representation in the old *DNB*, including women, non-metropolitan figures of note, and pre-independence Americans. The new version will have family and group entries and about 10,000 portrait illustrations. It will also be produced both in print and CD-ROM editions. In short, OUP seems to be doing everything to make the *New DNB* into a major reference tool that will be of enduring value for students and scholars.

The members of ECSSS and other readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* can help in two ways. First, people with expertise will be needed to revise and in some cases rewrite entries from the old *DNB* as well as write new entries. If called upon for that service, say "yes!" Second, we need to use our collective knowledge to make sure that worthy eighteenth-century Scots like those listed above don't get left out of the *DNB* a second time. Toward that end, I am asking, as an Associate Editor of the new *DNB* in the delightfully vague category of "Miscellaneous Scots," that I be notified immediately of any eighteenth-century Scots whom you think should be added to the *New DNB*. I can't promise that every worthy figure will be included, but the better the case that I can make to the senior editors, the better the chances. So please include with your suggestions evidence of a recommended figure's importance or significance, as well as information about sources.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND LAUNCHED

The National Library of Scotland is marketing a new CD-ROM Bibliography of Scotland, consisting of sources relating to the full range of Scottish life and culture. The bibliography includes articles, books, theses, and dissertations on all Scottish topics, from all historical periods.

Here's how it works. The initial CD, with approximately 40,000 records from 1988 to the mid-1990s, operates in both an advanced Windows version and a public access version. Users gain access by subscription, at a cost of £95 a year (more for site licenses or additional users). Each year subscribers receive a new CD that includes all past records plus new records that cover recent publications. The software enables index browsing, Boolean searching, printing selected records, and (in the advanced Windows version only) multiple index and record view. A date-linked disabling

device encourages ongoing subscriptions by limiting the life of each CD to 30 June of the following year.

I had a go at the initial CD and found it extremely useful, despite some problems. The problems first. The documentation is rather confusing, and the system a little awkward to use at first. Since I could not figure out a way to print more than one item on a page, printing only one record at a time was a huge waste of paper. The database is somewhat spotty. Although most multi-author books are indexed by individual author and article, some (such as Irma Lustig's recent Boswell collection) are not. Articles on Scottish topics in multi-author volumes that are not primarily on Scotland are frequently missed. Less well known journals, and especially non-British journals, are poorly indexed; even *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, which the NLS takes by subscription, is not included! Introductions to reprint editions are not indexed by their authors. Literary topics seem to be indexed better than others. Etc. Presumably, these and other problems will be ironed out in time, and there is no reason why missed sources from earlier years can't be added to the CDs as they come to the attention of the staff.

Now the good news. I consider myself a tolerably good bibliographer of eighteenth-century Scottish topics, especially those having to do with Scottish Enlightenment figures on whom I have done research. But there was scarcely an individual or a topic on which I did not find at least one, and often several, sources previously unknown to me. Searching Adam Ferguson, for example, I discovered a number of references to articles or book chapters by Ernest Gellner and Ted Benton, as well as a 1993 book in French by Claude Gautier on the invention of civil society in Mandeville, Smith, and Ferguson; a 1994 French study of Ferguson and the division of labor by Jean-Pierre Séris; and a 1994 book in French by Bertrand Binoche that deals with Scottish philosophy of history in the period 1764-1798 (Ferguson, Hume, Kames, Millar)—all previously unknown to me. Even more impressive was this database's range of doctoral and even M.A. theses and dissertations from various countries; I must have found ten or more interesting ones that I hadn't previously known about.

In an effort to hook subscribers, the NLS is offering the initial CD for the remainder of 1997 for just £50, almost half off the regular price. Even better, ECSSS members may evaluate the CD for a one month free trial; then if they decide to subscribe, they will be asked to pay a full subscription price of £95 to cover the remainder of 1997 plus the whole of 1998. To take advantage of these offers or to receive additional information, contact Publication Sales, National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW, Scotland, U.K.

Richard B. Sher

CHARLES PETERSON HONORED

On the occasion of his 90th birthday, Charles E. Peterson was honored on 27 September 1996 with a gala dinner to benefit Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia. Peterson is Historian Emeritus of The Carpenters' Company, whose hall is one of many buildings in the historic district of Philadelphia that he helped to restore.

For some years Peterson has headed the Friends of Robert Smith (1722-1777), a society dedicated to restoring the buildings and reputation of the Scotsman whom Peterson calls "colonial America's leading architect/builder." In *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*, a publication of ECSSS, Peterson presented some of his findings on Smith's achievements in an article titled "Robert Smith, Philadelphia Builder-Architect: From Dalkeith to Princeton." But that was just the beginning, and Peterson shows no signs of letting up! For fifty years he has been working on a book covering Smith's full range of accomplishments in America, including 10 churches, 15 institutional buildings or public commissions, and 8 private commissions. "Hope to get it on the market by the year 2000," he wrote to us last month. ECSSS congratulates Charles Peterson on a remarkable career of public and scholarly service, and we wish him the best of luck in accomplishing his goal!

The Athenaeum of Philadelphia has announced the establishment of Charles E. Peterson fellowships in his honor, for the study of early American architecture and building technology. For details, write Chairman, Peterson Fellowship Committee, Athenaeum of Philadelphia, E. Washington Square, Philadelphia, PA 19106-3794.

BOOK NEWS

Bill Zachs has informed the editor that copies of his 1992 book, *Without Regard to Good Manners: A Biography of Gilbert Stuart 1743-1786* (Edinburgh U. Press; hardback) may be purchased directly from the author at a special discount price: £12.50 or \$20 U.S., postpaid. Libraries are welcome. Contact him by telephone (0131 662-4757), fax (0131 667-2379), or email (zachs@holyrood.ed.ac.uk).

After more than a quarter of a century, Edinburgh U. Press has reprinted a paperback edition of N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison, eds., *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (1970). This is the essay collection that attracted many of us to Scottish studies, and virtually all the contributions hold up well today.

Ian Simpson Ross reports the existence of an Italian translation of *The History of the Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, Commonly Called Peg, Only Lawful Sister to John Bull, Esq.* (1761) by Paola Aitto-Bernucci (Palermo: Sellerio editore, 1992). Although the translator provides some useful notes (writes ISR), she does not take an opportunity in her preface to review the arguments for and against David Raynor's attribution of the pamphlet to David Hume rather than

Adam Ferguson [in Raynor's 1982 edition of this work], a widely challenged view that is discussed in Gerhard Streminger, *David Hume: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1994), 412, n. 48.

Alastair J. Durie has edited original papers on the Scottish linen industry into a valuable sourcebook, *The British Linen Company 1745-1775*, published in 1996 by the Scottish History Society. Durie's Introduction provides a concise sketch of the main developments.

The prolific P. H. Scott has just published *Scotland An Unwon Cause: An Anthology with a Commentary* (Canongate, 1997). As the title makes clear, this is an anthology with a (Scottish nationalist) attitude, including three chapters on the eighteenth century.

Carol McGuirk's esteemed 1985 book, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era*, has been reprinted in paperback by Tuckwell Press in Scotland.

Mercat Press of Edinburgh has recently published Donald Campbell's *Playing for Scotland: A History of the Scottish Stage 1715-1965* (1996), which provides a brief but useful account of eighteenth-century Scottish theater. The same press has issued a paperback reprint of A. J. Youngson's 1985 book, *The Prince and the Pretender: Two Views of the '45*.

The 1981 Yale U. Press edition of James, Viscount of Stair's *Institutions of Law in Scotland* (1693; 1186pp.) is being remaindered by The Scholar's Bookshelf (110 Melrich Road, Cranbury, NJ 08512; books@scholarsbookshelf.com) for just \$49.50, plus postage. The sale ends 27 November 1997.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Daisuke Arie read a paper at the conference of the International Society for Utilitarian Studies in New Orleans in March . . . James Basker has co-edited *Tradition in Transition* (Oxford U. Press, 1996), which includes essays on Boswell and Ossian . . . Barbara Benedict was promoted to professor of English at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn., and published a new book, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton U.P., 1996); she also won an NEH fellowship for research on a new book on curiosity in the 18th century . . . Christopher Berry has just published with Edinburgh U. Press *The Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* . . . Fiona Black has been appointed Book Review Editor for *SHARP News* . . . Deborah Brunton is currently in the History Department at the University of Huddersfield . . . David Carrithers is co-editing a volume of essays on the legacy of Montesquieu . . . for the past two academic years, Gerard Carruthers has been lecturing on English at the University of Strathclyde . . . Greg Clingham has been appointed to the NEH Chair in the Humanities at Bucknell U.; beginning in September 1997 he will take over as Director of Bucknell U. Press and will launch two new

series: Bucknell Studies in Cultural and Critical Theory and Bucknell Studies in 18th-Century Literature and Culture . . . **Frank Cossa** has been promoted to professor of art history at The College of Charleston; his short film called *The Expert*, based on his play, won an award at the Houston International Film Festival . . . in May **Marlies Danziger** spoke on Boswell and freemasonry at an international conference on freemasonry in Tours . . . **John Davison** and Shoshana Shay gave a lecture-recital on Robert Burns at last year's Burns Bicentenary at the U. of Strathclyde . . . **Deidre Dawson** has been made an honorific knight by the French government, with the title Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Academiques; by the time this issue appears she should also have been married in her native Kentucky to David Wenkert, an M.D. in Washington, D.C., who is now completing an NIH research fellowship—congratulations Deidre! . . . **Gordon DesBrisay** is now associate professor of history at U. of Saskatchewan . . . **Robert Edgar** has prepared a Scottish culture sequence for presentation on the World Wide Web through Marylhurst College . . . forgot to mention it last year, but **Anita Guerrini** has been appointed assistant professor of history and environmental studies at U. of California, Santa Barbara . . . **David Hancock**, having accepted a position in the History Department at U. of Michigan, is organizing next year's meeting of the Forum on European Expansion and Global Interaction, to be held at the Huntington Library on 3 and 4 April 1998 (he can be contacted regarding proposals for papers at hancockd@umich.edu) . . . **Lieve Jooken** has completed her doctoral thesis on Lord Monboddo's theory of language and is now a post-doctoral research fellow in the Linguistics Department at the U. of Leuven, Belgium .

. . . **Frank Kafker** has written the Introduction to Thoemmes Press's reprint edition of the original *Encyclopaedia Britannica* . . . **Lore Hisky** is leading a tour of Ireland and Scotland in August 1997 and arranging a lecture at the Memphis Scottish Society by **Bruce Lenman**, who will direct a seminar at the Folger Institute in Washington, D.C., on "Princely Magnificence and Munificence" . . . **Leah Leneman's** new book, *Alienated Affections: Divorce and Separation in Scotland 1684-1830*, will be published by Edinburgh U. Press; Scottish Cultural Press will publish a new (revised) edition of the book she wrote with **Rosalind Mitchison**, *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland 1660-1780*, as well as the same duo's *Sin in the City: Sexuality and Social Control in Urban Scotland 1660-1780* . . . **A. R. Lewis** has been appointed an Honorary Fellow in the Department of Architectural History at Edinburgh U. . . . **Helen Lillie's** new novel, *Strathblane and Away*, caused a splash in Scotland, where Helen was interviewed in the press and honored at a luncheon at Glasgow U.; the book is a sequel to her *Home to Strathblane* . . . **Susan Manning** has been elected Secretary of the Faculty at Cambridge U. . . . in March **Estevão de Rezende Martins** became Chief Legislative Adviser at the Federal Senate of

Brazil . . . **Caroline McCracken-Flesher** had a new baby this year! . . . **Mary Catherine Moran** received ASECS's 1995-96 Catharine Macaulay Prize awarded for a graduate student paper on women/gender; the paper, dealing with the place of women in conduct literature and Scottish conjectural history, was presented at the Northeast ASECS meeting in Ottawa . . . **Jerry Z. Muller** has been promoted to professor of history at The Catholic U. of America in Washington, D.C.; his new anthology of conservatism from Hume to the present is now out with Princeton U. Press . . . **Anthony Parker**, currently a teaching fellow at the U. of Dundee, earned his Ph.D. at St. Andrews U. last spring with a thesis on Scottish Highlanders in colonial Georgia that will be published later this year by U. of Georgia Press; in 1996 he spoke at a Harvard U. seminar on the history of the Atlantic world . . . **Adam Potkay** has been raised to an associate professorship in the English Department at The College of William and Mary; he is spending this year on sabbatical in New Jersey (huh?) and will be teaching at the U. of Aberdeen during the coming autumn . . . **Roger Robinson** has been appointed an Honorary Fellow of the English Department at the U. of Aberdeen . . . **Susan Rosa** is now assistant professor of history at Northeastern Illinois U. . . . **Ross Roy** and his wife Lucie are recovering from wounds sustained during a violent robbery at their home in Columbia, South Carolina, after returning from dinner on Lucie's birthday in January (we all wish you and Lucie a rapid recovery, Ross) . . . **Silvia Sebastiani** completed and successfully defended her doctoral thesis on Lord Kames at the U. of Florence . . . **Judith Slagle** is now Director of Graduate Studies at Middle Tennessee State U. . . . **Jeffrey Smitten** steps down as executive secretary of the American Society for 18th-Century Studies this year, but a new baby will be arriving this summer to keep him busy . . . in April **Jessica Spector** delivered a paper on Hume at the Southeastern Seminar in Early Modern Philosophy in Tampa, Florida . . . **Mark Spencer** gave a paper on Hume in America at the April ASECS conference in Nashville; next year he will have a fellowship to continue his research in Scotland . . . **R. S. Stephenson** (postgrad in the Dept. of History, U. of Virginia) is editing a volume of soldiers' correspondence from the American campaigns of the Seven Years' War and would be interested in corresponding with scholars who are aware of other collections of this kind . . . **John Toffey's** book on Flora MacDonald, *A Woman Nobly Planned*, will be published this summer by Carolina Academic Press . . . **Gordon Turnbull** is now Managing Editor of the Boswell Papers at Yale U. . . . **Frits van Holthoorn** passed an agreeable fall 1996 semester doing research at the U. of Pennsylvania . . . **Norbert Waszek** has moved to the German Department at U. Paris VIII . . . **Frederick Whelan** has published a book on *Edmund Burke and India* with U. of Pittsburgh Press.

Style as a Key to the Scottish Enlightenment

Carey McIntosh, Hofstra University

Hugh Blair hoists a banner for verbal *style* at the beginning of his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*: “Among nations in a civilized state, no art has been cultivated with more care, than that of language, style, and composition.” And in case readers may be tempted to dismiss this as mere puffery for the lectures to come, he adds, “The attention paid to [style] may, indeed be assumed as one mark of the progress of society towards its most improved period” (1:2).

Blair, like other enlightened thinkers of the time, took a European perspective on “the progress of society,” and so must have been thinking of France and the cultivation of language and style in French; as early as 1645 Vaugelas had announced a program of correctness and decorum in style that powerfully influenced not only the Académie, but also later writers such as Racine and La Fontaine, and rhetorics by such men as Bouhours and Rollin (which Blair borrowed from in his *Lectures*). But a more pressing example of a nation “in a civilized state” was closer at hand: Dryden had written (and revised his writings) to make “Our native language more refin’d and free”; Pope to inculcate “a true Taste”; Swift to “correct and refine” the English tongue (1712); Johnson to tame the “wild exuberance,” the “improprieties and absurdities” of English (1755).

By the middle of the eighteenth century Scottish literati had become acutely self-conscious about “improvement” in all aspects of what we now call “culture.” What they heard when they listened to themselves talk was a heterogeneous mixture of “civilized” and “barbarous” languages: Scots Gaelic in the Highlands, Broad Scots in Edinburgh, and English English in the mouths of visitors from the South—who seemed to be setting not only political but also cultural agendas for Scotland. James Beattie believed that he could recognize six or eight different regional Scottish dialects of English, but he advised his students to “avoid broad Scotch words” because the use of such “barbarous” language “debases the taste; taints the mind with a peculiar sort of indelicacy.” We smile at Hume’s anxiety over “Scoticisms,” but the same anxiety to speak and write the most refined and correct English (e.g., in Boswell and Beattie) turns up even *after* the publications of Hume, Adam Smith, Ossian, Fergusson, Burns, and many others had shown that Scottish culture was currently at least as vital as English.

The 1750s and 1760s were crucial years for the history of language and style in England and Scotland. All sorts of people had called loudly for the “fixing” of the language, for authoritative grammars, and for a good dictionary—again, partly because they order these things if not better then sooner in France. Dryden and Bishop Sprat, Swift and Bishop Wilson, Steele and Lord Chesterfield—all lamented the absence of rules, the proliferation of regional variants, and/or the mutability of the language. It was in the 1750s that English writers finally developed specific rules and standards for “correct” and civilized writing. Grammars of English published before mid-century had largely been restricted to the tasks of imposing Latin grammatical structures on English or of inventing universal grammatical categories. Robert Lowth’s *Grammar* (1762), taking Johnson’s *Dictionary* as inspiration and base, laid down prescriptive rules. It had hundreds of imitators and successors, eager to formulate and apply those rules and others, rules that might enable fledgling writers to produce correct and elegant English. Two hundred and four new English grammars were published 1751-1800, most of them prescriptive; only 38 in the period 1701-1750, most of them not prescriptive. Lowth and his colleagues are the ones who made the rules that are still taught in the 1990s (or, alas, not taught) in elementary school and high school: rules of agreement between subject and verb, rules for pronoun reference and against double negatives and double comparatives, rules for subjunctives and strong verbs and word order. The novelty of all this comes clearer when one remembers that Shakespeare and Milton had never heard of most of these rules.

Scotland played a leading role in the general movement to correct and refine English style, through the agency of “the New Rhetoric”: lectures and writings by Adam Smith, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, George Campbell, Hugh Blair, and James Beattie. (Two other names sometimes included as part of the New Rhetoric belong also to “outsiders”: Thomas Sheridan, an Irishman, and Joseph Priestley, a dissenter and scientist.)

Rhetoric, as we all know, was still a required subject in eighteenth-century education at any level beyond the level of basic literacy and numeracy. Eighteenth-century “Rhetoric” before 1750 in most respects was classical rhetoric: Cicero’s *De Oratore* and *Orator*, supplemented by Quintilian and the *Ad Herennium*, with Aristotle added in at some point. During the hundred years from 1650 to 1750 there were more editions of Cicero and company in the original and in translation than there were original English rhetorics, and what new rhetorics did appear in English were either mere school texts, elementary and derivative (e.g., Felton, Stirling, Holmes), or unintelligent rehashes of commonplaces (e.g., Blackwall, Constable).

Then, in 1748, Adam Smith began his lectures on rhetoric in Edinburgh. Robert Watson took over the series in 1751, and Hugh Blair gave his lectures from 1759 to 1783. In Aberdeen, George Campbell lectured on “pulpit eloquence” from about 1757, and had drafts of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* discussed by Thomas Reid and James Beattie, who himself lectured on rhetoric from 1760 to 1797. The published rhetorics of Campbell (1776), Blair (1783), and Beattie (1776, 1790) were supplemented by major books on language or aesthetics by Lord Kames (1762) and Lord Monboddo (1776), books that include 100- to 200-page sections on rhetoric. All these lectures (possible exception: Watson; I haven’t read him; he’s known only from notes in archives) and publications stress the importance of polite and refined style, “propriety and eloquence” (Blair, 1:2). All but Monboddo include specific rules for correcting solecisms and improving style. Blair, Campbell, and Kames devote quite a few pages to detailed analysis of prose style in such authors as Addison and Swift.

What was new about the New Rhetoric? First, it put old wine into handsome new bottles: general principles derived from classical rhetoric were revived, re-thought, and re-written for contemporary readers, writers, and speakers. Second, the New Rhetoric broke free of the traditional domains (senate, law courts, agora) and addressed itself to ordinary eighteenth-century readers and writers, to men and women in their private capacity as writers of letters and readers of novels, to scientists, philosophers, and merchants. One could argue that the New Rhetoric adapted classical rhetoric to a rapidly developing print culture. Third, the New Rhetoric assimilated and built on new, recent ideas in contemporary thinkers including Hume, Hutcheson, Rousseau, Hartley, Burke, Gerard, and Hogarth. In *Rhetoric and the Pursuit of Truth* (1985), Nancy S. Struever has proposed that the New Rhetoric’s alliance between “the critical construction of taste and the analysis of virtue” makes it a kind of bridge between Hume and Kant.

An index of how uncommonly self-conscious the grammars and rhetorics of 1760-1795 were, is their treatment of what they considered to be bad style and bad grammar in writers of the first half of the century. The very best writers of 1710-1740, including Addison, Steele, Swift, Shaftesbury, Pope, Prior, Bolingbroke, and Atterbury, are censured for faulty pronoun reference, lack of parallel structure, incorrect parts of speech, failures in agreement, archaic strong verb forms, and many other “errors.” Lowth and Blair and Kames and Campbell all seem determined to distinguish the “refined” writing they are trying to encourage from “ruder” writing (however excellent in other ways) of the immediately preceding age. Surely this is more than just a passing meander in the currents of taste. It is as if Brooks and Warren had devoted one quarter of their pages to anacoluthon in Hemingway, prolixity in Faulkner, and misplaced modifiers in Henry James; it is as if during the 1970s and 1980s the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *New York Review of Books* and *TLS* had published a series of articles on errors and infelicities in the language of Winston Churchill, E. B. White, and Reinhold Niebuhr.

Evidence that the movement to refine English language and style was not confined to schoolteachers and Scots appears in a new medium: the review magazines. Magazines were a relatively recent invention (the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, established in 1731, is usually considered the first modern magazine in English), but periodical publication in general was expanding rapidly at this time. Ralph Griffiths’s *Monthly Review* began to take notice of the grammar and diction of books it was summarizing in its fourth issue, August 1749, and the *Gentleman’s Magazine* jumped on this bandwagon in 1753, the *Critical Review* (edited by a Scot, Tobias Smollett) in 1756. Book reviews in the 1750s and 1760s focused far more intensely on style and grammar than they do today. For example, the following are quoted as examples of bad writing: “which creped in”; “the dispute did arise upon . . .”—an archaic strong verb form, the pleonastic *do*.

Nit-picking like this must have tightened the screws of linguistic self-consciousness for all new authors. Any author who for any reason was less than perfectly confident in his or her correctness (e.g., women, Americans, Scots, Irish, non-university-educated writers in general) could hardly refrain from worrying about style. Fanny Burney experienced such “anxious solicitude” for her first novel that she dedicated it “To the authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews,” half-seriously acknowledging her own “temerity” in publishing at all. As a young soldier William Cobbett was so distressed at his own “want of a knowledge of grammar” that he memorized Lowth’s textbook. “The pains I took cannot be described: I wrote the whole grammar out two or three times; I got it by heart; I repeated it every morning and evening.”

Style is a key to the Scottish Enlightenment, then, because the literati viewed polite language as an indispensable element in civilized culture, and because civilization (a.k.a., in many contexts, “improvement”) was a central value of the Scottish Enlightenment. I think it is safe to say that almost every major thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment would have made the connection between verbal style and civilization at two other points: in the “conjectural histories” of civilization that function as (written or unwritten) premises for so many of the major publications of the time; and in what Scottish thinkers assumed to be the moral dimensions of writing and speaking.

The first chapters of the first volume of Monboddo’s six volumes on the *Origin and Progress of Language* (1773) leave no doubt about the central position of language as a factor in the evolution of humanity. It is lan-

guage that carries us beyond sense to “intellect” (which Monboddo characteristically associates with a Greek equivalent, *nous*), because language is “the expression of the conceptions of the mind by articulate sounds” (p. 5). (Monboddo was one of the first writer in English to base some of his generalizations about the evolution of humanity on bits of language from undeveloped societies: Huron (p. 367), “Algonkin” (p. 375), Tahitian (p. 376).) James Dunbar’s conjectural history of humanity has only three stages, and language is what separates the second from the first. Any thinker who moved from standard conjectural history to speculation about the history of language (e.g., Blair 1762, Smith 1767) was ready to acknowledge refinement of style as an essential feature of the later stages in this history.

I take Blair as probably one of the earliest and certainly one of the most eloquent among Scottish writers who associated refinement of style first with refinement of taste and then, unequivocally, with moral improvement. “A cultivated taste increases sensibility to all the tender and humane passions” (*Lectures*, 1:12). “Without possessing the virtuous affections in a strong degree, no man can attain eminence in the sublime parts of eloquence” (1:13). By devoting many pages to the minutiae of verbal style, Blair’s *Lectures* identify a refined style (especially prose style) as the mark of a civilized person. Lord Kames also associated “the social affections” with an appreciation of good style. Conversely, in George Campbell’s opinion, the use of slang and low words are “the indelible marks of the clown” (p. 169). Modern readers have sometimes been put off by the whiff of snobbery in such sentiments; but in the Scottish context, with fiercely *un*-civilized, *un*-refined Highlanders, farmers, and elders of the Kirk on every side, with a national history seemingly dominated by *un*-tender and *un*-humane passions, the need for “refinement” of this kind was very strong.

‘Style as a key to the Scottish Enlightenment’ may form part of a larger argument, namely that in the years from about 1710 to 1790 English prose changed, partly in response to a developing print culture, partly as a result of heightened language consciousness that accompanied the “feminization” of literary and other values during those years. By and large, English in the last quarter of the eighteenth century is more polite, more gentrified, and more written than early eighteenth-century prose. Prose published around 1710 is characteristically more oral, more informal and colloquial, whereas late eighteenth-century prose became more bookish, more elegant, more precise, and more consciously rhetorical. These changes show up clearly in the differences between major authors from the first quarter of the century and major authors from the last: Sheridan’s dialogue is cleaner and more elegant than Steele’s; Jane Austen’s sentences are more periodic and her paragraphs more coherent than Defoe’s; Archibald Alison’s critical essays are fussier and more prolix and more precise than John Dennis’s.

An important link between the New Rhetoric and an evolving print culture is the idea of a ‘standard language’: a particular variant or dialect or language chosen by a nation as the medium of government and education (and therefore, sooner or later, commerce). “Standardization” is something that happens and has happened all over the world when a community takes steps to combat the centripetal and localizing powers of language variation. Standard Netherlandic was carved out of a graded continuum of dialects stretching from the North Sea to the Alps during the years after 1609 when Spain agreed to treat the United Provinces as sovereign. Many of the rules in Kames and Campbell (rules designed to promote clarity and correctness) contributed to the rise of Standard English.

“Print culture” continued to “develop,” of course, in every century after the fifteenth, but the eighteenth century witnessed crucial changes in this on-going process. The lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695 had surely some connection with signs of a new pervasiveness of the printed word thereafter, the first daily newspaper (1701), the first effective copyright act (1709), the triumphant debut of single-essay periodicals like the *Spectator* (1710), the first magazine, book reviews, and lending libraries, the slow diffusion into small towns of printed forms and printing presses. Even dictionaries became more “written” in the second half of the eighteenth century: the definitions in the dictionaries of Samuel Johnson (1755) and John Ash (1775) are far more correct, polite, and logical, far less oral, physical, feudal, and rural, than the definitions in earlier dictionaries by John Kersey (1708) and Nathan Bailey (1721). Scotland participated vigorously in the development of print culture, of course. We think not only of the Foulis brothers and Andrew Millar but also of the first *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1768-71), an obviously more modern (science-oriented) work than its best-known predecessor from south of the Tweed, Ephraim Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia* (1728).

What happened to prose style during the eighteenth century, then, was not trivial or peripheral; it figures centrally in the evolution of enlightened values and culture, in Scotland and England both.

Note: This article contains the gist of chapter 6 of Carey McIntosh’s book, The Ordering of English: Style, Rhetoric, Politeness, Print Culture, and the Evolution of Prose from 1700 to 1800, which is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.

James Craig (1744-1795) and the Moderates

A. R. Lewis, Edinburgh

James Craig's concern with churches, a traditional inspiration and source of work for architects, is already apparent in his original Plan for Edinburgh's New Town (1767), still his main claim to fame, which left other public buildings unspecified, but stipulated two dominantly sited places of worship. This provision was rather aggressively reasserted in the revised plan of 1774, which showed four such sites. Ecclesiastical projects actually executed by Craig include St. Andrew's Church in Dundee (1768/9); repairs and improvements to St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's College Chapels in St. Andrew's (1773-75); design and erection of a funeral monument to John Fullerton of Carberry at St. Michael's Church, Inversesk—most unusually sited within the church building (1775); plans and direction for sorely needed construction of new seating and refurbishment in the New Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh (1777-81); and, somewhat later, similar work at the church of South Leith (1789-93).

Of these schemes, the developments in the New Church were the most spectacular and prestigious, and offer our best insight into the vitally important question of patronage and sponsorship. Like St. Salvator's Chapel, the New Church needed roof repairs. Amid many contemporary secular projects, Craig's correspondence of May 1777 with Baillie Walter Hamilton mentions his plans for the New Church, and his hopes of early completion, including revision of the galleries and sections of the lofts. In response to anxieties voiced by various prominent personages concerning the delapidated state of the New Church, the drawings (also 1777, in the National Library of Scotland) provide for new seating and window repairs, but the most striking novelty is a Gothic pulpit.

Having accepted Craig's proposals, the Council's next task was to fund them. Court of Exchequer records for 3 February 1778 note that the Treasury granted £500. Interestingly, they mention approval of an estimate, which evidently Craig had also submitted, and the memorial of the Council to the Treasury of 8 January 1779 noted that the new church was "very inconveniently fitted up and stands in need of thorough repair." Installations now included the Royal State Seat and accommodation for the judges of the Court of Session, barons of the Court of Exchequer, and Lord High Constable. The petition asked for the church to be properly "ornamented" and "fitted up in a decent manner." The project to provide a new pulpit had grown to furnish seats for leading members of society and the King.

The details of these operations are well documented and too numerous to narrate here, but it is significant that James Craig was appointed overseer of various leading craftsmen. He is named in the Town Council's Tradesmen's Accounts and Dean of Guild's Tradesmen's Accounts (which, together with Town Council Minutes of correspondence with Craig, constitute an accurate representation of his work) for a single payment of £45.7s. on 1 August 1781. By 1780 the pulpit had been incorporated in a wider scheme, and the wright Braidwood's contract detailed its execution, but this impressive structure was matched by the King's State Seat, described in Craig's accounts as "Gothic" in style, as were the rest of the plans agreed to on 22 March 1780. It comprised four columns supporting a dome which bore three angels to represent England, Scotland, and Ireland, who held the imperial crown, the sceptre, sword of state, and ensigns of knighthood. Above the front two columns were figures of Britannia and Neptune, and upon the interior of the seat's domed ceiling was the sun in the center, surrounded by a frieze of the twelve signs of the zodiac and four figures of Spring, Autumn, Summer, and Winter, together with the King's coat of arms.

Before construction of St. Andrew's in George Street in 1781, the New Church was the church of the Edinburgh New Town, and its iconographic references in the King's Seat to the endorsement of the union, and to James Thomson's poetry, earlier visible in Craig's plans of the New Town, unmistakably proclaim themselves. Even in 1777, Craig had embellished his plan of the intended galleries at the west end with lines from the fashionable poet James Thomson, who was his uncle, referring to great singing and church music. They appear upon the vault, surrounded by three angels who together descend upon the organ and galleries, where panels are carved with thistle, rose, and royal arms:

Assembled men, to the deep Organ join
The long-resounding voice, oft-breaking clear,
At solemn pauses, through the swelling base;
And, as each mingling flame increases each,
In one united ardor rise to heaven.

This iconography and its context clearly raise questions of sacred and secular patronage. While Craig had as early as 1767 courted royal favor for his original New Town Plan, certain success came only later, with his continued involvement in the development of the New Town, and various schemes within it sponsored and funded in the main by the Town Council. The seating in the New Church specially provided for judges of the Court of Ses-

sion, barons of the Court of Exchequer, the Lord High Constable, and the magistrates, and its decoration with thistle and rose recalls street names which still survive. The Town Council's interest in promoting church architecture and Craig's readiness to engage it are perhaps already evident in his quotation on the original Plan for the New Town of Thomson's references to "religious awe" inspired by "temples." In particular, the councillors were eager to collaborate with the more eminent of the two ministers of the New Church, the famous scholar and divine Hugh Blair, to whom—rather than the Town Council itself—Craig dedicated his plans for his pulpit within a few months of the publication of the first volume of Blair's renowned *Sermons*, which first appeared in January 1777.

Now Blair not only was deeply entrenched in the corridors of local politics and power but was also a leading member of the Moderate party of Churchmen, among whom also featured Robert Watson and Alex Carlyle, both of them earlier patrons of Craig. Watson had commissioned his work at St. Andrew's, and Carlyle had evidently accommodated the Fullerton monument within his church building at Inveresk. These two clergymen also enjoyed no mean political influence; together with Blair they formed a potent triumvirate for pursuit of a program that included among its aims the educational attainments, and with them the status and effectiveness, of the Scottish Presbyterian clergy. Inevitably, this drew them not only into local politics, but also into the affairs of the colleges of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Suitable architecture was essential, and therein lay a role for James Craig, which with some skill he actively sought and played, for the most part in Edinburgh.

The Town Council dropped Robert Mylne's proposal of 1767 to site a "New College" in the New Town, but the following year there appeared an ambitious alternative scheme, usually attributed to William Robertson, for new buildings and classrooms. It was costed at £8500 by "a skilful architect"—conceivably the young James Craig—but was not pursued. Craig courted the favor of the college in 1775 by donating to its library Thomson's portrait by Sir John Baptist Medina. He was becoming established as the Town Council's preferred architect, and in the year of his donation was commissioned to design the college's new observatory on Calton Hill. Similarly important for the sciences was his winning design of the same year for a powerful group of academics to build the new hall and library for the Royal College of Physicians, who later gave him subsidiary work in the Royal Botanical Gardens. The next concerted attempt at improvement was the ongoing series of works of 1779-81. It was Craig again who provided Professor Allan Maconochie, Advocate Professor of the Law of Nature and Nations, and Alexander Fraser Tytler, Advocate Professor of Universal History, Greek and Roman Antiquities, with suitable plans for improved facilities, perhaps on recommendation of his patron Dr. Blair, whose classroom Maconochie had been using in the meantime. The professors' petition to the Town Council of 13 February 1781, seeking funds, referred to Craig's plan as "plain and commodious." Tytler emphasized the "inseparable" connection of interests between the college and the city, and pleaded with the Lord Provost, David Steuart, whose "literary abilities" were known to him, to allow work to proceed, doubtless also invoking the rhetoric of the Council's declared policy to encourage building which proclaimed the city's interests in education, and its ranking as first city in promotion of learning—a policy strongly advocated by the Moderate party. Tytler's letter of 16 May 1781 to James Hunter Blair, M.P. for Edinburgh, again argues for the public good, as well as for meeting Craig's costs:

We procured an estimate by Mr Craig of the expence of fitting up that under room in the low college which you took the trouble of visiting along with Mr Grieve and Mr Wallace: it amounted, if I recollect to £100 sterling. This was certainly a very moderate demand; but as I think, dear Sir, that I can answer for my friend Mr Maconochie's motives being equally disinterested with my own, we shall make our demand still more moderate. If the Town should give us no more than £60 or £70 sterling, that gentleman and I will undertake at our own expence to make up the deficiency and to pay from our pocket what may be necessary above the sum asked.

Craig's continued interest in college affairs was still evident in 1785, when James Hunter Blair sponsored a major project to build a whole New College. Again Craig supplied plans, expounded in his pamphlet *Plan for the Improvement of the City of Edinburgh*, but they were not executed. Nevertheless, his work for Edinburgh's academics and their appreciation of his efforts were clearly attested. So too was his standing with the Town Council, among whose duties was supervision of the college's affairs, and with the Moderate churchmen who enjoyed so much influence with the councillors and other local notables.

As a practicing architect with aspirations, Craig was forced to look for support (and work) on a somewhat wider front. An awakening social conscience among the middle classes in the Edinburgh of his day encouraged him to tender plans for a Bridewell (1780), supported by his friend and patron, Provost David Steuart. Writing to James Hunter Blair on 25 January 1780, on ways and means for the project, Steuart suggested "a pathetick sermon preached by Dr. [Robert] Dick" (by then no longer of the Moderate persuasion) "might help in the building"—presumably from sales of a published version and contributions from the wealthy. The scheme was evidently meant to engage the interest not merely of the Moderates, but of society at large, and most of all its profes-

sional classes—the doctors, lawyers, bankers, and merchants among whom Craig himself sought recognition not merely as a skilled builder but, *qua* architect, as a professional man in his own right.

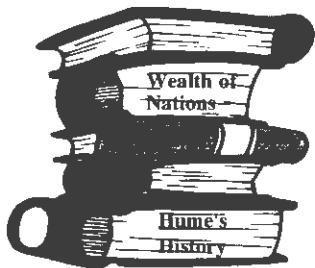
To that end, it was necessary to present himself not merely as a master practitioner of building design, draughtsmanship, and construction, but as a man of education, learning, and therefore—so it would be assumed in his day—above all of taste. Craig covered his first story flat at 110 West Bow with paintings, prints, sculptures, and books, to resemble a gallery or library. While his training as a mason sufficiently guaranteed the practical skills, he had never enjoyed the means to undertake the Grand Tour or any other of the enterprises commonly essayed by more privileged gentlemen. Compensation by way of reliance on his relationship with the poet James Thomson was available, and Craig was far from scorning it, especially in his more public self-advertisement, but he was equally capable of quoting Horace on his buildings and plans, and of conversing about him with Samuel Johnson and the ever-attendant James Boswell—in short, of displaying the typical accomplishments of the cultured gentleman of his age. Hence the readiness of leading Glaswegians and local magnates of Killearn to invite him to design a monument to the great Scot and scholar George Buchanan in 1788. Nor is this the only evidence for the breadth and depth of Craig's cultural sympathies. It is true that to possess books is not necessarily to read them, but the contents of Craig's library reveal at least a range of interests, whether those of Craig himself or of his intended, expected, or actual clients. The limited profits from his business seem to have been spent not on high living or futile ostentation, but on art and liberal studies—that is, besides architectural manuals and pattern-books, works on botany, medicine, education, philosophy, economics, sociology, law, natural philosophy; on Bibles, prayerbooks, sermons, religious pamphlets, and literature, especially poetry and a decent representation of the classics. Naturally he did not omit Vitruvius, and very clearly had taken to heart among the precepts of Book I, chapter 1.10-12, the overall view that

... since this study is so vast in extent, embellished and enriched as it is with many different kinds of learning, I think that men have no right to profess themselves architects hastily, without having climbed from boyhood the steps of these studies and thus, nursed by the knowledge of many arts and sciences, having reached the heights of the holy ground of architecture.

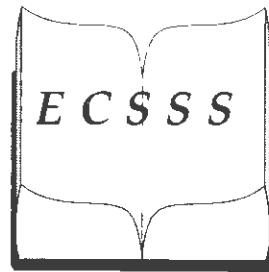
In 1767, in recognition of his New Town Plan, Craig had become a Burgess and Guild Brother of Edinburgh, after his grandfather and father. Yet he never appears to have exploited these connections for his own benefit. His elevated status with the Town Council was achieved by the early 1780s, it seems, through his work for prestigious academic and professional institutions and groups, such as the Royal Infirmary, Royal College of Physicians, Dr. John Hope's Botanical Gardens, Dr. John Robison's Observatory, the Writers to the Signet, and the ministers discussed in this paper—all of whom looked to the college and Town Council's support. It appears that Craig responded to the Moderate party's concern for nurturing a learned, literate society with splendid, prestigious building projects as an optimistic demonstration of the potential value of education for the moral good of Edinburgh's populace, and to encourage expenditure of public money on creating a new city for a better society. His commercial interest in securing work induced him to establish good relations with Moderates in the college, who in turn canvassed the Town Council, bankers, and public. All things considered, his exploitation of his kinship with James Thomson may be viewed not merely as a vainly conceited attempt to win fame or employment through pedigree but as a more subtle stimulus to the educational and social improvement advocated by leading Moderate ministers.

In return Craig could claim ranking as a notable professional architect, engaged by both academics and the Town Council. Each of these clienteles exploited churches, architecture, and “improved” buildings to display its political power. To be sure, James Craig is traditionally remembered as planner of the Edinburgh New Town, but his work in churches and other projects of crucial social import constitutes a persuasive argument for his wider commitment to a new urban culture within Scotland's metropolis founded upon the alliance of College, Church, Council, and architects to foster education, popular morality, and political stability. It is time for closer evaluation of Craig's contribution, as well as Edinburgh's other “improvements” in the late eighteenth century.

Note: A. R. Lewis is an independent scholar who works at Glasgow's Transport Museum. He has contributed to James Craig 1744-1795: “The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh”, ed. Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser (Edinburgh, 1995), and has published an article on Craig in the Journal of Architectural Heritage Society (1995). Lately he has been working closely with the Department of Architectural History at Edinburgh University. This article is an interim sketch of a longer, fully documented essay which he intends to publish soon. Meanwhile, readers who wish to obtain fuller documentation may contact the author at his home address: 104 Craiglea Drive, Edinburgh EH10 5PN, Scotland (tel.: 0131-447-2974).



BOOKS in REVIEW



Patrick Scott Hogg, **Robert Burns: The Lost Poems**. Glasgow: Privately Printed, 1997. Pp. 252.

Two days before the University of Strathclyde's Bicentenary Burns conference in January 1996, Patrick Hogg created a furor when he announced in the *Glasgow Herald* his discovery of at least forty, possibly as many as eighty, previously unattributed poems by Burns. A computer expert with undergraduate training in history but a literary amateur, Hogg had found the texts—some in Scottish dialect but most in standard English—by searching the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, the London *Morning Chronicle*, and the *Glasgow Advertiser*, radical newspapers of the 1790s. Kenneth Simpson, organizer of the Strathclyde conference, offered to improvise an additional session, but Hogg declined to speak or even to attend. He did provide the *Herald* with a copy of one of the poems in dispute, a satire in English heroic couplets that was circulated and discussed. Burns's biographer and editor James Mackay dismissed any claims of new material as "Hoggwash." I provided a sound-byte as well when—unaware of the controversy, as I had just arrived—I told a reporter who showed me the poem that there was "not a chance in hell" it had been written by Burns. A week after Hogg's announcement, Neil McKay, a Tory councillor for Dumfries and Galloway, united with Bill Munroe, a Labour councillor, to condemn the local commission that had awarded Hogg a £5000 grant to assist his research. McKay called for the grant to be withdrawn: "If Burns wrote those poems, I am a Dutchman!" Though Hogg had some defenders, including a past president of the Burns Federation and a woman councillor representing the SNP, his announcement was received skeptically because it seemed unlikely that all earlier editors could have failed to discover a cache of eighty poems—a significant expansion of the canon of 605 certified poems plus 27 "undated poems and dubia" that are printed in James Kinsley's Clarendon edition of Burns's *Poems and Songs*.

Yet Burns certainly engaged in newspaper publication, surreptitious and otherwise, from 1786. In addition, several of the works found by Hogg use pseudonyms either reminiscent of Burns ("Aratus" or "ploughed"; "Agestes" or "rustic") or actually used elsewhere by Burns for poems not in dispute and first published in newspapers: "A. Briton"; "Agricola." Virtually all of Hogg's discoveries would have been considered seditious during the 1790s, explaining the cloaking of the author's identity. None of the twenty-five poems reprinted in Hogg's book—fifteen certified as authentic by Hogg and a further ten as possible—would enhance Burns's literary reputation. Their quality is mediocre at best. But if Hogg's texts are genuine *in toto* or in part, they provide crucial information about Burns's years in Dumfries, especially about his political opinions during the last three years of his life. This group of newspaper poems also may constitute an important find in illuminating the radical roots of early Romanticism. Since publication of this work, Hogg has learned that one of his discoveries, the lines "To Lord Stanhope," were attributed to Coleridge in Campbell's 1893 edition of Coleridge's poems. He has also found that an early poem undoubtedly by Coleridge, "Habent Sua Fata—Poetae," constitutes a virtual plagiarism of lines 17-36 of Burns's poem "To Robert Graham of Fintry." Perhaps in some cases, Coleridge is Hogg's "Poet X," author of these texts.

Because of the light they would shed on the Dumfries years, I would like to believe that these new poems were all written by Burns: this may color my judgment in feeling rather strongly that seven or eight are probably authentic. Several texts accepted by Hogg that I would reject or question are evidently the work of radical or at any rate anti-Pittite poets either influenced by Burns or trying to create the impression that they are the "ploughman poet," which—while not authenticating the poems—strongly suggests that Burns's political opinions were an open secret, and in London as well as Glasgow, Paisley, Edinburgh, and Dumfries. It is regrettable, however, that Hogg's lack of literary training handicaps him in making his case. This self-published book is full of typographical errors and is too narrowly directed to the Burns community in Scotland. More seriously, the work is marred by Hogg's failure to consider Burns's characteristic prosody—Hogg counts syllables but never discusses emphasis—by overly literal readings and over-praise of the texts he has found, and by the absence of any footnotes to provide precise documentation. And yet the book is also full of tantalizing evidence of Burns's continuing radical activities toward the end of his life. No editor or researcher has ever before noted that the first published versions

of both "Scots Wha Hae" and "Is There for Honest Poverty" (as well as a previously unrecorded printing of "On seeing Mrs. Kemble in the Part of Yarico at Dumfries Theatre") appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*—in 1796, 1797 and 1795, respectively. And if Burns sent these undoubtedly authentic texts to the London paper, there is no telling how many others he may also have sent. It is also true, as Hogg points out in his early chapters, that the trustees of Burns's estate, James Currie the first biographer, and Victorian editors as late as Chambers and Douglas censored, suppressed, or even made "bonfires" of Burns's manuscripts in order to "protect" his reputation.

Granted Burns probably did not write "On the Year 1793," "Lines ou Ambition," and other works that Hogg defends as certainly by the poet. Granted that nothing can be proved in the absence of holograph manuscripts that are unlikely ever to surface. I nonetheless think that Hogg has located seven or eight previously unknown poems by Robert Burns (not discussed in this book are several letters, possibly by Burns, published in the same newspapers). "The Dagger," with the political song "Ewe Bughts," has in my judgment the strongest claim of the works Hogg has printed; it is so close to Burns's language and imagery that it is either by him or by a deliberate plagiarist. (Imitation-Burns texts are, however, a phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; spurious texts were encouraged by the Burns cult, not yet established during the 1790s. This poem was printed in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* on 8 January 1793.) Among the phrases and words Burns used in other poems that are repeated in "The Dagger": "auld farran," "dainty chiel," "fient a hair," "Demosthenes or Tully," the rhyming of "happy" with "nappy," "rhetoric and logic," "elishmaclaver," "honest heart," and the repeated image of "gullies" and "whittles"—daggers. The poem is also like Burns in providing ironic assent to a position he really is attacking, as it congratulates "Paddy" Burke on his speech about the "swinish multitude"; a characteristically sardonic touch is the signature ("Ane o' the Swine"):

Now Paddy be nae langer rude,
But lay aside your storming;
And shew the "swinish Multitude"
The folly o' reforming.
Convince them that their cause is wrang,
An' tell how sair they grieve ye;
But swine are aye sae damned headstrang,
They'll aiblens no believe ye
In that this day. (p. 93)

Finally, even to have marshalled this evidence is a great achievement for any researcher, especially one with almost no literary training. Patrick Hogg has very probably succeeded in locating some poems by Burns that have eluded prior searches. Scholarly consensus has been turning in his favor with the wider circulation of the poems in dispute: the distinguished Burns scholars Andrew Noble and Thomas Crawford, for example, also think that a number of Hogg's recovered texts are probably by Burns. So despite the deficiencies of his book, Hogg deserves to feel as proud as Hale or Bopp. If either of them had been tarred and feathered for finding their comet, or had located it with the naked eye, the analogy would be closer still.

Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

Keuneth Simpson, ed. **Love and Liberty: Robert Burns: A Bicentenary Celebration**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997. Pp. 350.

This book is a distillation of three heady days in January 1996 when the International Bicentenary Burns Conference met at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, under the auspices of the Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies. At the conference I heard twenty-six papers (which ranged from the scholarly to the scurrilous) out of a possible sixty. A representative selection of thirty papers has been made (unenviable task!) by the conference organizer, Ken Simpson, and he has done the job well.

G. Ross Roy's contribution, "The Mair They Talk, I'm Kend the Better," takes us on a trawl of poems written in honor of Burns up to his centenary in 1895. As Roy states, they are mostly not very good, but they "bear witness to the fact that Burns is a poet who has attracted other poets." This volume opens with what must be one of the best and most original poetic tributes to Burns, Edwin Morgan's "The Five-Pointed Star," written specially for the Bicentenary Burns Conference. This remarkable poem encompasses the views on Burns of Catherine the Great (who shares his death date), the nineteenth-century Glasgow poet James Macfarlan (not a favorable estimate), Sir James "Dictionary" Murray ("Burns and I refreshed the dictionar | With cantrips from his dancing Carrick star!"), Kafka (a fellow bookkeeper), and an anonymous twenty-first century singer ("It's all on CD-ROM"), wittily summing up the cliché of Burns being all things to all people, and indicating some of the diversity of approach demonstrated in the range of papers included.

David Daiches's keynote address, "Robert Burns: The Tightrope Walker," was (and is) genuinely keynote, setting the tone and pitch, as he looks afresh at Burns's different writing styles, the many roles he played, the

books that influenced him, following Burns as he picked his way between past and present, English and Scots, modesty and self-esteem, participating and observing, radical and government official – out of biography and on to the terra firma of his best poetry.

The other contributors follow the lead in balancing Burns: as heaven-taught ploughman, as cult figure, as patriot, songwriter, moralist, as national symbol, as influence, as major poet. There is space just to mention some of the papers: Valentina Bold, “Inmate of the Hamlet: Burns as Peasant Poet” (a myth in which Burns of course collaborated, exhibiting a “melancholic passivity” blended with a desire to please); David Hutchison, “Burns the Elastic Symbol: Press Treatment of Burns’s Anniversary in 1995 and 1996” (including the Aphrodisiac Haggis!); Donald A. Low, “Nature’s Social Union and Man’s Dominion: Burns the Poet after Two Hundred Years” (a passionate plea for Burns as a “green” poet); R.D.S. Jack, “‘Castalia’s Stank’: Burns and Rhetoric” (a critical tour de force, claiming Burns as a latter day member of James VI’s Castalian Band and contending that the popular myth of him as a romantic, spontaneous, simple genius “delimits him within the bounds set by its own ecstasy, by seeking to contain him within that definition”); Richard Price, “Robert Burns and the Scottish Renaissance” (the importance of Burns as a “marker” for modern writers such as Edwin Muir, Catherine Carswell, James Barke, Grassic Gibbon, and George Blake); Maurice Lindsay, “Burns and Scottish Poetry” (emphasizing Burns as a prime exemplar of what Lindsay regards as the most outstanding characteristic of Scottish verse: “People Poetry”); Gerard Carruthers, “Burns and the Scottish Critical Tradition” (a witty dissection of generalist critics like Gregory Smith and Edwin Muir and their reading of a broken Scottish literary history – Burns’s true strength is as “a great poet of social and cultural tension” – his poetic development is normal when set against the cultural pattern in eighteenth-century Europe as opposed to insisting on “the peculiar problematics of Burns’s Scottish location”); and Margery Palmer McCulloch, “Sexual Politics or the Poetry of Desire: Catherine Carswell’s *Life of Robert Burns*” (an objective examination, long after the hostility of 1930, of a subjective biography).

The musical side of Burns is well catered for, in papers by Sheila Douglas (“Burns and the Folksinger”), John Purser (“‘The Wee Apollo’: Burns and Oswald”), and Emily Lyle (“Thus with me began Love and Poesy”: Burns’s First Song and ‘I am a man unmarried’), though necessarily without the performed illustrations we were delighted to hear at the conference. There are also plenty of “Burns and . . .” papers: the Union of ‘1707 (Christopher Whatley), Jacobite song (Murray Pittock), Gaelic (Roderick Macdonald), superstition (Edward J. Cowan), the *siècle des lumières* (Ian S. Ross), etc.

An alternative title for the book might have been *Multiple Burns* (a phrase coined by Donny O’Rourke in his paper, not included here). So many aspects of this chameleon figure and his legacy were considered at the conference, although there was no sense of the event being exhaustive (exhausting, perhaps) – there was always still more for us to learn, but still more importantly, we were driven again and again back to Burns’s work (how many speakers said: forget the biography, read the poems?). No other writer seems to generate such enthusiasm; no other writer is so familiar to so many people.

The book is rounded off by the last paper given at the conference, Thomas Crawford’s “Burns, Genius and Major Poetry.” This was triggered by a review by Hamish Mathison in this periodical (no. 9, 1995, pp. 31-32) claiming that Daiches and Crawford have no other explanation for Burns’s achievement than his individual genius. Crawford asks the question: was Burns a major poet? Daiches gave us the answer at the start: “If he had not been a great poet we would not be discussing him here today.” Do we still need to find out, in Carl MacDougall’s words, “how good Robert Burns really is”?

This was the most intense conference I ever attended. It demanded to be recorded, and this book – still bursting with enthusiasm more than a year after the event – is a fitting remembrance of the occasion. If you weren’t there, this is the next best thing. It is also one of the most significant additions to Burns scholarship in recent years, offering a compassful of directions to explore.

Hamish Whyte, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow

James Beattie, *Collected Works*. Edited by Roger Robinson. 10 vols. London & Bristol: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996.

This is a splendid addition to the Thoemmes reprints. The reader has constant reason to be grateful that Roger Robinson was allowed to select the copy-text for each work separately on its particular merits (his usual choice is the edition incorporating the author’s latest revisions, and the editing is exemplary), and that he has provided introductions to each of the volumes independently. These introductions make connections which give unity to the whole collection; they are also informative and interesting, and provide unobtrusive but authoritative guidance to a reader approaching any of Beattie’s writings for the first time. Really my only reservation about this set concerns the print quality resulting from the facsimile reproduction. In some places, especially where Beattie’s own footnotes are concerned, this is uncomfortably indistinct. Otherwise, the volumes are handsomely presented and well bound.

The decision to devote the initial two volumes to a reprint of Forbes’s *Life and Writings of Beattie* of 1806 was a good one, not only because it makes available again an additional text of the Scottish literati with its own intrin-

sic interest (here usefully contextualized for the reader), but because Forbes is currently the best published source of Beattie's extensive, often fascinating, letters. The appearance of this extremely valuable *Collected Works* makes one more aware of how much eighteenth-century Scottish studies would benefit from a complete critical edition of Beattie's correspondence—and something of a sense of the magnitude of the task in producing one. The introductions to this set make many new letters available, for which we are additionally indebted to Robinson's thorough and thoughtful research.

Throughout, the editor draws attention to Beattie's lifelong devotion to Virgil (in the essay "On Poetry and Music as they Affect the Mind" he counts 56 citations, as against 24 for Shakespeare and 22 for Pope, for example); he traces a to-and-fro movement between the Augustan classicism which is never far below the surface and re-emerges overtly in Beattie's work by 1776, and the writer's attraction toward 'pre-Romantic' motifs (most notable in the 1768 Edition of *The Minstrel*). Robinson gives a fresh account of Beattie's remarkable anticipation of Wordsworth's "Immortality Ode," his "Preface" to the *Lyrical Ballads*, and its Appendix on poetic diction. Beattie's own *Poetical Works*, including *The Minstrel*, constitute volume 9 of the current set, and expand the significance of the Virgilian base in Beattie's writing. Roger Robinson is currently working on a full critical edition of Beattie's poems, so this must be regarded as an interim report. His Introduction suggests that we should await it eagerly.

The final volume (*Miscellaneous Items*) brings together a variety of Beattie's shorter prose pamphlets and manuscripts which span almost his entire writing career. The *Castle of Scepticism* and the parody of Voltaire have been previously published by Ernest Campbell Mossner; it is good to have them properly collected here, as it is to have the 1787 collection of 'Scoticisms,' for whose compilation Beattie has subsequently been so much ridiculed. Especially notable in this volume is the previously unpublished essay of 1778, 'On the Lawfulness and Expediency of Slavery, Particularly that of the Negroes,' which is here reproduced from manuscript. Contrary to the impression given by its title, Beattie was an early and eloquent opponent of slavery (Robinson points out that he appears to have lectured on the subject in Aberdeen in the 1760s), and his powerful denunciation bears comparison with the best-known passages of abolitionist writing:

. . . there is something in slavery which fills a considerate mind with horror. That a man, a rational and immortal being, should be treated on the same footing with a beast, or piece of wood, and bought and sold, and entirely subjected to the will of another man, whose equal he is by nature, and whose superior he may be in virtue and understanding; and all this for no crime; but merely because he is born in a certain country, or of certain parents, or because he differs from us in the shape of his nose, the size of his lips, or the colour of his skin:—if this be equitable, if it be excusable, if it be pardonable, it is vain to talk any longer of the eternal distinctions of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, good and evil.

Working through these volumes again, one is struck repeatedly with the sense not only of how attractively readable Beattie is, but how almost uniformly humane and tolerant an attitude he brings to the most diverse inquiries. The rather ill-tempered (and to that extent wholly uncharacteristic) *Essay on Truth*—by no means the best of his writings—whose attack on the skepticism of Hume earned Beattie his reputation and the resonant approbation of Samuel Johnson, is unfortunately the one for which he has become infamous to posterity. Subsequently discredited and little read, it was also the cause of his later eclipse as a writer. A major achievement of Robinson's edition is to make accessible the wider evidence to right this injustice. Though he clearly finds the *Essay* unattractive, and is under no illusions as to the stature of Beattie's strictly philosophical pretensions, Robinson's judicious introduction to this volume is a fine account of the issues surrounding the composition and reception of this controversial work. With the *Dissertations, Moral and Critical* Robinson is on much more congenial ground. He singles it out (rightly, in my view) as 'the finest and characteristic of Beattie's prose works.'

The question "Did Beattie have a sense of humour" remains, after a complete reading of these volumes, an open one; but on the evidence of this writing we cannot doubt that he was, with all his minor vanities, psychosomatic frailties, and intellectual uncertainties, an immensely self-aware man whose broad sympathies were born of his own recognition of weakness. More than this, his writing still retains the strength and simplicity to communicate this sense to its reader. One comes away not only with the impression that Dr. Robinson would agree with Cowper's praise of Beattie as "the only Author . . . whose critical and philosophical researches are diversified and embellished by a poetical imagination, that makes even the driest subject and the leanest, a feast for an Epicure in books," but that, quite properly, the poet's eulogy on this philosopher, poet, and human being should have the last word:

. . . his own character appears in every page, and, which is very rare, we see not only the writer but the man. And that man so gentle, so well-temper'd, so happy in his religion, and so humane in his philosophy, that it is necessary to love him if one has the least sense of what is lovely.

Susan Manning, Newnham College, University of Cambridge

The Works of Henry Mackenzie. Introduction by Susan Manning. 8 vols. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996.

"Appreciation of Mackenzie's literary accomplishment has always been ambivalent and often grudging," writes Susan Manning in her Introduction to the Routledge/Thoemmes Press facsimile reprint of Mackenzie's 1808 collection of his *Works*. Mackenzie's own Preface, however, has the tone of a writer assured of his status. An established figure, once one of the leading literati of Enlightenment Edinburgh, he can afford to include some "yet unpublished" writings whose "intrinsic value," he confesses, might not be "equal to his prior publications." He smiles indulgently on his own poetic juvenilia, but offers them to the reader—along with some notably unsuccessful plays—because they are the experiments of a writer whose achievements are beyond doubt.

It seems that Mackenzie, who was in his sixties as he prepared this edition, saw it as his swansong. He offered the public his "literary testament" in such "a state of health" that "before it is read by others, he may be past the consciousness of their approbation or censure." His expectation was somewhat pessimistic; he lived for another twenty-three years. These *Works*, therefore, do not include his late writings: a biography of his friend John Home, author of the once-famous play *Douglas*, some Scots vernacular poetry, two papers on dreams. They also omit, by Mackenzie's design, some of his earlier output. His 1788 "Account of the German Theatre" was influential in exciting a taste for German literature in Scotland, but, having written it without any knowledge of German, Mackenzie might have wished to let it disappear. Equally, one can understand why he did not include his political journalism, even though it may have been his support for Pitt in the Edinburgh press that gained him the remunerative post of comptroller of taxes for Scotland. We will probably never know the extent of his writing of this kind (he adopts a pose of carelessness to say that he has "almost entirely forgotten several [pieces] which attracted some notice at the time of their first publication"). In a political vein, the *Works* include only his "Review of the Principal Proceedings of the Parliament of 1784," in essence a celebration of parliamentary proceedings as such, and lofty enough to belong with the rest of his literary output.

The first three volumes of the edition are his three (originally anonymous) novels: *The Man of Feeling* (1771), *The Man of the World* (1773), and *Julia de Roubigné* (1777). As Susan Manning says in her Introduction, these pessimistic sentimental tales, in which those with the best feelings must retreat from society or perish (and sometimes do both), sit oddly with the periodical essays and tales—from *The Mirror* and *The Lounger*—which make up most of the rest of the edition. The latter, often humorously, advertise the benefits of sociability to a polite Edinburgh readership. The novels, on the other hand, pursue, in sequence, the logic of feeling to tragic (or rather, melodramatic) conclusions. Manning makes a case for *Julia de Roubigné* as an unfairly neglected work, but though the epistolary structure of the book has a certain artfulness—as does the fragmentary form given to *The Man of Feeling*—it is an impossible book to take to heart, as readers were once supposed to do. It is full of the correspondents' references to intense and often tormented feelings, but does little to conjure those feelings. The eponymous heroine loves one man, but is made to marry another. She stays virtuous, and pours out "feeling" letters to a friend whose replies we are never given. "In truth, my story is the story of sentiment," she writes, all too clear about what kind of novel she is in. (The dispossessed, disappointed lover, meanwhile, goes to Martinique, where he is to win the reader's regard by not whipping the slaves on his plantation—believing that "the most savage and sullen among them had principles of gratitude, which a good master might improve to his advantage"). Looking for that extra squeeze of pathos, Mackenzie finally has Julia's husband, mad with unwarranted jealousy and suspicion, murder her before killing himself. It reads like the last resort of a novelist at the end of his formulae.

The periodical essays hold up better, and their availability (although at a price—£700—to which few British library budgets will run) will be welcome to students of eighteenth-century Scottish culture. Many of the essays are written about, or in the voices of, representative characters, creating an impression of social diversity on the page. Some of the pocket-portraits, like Colonel Caustic, suspicious of progress and enlightenment, and convinced that even the weather is not what it used to be, are more vivid than any of the characters in Mackenzie's novels. They are used by him to measure the aspiration and civilized follies of the "citizens" of the Athens of the North. Mackenzie wrote of his periodical essays as establishing an "invisible sort of friendship" with their readers; this "friendship" was to prosper by allowing confident modern Scots to be critical of their civilization. Those interested in this civilization had better befriend a librarian with a large budget.

John Mullan, University College London

Sir Walter Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather, The History of France* (Second Series). Edited by William Baker and J. H. Alexander. Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996. Pp. xxxiii + 251.

Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* are literally that. The whole series of historical accounts were originally conceived of and written for the author's grandson, Johnnie Lockhart. Born in 1821, Johnnie was the son of Scott's daughter Sophia, and J. G. Lockhart, his future biographer. From the beginning, however, Johnnie was a sickly child, and Scott was always fearful for his future. His death in 1831, though in no way unexpected, was still a major blow in the closing months of Scott's own life.

Scott's original plan, in 1827, was to provide Johnnie with a history of Scotland. Thus the first series, in three volumes, carried Scottish history from the beginnings down to the Union of the Crowns. The work was an instant success, and Scott quickly followed it up with a second series bringing the Scottish story down to the Treaty of Union, and a third series which concluded with an account of the Jacobite rising of 1745. (How unfortunate that on the first page of the Introduction to this meticulously produced volume the date of the first series of the Tales should contrive to appear as 1928!) The third series completed Scott's work on Scottish history, but the whole undertaking had been sufficiently successful and well-received to persuade him to move on to the history of France. Thus the first of a new series of *Tales of a Grandfather* appeared in 1830, covering French history from the earliest times down to the end of the fourteenth century. At the end of that work Scott wrote that he was "not unwilling to continue" these Tales, if the public reception were as positive as it had been for his volumes on the history of Scotland. In fact, the French work was equally successful, and so in 1831 Scott began to write a second series of Tales on the history of France; by June 1831 he had completed volume one and half of volume two, covering the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth. That, however, was as far as he got, and the second series of the French *Tales of a Grandfather* has, until now, remained unpublished.

Unlike Robert Cadell in the 1830s, William Baker and J. H. Alexander have decided that the completed section of the second series on the history of France merits publication. In 1977, when Donald Sultana similarly decided to publish *The Siege of Malta Rediscovered*—including the text of the novel Scott was working on during his trip to the Mediterranean in late 1831 and 1832—some believed that the case for leaving this unpublished work "undiscovered" was a strong one. I think few, however, will object to the appearance of the present text. Both style and content seem to be largely under control: what appears here is very much, one suspects, what would have appeared had the original project been completed. Historical narrative is of course much more prominent than historical analysis; and Scott draws heavily on the sources available to him. Nevertheless, there are substantial passages of character and motive analysis, and of historical generalization, very much in the vein of the novelist. This is particularly true of the detailed account of Louis XI. Scott's fascination and ambivalence over Louis had already been evident in *Quentin Durward* (1823). Anyone interested in the novel will be especially grateful to the editors for their splendid work in making these final *Tales of a Grandfather* available at last.

Andrew Hook, Glasgow University

Roger Hutchinson, *All the Sweets of Being: A Life of James Boswell*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishers, 1995. Pp. 238.

To the corpus of work dedicated to sprucing up James Boswell's image two hundred years after his death, we can add Hutchinson's biography, a work that begins with the subject's pedigree and ends with his funeral. The book, which the author characterizes as "an extended essay on his character and his times" (p. 13), is a quick summary of Boswell's journals and is obviously intended for a general audience. Hutchinson's narrative, unencumbered by the critical issues surrounding the production of biography, whisk along without stopping too long to discuss any one event in Boswell's life, to delve into any of the contradictory aspects of his personality, or to discuss his writings. Two-thirds of the narrative takes readers up to the publication of *An Account of Corsica* at age 28, and the rest of Boswell's life is summarized in 74 pages. The bibliography is not intended to intimidate readers, and the index lists only the names of "supporting characters" (p. 235). The volume is handsome (its design is reminiscent of the trade editions of Boswell's journals) and contains a handful of photographs and illustrations familiar to Boswell scholars.

Unfortunately, the complaint Johnson voiced in *Rambler* No. 60 about the biographers of his age applies here. Hutchinson has dug up some interesting details about Boswell's ancestors and some of the personages he met on Corsica, but, overall, there is little knowledge to be gained from this book. The author seems to assume his audience has an interest in Boswell, yet the narrative contains little that is likely to interest readers even casually familiar with Boswell's life. Readers who know only Boswell's name, though they may gain some knowledge as to who Boswell was, will come away from this book not understanding why he is a great writer or a fascinating figure.

Donald J. Newman, University of Texas-Pan American

Giancarlo Carabelli, *In the Image of Priapus*. London: Gerald Duckworth, 1996. Pp. viii + 184.

In 1784 Sir William Hamilton gave to the newly formed British Museum a collection of small wax phalluses. These came from the remote town of Isernia, in the Molise region of southern Italy. These objects were carried by women as votive offerings to the shrine of the saints Cosmas and Damian in Isernia in the hope of curing their, or their husbands', sterility. The occasional "miraculous" cure resulting from this ritual, which also involved spending the night near the altar—and near the Canons—may account for the survival of this practice to a startlingly recent date.

Spiraling outward from this event Giancarlo Carabelli's book *In the Image of Priapus* criss-crosses through the disciplines of cultural history, anthropology, literary criticism, museology and art history to trace both the tradition of this Priapic "big toe" ritual and the fascination it held for eighteenth-century antiquarians, an obsessive interest bordering on a fetish in itself.

The volcano-loving Hamilton takes center stage in this comedy; his collaboration with Richard Payne Knight on a book about this collection proved as scandalous in its day as the material it described. Also appearing are the usual suspects associated with what may be called the Vesuvian Enlightenment. We are not surprised to meet the exhibitionist Emma Hart, Hamilton's second wife, whose frequent appearance as a *tableau vivant* has prompted Susan Sontag to comment that Hamilton had added her to his collection like a reverse Pygmalion—turning Galatea into a statue. Then there are the rest of Hamilton's circle: the cuckolded Admiral Nelson, the mad novelist William Beckford, the "Baron" d'Hancarville, whose illustrated book of Hamilton's antiquities was an important source for neo-classical artists, and an assortment of *cognoscenti*, *dilettanti*, and other hangers-on various enough to fill a grand historical novel. Indeed, this novel has been written—Sontag's *The Volcano Lover*.

Professor Carabelli, who teaches at the University of Ferrara, and is responsible for the perfectly lucid translation, has, in a short book, produced a rigorously scholarly treatment of an important and complex matter: the transference of "primitive" genital symbolism to Christianity, and the quirky responses to this phenomenon by eighteenth-century *amateurs* like Hamilton and Knight. This contributes, furthermore, to our understanding of the ongoing British love affair with Italy, which reached a dizzy zenith with the Grand Tour.

Although, in parts, the book threatens to overwhelm the reader with a Vesuvius of erudition, it is not without passages of wry wit appropriate to the subject. With such chapter titles as "Sir William Hamilton and St. Cosmas' Great toes," "Priapus a la mode," and "Macaroni British-style," the book cannot fail to amuse as it informs. I learned something from every page—much of it anecdotal but all of it useful. While major artists are mentioned—including Piranesi, Fuseli, Reynolds, and Gillray—there is no attempt at stylistic analysis of the works of art. Nevertheless, the black-and-white plates are of good quality, and illustrate what might otherwise be difficult to imagine.

Frank Cossa, The College of Charleston

Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds. **Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1900**. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xv + 430.

Knud Haakonssen, ed. **Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pp. xi + 348.

David Hemptton, **Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pp. xii + 191.

Evangelicalism is subdivided into five sections—Origins, The Revolutionary Era, Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Cultures, Regions, and The Twentieth Century—which describe the evangelical phenomenon that arose during the eighteenth century in the English-speaking world and blossomed into a variety of expressions over the centuries. It is acknowledged that evangelicalism defies precise definition, but it is characterized by biblicalism, conversionism, activism, and crucicentrism. Representative leaders are John Wesley, Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, Charles G. Finney, Dwight L. Moody, and Billy Graham. Evangelicalism's spectacular growth and influence, either in denominational or non-denominational form, is also evident in Africa, Australia, and South America. Chapter 11 cites the particular contribution of the Scottish literati, all of whom were clergy of the Church of Scotland, who contributed "moderate enlightenment" to evangelicalism. By shifting their focus away from Calvinist predestination and election to individual and social morality supported by a Newtonian application of Scripture to human experience, they gave evangelicalism a theology. John Witherspoon, in particular, represents this contribution to early America, where its influence became dominant by 1860.

Enlightenment and Reason reassesses the relationship between Enlightenment and religion in England. It challenges the thesis that the Enlightenment generated "the rise of modern paganism." The argument through thirteen chapters is that in England a conservative Enlightenment produced a more civilized society and brought Scotland to the fore. Central to this development was a broad-based effort to combine reason and faith. This gave rise to concern for the primacy and privacy of conscience. On this issue Dissent and Whig charchmen reached a rapprochement. While Scottish "moderatism" concurred, it had added importance because of its connection with evangelical Dissent in Ireland. In chapter 4, Martin Fitzpatrick asserts that because English Dissent stressed political liberty and Scottish "moderatism" emphasized civil liberty, they were not incompatible. Their convergence was in the use of providence to explain both public and personal events. It is, therefore, the contention of this work that the relationship between Radical Dissent, religious heterodoxy, and political radicalism was limited. Radical Dissent had by the end of the eighteenth century gained access to the political elite, and through this connection it

promoted tolerance and civil liberty and opposed authoritarianism. But simultaneously within the Church of England there were those who did the same. In short, Radical Dissent by the method of candor did little more than force recognition of issues.

Religion and Political Culture focuses on "the heart and soul" of the religious culture of the Celtic fringes, rather than on ecclesiastical super-structures. Church of England membership was a badge of loyalty essential in theory and practice for governance, benevolence, and morality. This church had wide appeal because of its scope, flexible tradition, moderate theology, and commitment to an ethical faith. Its value in social life cannot be underestimated, and only in Ireland was religious deviance a threat to political stability. Popular religion, for example Methodism, had no particular relationship with political radicalism or economic change in the eighteenth century and redefined itself in the nineteenth century. By contrast, in Scotland and Wales there existed complex relationships between evangelicalism and national identity. In Wales, Nonconformity contributed to the rise of Liberalism; Methodism's deviation from the Church of England helped the Welsh in their transition to Liberalism. To the north, Thomas Chalmers' revised version of a godly commonwealth and experiment with evangelical working people contributed to national identity in Scotland. The Catholic church in Ireland gradually gained better terms from the British government while evangelicalism helped turn Ulster into rebellious Loyalism. The British Isles by nature seemed made for pluralism and hence a more tolerant society. In short, a sense of identity and social utility was a more important long-term factor than zeal in sustaining a religious culture.

Religion in its varied forms of evangelicalism, enlightenment, and cultural identity is the link that relates these three works. The Scottish contributions of theology to evangelicalism, civil liberty to philosophy, and commonwealth idealism to national identity are indicative of Scotland's creative role. The essays in *Evangelicalism* are enlightening and their bibliographies excellent, but the breadth of coverage does leave gaps (e.g., Asia) that deserve attention. An impression, perhaps unintended, that does arise is that evangelicalism is the way "to spread the gospel" while less dramatic means are ignored. The intellectual content of evangelicalism, a matter of great concern to Wesley, Jonathan Edwards, and John Witherspoon, now seems overshadowed by the media. That this does not provoke a reflective evaluation of what is labeled "evangelicalism" is surprising. *Enlightenment and Dissent* is a welcome reevaluation of Radical Dissent in Britain that penetrates the broader nature and relationships of the subject more deeply than previous works. *Religion and Political Culture* provides a perceptive overview, demonstrating the fundamental importance of local/regional factors and community utility over organizational programs and denominational claims in shaping political culture.

The methods of study, time spans, and geographical focus of these three works vary, but the quality of scholarship of all three mark them as significant contributions to the study of history.

Frederick V. Mills, Sr., LaGrange College

Jeremy Black, *An Illustrated History of Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688-1793*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1996. Pp. xvi + 244.

Jeremy Black's compendious knowledge of the historical record is put to good use in this new study on a number of counts. First, this is a book of great thematic variety, with chapters on the environment, economics, commerce, society, the town, churches and worship, enlightenment and science, culture and the arts, government and the state and politics. Second, Black throughout provides heavily annotative detail and a wealth of examples which serve to bind these themes together in a common picture. Third, the *Illustrated History* does far more than any other book of its kind I know to incorporate the experience of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. In the Towns chapter, for example, there are no fewer than fourteen citations and discussions of towns in these countries. Among the many other benefits of this approach, Enlightenment Edinburgh takes its place much more clearly in the context of improvement and development in the British Isles' townscape generally. Both excesses of Anglocentric ignorance and Scottish particularism (which are of course related: every Johnson breeds his own Macpherson in this respect) are put into perspective by Black's book.

As befits the style of its author, this is a trenchant study. "Life in eighteenth-century Britain was grim," proclaims Black in the first sentence; on the next page, the first illustration is of "The Extraction of Teeth." A weight of information on everything from infant mortality to occupational ailments composes a bleak but not unsympathetic picture of life at the time, which manages the difficult task of neither being nostalgic nor scorning the past from the standpoint of the present.

That would of course be a very Whig thing to do, and the political tone of Black's book is, as one would expect, mildly revisionist, although in such a well-informed way as to make it difficult to see what other conclusion one could come to. "Jacobitism," the author states, was "an attempt to reverse the spatial process of state formation" (that is, by decentering southeast England) (p. 192). Here again, Black makes the newfound themes of ruralism and nationalism in the Jacobite movement appear normative: once more, this is because of his own ability to expose the hidden "spatial process" in British histories which draw most of their examples from the Home Counties. Black's account is thus not "four nations" history in the usual sense, that is the documentation of relations with and parallels between England and its neighbors. Instead, it refocuses our own sense of spatial relations

in eighteenth-century Britain: almost the only Anglocentricity is found in the origins of the (120+) ample illustrations. *An Illustrated History of Eighteenth-Century Britain* is a book which makes profitable reading for any scholar, but it is a particularly excellent and diverting guide for graduate students beginning serious work in the period.

Murray G. H. Pittock, University of Strathclyde

"Scotland's Ruine": Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs of the Union. Edited by Daniel Szechi. Foreword by Paul Scott. Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1995. Pp. xxxvi + 302.

When announcing the British General Election of 1997 on 17 March, prime minister John Major pointed out the historic anniversary involved; for 1 May 1707 was the day on which the Articles of Union between England and Scotland, duly enacted into law by each of the former parliaments, were brought into effect, constituting a united parliament and single crown for the United Kingdom of Great Britain. With his usual fuzziness over history, Mr. Major appears to have alluded to this in garbled form as the date of the "signing" of the "Act of Union." Even if he did not know quite what he was talking about, he was in no doubt that it was a good thing, worthy to be defended against reformers and repealers in the context of a British general election unusual for having constitutional change as a central focus of debate and decision.

Albeit 290 years old, the Union has never been wholly out of controversy, at least in Scotland. There have always been a handful, and sometimes many more than a handful, who have been ready to lament the "parcel of rogues in a nation" (in the words of Burns) by whom Scotland was "bought and sold for English gold" and turned into "England's province." During most of the twentieth century there has been in Scotland a groundswell of opinion in favor of some form of revision that would create some form of "home rule," with at least a parliament enjoying domestic powers, in Scotland. This policy currently seems to command the support of a majority in Scotland, represented by the Labour and Liberal Democratic parties. And the National Party founded in 1928 has argued, initially in a tiny minority, for a policy of Scottish independence, involving dissolution of the Union, a policy now favored (according to most contemporary opinion polls) by something between thirty and thirty-three percent of the Scottish electorate.

Whether in a minority or in an apparent majority, those who are to a greater or lesser extent dissatisfied with the Union have not so far summoned up the energy or the degree of political organization necessary to bring about any very radical change, though at the time of writing (March 1997) it seems not improbable that substantial constitutional change may be brought about. Mr. Major's invocation of history seems unlikely to hold back the pressure for change nor to stop the re-establishment of a kind of parliament in Scotland after nearly 300 years of absorption.

To understand the roots of this obstinate dissatisfaction with one of the most enduring constitutional *faits accomplis* of the modern world, one could do worse than read Lockhart of Carnwath on "Scotland's Ruine." This is a brilliant, if highly partisan, account of the Union negotiations of 1705-1707, and of the proceedings whereby the negotiated Articles were carried through to legislative assent in the Scottish Parliament, and some of the aftermath of all that. The viewpoint is that of a rooted opponent of incorporating union (also that of a sincere Jacobite, though this was by no means universal among the union's opponents). Appointed one of the Scottish Commissioners for Union through the influence of his uncle, Lord Wharton, Lockhart was alone among the commissioners in being hostile to or skeptical of the plan for an incorporating union that was pressed through with surprisingly little debate, and with only token consideration of the Scottish opening proposal for a federal rather than an incorporating union.

The idea of treating for a federal union was enjoined upon the Scottish commissioners by the Scottish Parliament and put forward in response to the English commissioners' opening proposal for an "entire (as the English termed it) or incorporating union (as the Scots termed it)" (p. 129). However, in the very act of putting forward their proposal, the Scots commissioners instructed the Chancellor of Scotland, their leader, to add that "there is nothing to this proposal . . . but what the Scots had always claimed as their right and privilege as being under the same allegiance with England. But that by making this proposal they did not reject the other proposal (of an entire union) made by your lordships but are of opinion this scheme would be most effectual to facilitate the English succession's being established in Scotland" (p. 129).

This was not recorded in the minutes of the commissioners, and is recorded for posterity only in the note taken of it by Lockhart. It certainly shows them in a poor light, as having only gone through a charade of putting forward the Scottish Parliament's preferred position. And "upon the English commissioners telling them in a saucy manner that they did not incline so much as once to take it into consideration (their very words) [the Scots were content to] resile pittifullly and meanly from it without one word to enforce it" (p. 130). "Now let God and the world judge if the making this proposal after such a manner was not a bare-faced indignity and affront to the Scots nation and Parliament." The quotations give something of the flavor of Lockhart's style of reportage as participant in and observer of the debates in the Scottish Parliament before and after the negotiation of the Treaty of

Union, and his account of subsequent events, including the proposals for repeal of the Union in its early years and the Jacobite attempt at conspiracy and invasion in 1708.

Indeed, Lockhart was most distressed that his having acted as commissioner at all might be misconstrued as a betrayal by himself of his own principles. Only after careful discussion with associates and friends did he accept the government's invitation to take part, and then only with a view to taking no active part but keeping a faithful record of all he observed. How well he did, and how well that he did. His, as the reprint of *Scotland's Ruine* shows, are unrivaled memoirs of the profoundest climax of Scottish political history, the protracted moment of decision to abandon national independence and make a go of things as an entity wholly incorporated in Great Britain, if still enjoying distinctive legal, judicial, and ecclesiastical arrangements within the unitary state.

The politicians of the time come out of Lockhart's account with little credit. The scheme was pushed through in the teeth of popular opposition, and with cynical reliance on backstairs threats and influence, including outright bribery, and without much reply to the weight of argument in debates before the Estates. Yet it may be that the proponents of union had a long-run vision of the benefits of peace and prosperity that justified in their view the use of devices and stratagems to achieve their immediate ends. Certainly, Lockhart never gives any credit to the opposed view, nor allows that the views of peace and religious liberty adhered to by such as Dalrymple of Hailes (who published a first, pirated, version of Lockhart in 1714) could have any sincere foundation.

However that may be, there is so much in the way of duplicity and sleaze (to use a pointed anachronism) in what we see of the conduct of negotiations for union and in the carrying it into effect, that one can perhaps see why opinion about it has never been wholly comfortable in Scotland. In general histories of Scotland, it is regularly glossed over (while in English history books it is usually ignored or treated as a minor sideshow, not the constituting of a new kingdom but the absorption of a previously troublesome part fully into England). Paul Scott in his admirable Foreword to the present edition of Lockhart remarks how Hume Brown, ardent unionist though he was, acknowledged that thought about the actual circumstances of union is somewhat shameful for Scots, even if they have come to regard the longer-run outcome as a happy one. Scott suggests that the psychological repression of thoughts about a painful episode is itself in part revealed by the neglect of Lockhart's work and its failure to be sustained in print after its one properly authorized publication in 1817.

If so, thanks are due to the Association for Scottish Literary Studies and to the careful and helpful editor they have found in Daniel Szechi for freeing us from this long repression. We can see in clear terms the dishonorable back-trackings and betrayals, even more of those who purported to oppose the Union than of those who openly favored it. The deepest villain of the piece was, I fear, the Duke of Hamilton, who offered his prestige and eloquence to the cause of continuing independence, but at three crucial moments backed down or abandoned the key position. The result was that matters went by default rather than by clearly deliberated decision. Maybe the result would have been no different whatever Hamilton had done. But you cannot read Lockhart without feeling the sense of loss and betrayal, that a cause was lost without a fair contest since the chosen champion evaded battle at the three points of crisis.

The editorial work has been well done. Sometimes, as when the word "resiled" is glossed in a footnote or when we are reminded that for Lockhart "the royal family" signifies the exiled Stuarts, not the newly imported Hanoverians, the editor seems even a little officious. But in such matters one is perhaps better safe than sorry. Paul Scott has given a Foreword that is itself an important if brief historical commentary bearing also upon contemporary questions.

Neil MacCormick, University of Edinburgh

Iain Gordon Brown and Hugh Cheape, *Witness to Rebellion: John Maclean's Journal of the 'Forty-Five and the Penicuik Drawings*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, in association with the National Library of Scotland, 1996. Pp. 80.

Peter Simpson, *The Independent Highland Companies, 1603-1760*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996. Pp. xvi + 237.

Brown and Cheape's *Witness to Rebellion* is comprised of two discrete parts unrelated to each other and yet both giving a vivid and immediate view of the Jacobite army. John Maclean of Kingairloch had been an officer in the Independent Company commanded by Campbell of Skipness, and served for a short time in Flanders when the companies were brigaded together as the Black Watch and appears to have been dismissed or to have resigned, after a duel with a fellow officer in 1744. He was therefore a long-service professional officer with deep experience of soldiering in the Highlands and with Highland troops in the government service; this commitment to the cause of the prince is thus both surprising and brave. His Journal spans the whole of the Rising from his kissing the prince's hand at Kinlochmoidart to his final comments on the battle immediately after Culloden and prior to his death. The Journal contains a short continuation by Donald Maclean, who describes the barbarity of the aftermath of the battle and his own escape.

The Journal is a totally fascinating account by a professional soldier of the actual course of events; it contains no comment or criticism (except by implication) of the strategy of the campaign or of the major figures involved; it is a daily record of march and countermarch with the mileages, placenames, and conditions of the ground covered. John Maclean was involved in the final part of the action at Prestonpans yet hardly comments on the battle. He describes in objective terms the preparations for the artillery assault on Carlisle. He was absent through sickness from Falkirk although he struggled from his bed in a desperate effort to be present. It is only at Culloden that he gives any detail of the preparation for battle and of the battle itself. This plain description is perhaps the only time in the Journal when he allows himself an outspoken comment on the fatal disposition of the Jacobite army, and the Journal culminates in this bleak, bald, factual, and tragic account of the battle along with the horrified comments of the continuator, Donald Maclean.

His account is supported by an excellent Introduction and copious scholarly and helpful notes. The whole makes fascinating reading.

The Peuicuik drawings which form the second part of the book are also accompanied by an extremely helpful commentary. These drawings, still in private hands, are sharp, active caricatures, mainly of the Jacobites but some of the City Watch, government troops, and of the Hessians. The details of dress, ornament, and accoutrement are keenly observed in the pencil, ink and wash vignettes and the text provides the explanatory material. Although the Highlanders are mainly presented as savage and fierce with often brutal facial expressions, there are some sympathetic, even elegiac sketches and there is a sad drawing of "Glenbucket" slumped in his saddle. Some of the drawings, particularly of the City Watch, or of the volunteer minister and his jaunty maidservant carrying his musket, are informed by humor. There is one actively presented action scene of ferocious Highlanders engaging dragoons; it provides evidence of the discarded belted plaid and of the charge in loosely knotted shirt-tails. Others of the drawings show an exact visual representation of the Chevalier de Johnstone's comment in his Memoir of the Forty-Five: "When within the reach of the enemy's bayonets, bending their left knee, they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets . . . while at the same time they raise their sword arm, and strike their adversary." Such is the drawing of Duncan McGregor of Dalnasplutach shown on the front cover of this book.

I commend this excellent and exciting book to anyone who cherishes the first-hand experience of history; it has been a delight to review.

Peter Simpson's *The Independent Highland Companies* is a very interesting but also a confusing and annoying book. To dispense with the bad news first, I found the very poor proof-reading both distracting and annoying; "it's" for "its" is consistently substituted throughout the book, and there are uncorrected spelling errors including the word "independance." The confusing elements in the work consist of parallel interpretations; one example from a single paragraph deals with the origin of the name "Black Watch." The text reads that "it was apparent that their sombre dress of dark cloth or dark tartan earned them the title of 'An Freiceadan Dubh' (Black Watch)," but a few lines later the writer continues "reason would possibly favour the 'blackmail' or 'black Campbell' explanations." Here we have three interpretations, all being presented as the correct one and with no indication as to the author's preference.

The book itself is sensibly laid out with useful general background on Highland weapons and dress, the clan system, and the lawlessness of the seventeenth-century Highlands. This background is for the general reader rather than for specialists of the period. The author then turns to the actual history of the Independent Companies. It is difficult for the reader to gain a coherent picture as there is no sequence of development. The companies were raised and disbanded and then reinstated and again dispersed. There is little evidence of change, growth, or continuity. Two things become apparent, although neither is overtly stated: as peacekeepers and policemen the companies, when in being, had an effect disproportionate to their numbers, but when used in battle seemed to have been ineffective (in spite of some special pleading about their role at Killiekrankie and Falkirk), and were even held in reserve at Culloden until the final stages only. I had not anticipated their major role in the grand manhunt for Prince Charles, and this chapter provided an extra insight into the event.

This book has the added advantage, when read in conjunction with *Witness to Rebellion*, of providing the context from which its author, John Maclean of Kingairloch, came. Almost the best parts of the book, mainly because they provide primary sources, are the full and helpful appendices. The book is further assisted by many and interesting illustrations, even though many are not of the companies or their men but of more general historical interest.

Locke Madden, University of Aberdeen

Allan I. Macinnes, **Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788**. Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1996. Pp. ix + 288.

It may be too late to change most people's minds from the romantic notions and traditional perceptions of clanship in the Highlands of Scotland. However, this book will cause students of Scottish, particularly Highland, history to reevaluate their ideas. Allan I. Macinnes champions the cause of the clans and effectively challenges the conventional interpretation that the Highlands before the last Jacobite rising in 1745 were socially static and un-

derdeveloped economically and that the clanship was the product of disorder and a weak central government. Using a wide range of primary sources and past research, he argues persuasively that mobility and entrepreneurialism were well entrenched within Gaeldom by the mid-eighteenth century. In this book, Macinnes attempts a new appraisal of clanship from a Gaelic perspective, not only within the context of the Highlands but also in a British and imperial setting.

A discussion of clanship is not new. Tom Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War* and T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People* have offered very able and persuasive arguments on the development and demise of the clans. However, Macinnes goes that one step further by carefully detailing the intricate interworkings of the relationships within the structure of clanship. Although the details become tedious at times, it is worth the effort to stay with the text. The author does not introduce new concepts about the decline of the clan, but he does revise the timing of the elements that led to that decline. Macinnes argues that the fundamental shift away from traditionalism and toward commercialism in the Highlands occurred during the Restoration era in the seventeenth century, not in the mid-eighteenth century, as Devine has claimed (p. 148). He places the blame for this change squarely on the *fine* or clan elites through absenteeism, rent-raising, and the accumulation of debts (p. 171).

The book adopts a chronological approach by taking the progression through the development of clanship to the threats against the structure of the clans and finally to its eventual demise, couching it all in the shadow of the House of Stuart. This provides a convenient framework within which to work; however, it is only in the final three chapters that the real relevance of the Stuarts comes into focus. The first five chapters detail the struggles within Gaeldom between the various clans, with the bulk of the blame for disruption and change placed upon the House of Argyll (pp. 94-98, 144-45). Territorial ambitions and personal advantage seem to be the guiding forces behind the political and social upheavals during the seventeenth century. The picture painted centers on the elite and the politically powerful, and nowhere is the lesser gentry and clansman seen. Macinnes does attempt to put this into perspective by adding the voice of the bards lamenting the clans' deteriorating position in retrospect.

By arguing that the changes from traditional expectations to commercial aspirations were "convulsive rather than evolutionary or revolutionary" (p. x), Macinnes is able to take events such as the Covenanting movement, Civil War, Cromwell's occupation, and the Jacobite risings to tie together religious, social, economic, and political influences that caused the combustible tensions within clanship to erupt, thereby causing the demise of the clans. In this approach, the author is quite effective in making his argument. Additionally, anyone familiar with Macinnes's work will appreciate the occasional barbs, such as his identification of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Scotland, whose Gaelic acronym, he states, "was appropriately C.C.C.P." (p. 178).

Although the book is very thorough in its major themes, there are a couple of failings in this work. The book never convincingly addresses the changing structure of the clans within the British or the imperial context. A brief discussion centered on the moving of Highlanders into the British army for service in America and India after the '45, and the concluding three pages of the book, on the beginning of migration, seem almost to be in a rush to a conclusion and not an integral part of the story. Additionally, and admittedly a minor complaint, the tables and maps were a bit confusing in their denotations.

This book is well written and will become a core text for any serious student of Highland history. By challenging and revising conventional interpretations of clanship, Allan Macinnes without doubt has answered many questions while at the same time creating many more.

Anthony W. Parker, Dundee University

The Diary of Patrick Fea of Stove, Orkney, 1766-96. Transcribed and edited by W. S. Hewison. Foreword by Alexander Fenton. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997. Pp. xi + 543.

In recent years farm diaries have been regarded as so valuable for the study of social and agricultural history that they have been the subject of three international conferences. We are therefore quite indebted to Tuckwell Press and the editor of this book, W. S. Hewison, for publishing this personal record of forty years in the life of an Orkney farmer in the second half of the eighteenth century. This study is the fifth in the series Sources in Local History, sponsored by the European Ethnological Research Centre in Edinburgh.

The editor and publisher have done much to ensure the utility of this diary to scholars. They have included two excellent maps and a fifty-six page Introduction, consisting of the diarist's family tree, a detailed description of the people he mentions, sections devoted to "the words he used," the cottar system, and a description of the weights and measures of Orkney, a bibliography, and an index. Anyone making use of this diary will be grateful for their considerable efforts.

Patrick Fea, of Stove, on the island of Sanday in Orkney's North Isles, was a member of the gentry class that occupied the pinnacle of the local social hierarchy from the sixteenth century until the early twentieth century. For almost forty years, beginning with his elevation to laird of the estate about 1760 and ending with his death in 1796, Patrick maintained a detailed daily record of his farm activities. Three leather-bound volumes of these diaries currently survive: volume 1, 1766-1768; volume 2, 1769-1774; and volume 3, 1779-1780 and 1795-1796.

Ironically, neither the Fea family nor that of Patrick's wife, the Traills, currently resides in Orkney. The diary has been passed from hand to hand for much of the past century, and a great deal of it is therefore lost.

Patrick Fea has supplied us with a window into a rural world that existed two centuries ago, "a detailed, day-to-day log of old style, pre-improvement farming," in the editor's words, and a picture "of the social life of Orkney folk." Hewison describes Patrick Fea as "a progressive and enlightened landlord not only improving his farming methods and his land but caring for 'his people' who worked it for him." His diary conveys one of the clearest images of the ceaseless toil demanded by the agricultural calendar in these northern climes and the constant presence of two natural forces, the sea and the weather, both benevolent and ominous, that could either facilitate or destroy the best-laid human plans. For example, in December 1779 the entire Fea family found itself snowbound for a fortnight due to a winter storm on the northern coast of Sanday, a mere seven miles from their home. Similarly, in 1766 a storm at sea compelled Fea to take six days to complete the twenty-mile sea voyage from the town of Kirkwall on the island of Mainland to his farm at Stove on Sanday. An overall picture emerges of a pre-improvement farming system skirting just above the minimum level of bare subsistence.

Much of the social history of Orkney parades before us in this diary. Patrick Fea mentions at least five hundred persons in these pages, mostly lairds and their families, legions of relatives, merchants and tradesmen, professional men, and ministers, along with a few tenant farmers and boatmen. The Feas maintained an extensive social life, visiting family and friends on all occasions, such as holidays, weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Fea, in carefully recording each event, along with the names of all attendees, has succeeded in sketching out much of the intricate social landscape of Orkney, as well as, in Hewison's words, the practice of "interlocking, almost dynastic marriages among Orkney's landed gentry."

The space available for this review permits a mere intimation of this diary's value. Scholars should find it worthy of a full reading.

Gilbert Schrank, Nassau Community College

Maurice Lee, Jr., *The Heiresses of Buccleuch: Marriage, Money and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Britain*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996. Pp. xvi + 143.

David Stevenson, *King or Covenant? Voices from the Civil War*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996. Pp. xvi + 212.

Maurice Lee, Jr., and David Stevenson have been making hefty contributions to seventeenth-century Scottish studies for a long time now, for over forty and over twenty years, respectively. In many books of lasting value, each has shed new light on Scottish affairs while also connecting these to developments elsewhere in the Three Kingdoms and on the Continent, blazing trails others now follow toward something approximating a truly British history. That good work continues in these slim, attractive volumes aimed at an informed general audience. In keeping with the current vogue for "lite" products, these books offer a good deal of satisfaction without packing all the added weight scholars and students have come to expect.

Lee's book traces the late seventeenth-century fortunes, in both senses of the word, of the women who struggled to maintain control of the vast Buccleuch estate following the death of the second earl in 1651. Earl Francis left behind a spirited widow, Margaret, their daughters Mary and Anna (aged four and three, respectively), and an entailed estate with the richest income in Scotland. For the next thirty-six years, Margaret and Anna (Mary died young) struggled to out-maneuver some of the shiftestiest aristocrats in Scotland as they vied for control of the estate. Margaret's master stroke came in 1661. With Mary dead, Anna's exceedingly rich hand became the focus of intrigue at the highest levels. Lauderdale arranged for the king to grant Anna's wardship to his client Rothes. He in turn meant to sell the ten-year-old to her wicked uncle Tweeddale, who by marrying Anna to his own heir would not only get his mitts on the Buccleuch coffers but also wipe out his huge debt to the estate. Margaret trumped everyone, however, by brokering a match with the king's beloved bastard, the future Duke of Monmouth. The merger with royalty, of course, proved problematic. When Anna's estranged husband was executed for treason in 1685, it took all her resourcefulness to remain in James II's good graces. But this she managed, and when the king returned the Buccleuch estates to her and her children in 1687, it marked the end of nearly four decades of high-stakes insecurity.

Though hardly edifying (Margaret, for example, married off both her daughters before they were twelve), this is a good story well told. Lee manages a large cast, 51 Scots and 17 English, very deftly. Many of the characters, especially the men, are vividly drawn. For this reviewer, however, the women at the center (and on the cover) of the story remained less fully realized. The tight focus on money and dynastic ambition, perhaps, left little room for family and domestic details that might have fleshed out the central characters, even if they did not directly advance the plot. There are hints here and in Rosalind Marshall's work that the Buccleuch manuscripts include Duchess Anna's household accounts, and these might have yielded some further insights. Perhaps Lee wrung all the historical juice he could out of the evidence, but that is hard to know because of his decision to eschew scholarly notation. (There is, it should be noted, a useful appendix on sources.) The author invites criticism on

this score, and I am happy to rise to the bait: the book would still have been a terrific read, but would have been of more use to scholars and students if it included detailed notes.

David Stevenson also chose to dispense with footnotes, but there is little else to fault in his new book. Like Maurice Lee, Jr., he writes with marvelous energy and verve. *King or Covenant?* is a collection of thirteen biographical essays based on the lives of twelve men and one woman from roughly the middle echelons of Scottish society, who lived during, if not always quite through, "the troubles" of the mid-seventeenth century. Most of them left memoirs or letters by which we might know them. John Spalding penned an invaluable account of civil war and revolution in the Northeast but wrote almost nothing of himself. Alasdair MacColla wrote nothing at all, but Stevenson can draw on his vast knowledge of that fierce warrior's career to bring him to life.

The best of these essays read like good literature: indeed, those of us teaching British history will want to plunder them for their vivid anecdotes and colorful characters. Take the appalling Sir Andrew Melville, a man of maniacal self-regard, a career soldier who fought his way around Europe and Britain, saw much, killed many, and achieved next to nothing. In Stevenson's hands he becomes the limping embodiment of the "general crisis," the mercenary scourge of the seventeenth century. Other soldiers come off little better. Sir James Turner attacked his own men at Preston (they attacked him first, to be fair) even before that debacle started. Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty traveled to Worcester with three cases of manuscripts, so certain was he that the army would reach London, where he could find a publisher. Not every subject here has his or her stock lowered, however. Robert Baillie has sometimes had a bad press, but here his trimming is presented as a rational and even humane response to difficult times and hard choices. And Lady Anne Halkett deserves to be better known. Of Scottish descent but raised in England, she fled north when her role in the Duke of York's 1648 escape from Parliament's clutches became known. She arrived in Scotland just ahead of Cromwell's army and put her considerable medical skills to use tending the wounded. Many of the essays in this book can serve as updated introductions to the printed editions of the letters and memoirs on which they are based.

Stunning covers and sharply reproduced illustrations should help these books reach the wide audience they deserve. Not only are they a pleasure to read, but they will surely inspire some to delve deeper into Scotland's torrid seventeenth century.

Gordon DesBrisay, University of Saskatchewan

Elizabeth C. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, and New York: St Martin's Press, 1996. Pp. xii + 236.

This is a pioneering work, which for the first time analyzes in depth the extent and the nature of women's work in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, focusing especially on the retail trades. Elizabeth Sanderson has drawn on a wide range of sources, including the papers of the burgh court, Commissary Court, and Merchant Company of Edinburgh, the Registers of Edinburgh Marriages and Edinburgh Burgesses, and, extensively, family collections. Her work illustrates how rich such eighteenth-century materials may prove for the study of women's work, and it also challenges any automatic assumption that women, even those from middling and professional backgrounds, were limited to private or domestic occupations. Though Sanderson's sources do not allow her to compile quantitative estimates of women's work, they do offer us an unrivaled qualitative insight into the experiences of working women in an eighteenth-century city.

In eighteenth-century Edinburgh, married and single women from appropriate backgrounds were accepted as part of the trading community, by both the Town Council and the Merchant Company, though they played no part in administering that community. They sold textiles, groceries, and the products of their husbands' crafts. Women were active too in activities relating to the collective life and health of the community, as gracesclothes-makers, roomsetters (landladies), and rousing women (auctioneers and brokers), as well as sick nurses, wetnurses, and midwives. Sanderson stresses especially the ways in which women from different backgrounds acquired the skills necessary to build their positions in their future trades. The need to earn a living in the future was the most important reason for the acquisition of skills such as mantuamaking, embroidery, lacemaking, and buttonmaking, as well as general merchandising. The absence of formal apprenticeship registers may conceal the extent of training acquired by women. One of the most striking findings of this work is the extent of the independent involvement of middle- and even some upper-class women in such training and in the trading community of Edinburgh.

This work is the first full-length study of this subject for any city in the United Kingdom in this period, and the richness of its research and findings deserve close attention by anyone interested in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, or in the history of women's work in modern Britain. It is a measure of its strength that it prompts further questions and comparisons. Consideration of the overlap between forms of service, domestic and otherwise, and the structure of trading and apprenticeship sketched here might have contributed usefully to the wider picture. Elizabeth Sanderson suggests, convincingly, that her findings contrast sharply with the attribution by women's historians of clear divisions between the public world of employment and the private worlds of women, especially for mid-to-late nineteenth-century Britain. The imagined paradigm of Victorian Britain is a powerful one, and her call for further research is deserved. Yet nowhere is her portrait of the activities of independent trad-

ing women set in the context of European-wide studies of the role of women in the early modern urban economy, as surveyed, for instance, by Merry Wiesner in her *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (1993), though there are many clear parallels. There is an extensive literature, which draws on material from the later medieval to the modern periods, on change and continuity in the work of urban women across Europe. This study does not fully acknowledge that literature; but it is nevertheless a very significant addition to it.

Jane Rendall, University of York

Alexander Monro *Primus*, **The Professor's Daughter: An Essay on Female Conduct contained in Letters from a Father to his Daughter 1739**. Transcribed with Introduction and Notes by P.A.G. Monro, M.D. *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*. Volume 26, no. 1 (January 1996), Supplement No. 2. Pp. xi + 237.

Sometime in 1738 or 1739, Alexander Monro *Primus* (1697-1767), professor of anatomy at the University of Edinburgh and a founding member of the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, wrote "An Essay on Female Conduct" in the form of letters to his daughter Margaret (b. 1727). Until very recently this work had never been published but had survived in three separate manuscript copies. Two copies are housed in the National Library of Scotland, one a notebook in Monro's script (MS 6658) and another painstakingly copied out by Margaret, with a bookplate inscribed "Margt Monro Written at Edinburgh the VIIth of March 1739" (MS 6659). A third copy, made by Monro's great-great-granddaughter Sophia Hoome (1787-1806), has been handed down and remains in the possession of a branch of the Monro family. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. P.A.G. Monro and the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, Monro's "thoughts on female Conduct" are now available in a book that should be of interest to Scottish Enlightenment scholars, to historians of women and gender, and to historians of medicine.

Monro's privately circulated "Essay on Female Conduct" offers a unique instance of the kind of intimate and familiar father-daughter writing that so many eighteenth-century authors sought to create when they published female conduct books for an anonymous reading public. While this "Mark of your Father's tender Fondness" (p. 7) should not be read as a direct and unmediated reflection of a father-daughter relationship, with its lively detail concerning the Monro household and its frequent reference to conversations between Alexander and Margaret, the "Essay" does provide an unusually concrete, and a particularly engaging, example of a genre in which the author/father blends paternal authority with paternal affection to address directly the daughter/reader. Those familiar with Dr. John Gregory's enormously popular *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774) will find striking parallels in Monro's treatment of female conduct. Much like Gregory, in his approach to female education, for example, Monro seems torn between a high opinion of his daughter's abilities and an anxiety over the opinion of the world. Thus, in addition to such usual subjects as reading, writing, dancing, music, and sewing, Margaret is studying history, geography, Latin, astronomy, and "mercating," but she is not, Monro warns, to reveal this knowledge "to your female Acquaintances or the ignorant Foplings of my Sex, for they will fix the name of Virtuosi, Pedant and I don't know what on you" (p. 19). And in a chapter on "The Commerce with Men," Monro seems to anticipate Gregory's advice on whom not to marry with his lengthy discussion of "faulty men," a broad category that Monro subdivides under such headings as Rake, Drunkard, Cheat, Prodigal and Miser, Fool, and Bigot. Yet despite such similarities, the text reveals a distinctive personality who expresses his own, sometimes idiosyncratic, views on a range of topics, from the best way of reading the British historians to the civil manner of rejecting a marriage proposal. We also catch glimpses of young Margaret Monro, who encourages her father to continue with the "Essay" with "a modest Hint" that he interprets as "a pretty Reproof for delaying so long to finish my Plan of your Conduct" (p. 119).

P.A.G. Monro's careful transcription of the manuscripts is supplemented by explanatory notes, indexes, and valuable background information on the Monro family, and the book is embellished by several illustrations, including a color plate of Allan Ramsay's portrait of Alexander Monro that dates from 1749. It may be purchased for £7.50, postpaid, from The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 9 Queen St., Edinburgh EH2 1JQ, Scotland, U.K. (Major credit cards accepted with name, number, expiration date, and signature.)

Mary Catherine Moran, Johns Hopkins University

The Correspondence of Adam Ferguson. Edited by Vincenzo Merolle. Introduction by Jane B. Fagg. Consulting Editor, Kenneth Wellesley. 2 vols. London: William Pickering, 1995. Pp. clii + 605.

This is a welcome addition to the published primary source material relating to eighteenth-century Scotland and the published correspondence of the leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment. Vincenzo Merolle is to be congratulated on successfully bringing the project to publication. Congratulations are also due to Professor Jane Fagg for her useful Biographical Introduction, which incorporates consideration of the large amount of scholarship that has appeared since the submission of her 1968 Ph.D. thesis on Ferguson's career, long known to Ferguson scholars. Employing a thematic approach (e.g., "Professor of Philosophy," "American Crisis," "Politician"),

the Introduction carefully relates the individual letters published in the collection to various aspects of Ferguson's life; it is generally chronological but allows for some discussion of distinctive aspects of Ferguson's life and thought.

Adam Ferguson, of course, is of interest to scholars pursuing a variety of academic disciplines, from sociology to classics, and the many members of this society who will find it essential to have access to these volumes will do so for very different reasons. This reviewer's perspective is that of interest in the operation of the Scottish constitution and politics in the eighteenth century and, more generally, Scottish social and cultural history as viewed primarily from a national perspective. Scholars interested in Ferguson as a philosopher, social theorist, or historian of the Roman Republic may be unaware of the degree of his engagement with contemporary Scottish and British political issues. This first comprehensive edition of his correspondence should make this aspect of his career more accessible to scholars, since much of it deals with politics and patronage. Ferguson was most directly involved with politics in Scotland during two periods of his life. The first was during the 1750s, when he became the secretary of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the Scottish judge who served as Scottish agent or minister for the political interest of the third Duke of Argyll. Although Milton was also the nephew of the famous Scottish patriot Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, in contrast to his uncle he eschewed opposition politics for the politics of government during a career that exceeded four decades, and attracted some criticism for combining too closely the responsibilities of a judge with the policy of a minister. Ferguson did not hesitate to appeal to Milton's influence in his attempts to secure an academic chair, to become principal of Edinburgh University in 1762, and to transfer from the chair of natural philosophy to that of moral philosophy in 1764. The Adam Ferguson in this part of the correspondence had no doubts about the use of patronage for professional advancement.

Ferguson's second direct foray into politics occurred during the general election of 1780. Ferguson became involved in an attempt by the London government to oust Scotland's most independent Member of Parliament, George Dempster, from his seat for the Perth district of burghs. He was recruited by James Macpherson of Ossian faine, then a government pensioner and propagandist, to assist in the campaign of Lord Milton's son and Ferguson's own former pupil, Colonel John Fletcher Campbell. Ferguson put his loyalty to the Fletcher family before his ideological commitment to political independence and the extension of the English militia laws to Scotland, of which Dempster, like Ferguson, was a leading proponent. On the other hand, the election coincided with the Gordon Riots in London, followed the dreadful anti-Popery riots in Scotland of 1779, and took place amidst rebellion in America as well as war with France and Spain. At such a time of crisis, Ferguson gave priority to support of a beleaguered government and defended the royal prerogative. Dempster had made no secret of his conviction that the influence of the crown in British politics lay behind the debacle of the American war, and this attitude undoubtedly predisposed Ferguson to become directly involved in managerial politics to an unprecedented degree in an attempt to unseat him. As a political episode, then, like Ferguson's appointment to the Edinburgh natural philosophy chair twenty years earlier, the Perth burgh elections illustrate a direct connection between patronage and ideology that is not always apparent to modern students of the eighteenth century.

This brings us to the subject of Ferguson's politics on a more abstract level. Ferguson's adult life spanned an age of almost constant war with France. The periods of exception to this condition, 1763-1775 and 1783-1792, were years of accelerating political discord within Britain, so it is not surprising that Ferguson's correspondence should reflect the issues raised by imperial war, revolt in America, Wilkite radical politics, and revolution in France. Ferguson and his generation underwent a turning around (a revolution in the eighteenth-century sense of the term) from being Whig modernists, in opposition to a Jacobite movement which looked back to the Scottish national independence represented by the Stewart dynasty, to becoming defenders of the Whig tradition of limited monarchy against previously unimagined radical and democratic challenges in America, Europe, and Britain itself. These preoccupations first manifest themselves at length in the correspondence at the time of the agitation over John Wilkes' election as M. P. for Middlesex, when Ferguson wrote a series of long letters to his friend William Pulteney Johnstone on the dangers to the constitution and to liberty that might arise from the populace in England, which had made its antipathy to all things Scottish more than clear. "We are now fostering a fourth power in the state" (in addition to King, Lords and Commons), writes Ferguson, "that of the populace of London, and at the time in which they are become most corrupted we are inviting them to a share in the government" (p. 82). Ferguson's solution was the formation of "a neutral interest . . . formed by men of property and family to ward off the evils with which the constitution is threatened in the issue of a contest between mobs & military power."

The American rebellion raised the stakes, and these volumes record Ferguson's letters as secretary to the Carlisle Commission sent to treat for peace with the American Congress in 1778, an appointment he owed to William Pulteney Johnstone's brother George. Here Ferguson directly involved himself in the politics of empire, even if his efforts were fruitless. In 1772 he had written to his former student, John Macpherson, about his doubts over the American crisis: "when we bully them as soldiers they threaten not to employ us as tradesmen . . . I dont wish to see this country in possession of many provinces a prey to [their] rapacity and perhaps an engine to be turned against the country itself" (p. 95). By the time he returned from America, the rebellion was already turning into a European colonial war, with France and Spain (and later Holland) entering on the side of the former American colonies against Britain. This was why in 1780 Ferguson was willing to collude in bribing councillors in Coupar

and St. Andrews and Forfar against George Dempster, who, if not always in opposition, still had not rallied steadily to the government: "There never was a National Cause more just than ours is at Present against France & Spain and all their Abettors & tho I trust nothing to this yet I hold it to be a matter of great Importance" (p. 227). These circumstances also convinced Ferguson of the need for a broader British union, as he wrote to a former member of the Carlisle Commission, William Eden, praising the Irish Protestant patriots of 1780 and the idea of a union with Ireland as a "great Political Event" that would "make us [Britons] tight for any Storm that may Assail us" (p. 231).

After 1781 Ferguson's health declined, and he retired from teaching in 1785. His correspondence reflects this change in his life and his retirement to his farm at Currie outside Edinburgh, and later to Peebles in the Borders. This move to the country took him away from public affairs, but he still took a keen interest in them, as the comments on the French Revolution recorded in his correspondence indicate. He opposed the Revolution and all its works as rank atheism and democracy but, Roman that he was in spirit, he admired the vigor of its militarism, as he remarked to Alexander Carlyle in 1800: "Every Drummer in the French Army is a Cromwell and no man in France that is not a Soldier is worth a Pin" (p. 462). This is the context in which to read his letters to Henry Dundas, his former student, on the British wars against Napoleonic France and the need for vigorous national defense. His defense of Dundas to Sir John Macpherson in 1805 was unusually strong (p. 495): Ferguson terms the impeachment of Dundas (as Lord Melville) "the worst Effect of Party that has past in my Time," and he describes Dundas's role in reducing the tax on imported coal in Scotland, the restoration of the annexed Jacobite estates to the families of their former owners, and "the arming of the country" through the attainment of a Militia Act of 1797 as "measures untainted with Party or with party Interest & the work of a mind that had leisure to do good as well as to Strugle for Power."

Ferguson survived to celebrate the victory over Napoleon and the apparent restoration of the Old Order in Europe, dying at St. Andrews in February 1816 at the age of ninety-two. His life had been largely spent as a professor (1759-1785) and in retirement (from 1785-1816), but throughout it all he was preoccupied with the success of the British state and its constitution, keeping always before him the example of ancient Rome as a model and a warning, like his fellow historian Gibbon. There is also important and interesting information here about Ferguson's activity in the Ossian controversy, as one of the only Gaelic speakers among the patrons of James Macpherson. Even if he referred to himself in a 1793 letter to Macpherson as "but a bastard Gaelic man," the same letter demonstrates without a doubt his knowledge of the language. There may be little that will be new to the Ossianic cognoscenti, but this edition will help make it clear to those interested in Ferguson that he was undoubtedly bilingual and owed much to his birth and upbringing on the Scottish linguistic frontier of Highland Perthshire during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Alexander Murdoch, University of Edinburgh

Stewart J. Brown, ed., **William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in association with the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society, 1997. Pp. xi + 276.

This splendid volume serves as a valuable corrective to the recent bicentennial emphasis on Edward Gibbon. The aim of the book is not to provide a comprehensive account of Robertson's varied career, a task that certainly needs addressing, but, rather, to direct attention to his career and to his contributions in shaping the European consciousness in the age of Enlightenment and empire. After a brief Introduction in which he summarizes the contributions, Stewart J. Brown offers a chapter-length essay that provides both an overall interpretation of Robertson and an introduction that is of value to non-experts. As a result, the volume avoids a common fault of the Ideas in Context series of which it is part: a preference for detail over clarity. Brown argues that Robertson strengthened the religious and educational establishment in Scotland and encouraged the growth of an inclusive and world-affirming theological perspective that offered a vision of global history celebrating the essential unity of humankind.

Jeffrey Smitten provides a characteristically scholarly and judicious chapter in which he considers how Robertson saw his own work, a project that is affected by the limited nature of the surviving correspondence. Nicholas Phillipson assesses Robertson's historical thought, not least his theory of progress, which linked the beliefs of the age with its material progress. Karen O'Brien discusses this thought in the context of eighteenth-century narrative history. Owen Dudley Edwards takes this forward to look at Robertson's influence on Romanticism.

In the "Ideological Significance of Robertson's *History of Scotland*," Colin Kidd explains how he fashioned a new Whig-Presbyterian patriotism that was not dependent on nationalism. John Renwick considers the reception of Robertson's historical works on France, where he was greatly praised by the *philosophes*.

Richard Sher looks at *Charles V* and the book trade. He explains why William Strahan (born Strachan) and his associates paid so much to obtain the book's copyright and suggests that the book was representative of the shaping of the Scottish Enlightenment by predominantly Scottish figures in the book trade. Sher looks at the book's publishing history in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, and Philadelphia. He reminds us of the need to pay close

attention to the particular circumstances and changing contexts in which books appeared. The highly favorable terms Robertson was able to negotiate resulted from the convergence of several factors, including the work's significance for the London printer-publisher. This convergence of contributing factors was not replicated in its entirety in Dublin, Paris, or Philadelphia. Sher also reminds us that the book was not a single entity, but rather existed as different things in different places.

Bruce Lenman considers Robertson's treatment of his Spanish sources with specific reference to the treatment of the conquistadores. He argues that Robertson was impervious to evidence on the inexorability of stadal progression in history and the low rating on the stadal scale of North American natives. Geoffrey Carnall turns the attention to India, and argues that Robertson revealed considerable cultural sensitivity and toleration, certainly more so than generally were to be shown the following century. The book closes with Smitten's useful bibliography of writings about Robertson from 1755 to 1996.

Individually and collectively, the essays are of great value for our understanding not only of Robertson but also of important aspects of eighteenth-century literary culture. This is also a fundamental work for those interested in historiography. O'Brien on the development of narrative history, Renwick on reception, and Sher on publishing contexts should be considered by all historians.

Jeremy Black, University of Exeter

The Works of William Robertson. General Editor, Richard B. Sher. 12 vols, cased. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996.

Recent years have witnessed a major revival of interest in William Robertson (1721-1793), Scottish historian, principal of the University of Edinburgh, and leading clergyman in the Church of Scotland. After a prolonged period of neglect, Robertson is again being recognized as one of the leading writers of the later Enlightenment, a man who stood alongside Edward Gibbon and David Hume in European reputation. There is a growing appreciation of Robertson as an exemplar of "philosophical history," with its vision of the progress of humankind through various stages from savagery to civilization. Others celebrate him as one of the pioneers of modern historical research, a historian who devoted considerable attention to gathering and evaluating his sources and who provided his readers with extensive bibliographical notes. Literary scholars direct attention to Robertson as a stylist, a master of English prose, whose vivid descriptions, dramatic passages, and appeals to sentiment exercised a profound influence on the later Romantic movement. Cultural historians emphasize Robertson's central role in the Enlightenment. He is now widely recognized as the presiding figure in the Scottish Enlightenment, a man whose leadership in the Church of Scotland and University of Edinburgh was vital in the development of a more liberal and tolerant society in which cultural innovation could flourish. His works, moreover, were translated into a number of European languages and appeared in numerous editions, exerting a profound influence not only in Europe but also in the New World.

Given this revived interest in Robertson, a new twelve-volume edition of Robertson's collected works is indeed to be welcomed. This superb collection was prepared under the general editorship of Richard B. Sher, with extensive editorial assistance from Jeffrey Smitten, and with introductions by Smitten and Nicholas Phillipson—three leading scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment who together have contributed much to the revival in Robertson studies. The collection is, in the best sense, a labor of love. The editors' aim has been to provide the scholarly community with an authoritative compilation, one that will place the study of Robertson on firm foundations and make Robertson's writings more widely accessible. Sher and Smitten have invested considerable care in ensuring that the collection includes complete and accurate texts of each of Robertson's works, and have expended great effort in locating the original texts, which are often rare.

The bulk of the collection consists of facsimile editions of Robertson's four major historical works—the *History of Scotland*, the *History of the Reign of Charles V*, the *History of America*, and the *Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*. Taken together, these represented a steadily expanding historical vision. The *History of Scotland* considered the development of Robertson's native Scotland up to its union with England and its subsequent participation in the British imperial adventure. The *Reign of Charles V* considered the failure of the Hapsburg emperor to achieve dominance in Europe and the consequent emergence of the European system of sovereign nation-states, in which independence was secured through a balance of power. In the *History of America*, Robertson explored the spread of European dominance to the Americas, giving particular attention to the Spanish explorations and conquests, the horrors experienced by the native peoples under the initial European onslaught, and the subsequent development of a more responsible Spanish imperialist government. Finally, in his brief history of India Robertson considered the richness of Indian civilization and the coming of European empire to India. In one sense, his four histories traced the beginnings of an interdependent world order, linked by growing networks of trade and communication. Although he acknowledged that the driving force behind these developments was European imperialism, he also looked forward to the development of more responsible government, more free and equal commercial relations and greater mutual respect among different cultures.

Along with these four finished histories, the editors have also included Robertson's lesser known writings, including his unfinished history of British North America (which he ceased working on following the beginning of the American War of Independence), his "Reasons of Dissent" of 1752, with its famous defense of Presbyterian church order, his book reviews in the shortlived *Edinburgh Review* of 1755-56, and his surviving sermons and speeches, including the celebrated speech on religious toleration that he delivered in 1779 in support of Roman Catholic relief. These miscellaneous writings flesh out Robertson's career and demonstrate how his activities as a church and university leader helped to shape his historical imagination. To complete the collection, the editors have included a series of five biographical writings on Robertson by different contemporaries who had known him. These include the standard biography by Dugald Stewart and the somewhat acerbic account written by Robertson's grand nephew, Lord Brougham.

The collection is further enriched by the presence of new explanatory texts and critical essays. Richard Sher's preface describes the aims and plans of the compilation, the different editions selected for inclusion, and the reasons behind the editorial decisions. This is followed by a year-by-year outline of Robertson's life intended to help the reader locate his various writings in the context of the historian's ecclesiastical and academic career. Jeffrey Smitten's "Selected Bibliography of Secondary Literature" provides a comprehensive list of the substantial scholarly works on Robertson that have appeared since 1900. Nicholas Phillipson's essay on "Robertson as Historian" gives an informed and judicious appraisal of the major historical writings, while Smitten provides stimulating essays on Robertson's lesser known writings and on the biographical studies of Robertson.

The work as a whole is well planned and thoroughly satisfying. At \$1545/£1000 (\$1080/£700 for ECSSS members), the high price of the *Works*, to be sure, is a difficulty, and will restrict purchasers for the most part to college and university libraries. It is disappointing that such a superb edition could not be made more affordable to the individual scholar. That said, the editors and publisher are to be congratulated for producing an authoritative edition, one that amply achieves the goal, as defined in Sher's Preface, of establishing "a new textual and critical standard" for Robertson scholarship. It is also a beautiful edition, attractively bound and printed. Even the frontispiece engravings from the eighteenth-century editions have been included, giving often fascinating glimpses into how this immensely popular historian was "marketed" by his publishers. The collection represents a worthy tribute to the life and work of a great historian.

Stewart J. Brown, University of Edinburgh

Knud Haakonssen, Natural Law and Moral Philosophy: From Grotius to the Scottish Enlightenment. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pp. x + 386.

Natural Law and Moral Philosophy is a splendid collection of essays covering the history of political philosophy from the early seventeenth century to the Scottish Enlightenment. Scholars interested in this area will already be familiar with Knud Haakonssen's work, which has always proved highly rewarding to those interested in the history of ideas. Nor will they be disappointed here. In a series of ten substantial essays (eleven, if one counts the book's extensive Introduction), Haakonssen traces the development of natural law theory from Suarez and Grotius to its reception in England and its metamorphosis in the hands of the Scottish moral philosophers.

As the author himself points out in his introductory essay, the articles that comprise this collection are, in fact, self-contained, although they are all integral to Haakonssen's main theme—that Protestant natural jurisprudential theory, in some form or another, was critical in shaping the philosophical conclusions put forward by the leading thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment. To those who have argued against this view that the principles of natural law are crucially antagonistic to Scottish moral philosophy, based as they are on an individualistic methodology and a defense of subjective rights, Haakonssen maintains that this in part misconstrues the tenor of natural law philosophy. He concedes that natural law theory rests on the notion of moral obligation based on free choice arising out of our contractual arrangements. However, Haakonssen argues, the principles of natural law also impose duties which take their form from our role in public life, and this view is compatible with the Scottish notion that the historical circumstances in which we find ourselves ultimately give rise to our moral obligations. Natural law theory was thus able to accommodate the emphasis placed by Scottish thinkers on the moral requirements imposed by the historical development of social and political life.

I take Haakonssen to be here claiming that many of the Scots, including Lord Kames, Adam Ferguson, and Dugald Stewart, reformulated Protestant natural jurisprudence to take account of history and, by doing so, totally abandoned its individualistic presuppositions in favor of the view that moral obligations and moral institutions themselves are creatures of historical development. While he argues this thesis with great erudition, it strikes me that this interpretation unnecessarily diminishes the role of free choice, or indeed, the role played by consciously created institutions and arrangements in the moral philosophy of these thinkers. Haakonssen is, of course, correct in emphasizing the importance played by the idea of spontaneously generated social orders in a good deal of Scottish philosophy, but not all complex social arrangements are creatures of historical evolution, nor do these arrangements exhaust the sphere of moral choice. Haakonssen's conclusion that the individualistic elements of natural jurisprudence are almost completely absent in the mainstream of Scottish thought seems unwarranted.

It is beyond the capacities of a review this brief to do justice to the range and depth of Haakonssen's discussion. Nor can one do more than offer the barest outline of the volume's contents. The author begins with an overview of the theory of natural law in Francis Suarez, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, and particularly Pufendorf and then traces its transition to eighteenth-century Scottish moral thought. In the second of the volume's essays, Haakonssen proceeds to sketch how a Pufendorfian theory of natural duties contributed to shaping Francis Hutcheson's moral realism. In the following essays, the author considers David Hume's theory of justice, Adam Smith's theory of rights, John Millar's "scientific Whiggism," and the intersection of morals and politics in the works of Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, Sir James Mackintosh, and James Mill.

Haakonssen's final essay deals with the nature of law, rights, and duties as they were understood by the American Founders. The author's claim that the American conception of rights in part derived from a natural law tradition similar to that of their British contemporaries is unexceptionable. However, it is, I think, wrong to suppose that this view precludes our attempting to understand their discussion of rights in terms of what was later to be called liberalism. Liberalism is, after all, an ideological construct that embraces a certain view of man and his relation to government. If the position put forward by Thomas Jefferson and others reflects this view, I see no reason not to suggest that they embraced a species of liberal ideology, and I see little merit in the claim that this is anachronistic and ahistorical. Nor do I see much evidence to support the conclusion that men like Jefferson and George Mason understood rights within the framework of natural duties.

These and other reservations, however, are not meant to diminish Haakonssen's contribution to the scholarship of eighteenth-century political and social theory. *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy* is an unusually worthwhile and informative book, written with great erudition. Haakonssen has clearly mastered the literature and has done all scholars of this period a great service by offering us the benefit of his insights. Doubtless, other readers will have reservations about some of Haakonssen's conclusions, but this is as it should be in a work that puts forward so many original interpretations. If this volume has a weakness, it lies in the occasional density of its prose, which sometimes makes it difficult to follow the complex arguments. But the reader's perseverance and patience are well rewarded. *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy* is a singularly valuable addition to the library of anyone interested in the history of legal and political theory.

Ronald Hamowy, University of Alberta

Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pp. xi + 428.

The subtitle of Donald Winch's stimulating new book in the elegant Cambridge Ideas in Context series suggests his unhappiness with how economists go about the business of history of economics (pp. 421-22). For the service of the abstract present, we mutilate the concrete past by (1) ignoring the historical possibility of ideas and (2) ignoring the inconvenient parts of the author's own work. For his part, Winch proposes to look closely at three figures: Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, and T. R. Malthus. I will focus here on his interpretation of Smith and Malthus, letting overarching themes pass.

This is a book with many virtues and (as far as I can see) only one vice. If I am right, the reader's judgment will follow the weights which one accords to these distinct characteristics.

Let me give two great virtues. First, Winch has integrated the life and ideas of Smith better than anyone I've ever read. The discussion of Smith's concern with probity (pp. 49-52), for instance, is a magical evocation of the man. I would not be surprised if this feature alone makes the book a great and deserved success. Second, Winch is a very careful reader of his chosen texts. For instance, he is correct to point out how some popular discussions of the Adam Smith Problem—there is no benevolence in the *Wealth of Nations* so it cannot be consistent with the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*—are factuous. Morals for Smith are rules, not desires of an approved sort, e.g., benevolence (pp. 104-109). Of more general interest, perhaps, is Winch's fine systematic discussion of how Smith proposes policy for this world, not for some idealized world of a modern economic model (e.g., p. 206). And yet again, Winch's discussion of the tensions among the anti-Malthusian Lake poets will come as a great boon to those who wish to place economics in the larger intellectual community without stereotyping the opposition to economics.

The book's only systematic vice is a lack of curiosity about what lies behind the texts under consideration. Some of this lack of curiosity is a consequence of an avowed uninterest in the sort of abstract issues that amuse economists as we try to turn texts into models. Winch correctly asserts that Smith is concerned with public utility (p. 104), but how does Smith propose to establish this? Winch notes that in the *Wealth of Nations* competition among religions is supposed to bring about "pure rational religion" (pp. 185-89). Just how does competition among fanatics bring about toleration? Winch's solution to the Adam Smith Problem supposes that rules of prudence make sense for a rational individual. Winch asserts that under competition rules of fair play and strict justice will be observed (p. 108). Just how does this work, however—why does an optimizer accept the rules?

The discussion of Malthus shows this lack of curiosity. As Winch says, Malthus introduced the notion of "moral restraint"—chastity before marriage—in the second edition (pp. 276, 305-306). Winch seems to have stopped following the editions at this point because he does not acknowledge that Malthus denied the efficacy of

“moral restraint” in the third and all later editions. Here is what Malthus wrote: “I have been accused of not allowing sufficient weight in the prevention of population to moral restraint; but when the confined sense of the term, which I have here explained, is averted to, I am fearful that I shall not be found to have erred much in this respect” (Cambridge, 1989 edition of the *Essay on Population*, vol. 1, p. 14). Why does delay of marriage but not sexuality serve to check population? Winch notes almost in passing “fundamentalist” objections to Malthus—the delay of marriage encourages fornication (pp. 242-43). I would have thought that only an economist viewing texts from the present would call “fundamentalist” the doctrine embodied in the Book of Common Prayer’s service of matrimony. There we read that marriage “was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry, and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ’s body.” When Malthus defends delay of marriage on prudential grounds, he is defending fornication. As the Latin origin of the word suggests, and as William Paley wrote in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), p. 244, fornication supposes prostitution. Thus, Malthus defends prostitution against St. Paul. Winch isn’t curious about this at all. Perhaps this explains his puzzles about Coleridge’s and Wordsworth’s rage at Malthus (pp. 300, 319). If “moral restraint” doesn’t hold, then it is “vice” or misery. As one of Malthus’s “fundamentalist” critics, Piercy Ravenstone (i.e., Richard Puller), wrote in 1821, if we start doubting God’s beneficence—“virtue” leads to misery—we shall sooner or later doubt God’s existence. This in a Christian community will kill God.

Let me venture a forecast that Winch’s book will kick off a wonderful brawl about just how it is that we are to view the economics of the past.

David M. Levy, George Mason University

Tatsuya Sakamoto, *Civilized Society of Hume: Industry, Knowledge, and Liberty*. Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1995. Pp. xiv + 378. (In Japanese)

Although the Scottish Enlightenment is attracting a number of Japanese scholars, Hume has been less popular than Adam Smith. However, Tatsuya Sakamoto has made a great contribution toward filling the gap of popularity with his first book, which is on a par with the highest level of Smith scholarship in Japan. First he draws readers’ attention to Hume’s literary style, which he characterizes as that of an essayist, in contrast to the professorial style of Smith. An essayist treats a variety of subjects in separate essays; though his works are readable, it is difficult to grasp his system of thought in its entirety. Here Sakamoto sees one of the reasons why Hume scholarship tends to be fragmented, whereas the multidisciplinary works of Smith are treated as a system, especially in recent studies. Sakamoto’s wide reading and readable prose enable him to overcome the fragmented character of Hume’s work.

The book consists of a preliminary chapter and three parts. In the former, Sakamoto discusses Hume’s style, the problems of the Scottish Enlightenment, and the theme and method of the present work. The first part of the book discusses the method and origins of Hume’s theory of civilized society on the basis of an analysis of the *Treatise of Human Nature* and *Essays, Moral and Political*. The second part treats the formation of the theory on the basis of an analysis of Hume’s idea of enlightened monarchy (compared with that of Addison), his experience in Europe (the contrast between rich and poor countries), the impact of Montesquieu, and the *Political Discourses*. The third part explores the establishment and perspective of the theory by means of an analysis of Hume’s treatment of commerce and liberty in the *History of England* and his consciousness of the crisis of the Revolutionary Regime (compared with the views of Robert Wallace and John Brown), and also that of the civilized society.

One of Sakamoto’s most interesting points concerns his interpretation of Hume’s theory or theories of money. It is said that Hume’s quantitative and successive influence theories of money are contradictory, because while he successfully criticizes mercantilism by the first, he justifies the mercantilist idea of balance of trade by the second. To avoid the contradiction, economic historians interpret the one for the long term and the other for short term policies. As a historian of social thought, Sakamoto steps beyond the position of economic historians by asserting that Hume criticizes mercantilism by the quantitative theory but uses the successive influence theory in order to criticize classical republicanism or civic humanism. The two theories are not contradictory but rather constitute two effective weapons in his bi-frontal battle. According to Hume, the increase of money is instrumental in the development of a national economy only when industry is firmly established in the manner of people. What matters is industry, not (as mercantilist writers argue) money itself. This is the lesson he learned from his experience on the Continent. The stream of gold and silver into the Iberian Peninsula had no effect on the successive influence because there was no manner of industry to stimulate. Thus, Sakamoto finds in the manner of industry the key concept for understanding Hume’s system of thought as a whole. Perhaps he sees that Hume is in league with Sir James Steuart and Adam Smith against the anachronism of civic humanism in the Scottish Enlightenment.

According to Sakamoto, Hume is confident about the future of his civilized society in spite of the American crisis and the fear of state bankruptcy by the accumulation of public debt. I think Sakamoto’s picture of Hume may be too optimistic because it avoids (intentionally or not) any discussion of Hume’s religious ideas and the consciousness of the identity crisis. Or is it perhaps rooted in his own optimism about the civilized society of Japan today?

Hiroshi Mizuta, Japan

Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains. Edited by Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, and Robert Wokler. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1995. Pp. xv + 357.

Richard Olson, **The Emergence of the Social Sciences, 1642-1792.** New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993. Pp. viii + 230.

The rise of Scottish Enlightenment studies owes much to the quest for disciplinary origins among social scientists. But if anticipatory investigation of modern disciplines highlights the relevance of studying past thinkers, it also carries considerable hazards, the most dangerous of which is the creation of myths of disciplinary continuity that seriously distort what past thinkers were doing in the context of their own time and place. That Adam Ferguson was not chiefly concerned with building modern sociology, that Adam Smith was not primarily an economist in the modern sense of that term, is still news to many scholars. Yet it remains true that Ferguson and Smith, along with several of their contemporaries, do speak to the concerns of the social sciences in important ways that deserve serious study. The problem, then, is how to treat anticipations and influences in a manner that permits social science and its disciplines to have their own histories without at the same time reducing those histories to continuity myths.

Fox et al.'s *Inventing Human Science* and Olson's *The Emergence of the Social Sciences* make useful contributions to this endeavor. Neither book is solely devoted to the role of Scottish thinkers, of course, but in both the Scots are featured players. To their credit, the books are not structured in terms of the categories of the modern social scientific disciplines. *IHS* is divided into thematic chapters that do not exactly correspond to eighteenth- or twentieth-century modes of categorization but rather cut across them in suggestive ways: medical science-human science; natural history; sex and gender; science of mind; science of society; etc. As with most multi-author works, the quality is uneven, and sometimes the contributors seem to be talking past each other (and their readers) because they are focusing on different individual thinkers and national traditions. Yet there is much to recommend. I particularly liked David Carrithers on "The Enlightenment Science of Society"—which focuses on Montesquieu and the Scots, and starts its analysis with the challenging observation that "the key Enlightenment fallacy . . . dooming them to ultimate failure, was the conviction that observing individuals in society required an approach no different from what Newton had employed in analyzing nature" (p. 239)—and Sylvana Tomaselli's stimulating discussion of political economy as a broad-based inquiry into the nature of human relations.

Olson's little paperback, written for students rather than scholars, is more coherent and chronologically broader. It concentrates on three modes of discourse in the social sciences—psychology, philosophical history, and political economy—and then, interestingly, cites the "Glasgow School" of Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and John Millar as an attempt at synthesis of these three intellectual traditions. There are questionable attempts to link intellectual discourses with ideological positions (e.g., psychology and political economy tend to be liberal; philosophical history is conservative; and the Glasgow School, being an intellectual synthesis, accordingly gives off "mixed ideological messages"); and some interpretations are insupportable (e.g., that Hume may have disapproved of Ferguson's *Essay* because of its "openly religious orientation" [p. 156]). But as a student survey that covers a lot of ground in a readable manner, Olson's book is very welcome.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers University, Newark

David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, **The David Hume Library.** Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, in association with The National Library of Scotland, 1996. Pp. 156.

Epistolary evidence suggests that David Hume was an avid book collector both in his youth, when his means were relatively limited, and in his later years. In a letter of 22 June 1751 Hume remarked that he had acquired a library valued at approximately £100. As his wealth and fame increased considerably over the next two decades, it is reasonable to conclude, as the Nortons do, that through both gifts and purchases Hume's private library grew considerably as well. The Nortons' text undertakes to reconstruct the holdings of that library as it existed at the time of Hume's death. Their achievement is remarkable if not entirely conclusive and will prove of significant assistance to those involved in attempts to come to terms with the bases and character of Hume's thought.

The primary source to which the Nortons appeal in producing their reconstruction is the 1840 inventory catalogue (and its derivatives) compiled by the Edinburgh bookseller Thomas G. Stevenson, documenting the holdings of the library of Baron David Hume, the philosopher's nephew, on the occasion of the baron's death. The list amounts to 1600 titles. Since Hume in his will divided his own library between his sister Katherine and his brother John, and his siblings both bequeathed their libraries to Baron David (John's son), the Nortons conclude that Hume's library was most likely folded into his nephew's holdings.

Assuming that this probable though somewhat speculative conclusion is accurate, the problem then becomes how to disentangle the philosopher's acquisitions from the baron's additions. The Nortons make use of three principal strategies. First, they undertake to examine all the annotations of the catalogue for indications that Hume had owned a particular text. Second, they separate off all those texts that were produced in or before 1776, the year of Hume's death—a list amounting to approximately 640 titles. Third, they sift through the many bibliographic clues

to be found in Hume's correspondence and published work for references to specific texts. Since more than thirty percent of the pre-1777 texts are in French (compared with only seven percent of the post-1777 texts), the Nortons also surmise that nearly all of the pre-1777 French texts were acquired by the philosopher. Additional texts are added to the philosopher's library because they contain the David Hume bookplate.

The Nortons' findings suggest that Hume was well read in French neoclassical thought. Many texts, other than those of Cicero and Virgil, also indicate that Hume read more widely among the ancients than many have considered. While, however, Cicero is represented, Sextus Empiricus is not. Two important pre-1739 works by Robert Boyle—*Certain Physiological Essays* (1661) and *Experiments Physico-Mechanical* (1682)—are to be found, consonant with Hume's interest in experimental philosophy. Descartes and Malebranche do not appear on the list, but works by Berkeley, Butler, Grotius, Bayle, and Locke do. The list contains extensive collections of pamphlets and material relevant to the Rousseau affair.

The Nortons' volume is sewn and well bound. Entries are numbered according to their position in Stevenson's catalogue and, wherever possible, the original form of the entries has been preserved. Photographs of significant documents and bookplates are informative and add to the pleasure of using the text.

Peter S. Fosl, Hollins College

The Printed Catalogues of the Harvard College Library 1723-1790. Edited by W. H. Bond and Hugh Amory. Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts; distributed by Oak Knoll Press, 1996. Pp. xli + 710.

All three eighteenth-century catalogues of the holdings of Harvard College Library are reprinted in this massive volume. The first catalogue, from 1723, is mainly in Latin and arranged in an archaic manner that will make it almost unintelligible to many of us. In any event, most of the books it lists were destroyed in the great library fire of 1764. As the editors' Introduction notes, a new collection of books was rapidly assembled, thanks largely to English donations, and in 1773 a new catalogue was issued. By 1790 the library had grown so large that a third, much longer and topically arranged, catalogue was deemed necessary.

The Scottish Enlightenment provides an interesting case study in library accessibility during the second half of the eighteenth century. One might expect that the rebuilding of the college library after 1764 would entail the acquisition of many new titles by contemporary Scottish authors, and that is exactly what the catalogue record shows. In the 1773 catalogue, for example, one finds, in addition to older works by Andrew Baxter, Thomas Blackwell, George Cheyne, David Fordyce, Francis Hutcheson, and George Turnbull, the following impressive array of major books by Scottish authors published within fourteen years of the catalogue: Beattie's *Essay on Truth* (1770), Boswell's *Account of Corsica* (1768), Campbell's *Dissertation on Miracles* (1762), Duff's *Essay on Original Genius* (1767), Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), James Ferguson's *Young Gentleman and Lady's Astronomy* (1768), Gerard's *Essay on Taste* (1759), Hume's *History of England* (1754-62), Kames's *Introduction to the Art of Thinking* (1761) and *Elements of Criticism* (1762), Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1771), Oswald's *Appeal to Common Sense in Behalf of Religion*, vol. 1 (1766), Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind* (1764), Robertson's histories of Scotland (1759) and Charles V (1769), Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Matthew Stewart's *Tracts, Physical and Mathematical* (1761), and Gilbert Stuart's *Historical Disquisition concerning the English Constitution* (1768). The 1790 catalogue adds scientific and medical works by the likes of Benjamin Bell, William Buchan, William Cullen, Andrew Duncan, John Gregory, Francis Home, Alexander Monro, Robert Whytt, and the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, as well as Wilkie's *Epigoniad*, Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man and Loose Hints on Education*, Wallace's *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind and Various Prospects of Mankind*, Beattie's *Dissertations*, poetry volumes by Beattie and Blacklock, Macpherson's *Ossian*, Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* and *Sermons*, James Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women*, Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Robertson's *History of America*, Stuart's *History of Scotland*, Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*, and a wide range of Scottish religious works. Even Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, thought by the author to have died at birth, is in the collection by 1790. Despite some notable omissions, such as Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, these catalogues establish that a student at Harvard College during the latter part of the eighteenth century had virtually the entire Scottish Enlightenment at his finger tips.

Since the entries in these catalogues were sometimes abbreviated to the point of confusion, and were occasionally incorrect, the editors have a large task to identify all the works. Frequently they succeed, making the 169-page Index and Concordance appended to the catalogues a useful reference tool. Sometimes, however, the editorial work is sloppy or plain wrong. The editors should not have followed the 1790 catalogue in attributing the *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind* to James instead of Robert Wallace. An entry given in the 1773 catalogue as "Greece—History of—12mo" is identified in the Index and Concordance as the work of John Gillies, even though Gillies's *History of Ancient Greece* did not appear until 1786, and then in quarto not duodecimo format. The Index and Concordance condenses three different authors named "William Guthrie" into one person. Despite such shortcomings, this volume makes a valuable addition to any reference library.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT and Rutgers University, Newark

Recent Articles and Theses by ECSSS Members

The items below either appear in collections received by the editor or else have been brought to the editor's attention by individual members, many of whom submitted offprints or copies of their work. The list is limited to articles and major review articles that (1) deal with eighteenth-century Scottish topics and (2) were published in 1996, except for items published a year or two earlier that were not included in previous lists. Recent doctoral theses are also included.

Paul BATOR, "Rhetoric and the Novel in the Eighteenth-Century British University Curriculum," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30 (1996-97): 173-95.

Paul BATOR, "The University of Edinburgh Belles Lettres Society (1759-64) and the Rhetoric of the Novel," *Rhetoric Review* 14 (1996): 280-98.

Paul BATOR, "The D.[avid] B.[aynes] Horn Collection: Unpublished Papers on the History of the University of Edinburgh," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 26 (1996): 69-83.

Christopher BERRY, "Adam Ferguson," in *Encyclopedia of Empiricism*, ed. D. Garrett (Westport, Ct., 1996).

Fiona A. BLACK, "A Scottish Element in Canadian Print Culture: Some Preliminary Questions on Definition and Evidence," *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 10 (1996): 11-14.

Fiona A. BLACK, "Newspapers as Primary Sources in Canadian-Scottish Book Trade History: The Example of Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1752-1820," *Epilogue* 10 (1995): 43-51.

Dennis R. BORMANN, "Campbell, George (1719-1796)," in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition: Communication from Ancient Times to the Information Age*, ed. Theresa Enos (New York & London, 1996), 93-94.

David J. BROWN, Introduction to John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1996), v-xiii.

Stewart J. BROWN, "An Eighteenth-Century Historian on the Amerindians: Culture, Colonialism and Christianity in William Robertson's *History of America*," *Studies in World Christianity* 2 (1996): 204-22.

Daniel BRÜHLMEIER, "Die Geburt der Sozialwissenschaften aus dem Geiste der Moralphilosophie," in *Schottische Aufklärung: A Hotbed of Genius* (Berlin, 1996), 23-38.

John W. CAIRNS, "Importing Our Lawyers from Holland: Netherlands Influences on Scots Law and Lawyers in the Eighteenth Century," *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994*, ed. Grant G. Simpson (University of Aberdeen Mackie Monographs, no. 3) (East Linton, 1996), 136-53.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "An Unpublished Letter from Walter Scott to Dr. James Currie," *Scott Newsletter* (Spring 1996).

Cecil P. COURTNEY, "Bovarysme et réalisme dans la correspondance de Belle de Zuylen," *CRIN* 29 (1995): 15-22 [Boswell].

Gordon DESBRISAY, "Catholics, Quakers, and Religious Persecution in Restoration Aberdeen," *The Innes Review* 47 (1996): 42-73.

Alastair J. DURIE, "Contrasting Careers: The First Managers of the British Linen Company 1745-1800," in *Enterprise and Management: Essays in Honour of Peter L. Payne*, ed. D. H. Aldcroft and Anthony Slaven (Aldershot, 1995), 229-50.

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