

# EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the  
Eighteenth-Century Scottish  
Studies Society

## ECSSS BLOWS INTO WINDY CITY

In spite of a last-minute change of venue and the sudden death of plenary speaker François Furet, the joint conference of ECSSS and the Midwestern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies was a great success! The conference took place at the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago, 15-18 October 1997. David Jordan of the University of Illinois at Chicago, the chair of the conference, organized a fine program, and Brian Connery, executive secretary of MW/ASECS, also played a huge role in transforming a near-disaster into a notable triumph.

The conference featured forty three-paper sessions, as well as plenary lectures by Lawrence Lipking ("The Jacobite Plot"), Duncan Macmillan ("The Busie Humm of Men': Images of the City in Eighteenth-Century Art"), and Joan DeJean ("Moliere's *Don Juan*: Censorship and the Limits of Representation"). The conference theme—Urban Culture—was explored from numerous angles, and the magnificent setting along Michigan Avenue kept conference-goers aware of their mission at all times. Among the events was a special viewing and analysis, at the nearby Art Institute of Chicago, of J.-B. Greuze's *Lady Reading the Letters of Héloïse and Abelard*. ECSSS held a luncheon-business meeting during the conference (see below). A more elaborate luncheon in the early twentieth-century Crystal Ballroom of the Blackstone, where many period movies have been filmed, concluded the conference in grand Chicago style.

A conference with this many papers can hardly be summarized, but some indication of the richness of the program can be gleaned from the following list of sessions that dealt extensively with Scottish themes: "Scots in London, London and the Scots" (Barney Cochran, Michael Kugler, Richard B. Sher); "The 1801 Edinburgh Supplement to the Third Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*" (Frank Kafkaer, Jeff Loveland, Kathleen Doig); "Jacobitism" (Daniel Szechi, Kristen Robinson, Howard D. Weinbrot); "The Glasgow Enlightenment" (Anne Skoczylas, Roger Emerson, Paul Wood); "Enlightened Views" (Deidre Dawson, Lisa Rosner); "Scottish Sociability and Literature" (Elaine G. Breslaw, H. L. Fulton, Judith Bailey

Slagle); "Scotland and the French Revolution" (Emma Vincent Macleod, Elizabeth Kraft); "Publication Issues" (Thomas Bonnell, William Zachs, Mary Helen MacMurrain); "Hume: Skeptic and Philosopher of Humanity" (Douglas Long, James T. King, James Moore). In addition, a number of ECSSS members chaired sessions at the conference, including E. Franklin Court, Roger Fechner, Edward Gray, Kathleen Holcomb, Andrew Hook, and Jessica Spector.

The Society extends its thanks to David Jordan, Brian Connery, and all our friends at Midwestern ASECS for helping to make the 1997 conference so splendid!

## ECSSS TAX EXEMPT!

The ECSSS luncheon-business meeting at the Chicago conference was attended by Nancy Morton, a member of the Society and an accountant who kindly agreed to lead us through the bureaucratic confusion associated with attaining an exemption from U.S. federal taxes. At the meeting she was roundly cheered by the members, and several months afterward she achieved her (and our) goal. As a result, contributions to ECSSS may now be tax-deductible (depending on your national tax code), and the Society will be able to save money in various ways, including sales tax. In recognition of the donation of her professional services, the Society has rewarded Nancy with a lifetime membership!

Other business at the Chicago meeting showed the Society to be in good health. President Jim Moore addressed and entertained the members in his inimitable way, and executive secretary Richard Sher reported that the financial base is sound (see p. 39, below) and that we have some pretty good conferences and publications in the works. One of the suggested conferences discussed at the meeting was unanimously approved by the membership: a major gathering in Edinburgh in July 2002 on the theme of politics, broadly construed. Stewart J. Brown and Alex Murdoch of Edinburgh University have expressed an interest in organizing that affair, which was strongly supported by the meeting. Praise was directed at the Society's vice-president, Kathleen Holcomb, for doing such a fine job as founding manager of the Society's website (see address on the

back cover). And members were reminded that the 1998 meeting in Utrecht will have the task of electing new officers, including the six-year post of Executive Secretary, which the current incumbent expressed a willingness to continue doing for another term or delegate to another member, as the Society may wish.

### SCOTS AND DUTCH IN UTRECHT

Like James Boswell 235 years before them, ECSSS members will visit the medieval Dutch city of Utrecht for business and pleasure this summer (though unlike Boswell, we can hardly wait to go). "Scotland, the Netherlands, and the Atlantic World" will take place from 4 to 7 July, hosted jointly by ECSSS and the Dutch Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. The conference director, Wijnand Mijnhardt of the University of Utrecht, and the program director, Kathleen Holcomb of Angelo State University, are making sure that this will be a memorable event for all concerned. The program will include sixteen sessions, most of them closely focused on the conference theme. There will also be plenary talks by Margaret C. Jacob of the University of Pennsylvania, the current President of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies ("The Populist Origins of the Enlightenment"), Wijnand Mijnhardt ("The Batavian Citizen"), and Cecil Courtney of Christ's College, Cambridge University ("Belle de Zuylen and James Boswell"). The activities will include a concert of eighteenth-century Dutch music, an excursion to Zuylen Castle, where Professor Courtney's talk will occur, and a conference dinner at Huize Molenaar.

At press time in May the conference program was more or less fixed and on the web, though some possibilities still existed for chairing sessions (contact Kathleen Holcomb on that through the Society's website, or [kathleen.holcomb@angelo.edu](mailto:kathleen.holcomb@angelo.edu)). Inquiries about attending the conference should be addressed to the conference manager, Linda Westerink, at the History Department, University of Utrecht (31 30 2536222; e-mail: [linda.westerink@let.ruu.nl](mailto:linda.westerink@let.ruu.nl)). See you in Holland!

### THE DUBLIN SHOW: JULY 1999

The Tenth International Congress on the Enlightenment is likely to be the biggest and best conference of its kind, and ECSSS will be doing its best to make it so. The Society will be sponsoring or co-sponsoring a coherent program of eight four-speaker sessions on the theme of "Scotland and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," as well as a luncheon with a plenary lecture by T. M. Devine and a business meeting-reception. It will be a conference-within-a-congress, spanning three full days out of the seven that the Congress lasts (25-31 July 1999). Thanks are due to Michael Fry and Murray Pittock for setting up this exciting event, and to the Congress director, Andrew Carpenter, for encouraging ECSSS from the outset. The preliminary schedule of ECSSS events is as follows:

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Day One: "Hutcheson and Moderation: Enlightened Presbyterianism in Glasgow and Ulster"; ECSSS luncheon, with a plenary lecture by T. M. Devine on the Scottish diaspora; "Economic Improvement and Enlightened Identities in Ireland and Scotland."

Day Two: "Image and Identity in 18th-Century Scotland and Ireland, Part I" (co-sponsored by the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative); lunch break; concurrent sessions: "Image and Identity, Part II" and "Berkeley and Hume"; ECSSS business meeting, followed by a reception.

Day Three: "Celticism and Literary Nationalism"; lunch break; "Robert Burns: Radical in Art and Life"; "The Metropolis and the Millennium: Provincial Radicalism under the British Crown."

Among the thirty-two speakers already lined up to give papers in these sessions are Stewart J. Brown, David Dickson, Howard Erskine-Hill, Ned Landsman, Mícheál Mac Craith, Ian McBride, Elaine McFarland, Carol McGuirk, Susan Manning, Alexander Murdoch, Andrew Noble, Murray Pittock, David Raynor, Fiona Stafford, M. A. Stewart, Christopher Whatley, and John Wright (apologies to those not listed). The full ECSSS program should be up on our website by the end of this year, and our 1999 membership mailing next January will include further details about the program and the luncheon. There will be no separate registration for the ECSSS conference, but those interested in attending should register for the Enlightenment Congress at [www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk/so/dublin/99form.html](http://www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk/so/dublin/99form.html), or by contacting Andrew Carpenter directly at the English Dept., University College, Dublin 4, Ireland; e-mail: [andrew.carpenter@ucd.ie](mailto:andrew.carpenter@ucd.ie).

### ECSSS SEMINARS AT ASECS

**Notre Dame in 1998.** At the meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies at Notre Dame University on 5 April, ECSSS sponsored a seminar on "Scottish Political Thought," organized and chaired by Roger G. Fechner of Adrian College. The speakers were Michael Kugler of Northwestern College, "Sentiment and Virtue in Adam Ferguson's Civil Society" and Barney Cochran of Whitefield Academy, "Interest and Virtue in George Turnbull's Thought." Commentary on these papers was provided by ECSSS president James Moore of Concordia University.

**Milwaukee in 1999.** Roger Fechner will once again be organizing the ECSSS session at the 1999 ASECS conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 24-28 March 1999. The topic is "Writing Biographies of Scottish Enlightenment Figures." 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. E-mail: [rfechner@adrian.edu](mailto:rfechner@adrian.edu).

## GLASGOW VOLUME IN PAPER

In 1997 Tuckwell Press released a paperback edition of *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, ed. Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher. Originally published in 1995, the book is volume 4 in the ECSSS series "Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." The new paperback costs £15/\$22.50, but ECSSS members can purchase it for just £11.25/\$16.99, postpaid. To order, contact Tuckwell Press directly at The Mill House, Phantassie, East Linton, East Linton EH40 3DG, Scotland, U.K., including check or money order, or Access/Visa card number and expiration date (with your signature). Be sure to state that you are an ECSSS member ordering the book at the special ECSSS discount price.

## NEW COURSE AT EDINBURGH U.

Beginning in the 1998-99 academic year, Alex Murdoch of the Scottish History Department at the University of Edinburgh will begin offering "Scotland and the Idea of Britain 1689-1801" as a new special subject in the Scottish Historical Studies curriculum. The course draws upon Murdoch's research over a period of two decades, from the time of his 1980 book on eighteenth-century Scottish politics, *The People Above*, through his new book on *British History 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture* (forthcoming in the British Studies Series of Macmillan Press). The course is intended to build upon the important work carried out on the history of eighteenth-century Scotland by previous members of the Scottish History Department at Edinburgh, in particular William Ferguson and John M. Simpson. It is also intended to offer students the opportunity to explore different perspectives on Scottish history during the eighteenth century in relation to the political and economic union in which Scots played an increasingly prominent role after 1707. The academic aim of the course is to offer specialized study of the relationship between the feudal kingdom of Scotland and the evolving British state from 1689 until the union of the United Kingdom of Great Britain with Ireland in 1801, which in many ways was carried out on the model of the parliamentary union of England and Wales with Scotland. The course will relate constitutional history to the intellectual, social, and economic history of Scotland in the eighteenth century.

The pedagogical aim of the course will be to train students in the use of primary evidence relating to this period of Scottish history, using published primary sources, manuscripts in the Special Collections of Edinburgh University Library, and the resources of the Scottish Record Office and the National Library of Scotland. A further pedagogical aim will be to involve students in an academic dialogue over the course of their studies, which will encourage them to debate their own ideas and to discuss them with other students in seminar as well as with the course organizer, in order to create a dynamic rather than static structure for the running of the course. The course will run with no more than fif-

teen students so as to ensure genuine seminar quality work.

This will be a seminar-based course, introduced by a lecture each term and supplemented by tutorials. In the Autumn Term, the course will devote one week to each of the following topics: The Idea of Britain in the Eighteenth Century; Scotland in 1689; The Unruly Kingdom 1692-1703; The Union with England and Wales; Early Disappointments 1708-1720; The Robinocracy: Sir Robert Walpole and Scotland; Jacobitism in Scotland 1715-1746; Union and the Ideology of Improvement; Scottish Banking in the Eighteenth Century. The following topics will be taken up during the Spring Term: The Scottish Constitution post 1707; After the '45: Politics and Social Engineering; Britishness and the Gael: Outside and Below; Making the Empire British; The British Industrial Revolution in Scotland; British Constitutional Reform in Scotland; Henry Dundas and Completing the Union; The United Scotsmen and British Radicalism; Scotland and the British Union with Ireland.

Alex Murdoch would welcome comments, addressed to him at the Dept. of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9LN, Scotland, U.K. E-mail: a.j.murdoch@ed.ac.uk.

## CELEBRATING COLUMBA & MORE

In September 1997 a major conference on "Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish Connections 597-1997" was organized by the Research Centre in Scottish History at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, in conjunction with the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative (a tripartite agreement between the universities of Aberdeen and Strathclyde and Trinity College, Dublin—see the article in the Spring 1997 number of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, p. 4). Held to commemorate the 1400th anniversary of the death of St. Columba, the conference was opened by the Irish ambassador to the U.K. and traced historical, literary, and cultural ties between Ireland and Scotland since that time. Seamus Heaney, Nobel Laureate and world-renowned poet, was one of the main speakers, along with many of Britain and Ireland's most eminent scholars and writers. The conference attracted an audience of three hundred. The published proceedings, edited by T. M. Devine and James F. McMillan, will be available this summer.

Meanwhile, the University of Strathclyde also hosted the second year of its two-year seminar on "Eighteenth-Century Scotland: Explorations and Revisions," which concentrated on sixteen key aspects of eighteenth-century Scotland, including the Union of 1707, the Empire, Jacobitism, National Identity, Urbanization, the Highlands, Radicalism, and Enlightenment. Among the contributors were T. C. Smout, T. M. Devine, Richard J. Finlay, Michael Fry, I. D. Whyte, Allan I. MacInnes, and Elaine McFarland. A book from the series, edited by T. M. Devine and John

R. Young, is scheduled for publication later this year by Tuckwell Press.

The founding director of the RCSH at Strathclyde, T. M. Devine, spent the 1997-98 academic year on sabbatical leave writing a new history of modern Scotland that is to be published by Penguin in time for the millennium. Devine has been awarded a £74,000 Leverhulme Research Grant for a three-year project on "The Catholic Irish in Western Lowland Scotland, 1790-1920." He will soon be leaving Glasgow, however, to assume a new position in the History Department at the University of Aberdeen.

### REID SYMPOSIUM IN ABERDEEN

On 27-29 July 1998 the University of Aberdeen will host the first international symposium on the life and work of the Scottish common sense philosopher Thomas Reid (1710-96). Sessions will be held on the following topics: Reid and Hume; Common Sense and Philosophy of Language; Ethics; Aesthetics; Politics; Natural Sciences and Mathematics; Natural Theology; Reid: Regent and Professor; Reid and Europe; Reid and America; The Seventeenth Century: The Aberdeen Doctors; The Eighteenth Century: The Aberdeen Enlightenment; Reid: A Contemporary Voice; and Historiography of Common Sense. Speakers include (among others) Alexander Broadie, Keith Lehrer, Terence Penelhum, Daniel Schulthess, M. A. Stewart, Luigi Turco, and Paul Wood.

For further information, contact M. Rosa Antognazza, Director - The Reid Project, Dept. of Philosophy, King's College, University of Aberdeen, Scotland AB24 3UB, U.K.; e-mail: reidproject@abdn.ac.uk; web: www.abdn.ac.uk/philosophy/reidstu.htm.

### BOSWELL VOLUME AVAILABLE

Readers wishing to obtain a copy of *Boswell: The Great Biographer 1789-1795*, edited by Marlies K. Danziger and Frank Brady, and published by McGraw-Hill in 1989—the final volume of The Yale Boswell Editions' series of journals by James Boswell—may do so by writing to Irene Adams, Yale Boswell Editions, P.O. Box 208240, New Haven, CT 06520-8240, USA; e-mail: bosedit@minerva.cis.yale.edu. A small gift to The Yale Boswell Editions, sent to the above address, would be greatly appreciated.

### NLS PLANS REOPENING

Ian Cunningham, keeper of manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland, reports that the library will reopen manuscript and rare book services on 31 August 1998. The NLS has been closed for structural repairs since September 1997, causing considerable inconvenience to many students and scholars.

### SCOTLANGLIT NOW ON WEB

Those interested in eighteenth-century Scottish literature or language now have their own discussion list on the web: ScotLangLit.c18@mailbase.ac.uk. The list is administered by Jean Anderson of Humanities Computing, University of Glasgow, 6 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QH, Scotland, U.K.; 44 (0)141 330 4980; www.arts.gla.ac.uk/STELLA/. To subscribe, send the following message to mailbase@mailbase.ac.uk: "join ScotLangLit.c18 Forename Surname".

### NEW SERIES AT BUCKNELL U.P.

The Bucknell University Press (in association with Associated University Presses) has instituted a new series in eighteenth-century studies under the editorship of ECSSS member Greg Clingham, NEH Chair in the Humanities at Bucknell University.

"The Bucknell Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture" will publish substantial critical, historical, and interdisciplinary books that broaden and redefine the conception of the field. The series will be open to all critical, theoretical, and historical perspectives and will consider all manner of engaging, first-rate scholarship. Since the focus of the series will be the literature, history, and culture (including art, architecture, music, science, travel, medicine, and law) of the long eighteenth century in Britain, Ireland, and Europe, ECSSS members are encouraged to consider Bucknell University Press for publication of their manuscripts on Scottish studies.

Address inquiries and proposals to Greg Clingham at Bucknell University Press, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA 17837; e-mail: clingham@bucknell.edu; www.bucknell.edu/departments/library/bupress.

### MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

**Nigel Aston** is now senior lecturer in history at the U. of Luton . . . **Jerry Beasley** has stepped down as general editor of *The Works of Tobias Smollett* (U. of Georgia Press) after a long and impressive tenure in that position . . . **Barbara Benedict**, now professor of English literature at Trinity College, visited India and Nepal before beginning research on her new book on curiosity, supported by a string of fellowships from the Ransom Center in Austin, Texas, the Clark Library/ASECS, and the National Endowment for the Humanities . . . **August Benz** has completed an M.Sc. degree in Scottish intellectual history at Edinburgh University with a thesis on Thomas Reid . . . **Christopher Berry** featured Hume in the opening lecture at the Conference of Irish Historians in May 1997 on the theme of "Austerity, Necessity and Luxury" . . . the Society extends its sincere best wishes to **Paul-Gabriel Boucé** for the speedy recovery of his wife from her illness of the past year . . . **Elaine Breslaw** took time out from her work on Dr. Alexander Hamilton to publish a book on a different topic: *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem* . . . **Greg Clingham** delivered the NEH Chair inaugural lec-

ture at Bucknell U. on "Johnson's Difference" and was awarded the Harold and Gladys Cook Award for travel in the footsteps of Boswell and Johnson this summer; he also edited two books in 1997: *The Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson* and *Questioning History: The Postmodern Turn to the Eighteenth Century* . . . **Barney Cochran**, Ph.D. in hand, now teaches history at Whitefield Academy in Georgia . . . **Marlies Danziger** joins the Editorial Committee of the Boswell Papers . . . **Deidre Dawson** has a sabbatical leave from Georgetown U. and will be visiting associate professor of French at Michigan State U. in 1998-99; she and husband David Wenkert are the proud parents of Emma, who weighed in at 7 lbs. 9 oz. on 6 May 1998 . . . **Ian Duncan**, now the Moore Professor of English at U. of Oregon, gave a lecture at Edinburgh U. in May . . . **John Dwyer** has returned to an administrative position at York U. after a stint at U. of Toronto . . . **Roger Fechner** hosted a meeting of the Michigan Scottish group on Burns Night in January . . . **Peter Fosl** has been promoted to associate professor of philosophy at Hollins College . . . **Howard Gaskill** has been appointed a reader in the German Dept. at Edinburgh U. . . . **Anita Gerrini**, now a member-at-large of ASECS, has just sent to press a book on the life of the 18th-century Scottish physician George Cheyne . . . **Ed Gray** has been appointed to an assistant professorship at Florida State U. . . . **Ronald Hamowy** has retired from his position at the U. of Alberta and is now professor emeritus, splitting his time between Alberta and Maryland . . . **Catherine Jones** is now junior lecturer in English literature at the National U. of Ireland, Galway . . . **Frank Kafker** has retired to Boston and is now professor emeritus of history at the U. of Cincinnati . . . in April **Alexis Keller** delivered a paper on Geneva and the Legacy of the Scottish Enlightenment at the Swiss history conference, U. of Basel . . . **Heimer Klemme** has taken a new position at the Otto von Guericke Universität Magdeburg . . . **Ned Landsman** has been promoted to professor of history at the State U. of New York, Stony Brook . . . **Leah Leneman** has received an eighteen-month grant from the ESRC to study marriage in 18th- and early 19th-century Scotland . . . **Helen Lillie** reports that the third novel in her 18th-century trilogy, tentatively titled *The Rocky Island*, will be set in New York City, though with plenty of Scottish material in it . . . **Mícheál Mac Craith** was a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Edinburgh, when he received word of his selection as professor of modern Irish and head of the School of Irish at the National U. of Ireland, Galway . . . **Frederick Mills** spent most of the 1996-97 academic year in Cambridge, MA, researching 18th-century British ecclesiastical policy . . . on 20 March **Terrence Moore** presented a paper on the intellectual history of 18th-century education at a workshop at the Institute for Humane Studies in Fairfax, VA, with commentary and discussion by J.G.A. Pocock, Richard Sher, Mary Catherine Moran, and Jerry Muller, among others . . .

**Mary Catherine Moran** has been awarded a two-year SSHRC fellowship for study in Edinburgh . . . **Pierre Morère** is now vice-president of Conseil Scientifique at U. Stendhal, Grenoble . . . **Jerry Muller**, now professor of history at Catholic U., has a popular anthology called *Conservatism* available in paperback from Princeton U. Press . . . **Andrew Noble** has received a £16,000 research grant from the Leverhulme Trust for work on the late poetry and politics of Robert Burns . . . **Anthony Parker** has been appointed to a lectureship in modern history at the U. of Dundee; in April he spoke at the conference of the Organization of American Historians in Indianapolis on Lowland and Highland Scots in early colonial Georgia . . . **David Pritchard** is pursuing plans for a comprehensive television series on Scottish influences on the development of America . . . **Clotilde Prunier** finished her Ph.D. at U. Stendhal, Grenoble, with a thesis on Catholics and Presbyterians in the Scottish Highlands . . . **Jane Rendall** is now co-director of the new interdisciplinary Centre for 18th-Century Studies at the U. of York . . . **Lisa Rosner** has a book forthcoming from U. of Pennsylvania Press: *A Doctor's Progress: The Scandalous Life of Alexander Lesassier 1787-1839* . . . **Tatsuya Sakamoto** was a visiting fellow in the Philosophy Dept. at Boston U. during the past academic year . . . **Silvia Sebastiani** has won a scholarship to pursue a doctorate in modern history at Turin U. . . . **Richard Sher** has received a Spencer Foundation fellowship to study the popular scientific and medical books of James Ferguson and William Buchan . . . **Judith Bailey Slagle** is now chair of humanities at Roane State College . . . **Mark Spencer** has spent the year as a fellow in the Scottish History Dept. at St. Andrews U. . . . **M. A. Stewart** has been appointed Research Professor in the History of Philosophy at the U. of Lancaster . . . **Daniel Szechi** spent a month earlier this year at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton U. . . . **Shoji Tanaka** has published a two-volume study in Japanese on *The Ethics of Adam Smith* (Tokyo, 1997) . . . **Udo Thiel** is now senior lecturer in philosophy at the Australian National University in Canberra . . . **Gordon Turnbull** has been appointed general editor of the Boswell Papers at Yale U. . . . **Howard Weinbrot** is a member-at-large of ASECS . . . **Christopher Whatley** has been appointed to a personal chair in modern history at the U. of Dundee . . . in February **Arthur Williamson** gave a paper in a conference on "Millenarianism among British Protestant Thinkers, 1600-1880" at the Clark Library in Los Angeles . . . **John Wright** is currently visiting professor of philosophy at Central Michigan U. . . . **Stefan Zabieglik** has published a 400-page work, *Wiek doskonalenia. Z filozofii szkockiego Oswiecenia (The Age of Improvement: The Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment)*, in *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Gdanskie - Filozofia III*, no. 538 (Gdansk, 1997).

## In Memoriam: John Strawhorn Remembered

Thomas Crawford, Aberdeen

With the death of **John Strawhorn** on 7 August 1997 after a debilitating illness, Scotland lost a famed and influential local historian whose forte was social and economic conditions and the everyday life of men and women of every social class.

Born in Darvel, near Kilmarnock, in May 1922, John Strawhorn was educated at Marr College, Troon, and Glasgow University, which awarded him a doctorate in 1951 for his work on the Ayrshire volume of the *Third Statistical Account of Scotland*. His teaching career took place entirely in Ayrshire—in Girvan, Newmilns, Kilmarnock, Cumnock, and finally in Ayr Academy, of which he was assistant rector for the sixteen years before his retirement in 1982. *The Herald's* obituary spoke of his "on the surface tyrannically ruled classes," but he was a popular teacher for all that. He was a talented cartoonist whose blackboard illustrations seasoned instruction with humor. One story told about him is of an apparent fit of temper during a demonstration lesson before a student observer, in the midst of which—still with an angry face—he winked at the student. A delightful example of his humor from near the end of his life was his translation of the following passage from the minutes of the education committee of the former Lothian Regional Council: "It is recognised that further information is to be made available, notably the potential assessment overload for students studying four or five Highers. It is as yet unclear how a criterion-referenced and upgraded system of internal assessment will be married with a graded system of largely external assessment which is at least partly norm-referenced. Modification and verification systems will require to be robust." John rendered it as: "We're a wee bit bothered when weans sitting a wheen o' Highers get marks frae their teachers which dinnae match hoo they dae in the written exams, and we're bugged if we ken hoo tae sort it out" (*Herald*, 23 Feb. 1996).

Residents of Mauchline since 1961, John and his wife Nan entered with enthusiasm into the life of the village, whether in the Art Club, for which he painted French and Swiss landscapes, or the Flower Show, or the Wine Club, or—inevitably—the Burns Club. And he played a leading role in many county organizations, having been chairman of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (AANHS), the Ayrshire Educational Institute of Scotland, the Ayrshire History Teachers Association, and the Ayr and District Civic Society. In 1960 he was honored with the Fellowship of the E.I.S.

Mauchline is of course second only to Ayr for its Burnsian associations, and it is therefore fitting that his best known publication should still be *Ayrshire at the Time of Burns*, which he brought out for the bicentennial of the poet's birth (AANHS, 1959). It is still valuable as a repository of facts and sources, particularly for its Gazetteer of Ayrshire and its commentary on the Armstrongs' eighteenth-century map of the county. Its sequel, *The Scotland of Robert Burns*, published for the bicentennial of Burns's death (Darvel: Alloway Publishing, 1995) writes its sources up into fourteen descriptive chapters in a style suitable for the general reader and the higher forms of schools. Other Strawhorn publications relating specifically to Burns are *Mauchline Memories of Robert Burns* (AANHS, 1985), *Grose's Antiquities of Ayrshire* (AANHS, 1991), and articles in *Ayrshire Collections*, AANHS (3) 1955 and (4) 1958; *Burns Chronicle*, 1961, 1980, 1981, 1985, 1991; *Scottish Literary Journal* (8) 1981; as well as "Ayrshire in the Enlightenment" in *A Sense of Place*, ed. Graham Cruickshank (Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage Unit, 1988) and "Everyday Life in Burns's Ayrshire" in *Burns Now*, ed. Kenneth Simpson (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic, 1994), pp. 13-39. Mention should also be made of his *Ayrshire: The Story of a County* (AANHS, 1975); *750 Years of a Scottish School: Ayr Academy, 1233-1983* (Ayr: Alloway Publishing, 1983); *Discovering Ayrshire* (1988); and his histories of *Irvine* (1985) and *Ayr* (1989).

The Boswell family's organization of the Auchinleck estate was for many years one of John's major concerns. In the late 1950s Dr. Nellie Pottle Hankins started work on an edition of James Boswell's correspondence with his overseers James Bruce and Andrew Gibb (more familiarly known as "The Boswell Estate Correspondence"), which led her to begin writing to John on Ayrshire matters at least as early as 1962. At quite an early date he was made a member of the Advisory Committee of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell, became co-editor with Mrs. Hankins of the Estate volume in 1988, and after her death in 1993 the person largely responsible for bringing it to a conclusion. It is a matter of deep regret that he did not live to see its joint publication by Edinburgh University Press and Yale University Press later this year, and it is to be hoped that the volume will receive the detailed and expert reception it deserves, not only in Ayrshire but among Scottish economic historians generally and among their North American colleagues also. A useful gloss on the Estate correspondence and a summary of Strawhorn's view of Boswell's handling of the Estate can be found in his essay "Master of Ulubrae: Boswell as Enlightened Laird" in *Boswell: Citizen of the World, Man of Letters*, ed. Irma S. Lustig (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), pp. 117-34.

## Nature's Kindly Plan: A New Look at James Beattie and His Poetry

Roger Robinson, University of Aberdeen.

There are three stock images of James Beattie (1735-1803): the combative but in the end ineffectual opponent of David Hume; the pre-Romantic poet who in *The Minstrel* faintly foreshadowed Wordsworth's *Prelude*; and the rather prim Christian moralist, portrayed in the loyal biographies written by his friend Sir William Forbes soon after his death (*An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, LL.D.*, 2 vols., 1806) and a hundred years later by Beattie's great-grand-niece Margaret Forbes (*Beattie and His Friends*, 1904). Those interested in Beattie owe a considerable debt to these biographers, which extends beyond the undoubted value of their printed works. For it is they who are largely responsible for the survival of the Beattie archive, with its wealth of manuscript letters. Sir William Forbes collected Beattie's letters from his surviving friends, and these were the main basis of his biography, finished just before Sir William died. Some of the letters remained in an attic of his son's house at Fettercairn until they were discovered in 1930: they are now in the Fettercairn Collection in the National Library of Scotland. Most of the remainder went to Beattie's niece in Aberdeen. They had a narrow escape in 1871, since Margaret Forbes and her cousins had inherited them from an aunt, with instructions that they should be destroyed. The manuscripts of Beattie's prose works were burned, but Margaret Forbes took legal advice and decided the letters could be kept. She used them to write her biography, and her cousins later gave them to Aberdeen University Library.

The two Forbes biographies suppressed some of the material in the letters. They aimed to portray Beattie as heroically virtuous in the face of illness, family misfortune, and calumny by Hume's supporters; a reaction to this one-sided view has been to brand him as strait-laced, priggish, and a bit of a snob, and to disparage both his poetry and his prose.

My interest in Beattie began with the poetry, in particular with a realization of how much of Wordsworth's *Excursion* had echoes of *The Minstrel*. The pursuit of the poetry led to a broader search for the man as revealed in his letters and prose writings, and to a view of him which did not contradict that of the Forbes biographies, but which made him more real, more three-dimensional, and more interesting. Realizing that there was no critical or complete edition of Beattie's poetry, I aimed in my doctoral thesis to produce one, establishing the dates of composition of the poems, arranging them chronologically, and discovering what information there was on their historical, contextual, and biographical background. What follows is a summary of the main features of my thesis, "The Poetry of James Beattie: A Critical Edition" (Aberdeen University, 1997), and some observations about their significance for understanding Beattie.

**The Expanded and Rearranged Corpus of Poems.** The Aldine edition of 1831, which has been regarded as the standard edition of Beattie's poetry, contains *The Minstrel* and thirty-six other poems. This has been expanded in my thesis to eighty-four poems besides *The Minstrel*. Thirteen of the previously uncollected poems have appeared under Beattie's name in other publications, and there are five whose authorship is doubtful. Twenty-nine poems, however, appear in the thesis for the first time as Beattie's compositions; most are from previously unpublished manuscripts, but some are poems published anonymously in Beattie's lifetime in periodicals or anthologies, and now shown to be his.

It has been possible to establish the date or period of composition of nearly all the poems, and to arrange them in chronological order of composition, showing Beattie's poetic development. His most prolific period was between 1755 and 1760, between the ages of nineteen and twenty-four, when he was schoolmaster in the village of Fordoun and then in Aberdeen. Over a third of the poetry was written then, including the beautiful translations of all Virgil's Eclogues. Some of the original poems of this period, such as the Pindaric odes to Peace and to Hope, have ornate imagery and diction, but there are some simple and appealing shorter pieces. In a second fruitful period, from 1764 to 1766, Beattie produced three longer poems indicating new poetic directions. *The Judgment of Paris* is the most didactic of all the poems, arguing (probably after Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Thomas Nettleton) that virtue is the only true source of happiness. It also contains, however, verse descriptions of nature almost as attractive as those in *The Minstrel*. Also from this period are the bitterly satirical *Verses Occasioned by the Death of the Revd Mr Charles Churchill*, and the gentle philosophical "Epistle to the Reverend Mr Thomas Blacklock." During this period Beattie had a seminal meeting with Thomas Gray, the modern poet whom he admired most.

The third epoch of composition, in the spring of 1768, was the shortest and most remarkable: as explained below, he then wrote more than half *The Minstrel*, including all the most admired and influential semi-autobiographical passages about the growth of a poet's imagination in response to nature. After 1768, poetry came

much less easily to him, but he continued to write poems, many of them light-hearted ones to amuse his friends, until 1788.

**The Origins of *The Minstrel*.** *The Minstrel* was the poem through which Beattie exercised a profound influence on the next three generations of poets, most importantly on Wordsworth. This influence has been long recognized, and has been extensively documented by Everard King (see, for example, *James Beattie's "The Minstrel" and the Origins of Romantic Autobiography*, 1992). *The Minstrel* remains the outstanding poem in the expanded and rearranged corpus, but the strange chronology of its composition is made clear by the letters, and suggests a new hypothesis about its origins. Beattie originally intended a comical satirical poem in Spenserian stanza, probably modeled on Shenstone's *Schoolmistress*. A light-hearted poem in 1762 shows him experimenting with the comic possibilities of this form. He began *The Minstrel* in this spirit in 1766, but then set it aside for nearly two years, perhaps because of his preoccupation with the *Essay on Truth*. Between mid-April and the end of June 1768, now aged 32, he had an epiphany of poetic inspiration. He was seized with the idea of writing his own poetic autobiography, in the guise of the childhood of Edwin, the shepherd boy brought up in solitary mountainous country, his imagination "wild and romantick." During this period of less than three months, he wrote most of the first book of *The Minstrel*, and began the second. The accounts of Edwin's experiences with nature, and his response to them, were all written then, for example:

And oft he traced the uplands, to survey,  
When o'er the sky advanced the kindling dawn,  
The crimson cloud, blue main, and mountain grey,  
And lake, dim-gleaming on the smoky lawn;  
Far to the west the long long vale withdrawn,  
Where twilight loves to linger for a while;  
And now he faintly kens the bounding fawn,  
And villager abroad at early toil. —  
But, lo! the sun appears! and heaven, earth, ocean, smile.

Also at the end of June, he wrote the splendid and vigorous Scots dialect lines "To Mr Alexander Ross at Lochlee," including the wonderful evocation of his native northeast Scotland:

O bonny are our greensward hows,  
Where through the birks the burny rows,  
And the bee bums, and the ox lows,  
    And saft winds rusle,  
And shepherd-lads, on sunny knows,  
    Blaw the blythe fusle.

All that can be done to explain this extraordinary burst of poetic inspiration is to look at what was happening simultaneously in Beattie's life. In February 1768 he transcribed all Thomas Gray's poems for the elegant quarto edition which the printers Robert and Andrew Foulis of Glasgow were producing, with Beattie's help and encouragement. At this time, therefore, he would have written out, among other poems, the "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" and the nostalgic view of childhood in "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College," both of which have echoes in *The Minstrel*. Secondly, the Beatties' first child, James Hay Beattie, was conceived in February, and by May Beattie would have known he was to become a father. Thirdly, he was still deeply involved in writing the *Essay on Truth*. His letters suggest that the romantic memories in *The Minstrel* were a relaxation and escape from the rigors of writing about metaphysics, and the few angry passages in the first book of the poem are the attacks on "sceptical philosophy." The second book of *The Minstrel* was begun in the period of poetic enthusiasm, but its completion was much more protracted, and fragmented over a period of more than five years.

**The New Poems.** Of the twenty-nine poems, totalling 746 lines, that now appear for the first time as Beattie's compositions, twenty-two exist in manuscript only. Seven were published anonymously or pseudonymously in Beattie's lifetime, and are now newly attributed to him on the basis of firm evidence from the letters.

The most interesting of the new poems, and one of several which overturn the prim and priggish image of Beattie, is "An Eclogue in the Manner of Mr Gay": an earthy, mildly bawdy, piece of pastoral verse, published anonymously in the second volume of Alexander Donaldson's *A Collection of Original Poems by Scotch Gentlemen* (Edinburgh, 1762). A young country lad and his girl sit by the fireside, exchanging tales of village life, and accusing each other of unfaithfulness, with a good deal of sexual innuendo. Their debate ends when

    a mouse from cat-watch'd hole elop'd;  
As cross the floor he wander'd on his way,  
'Midst Martha's flaunting garments chanc'd to stray.  
Loud shriek'd the nymph; nor had her fears been vain,  
If unknown courage had not fir'd the swain.  
Headlong, his darling to defend, he flew,  
(Mice yet unborn that hunting-match may rue),



And chas'd, with fearless hand, the felon round,  
 Through every maze of the forbidden ground;  
 Till at the last the trembling foe he squeez'd,  
 And instant death the squeaking recreant seiz'd.  
 Martha with joy the dangling carcase eyes;  
 Then puss, with one consent, obtains the prize.  
 Forgetful thus of merit's dangerous toil,  
 Some lazy minion oft enjoys the spoil.

The Eclogue was written close to the time that Beattie had translated Virgil's Eclogues. He had spent the whole of his life up to this time in a rural community. He may have felt that he would like to turn from the Arcadian world of Virgil and Theocritus to a more realistic style of British pastoral. His model was Gay's burlesque of Virgil in "The Shepherd's Week," and like Gay's work, Beattie's mock eclogue can be read either as straightforwardly humorous or as a piece of social observation. Beattie's poems contain a complex web of echo and allusion; though Virgil and Gay are the main referents here, "every maze of the forbidden ground" echoes James Thomson's tribute to Spenser in *The Seasons*: "all the mazes of enchanted ground" ("Summer," line 1575). The "Eclogue" is not the only example of Beattie indulging in mild bawdy: he enjoyed translating into Latin the unexpurgated version of the song "Down the Burn Davie," which George Thomson described as "debased by gross indecency." There is a pleasing irony in the idea of the supposedly prudish Beattie translating the stanza which Thomson later persuaded Burns to rewrite in a less indelicate form.

A "Parody" written in 1764 shows that Beattie was an early friend of the ecclesiastical maverick Charles Nisbet, then minister at Montrose. It pokes gentle fun at Nisbet's position regarding the contending parties in the Church of Scotland, and also mentions John Witherspoon. A much later correspondence with Nisbet refers to Beattie's links with three significant figures in the young American Republic, and signers of the Declaration of Independence. Benjamin Rush, who was instrumental in persuading Witherspoon to go to the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1768, and similarly persuading Nisbet to come to Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, in 1785, secured Beattie's election to the American Philosophical Society in 1786. Benjamin Franklin was in the chair at this meeting. In 1788 Beattie sent warm greetings through Nisbet to Rush, to "our Reverend friend Dr Witherspoon," and to Benjamin Franklin, whom Beattie had met at dinner in Islington in 1771. Though Beattie disclaimed any interest in politics, a political epigram published in the *London Chronicle* in 1769 is identified as his. It concerns the recent election to Parliament in the "Wilkes and Liberty" interest of John Wilkes's lawyer, John Glynn. Beginning

We hear that G—n will soon be reckon'd  
 Of our *Great Commoners* the second,

it goes on to compare Glynn with Pitt, and concludes that the only thing they have in common is a propensity to gout.

Beattie was an enthusiastic and knowledgeable musician, who both played and composed. A number of his poems were written as songs to fit particular tunes, and the music for these has been identified. He assisted in *The Scots Musical Museum* and in George Thomson's song collection, and "Could Aught of Song Declare my Pains" and a stanza of "There's Nae Luck about the House" are now firmly identified as Beattie's.

"To Mr Alexander Ross at Lochlee" has been regarded as Beattie's only poem in Scots dialect, but to this are now added the stanza of "There's Nae Luck" and a new poem probably written jointly with Sir Robert Murray Keith.

A group of previously unpublished poems might be subtitled "Our Friends in the Northeast." They are attractive, gentle, humorous pieces written in the latter part of Beattie's life to or about his network of friends in north-east Scotland. Beattie has been accused of abandoning his early acquaintances in favor of titled and well-connected people, and the letters in Sir William Forbes's *Life* suggest some truth in the allegation. It is clear, however, from these poems, and from the totality of the letters, that his closest and most valued friends remained those from the Northeast—Robert Arbuthnot, Sir William Forbes, and a number of other less well-known names.

**Beattie and Poetic Revision.** Beattie usually revised each poem before publication or republication, often very substantially: an average of about forty percent of the lines of a poem underwent substantive revision between the first and the final published versions. Many poems therefore exist in several different versions. In order to display the effects of the revisions, but also to allow each version to be read as a text in its own right, many of the poems are presented in the thesis as parallel texts. Future critical consideration of the poems, and particularly of Beattie's intentions in them, will need to take account of their historical development, and of the existence of radically different versions of many of them. Probably the best known of the "minor" poems is "Retirement." It was originally written in 1759, in a version of forty-eight lines, which was published in the *Edinburgh Magazine*. For *Poems on Several Subjects* (1766), Beattie revised twenty-one of these lines and added thirty-two new ones, which concern memory, and emotion recollected in tranquillity. For *Poems on Several Occasions* (1776), further revisions were made in twenty-nine lines, to produce the well-known version, including one of Beattie's most

memorable stanzas outside *The Minstrel*: "Your shades your silence now be mine." For his final corrected edition of his poems in 1784, he attached to "Retirement" the inaccurate and misleading date "1758." Previous discussions of the poem and its place in Beattie's poetic development have been based on the final version alone, and have attributed to this early date romantic elements which in fact belong to 1766 or 1776.

A few of the poems, like "Retirement," were revised because of a changed intention concerning their general meaning. Such revisions include the elimination of two stanzas in the early version of *The Minstrel*, which had reflected its original comical-satirical intent, and most notably the addition of two stanzas to the original version of "The Hermit," which change it from a lament for human mortality to a hymn to immortality. As Beattie observed in a letter of 22 May 1777 (Aberdeen University Library, MS 30/1/131), the change was made to please his friends, who wanted the hermit made a Christian: in a letter to Beattie of 15 November 1773 (MS 30/2/162), William Mason had protested that the original version "might have been written by David Hume." Beattie was careful to point out, though, that it was the Hermit's views with regard to a future state which had changed, not his own, which had never been in doubt. Most of Beattie's revisions, however, did not change the general meaning or purpose of the poem, but were "corrections," aimed at poetic refinement, and later, after about 1765, at simplicity of poetic diction. They were driven by two principal motives. The first was the idea of the poet as a craftsman, refining and perfecting a poem in parts, line-by-line, attempting to reach an ideal whole. His essay "On Poetry and Music as they Affect the Mind" discusses in great detail the craft of poetry. The second motive was psychologically more complex, and relates to Beattie's insecurity and anxiety, also reflected in the way he often published his poems anonymously or pseudonymously, and frequently rejected those he had acknowledged. His final collection, containing "all the verses of which I am willing to be considered as the author," contained *The Minstrel* and only eight other poems: twelve percent of the poems, and thirty-one percent of the lines now recognized as his. Part of his poetic anxiety may have come from measuring himself against "correct" poetic models, and feeling inadequate in comparison. Part, however, was a more general cultural insecurity, relating to his background in northeast Scotland, and shown in his repeated (and, as the quality of his own prose shows, wholly unjustified) statements that those brought up in Scotland could never write English with true grace and ease.

**A New View of Beattie.** New light on Beattie's character has come both from the new poems and from the background research based mainly on the letter collections. These contain, in round figures, about 850 letters from Beattie, 1050 to Beattie, and over 250 between third parties containing information about Beattie. Sir William Forbes's biography has been regarded as the standard source of Beattie's own letters, but it contains only 193 (23%) of them, and Forbes often made considerable deletions from those he published. Rough estimates suggest that the whole corpus of Beattie's own letters comprises 675,000 words, of which eighteen percent appear in Forbes. For my thesis, I transcribed in an appendix all the parts of the letters directly relevant to the poems: about 78,000 words (12% of the total) from 183 letters. Most of this material was not published by Sir William (or Margaret) Forbes. Among eighteenth-century poets, Beattie's previously unpublished correspondence is exceptionally rich in background information on the poetry. Yet most of Beattie's letters, in his beautifully legible hand, remain unpublished in any of these sources, and they contain much of interest about Beattie, and about the eighteenth century generally.

There is a good deal about Beattie's dealings with the book trade, and the finances of his publications. He thought the Edinburgh bookseller Alexander Kincaid dilatory and tight-fisted over the publication of the first book of *The Minstrel* in 1771, and his letters contain detailed calculations of what he believed were the costs of publication and the expected profits. He had a much warmer relationship with Kincaid's successor, William Creech, and was generally on good terms with Edward and Charles Dilly, his London publishers. However, he was angry with Charles Dilly in 1781 for not offering him more than £100 for *Dissertations Moral and Critical*, and later sold it to William Strahan for £200. His lifetime earnings from his writings amounted to a little over £1100, of which not more than £200 came from the poetry. His earnings as professor of moral philosophy at Marischal College, Aberdeen, were about £200 per annum, and his royal pension, awarded in 1773, £183 per annum after deductions. His literary earnings were a significant, though not a very great, source of income, but he intensely disliked feeling that he was not being justly rewarded by the booksellers.

Beattie was a skillful and scheming academic politician. Readers of Roger L. Emerson's *Professors, Patronage and Politics: The Aberdeen Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (1992) may recall a mention of Beattie's successful maneuvers in 1788 to have his nephew James appointed to the chair of civil and natural history at Marischal College. It was a remarkable scheme, which involved Sir William Forbes providing a loan of £350 to buy for the college a collection of specimens which it wanted, and whose purchase had somehow become entangled with the appointment of the new professor. Nephew James was to repay the loan in installments from his professorial salary. But, Beattie piously observed, it must not appear that the college was "putting its offices for sale"! The previous year, Beattie had secured the appointment of his own gifted son, James Hay Beattie, to be his assistant and successor in the chair of moral philosophy at Marischal. The poems reveal that here, too, Beattie had used some probably unnecessary subterfuge. James Hay Beattie was aged just nineteen at the time, and Beattie needed to persuade his colleagues and other interested parties that the young James was proficient in classical

learning, as he clearly was. Beattie printed and circulated a Latin translation of Pope's "Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady," which purported to be by James Hay. This translation had, however, been made by Beattie himself five years previously: the most that James Hay can have contributed was some revision of the original version. These two incidents may reflect more on the manner in which academic appointments were made in the eighteenth century than on Beattie's personal integrity.

Illness is a major topic of many of the letters: Beattie's own constant illnesses, the illnesses and deaths of his two sons, and the mental illnesses of Mrs. Beattie and her two brothers (see my article in *British Journal for 18th-Century Studies* 19 [1996]:183-97). There is material here for the medical historian, and even though the wealth of detail in the letters does not make for ready clinical diagnoses, there is no doubt of the dominating influence of illness in Beattie's life. He certainly suffered from long-standing depression, but he had a strong family history of cardiovascular disease, and had a series of strokes at the end. Mrs. Beattie's mental illness, and Beattie's attitude to it, are even more problematic. Her paranoid delusions included an intense jealousy of Beattie's relationship with the Duchess of Gordon. Her father believed her suspicions were unfounded, but that Beattie's behavior at Gordon Castle had made them understandable. Some previously unknown letters from George and Margaret Glennie, who looked after Beattie at the end of his life, give a sad and moving picture of his final years. He greatly feared that what he regarded as his wife's family madness would affect his own beloved boys. The night that Montagu, the younger and surviving son, fell ill in 1796, Beattie consulted his almanac and discovered to his horror that the moon was in the same phase as it had been when Mrs. Beattie's mental disorder first appeared. Montagu died a few days later.

These discoveries do not totally change the image of Beattie presented by Sir William and Margaret Forbes, but they make him seem more rounded, more fallible, and more believable. The dominant impression left by a reading of his poetry, prose writings (among which the aggressive *Essay on Truth* is out of character, and has the least merit), letters, and lectures is of the integrity of his character and ideas. They add up to a powerful unity of thought and belief. The "Epistle to the Reverend Mr Thomas Blacklock" refers to "Nature's kindly plan," and this phrase sums up much of Beattie's philosophy. His religion was based on the Argument from Design, and on Christian revelation. He believed that Nature had been designed to provide a benign environment for humankind, and that human nature was fundamentally good—he believed much more in original virtue than in original sin. "Nature" is referred to frequently in his poems and prose: it includes external nature, as celebrated in *The Minstrel*, and the natural moral order, to which conscience is the guide. The prime duty owed by humans to one another is that of universal benevolence. For Beattie, this included sexual and racial equality (his opposition to the slave trade dated back to the early 1760s), and a remarkable concern for the rights of children. In old age, his political views were conservative to the point of being reactionary (he was not alone in this in the tense 1790s in Britain), but his views on society and human relations always remained liberal and humane.

These concerns are pervasive in Beattie's poems, which the new edition presented in my thesis puts in context. Previous editions have placed *The Minstrel* first, followed by the small and idiosyncratic collection of minor poems admitted by Beattie after 1778, followed by some "Pieces Rejected by the Author from the Later Editions of his Poems"; an arrangement which gives the last group a remaindered look. Doubling the number of poems known to be by Beattie, showing the extent of his revisions, presenting all the versions of the poems, and dating and ordering them chronologically, gives the corpus a fresh appearance. One of the less well-known stanzas of *The Minstrel* plucks a romantic image from Johannes Scheffer's seventeenth-century *History of Lapland* and uses it as a simile for the bursting out of Edwin's poetic genius:

Thus on the chill Lapponian's dreary land,  
For many a long month lost in snow profound—  
From silent mountains, straight, with startling sound,  
Torrents are hurl'd; green hills emerge; and lo,  
The trees with foliage, cliffs with flowers are crown'd.

In the spring of 1768 something remarkable like the Lapland Spring happened in Beattie's poetic imagination, and one burst of poetic creativity produced his finest poetry. This does not mean, however, that everything before came from "the chill Lapponian's dreary land." The new view of Beattie may encourage more attention to his early poems, which are now restored to their proper place in the chronological sequence. They deserve more regard than they have been given, in particular the translations and short poems from *Original Poems and Translations* (1760-61). The new look reveals Beattie as a more varied poet than has previously been recognized.

*Note: After a distinguished medical career as Professor of Paediatrics at Guy's Hospital in London, Roger Robinson enrolled in the Ph.D. program in English literature at the University of Aberdeen in order to pursue an interest in James Beattie's poetry. In addition to his Aberdeen University thesis, now being revised for publication, he has edited and introduced a ten-volume edition of Beattie's Works, as well as a separate edition of Sir William Forbes's Life of Beattie, both recently published by Thoemmes Press of Bristol. He is currently Honorary Fellow in the English Department at the University of Aberdeen. Dr. Robinson would welcome communications on Beattie sent to 60 Madeley Road, Ealing, London W5 2LU, U.K., or rogerrobinson@compuserve.com.*

## Sir Henry Raeburn: Portraitist to Scotland's Golden Age

### A Review of the Raeburn Exhibit and Its Catalogue

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Late last summer, the Royal Scottish Academy on Princes Street proudly proclaimed the letters R-A-E- B-U-R-N in red vertical banners hanging between the eight Doric columns on its portico. The Edinburgh Festival was celebrating the artistic heritage of Scotland by mounting a stunning exhibition of sixty-four portraits by Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823); the exhibition marked the first major retrospective of his work since 1956, the bicentennial of his birth. Organized by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and curated by Duncan Thomson, keeper of the Queen Street institution, the exhibition's venue was the Royal Scottish Academy from 1 August to 5 October 1997, when it moved to the National Portrait Gallery in London from 24 October until 1 February 1998. The splendid paintings, which varied in size from Raeburn's standard three or four feet in height to the life-size full-length portraits of over eight feet, were hung in awesome profusion. The gallery visitor experienced the feeling of attending a gathering of old friends while anticipating meeting new acquaintances—persons of propriety and character with engaging qualities of charm, imperviousness, and austerity.

Familiar favorites were there: "The Skating Minister" (The Reverend Robert Walker Skating on Duddingston Loch), which serves as the logo for the National Gallery of Scotland; the proud figures of MacDonnell of Glengarry and Sir John Sinclair; and the sentimental "Boy and Rabbit." The museum gift shop had a brisk business selling cards, posters, stationery, coasters, and even refrigerator magnets of assorted Raeburn icons. The tender double portrait of Sir John Clerk and Lady Clerk of Penicuik, which Duncan Thomson calls Raeburn's masterpiece, also served as the signature portrait for the exhibition's large posters. The four parts of the exhibition included Raeburn's Early Life, Early Works (featuring the newly discovered Patrick Moir—found in Western Australia), Paintings of the 1790s (including the Clerks of Penicuik), and Late Works. As visitors progressed through the gallery, they also progressed through Raeburn's career, as well as through the Golden Age of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Due largely to the research of David Mackie, Raeburn's total output of portraits is now estimated to be around one thousand. The sixty-four shown in the Royal Scottish Academy were representative of Raeburn's various poses, painting techniques, and assorted canvas sizes. The aggregate can be categorized into three main divisions: the portraits of the leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, such as James Hutton and William Robertson; those of the colorful Highland chieftains; and the portraits of those whom Nicholas Phillipson describes as the "middling ranks" of Scottish society—the minor nobility, the gentry, and the professional classes.

The most spectacular are the life-size, full-length portrayals of the Highland chieftains. Sir John Sinclair, whose *Statistical Account of Scotland* also earned him a place with the scholars of the Enlightenment, is posed in his self-designed trews in the uniform of the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles. That he is in Scotland is emphasized by the large prickly thistle plant at his feet in the lower right-hand corner. Not wearing a tartan, but in a somewhat similar stance, is Dr. Nathaniel Spens, a member of the Royal Company of Archers, about to shoot an arrow. It is one of Raeburn's most complex compositions: the converging lines of Spens's posture, the angle of his arm and the bow, the diagonally leaning tree trunk, and the spiky thistle in the corner result in a dramatic tension. The full-length portrait of Francis MacNab ("The Mac Nab") prompted Sir Thomas Laurence to say, "[Raeburn's] portrait of the Highlander MacNab, is the best representation of a human being that I ever saw. Mr. Raeburn's style is freedom itself" (*Raeburn*, p. 150). The crusty old gentleman seems to represent a bygone era based on an obsolete feudal authority. "The Mac Nab" is now owned by Dewar's Distillery. The most reproduced portrait of a Highland chief is that of Colonel Alastair Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry. His proud, almost defiant, stance invokes, according to his friend Walter Scott, "feelings of Clanship and Chieftainship" (p. 152).

The most numerous of Raeburn's portraits, certainly accounting for the largest contribution to his income, were the hundreds of portraits of the "middling ranks"; these include portraits of distinguished gentlemen, and sensitive portraits of women—especially the lovely Isabella Macleod (Mrs. James Gregory) and the sensual Mrs. Scott Moncrieff. Children are often painted in groups in various stages of play; the most appealing is the popular "Boy and Rabbit" (Raeburn's own step-grandson), which is newly fresh and vibrant when observed first-hand.

The 216-page catalogue—*Raeburn: The Art of Sir Henry Raeburn, 1756-1823*, edited by Duncan Thomson (Edinburgh, 1997)—is an essential accompaniment to understanding Raeburn's stature in eighteenth-century Scotland. Thomson has written a scholarly, lucid, and insightful introduction to Raeburn's art and life; he has also written the very helpful entries for each of the sixty-four portraits, which include a catalogue description, history, and critique of each painting. Thomson narrates the highlights of the career of this man who described himself as "Portrait Painter in Edinburgh"; unlike other Scottish painters, Raeburn resisted the lure of seeking a career, and fortune, in London. Thomson also examines Raeburn's painting style and technique. Raeburn heeded James Byres, the British antiquarian in Rome, who advised "never to copy any object from memory, but, from the principal figure to the minutest accessory, to have it placed before him" (p. 18). Portraits by Raeburn are immediately recognizable by the rich, dark colors, the "square touch" (brushed with a broad stroke), and the abstract backgrounds where landscape is painted in an almost impressionistic manner.

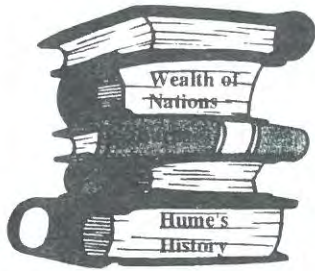
In his essay on "Manners, Morals and Character: Henry Raeburn and the Scottish Enlightenment," Nicholas Phillipson states that "Henry Raeburn is the most 'Scottish' of painters" (p. 29). It is Phillipson who demonstrates Duncan Macmillan's assertion about the relationship between Raeburn's paintings and the theories of perception of the Scottish philosophers of his time. Edinburgh, the "Athens of Britain," was the city of the eighteenth-century philosophers, the site of a prestigious university, and the home of the influential clubs and societies so popular at that time. Since Scotland no longer had a royal court to set standards of taste and manners, it was left to the minor nobility and gentry—the "middling ranks" of Scottish society—to dominate the political, social, and cultural life of Edinburgh. The "middling ranks" were composed of the landed, literary, professional, and mercantile classes in Scotland; in addition, the Edinburgh elite also functioned through its many clubs and societies, through a university noted for its school of moral philosophy (with luminaries like Adam Ferguson and Dugald Stewart), and through popular periodicals like the *Mirror* and the *Lounger*, which dispensed a literary form of moral journalism. Phillipson also cites Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* for promoting a sense of "propriety—that is, common values of class and culture which centred on the moral qualities found in Raeburn's portraits: character (expressed in the eyes), self-command (the set of the face), and propriety (treatment of dress and pose)." According to Phillipson, "the moral structure of the portrait is to be found in the interplay of these three elements" (p. 35). The stoic virtues of self-command and prudence, and the Epicurean expressionism Raeburn revealed in his sitters, resulted in portraits of "people with strong, individual characters and talents who have cheerfully submitted to the sophisticated and demanding stoic disciplines that the Edinburgh moralists and the middling ranks extolled and associated with the education of a cultured patriot elite" (p. 37).

John Dick, keeper of conservation at the National Galleries of Scotland, describes the processes of X-radiography, low-power microscopy, and paint-sampling used to delve more deeply into "Raeburn's Methods and Materials." Since the most recent biography of Raeburn is dated 1925, David Mackie's section on "Documentation," which carries a Raeburn chronology from 1743 to 1824, is a welcome contribution to Raeburn scholarship. Mackie's list of events and sources is based upon his 1994 Ph.D. thesis.

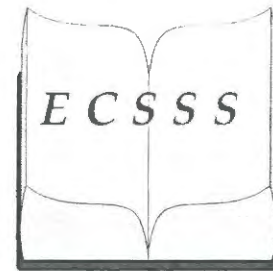
The Raeburn exhibition was spectacular and exhilarating, and the exhaustive catalogue is an essential guide to the artistic, cultural, and intellectual life of eighteenth-century Scotland. And, as Duncan Thomson concludes: "Although Sir Henry Raeburn, 'Portrait Painter in Edinburgh', as he described himself as early as 1784, will always be associated with a particular society at a particular time—Scotland in the later years of the Enlightenment—his art transcends that limitation and still excites through the sheer freshness of its response to the endless variety of the visible world. The light that he cast on his own place and time elicits a recognition that knows no barriers and has a continuing validity" (p. 7).

### **Hume Monument Unveiled in Edinburgh**

On 30 November 1997 the David Hume Monument was unveiled in the High Street, Edinburgh, on the northeast corner of the Royal Mile and Bank Street. Designed and sculpted by Alexander Stoddart, the monument depicts a seated man (looking nothing like Hume in features or form) in classical garb, holding a kind of book. The unveiling was hosted by Professor Sir Stewart Sutherland, the principal and vice chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, and was sponsored by the Saltire Society, whose president, Paul Scott, is a member of ECSSS.



# BOOKS in REVIEW



Christopher J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xii + 228.

Just over fifty years ago Gladys Bryson published *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, which remains one of the most important and influential books on the flowering of the human sciences in the Scottish Enlightenment. Given the substantial body of work that has accumulated on the themes and individuals covered by Bryson since *Man and Society* first appeared in 1945, a reassessment of the Scottish contribution to the "science of man" during the eighteenth century has been long overdue. The growth of academia in the post-war era gave birth to a bustle of scholarly activity of which Defoe would have been proud, and from which we continue to profit. Our understanding of the broader Atlantic world of the Scottish Enlightenment has been enriched by the grand syntheses of historians such as Peter Gay and Franco Venturi, while our knowledge of the Scots themselves has been transformed thanks to the seminal writings of Duncan Forbes and Ronald Meek, among others. The rise of feminism has also reconfigured our view of the construction of the science of "man" in the Enlightenment, and has raised a host of new questions about the place of women in the *siècle des lumières*. Moreover, we now benefit from the industry of the many editors who have produced reliable annotated editions of some of the major texts of the Scottish Enlightenment, as well as those who have been busy in the archives ferreting out the hitherto unknown manuscripts and pamphlets which have sometimes prompted a remapping of the intellectual landscape of eighteenth-century Scotland. At both the empirical and theoretical levels, then, a good deal has changed since 1945, and in his *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* Christopher Berry endeavors to update Bryson's story of the Scots' conceptualization of the transformation of human nature and society produced by the transition from rudeness to refinement.

Readers of *Man and Society* will immediately recognize that they are traversing largely familiar terrain in *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*. Like Bryson, Berry provides an overview of the eighteenth-century Scottish context and covers such major topics as the Scots' conception of human nature, their views on the application of "scientific" methods to the study of society, their reflections on social institutions like the family, and their fascination with the dynamics of human history. But although Berry inevitably discusses many of the same issues as Bryson, his analysis of the material differs in at least three significant respects. First, whereas Bryson said comparatively little about the importance of stadial history to the members of the Scottish "school," Berry builds on the tradition of scholarship initiated by Roy Pascal and Ronald Meek, and highlights the pivotal role played by the four-stages theory in the writings of the Scots. This change in focus serves Berry well, for it enables him to exhibit more successfully than Bryson the overall coherence of the Scots' theorizing on a disparate range of topics, and to draw firmer connections than Bryson was able to do between their reconstruction of the progress of society and their ambivalent responses to the political and moral consequences of commerce.

Second, Berry's emphasis on the centrality of stadial history leads him to include different *dramatis personae* in his story. For Bryson, the leading lights of the Scottish "school" of moral philosophy were Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Lords Kames and Monboddo, with Hutcheson serving as the intellectual godfather of the group. For Berry, on the other hand, Kames, Hume, Ferguson, Smith, William Robertson, John Millar, James Dunbar, and Gilbert Stuart are the most important theorists, while Reid, Stewart, and Monboddo are assigned more minor parts. Hutcheson has a cameo as the patriarch of Scottish moral theory, and lesser figures like James Beattie make brief appearances. Berry's selection of his core members marks a welcome break with the shibboleths of the historiographical tradition derived from Dugald Stewart which informed Bryson's delineation of the Scottish "school," and Berry's recognition of the contributions of Dunbar, Stuart, Millar, and Robertson rightly registers the reassessment of their work which has taken place in recent decades. There is, however, some vagueness in his account of the social and intellectual relations between the different constituents of his group, and he might have made more of the tension between Hume's naturalistic picture of social development and the various forms of providentialism adopted by the majority of

Hume's contemporaries. We know that Smith's apparently secular vision of history was also deeply disturbing to men like James Wodrow and William Leechman, for example, and such divisions should have been brought into sharper relief.

Third, in one crucial respect the scope of Berry's treatment is more limited than Bryson's. Reflecting the broad view of the Enlightenment presented by leading scholars of the inter-war period such as Arthur Lovejoy, Bryson discussed the issue of "man's place in nature," and set Scottish depictions of human nature in the context of the major developments in eighteenth-century science. Tracing the connections between the ideas of the Scots and the speculations of naturalists like Buffon, Linnaeus, and Maupertuis, Bryson's analysis opened up a highly suggestive avenue of inquiry, which has subsequently been traversed by, *inter alia*, Robert Wokler and myself. For reasons that are unclear, Berry avoids this particular route. Apart from some brief comments on Buffon and the physiological background to the work of John Gregory in the notes, he concentrates on the Scottish moralists' adaptation of the methods espoused by Bacon and Newton, and chooses to ignore the ways in which natural history and the life sciences provided the Scottish social theorists with a repertoire of concepts, a number of explanatory problems, and a good deal of empirical information.

Berry's decision to "exclude scientific topics" (p. viii) from his text is regrettable, for it affects his interpretation of key terms in the lexicon of the Scots like "conjectural" and "natural" history. I have argued elsewhere that Dugald Stewart's account of "theoretical or conjectural history" in his life of Adam Smith should not be used as an unproblematic guide to the style of history cultivated by the Scottish literati in the eighteenth century, but Berry ignores such caveats and uses Stewart to define what is distinctive about the histories of society produced by the Scots. In doing so, I think he distorts the methods and aspirations of figures like Kames and Monboddo, and it seems to me that Edmund Burke's well-known letter to William Robertson of 9 June 1777 on "the Great Map of Mankind" serves as a useful reminder that to some eighteenth-century readers the writing of stadial history was not an inherently conjectural or a largely speculative enterprise, as Stewart later claimed. By accepting Stewart at face value, Berry distances stadial history from the science of natural history, and it is not clear that this is entirely justifiable. Furthermore, I would suggest that when the Scots used the term "natural history" they meant a number of things, ranging from the genre of rational reconstruction found in Hume's *Natural History of Religion* to the paradigmatic works of Buffon and Linnaeus. Again, Berry privileges the Humean sense promoted by Stewart without giving due weight to the alternatives, and thereby obscures the extent to which the various branches of moral philosophy and the science of natural history overlapped in the period. This is not to say that all the Scots engaged with the science of natural history to the same degree, or that they were all equally steeped in the culture of the natural sciences. But it is to insist that we need to interpret Stewart's remarks critically in order to arrive at a more nuanced treatment of the styles of history cultivated by the Scots—a treatment which acknowledges that for some of them, at least, the science of natural history was as important an intellectual resource as the writings of Grotius, Pufendorf, Locke, Mandeville, or Montesquieu.

Such criticisms notwithstanding, Berry has given us an insightful, lucid, and, on the whole, balanced treatment of eighteenth-century Scottish social thought which markedly improves on Bryson's *Man and Society* in most respects and which deserves to become the standard work on the topic. Hopefully Berry will in future be rewarded for his efforts by Edinburgh University Press with a more stylish cover design that shows some understanding of the book's contents.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Karen O'Brien. *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon*. Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought 34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xii + 249.

This excellent and much needed book will be required reading for all those with an interest in eighteenth-century historiography. Those readers include at least three different audiences: students coming to the field for the first time, those already working with the genre of historical writing in the eighteenth century, and those, such as the readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, specifically interested in Scottish contributions to the field.

For the first group, O'Brien has provided a comprehensive, up-to-date survey of the major contributions to eighteenth-century historical writing. J. B. Black's *The Art of History: A Study of Four Great Historians of the Eighteenth Century* (1926) has long served as the starting point for many coming to the field, but O'Brien's book finally provides us with an equally accessible but much more current survey of the work of Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon as well as a discussion of the American historian David Ramsay. To be sure, O'Brien's treatment of some of the histories is selective. In the case of Gibbon, for example, the discussion focuses on the later volumes instead of the earlier ones, concentrating on the rise of the barbarians rather than the descent of the Romans. But the treatment of the others is generally comprehensive, and she has appended a useful, very current selected secondary bibliography. In short, right now O'Brien's book is simply the best introduction to the major figures in Enlightenment historiography for someone new to the field.

But O'Brien's main purpose was not to write a general introduction so much as to argue a particular thesis about Enlightenment histories. Here is O'Brien's description of her thesis and method:

I have examined . . . the play of a cosmopolitan sensibility in each of these works across the political certainties, cultural self-understandings and national prejudices which structured contemporary readings of the past. In many respects, these historians differ profoundly in their political priorities, their literary techniques, and in their very sense of the immediacy or pastness of the past. What they share is the cosmopolitan (rather than universalist) recognition that all nations are endowed with valid histories and identities which intersect with, and complete, each other, but that individual states or nations are not, in themselves intelligible units of historical study. (pp. 1-2)

Thus, her study turns on the general opposition of nationalist versus cosmopolitan history, and her attention is directed to each historian's process of negotiation with this opposition. Probably the most representative figure in this connection is Robertson (which is one reason he is accorded two chapters instead of just one). His entire career as a historian involved his resistance to narrowly nationalist history and a move toward a more global conception of the historical process. That is why his career began with a *History of Scotland*, looking at sixteenth-century Scottish history from a cosmopolitan or impartial perspective; culminated with the background to these Scottish events in the histories of Charles V and the Spanish colonization of Central and South America, narratives that took in the entire European and New World context; and closed with an Afterword on ancient India, examining a portion of the history of the Eastern world with immediate relevance to the eighteenth-century British empire. Robertson thus embodies the cosmopolitan outlook, always setting his own more local, national concerns in the wider international context.

The various negotiations of these historians with cosmopolitanism do not feed into any larger master narrative. Indeed, O'Brien rules out the possibility of a synthesis at the start, noting that the book "has no teleological tale to tell of the rise of a historicist outlook in eighteenth-century history or the triumph of an Enlightenment meta-narrative of progress" (p. 1). What O'Brien does provide is demonstration of a complex web of connections among the historians. The connections may not lead toward a grand synthesis, but they do provide a sense of an ongoing conversation among the historians on a topic vital to their respective historical concerns. The conversation reveals much about how and why they responded to one another's work (for instance, she is especially good in observing the role Robertson played in Gibbon's thinking). Because O'Brien does not systematically trace influences, it sometimes seems that the connections are randomly chosen, and sometimes promising leads are not followed. But there is always the sense of a dense network of shared ideas within which the historians were working.

However, the notion of cosmopolitanism itself needs more critical examination. The concept does not receive much explicit definition or extended analysis as a concept. Consequently, the slipperiness of the idea may be overlooked. For instance, Robertson is certainly the cosmopolitan historian *par excellence*, but in his hands that cosmopolitanism not only resists but also promotes a form of nationalism. The same historian who could take an impartial view of Scottish history could also be an advocate for a Scottish militia, an enthusiastic supporter of the Seven Years War from the pulpit, and an eager lobbyist on behalf of two of his sons for places in the military establishment in India (going so far as to plant a newspaper article linking his *Disquisition on India* with one of his son's military exploits there). The point is that cosmopolitanism has its paradoxical and problematic dimensions that do not get explored. It does not necessarily imply critical detachment, as O'Brien seems to assume (see p. 2), and it can coexist with—and perhaps even in some sense support—a coarser patriotic sentiment that leads in the directions mapped out recently by Linda Colley, one of O'Brien's ostensible targets.

The centrality of Robertson to O'Brien's argument suggests the importance of this book to readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Of the book's 249 pages, just under one-half are devoted to the two Scottish figures, Hume and Robertson (Ramsay had Scottish ancestry but here counts as American). The effect of these proportions is quite striking. For Black, the key figure was Voltaire, and he was fond of referring casually to Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon as belonging to "the school of Voltaire." Within this school, Black readily acknowledges Hume's importance, but he is troubled by Robertson: "He has none of Voltaire's brilliance, or Hume's philosophic depth, or Gibbon's incisive learning; on the contrary, he is often ponderous, prolix, and sententious, and his slow acumen places a strain on the attention of the reader." But O'Brien views this same terrain from a different, more advantageous angle and is able to see how Robertson as well as Hume participate as equals in a conversation centered not on the art of history but on issues of impartiality, detachment, and cosmopolitanism. As she remarks very insightfully, it is the impact these historians have upon their readers that is the crucial measure of their importance: "For Hume, especially, but also for Voltaire, Robertson, Gibbon and Ramsay, it was their readers' responses to their own history, and, by extension, to histories of their own history (rather than to abstract ideas about laws and governments) which constituted the national community itself" (p. 5). In other words, what these historians share is not allegiance to Voltaire but a critical role in the shaping of national and international consciousness, of developing their readers' awareness of where and how their nations fit in the larger international



order. In this respect, Scotland was uniquely situated to be able confront the issues of national versus cosmopolitan thinking. O'Brien's book thus gives new confirmation to Hume's claim that his was the historical age and Scotland the historical nation.

Jeffrey Smitten, Utah State University

Thomas P. Miller, *The Formation of College English: Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the British Cultural Provinces*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997. Pp. 345.

The past two decades have witnessed a proliferation of books dealing in one way or another with the history of English as an academic discipline. Thomas Miller's new book is a useful addition to the collection. The title's claim to be a study of the "formation" of English must be taken literally, however, since the book is less a history of English as a working discipline—as one might anticipate—than it is a selective summation of shifting eighteenth-century attitudes toward theoretical rhetoric and moral philosophy as determining forces in the formation of humanities and social sciences curricula in eighteenth-century British colleges and universities. Miller claims, in fact, that nothing less than the introduction of the whole of modern culture into higher education resulted when "the civic concerns of moral philosophy and rhetoric were redefined by a belletristic tendency to treat ethics and aesthetics as matters of personal sentiment or taste." He adds that, simultaneously, "moral philosophers and rhetoricians" were in the process of establishing "a science of politics" (p. 9). The two trends are said to have been responsible for the nascent formation of what eventually became college English.

Miller's scholarship is plentifully impressive and covers a lot of erudite theoretical ground. There is not much information on how English actually got taught in the classrooms and lecture halls, however. Developments in the expansion of English studies into the nineteenth-century are treated historically, to a degree, but they are limited to a brief twenty pages, a hurried afterthought, coming at the end of chapter nine, the last chapter. Readers interested in canonical issues and the rise of literary studies in particular, consequently, might be disappointed. But then, Miller never claims to be writing a history of literary studies. His focus is primarily on early developments in what he calls "the domain of rhetoric," a domain, incidentally, which he insists on characterizing as "practical"—when it flowers, which it has done for him, he tells us, in the bilingual migrant communities of Arizona where he has labored—and which he opposes to literary study with a paranoia that is out of place in this otherwise learned study (e.g., "The belletristic emphases of English studies have prevented criticism from becoming more productively engaged...and these problems only intensified when the study of English was reduced to the study of literature" [p. 276]; "...in America the typical English department is less influential than the colleges of communications that study the popular media and utilitarian forms of discourse that English departments dismiss as nonliterary"; "The most respected English departments in America have not deigned to recognize composition and rhetoric as a discipline" [p. 277]). Undocumented claims like these serve no viable purpose in this book. The occasional intrusive air of omniscience and the offensive headhunter logic that punctuates his obvious contempt for literary study are also gratuitous and unprofessional.

Otherwise, however, the scholarship is solid and impressive. A glance at the table of contents is the first clue to the voluminous philosophical and theoretical scope of this nine-chapter study. The focus ranges from the increase in literacy in the eighteenth century and efforts at standardization of taste and usage to antiquarian classicism in English universities, to the role of the dissenting academies in the progression of rhetoric and belletrism, to antiquarian classicism as a weapon of political oppression in Ireland and the contrasting harmonious rise of English studies in Scotland, to chapters, respectively, on Adam Smith, George Campbell, and Hugh Blair, and, finally, a chapter on the time-honored relationship that eventually developed between rhetoric and criticism as higher education approached modern times. The bibliography is also extensive and helpful to anyone interested in researching this growing field.

Much of what Miller surveys in his chapters has been covered by others. The chapter on the dissenting academies of the eighteenth century, however, is singularly useful since there is a scarcity of recent, concise accounts of the reforming impact that specific dissenters, such as Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, and Joseph Priestley, had on the rise of liberalism in British education. Individual biographies exist, of course, but linked accounts of the dissenters and their academy reforms have to date been limited mainly to abbreviated portions of expanded general histories of British education or bulky studies of the sociological, political, and educational implications of the wave of religious dissent. Miller's concentrated focus in this chapter is admittedly based on Habermas's argument that the expansion of the middle class reading public in the eighteenth century encouraged the promotion of practical subjects. The promotion of the liberal arts and sciences, consequently, in the dissenting academies was consistent with the belief that moral improvement and economic reform were practically realizable and depended largely on the creation of an atmosphere of free inquiry—an academic posture that traditional colleges and universities obviously opposed. The dissenters were among the first to experiment in their classes with English literature as well as with English composition. Miller's contention, following from this chapter, is that the history of college English teaching, specifically the teaching of English composition, actually began with the dissenters at the end of the seventeenth century, a claim that these days few would dispute. He also suggests, how-

ever, that at Warrington Academy, after Priestley, and at other academies such as Hoxton, Hackney, and Daventry, belletristic study in particular may have been a curricular mainstay, stemming from the dissenters' desire, one not shared by their Scottish contemporaries involved in English study, to promote free inquiry and critical literary debate in their classrooms. If the academies did teach critical literacy, then, as Miller notes, more research is needed to account for their role in the history of English studies. Miller's book is essential reading for anyone interested in studying the history of English as an academic discipline, but, as he suggests himself, there is still more to learn and, assuredly, more studies will follow.

Franklin E. Court, Northern Illinois University

Katie Trumpener, **Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. Pp. xv + 426.

This book is the latest publication in Princeton's "Literature in History" series, and it establishes a powerful new map of literary history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Identifying the Romantic period as one of literary devolution as well as literary centralization, Trumpener argues that English Literature, so-called, constitutes itself at this time through the systematic imitation, appropriation, and political neutralization of anti-quarian and nationalist literary developments in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Convincingly, the author finds that the period's major new genres (ballad collection, sentimental and Gothic fiction, national tale, and historical novel), its central models of historical scholarship and literary production, and its notions of collective and individual memory, have their origins in the cultural nationalism of the peripheries. Trumpener elaborates a crucial opposition between English Enlightenment tours of inspection (Young's *Tour in Ireland*, Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*) and Irish and Scottish cultural nationalism, conceived—so she argues—under the sign of the bard. "Bardic nationalism," she suggests, creates a new sense of time and place, reanimating national landscape made desolate first by conquest and then by modernization. The central chapters of the book show the importance of bardic nationalism for the formal development of the early nineteenth-century novel. Analyzing texts by Owenson, Maturin, and Scott (among others), Trumpener claims that the national tale in Ireland and the historical novel in Scotland are centrally concerned with bardic nationalism, and with the new sense of time and place it engenders, even while their plots of national survey "invoke, revise, and revile" the Enlightenment tours of inspection. As Irish and Scottish nationalists argue for the separate historical development of their cultural traditions, the novel begins to codify the different British peripheries and colonies as distinctive "chronotopes." Trumpener explores the consequences of the novel's "dialectical alternation between a resolutely localist framework and a self-consciously imperial framework" (p. 166). Scott's *Waverley* Novels become the paradigmatic novel of empire, appealing to nationalist, imperialist, and colonial readers alike. Trumpener links the internal to the external empire to analyze the first colonial fictions of Canada, Australia, and British India. She gives a particularly persuasive account of Scott's importance for these Romantic fictions of empire.

The book is impressive in its range of material and makes many fascinating links between different authors and genres, as well as between Britain's constituent cultures and her overseas colonies. Trumpener is excellent, for example, on the legacy of the Ossian controversy and Ossianic poetics for the Romantic novel. The comparison of Scottish and Irish cultural revivals is welcome, as is the author's discussion of the relationship between national tale and historical novel. Trumpener argues that the national tale reaches generic turning points first with Maturin's 1812 *Milesian Chief* and then with the 1814 publication of Scott's *Waverley*. These two novels, she claims, reiterate and transform the national tale's generic premises by historicizing its allegorical framework. This strand of the argument is pursued with skill, and intriguing insights emerge which locate a new literary schizophrenia in the national tale as it moves toward the dislocations of the historical novel. However, the need to establish patterns or shifts within literary movements can lead to distortion in the interpretation of individual authors or texts. Generalizations on the historiographical structure of the *Waverley* Novels, for example, obscure some of the complexities of the individual narratives and lead to a restrictive interpretation of Scott's engagement with the psychological complexity of historical experience. The result is too great a reliance on a structure of opposition: Scott vs. Maturin, Owenson, and Galt. Trumpener's discussion of imperial amnesia in *Guy Mannering* is compelling, but I would question her assertion that *Guy Mannering* and "The Surgeon's Daughter" celebrate the British conquest of India. "The Surgeon's Daughter" in particular is a dark story which emphasizes personal and political fragmentation. I would also have liked more discussion of the relationship between memory and amnesia in Part Two of the book: "National Memory, Imperial Amnesia." Forgetting is crucial to the operation of memory. It would be interesting to situate amnesia further in the context of the psychology of memory and forgetting.

However, *Bardic Nationalism* is innovative and assured, and develops a mode of literary-historical analysis which recovers and re-situates many novels long consigned to library catalogues. It is an important book and a valuable stimulus to further research.

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Galway

J.G. Lockhart, *Adam Blair*. With a New Introduction by Ian Campbell. Edinburgh. Mercat Press, 1996. Pp. xxi + 185.

Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet*. Edited by G.A.M. Wood and David Hewitt. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (Editor-in-Chief, David Hewitt), Volume 17. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 540.

James Hogg, *A Series of Lay Sermons on Good Principles and Good Breeding*. Edited by Gillian Hughes. With a Note on the Text by Douglas Mack. The Stirling-South Carolina Research Edition of The Collected Works of James Hogg (General Editor, Douglas S. Mack), Volume 5. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997. Pp. xxxiii + 141.

These three books are encouraging evidence of the current liveliness and diversity of Scottish textual editing and book production. Two of them belong to major research editions-in-progress dedicated to redressing editorial neglect of a major Scottish writer; the third makes available in a paperback reprint the most interesting novel of a more minor but significant member of the Blackwood circle of the first half of the nineteenth century. All three works were published within about a decade; *Adam Blair* (1822) is the earliest of them, but also the most proto-Victorian in tone and emotional sensibility. Its author, J.G. Lockhart, born in 1794, was a generation younger than Scott and Hogg, who were both born in 1770 and died within three years of one another on the threshold of Victoria's accession.

The Mercat reprint introduced by Ian Campbell opts for the text of the first edition of *Adam Blair*, following the example of the 1963 Edinburgh University Press edition introduced by David Craig. The opportunity to acquire an attractively-priced and readable paperback of this under-read novel is welcome, but one must regret that Mercat have not taken the opportunity to give their readers the benefit of a modern second (1824) edition, incorporating Lockhart's intelligent responses to early criticism of the novel (notably that of Henry Mackenzie in his *Blackwood's Magazine* review of the book). Mackenzie's "Hints for a Young Author from a Very Old One" was canny: Lockhart's revisions for the second edition of his moral tale of an errant and repenting Church of Scotland minister lent the novel tauter characterization, a sharper psychological insight, and greater narrative coherence. They not only represent a great improvement in fictional and formal terms, and have the standing of final authorial intention, but provide a suggestive instance of the effect on textual production of the mutually self-critical literary relationships of the early nineteenth-century Edinburgh milieu.

At the risk of comparing unlikes—the Mercat *Adam Blair* is deliberately and in one sense quite properly without editorial pretension; the Edinburgh Waverley makes significant contributions to current internationally discussed issues in textual bibliography—it does not seem amiss to question again the Edinburgh editors' much-debated decision to return for its base-text to a first edition, albeit of a highly modified kind. The elaborately articulated editorial policy of this new Scott edition aims to strip the Waverley novels of their revisionary "accretions" (the editorial and introductory paraphernalia of the "Magnum" edition on which Scott worked in the final years of his life) to recover a "purer," indeed pristine text of the first edition. Whether the additional apparatus of Scott's "Magnum" represents, as the Edinburgh editors claim, "textual degeneration" seems to me questionable, as indeed is their declared search for the "purity" of first intention that will reveal "the authentic Scott" for the first time to an audience anywhere. (The foregoing words and phrases are all quoted from David Hewitt's "General Introduction" prefaced to each volume of the series.) In our post-McGann era, whatever view we may take of the notion of textual sociology as a fundamental editorial principle, it seems perverse to deny that the socially produced element of all publication was totally understood and acceded to by Scott, as by Byron, Wordsworth, Dickens, and George Eliot.

In this sense, the Edinburgh editors' attempt to recover a "first edition" text of *Redgauntlet*, such as Scott might have written independent of evolution through the hands of James Ballantyne and the compositors of the printing house, may be a misplaced exercise in idealism which commits them to second-guessing at various points what the author "might have" intended when the manuscript which is their ur-text is obviously corrupt and was amended—without complaint on his part—at a subsequent stage of production. Departures from the manuscript in proofs or first edition may or may not have had Scott's tacit sanction; the difficulty, as the editors acknowledge, is to discriminate between instances. This is a dangerous game; the quest for textual purity can lead—*vide* "Scott was sometimes wrong"—to a situation where only the decisions of the Edinburgh editors have any authority. The textual puritanism results in a novel which the first readers "would" (with the clear implication "should") have read, but didn't, because it was never actually available to any nineteenth-century reader; indeed, as the editors proudly boast, that is a product of their own researches and collations.

Having said that, one can only defer to Wood and Hewitt's scholarly prowess, applaud the editorial virtuosity which makes their "Essay on the Text" of *Redgauntlet* compulsive reading to an aficionado, and lament their extreme self-denying ordinance in limiting themselves to a "Historical Note" so brief. Enormous labor has gone into this edition: an average of more than 50,000 variants per novel from manuscript to first edition have been

scrutinized and pronounced upon for their authenticity in representing "Scott's intentions." While it will be clear that my own preference would be for a cleaned-up version of the increasingly corrupted "Magnum" texts which in all their glorious cabinet of miscellaneity always seem to me to represent the same mind as I see materially displayed at Abbotsford, and at least (textually speaking) have the merit of Scott's final authorial intention—not to mention the intrinsic interest of the additional material and the fascinating palimpsest of evolution which their revisions give of a mind re-thinking itself—it would be churlish indeed not to welcome a major publishing venture that promises to restore Scott to the shelves in a series of handsome, readable, and self-answerable volumes. Everything about the Edinburgh-Scott is clear, and coherent; when one argues with its premises, one does so at least from a position of confident understanding of their rationale.

The same can be said of the exemplary Stirling-South Carolina Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg. The case is both similar and different, here, however: a major Scottish writer whose work has never been subject to serious editorial scrutiny is being put back on the map internationally (it can be no surprise that both editions have received co-sponsorship and substantial funding from the United States); in complete contrast to the Edinburgh Waverley, in Hogg's case we have a collected edition containing works some of which have never previously been reprinted, and for which there is no complex textual evolution to be encountered and negotiated. Unlike other volumes in the Stirling-South Carolina Edition, the *Lay Sermons* are textually very simple; never reprinted since their initial publication in 1834, and with no extant manuscript, there is only the choice of the first edition, with obvious errata noted and corrected. This is a welcome addition to the series, essential to its completeness but not one of the most exciting of the volumes. It is hard to see it arousing the same level of critical discussion as has followed the re-publication of *The Three Perils of Woman* under the joint editorship of David Groves, Antony Hasler, and Douglas Mack, for example, or Gillian Hughes's previous volume, *Tales of the Wars of Montrose*. Even here, some of Hogg's characteristic narrative complexities surface, however. Like much of his writing, the *Lay Sermons* contains disconcerting shifts of narrative perspective (notably, here, in a typically self-discrediting and ambiguating "Preface" puzzlingly appended to an otherwise apparently unironized series of moral reflections on a Coleridgean mode). It is a little hard to know what to do with such apparently wanton and provocative narratorial disturbance, the more so as it does not seem to issue in corresponding equivocation in the body of the *Sermons* themselves. The editor, wisely it seems to me, refrains from attempting a resolution of the inconsistency at this point; it is a notable example of the restraint and good judgment which characterizes her work, a measuredness that keeps it well clear of the strain of over-ingenious interpretation which has accompanied Hogg's just repositioning at the center of nineteenth-century Scottish literary-critical scrutiny over the past few years.

Susan Manning, Newnham College, University of Cambridge

Robert Crawford, ed. *Burns and Cultural Authority*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and Iowa City: Iowa University Press, 1997. Pp. xiii + 242.

"Is Burns immortal? I hope not." MacDiarmid's kite-flying sallies of the 1920s may seem oddly out of place in a collection of essays whose very existence, seventy years later, seems to prove his hopes forlorn. And yet, as Alan Riach suggests in his thoughtful consideration of "MacDiarmid's Burns," much of what dismayed MacDiarmid is still flourishing, as enthusiasts attend "Burns Suppers throughout Scotland and throughout the world, in Canada, in America, in New Zealand," while "careerist academics still turn Burns into a commodity, fetishised in conferences, books like this, essays like this" (p. 213). Whether or not such manifestations are a cause for regret, however, is open to debate, and the current collection will undoubtedly find large numbers of satisfied readers, on the whole untroubled by their contribution to the commodification of Burns.

The relationship between the cult of Burns and the culture of Burns is a consistent preoccupation of this volume which, despite the dazzling diversity of its contributors, maintains a coherence through its organizing themes and loosely chronological structure. Robert Crawford sets out the paradoxes of "cultural authority" in his introduction:

Robert Burns's poetic career is a subtle full-throated flyting with cultural authority. Burns crosses swords with Kirk, language, literati, King, government and, not least, himself. Yet, after his death in 1796 at the age of 37, the Burns who had so slyly contested cultural authority in his work was made into a posthumous patron whose name might validate a bewildering variety of projects. Clubs, ceilidhs, countries and causes, not to mention critics and writers, all boasted that directly or indirectly they bore his *imprimatur*. (p. ix)

The essays, accordingly, examine different aspects of Burns's encounters with authority, and the creation of his posthumous reputation. The larger picture that emerges, however, is not of straightforward shift from the radical, living Burns, to the more conservative figure beloved of clubs and societies. For whether one turns to Kirsteen McCue on "Burns, Women and Song," or Marilyn Butler on "Burns and Politics," a similarly complicated poet emerges, who is at once innovative, irreverent, committed to ideals of social equality, but at the same time deeply indebted to the traditions of his community. For Susan Manning, Burns's encounters with religion are not

merely a question of brilliant satire against the excesses of Calvinism, but also encompass "something larger than the assertion of individuality in rebellion. A faith, in other words"; and she suggests that the emergence of this elusive aspect of his psyche is closely connected to his work as a song collector, "immersing himself in the impersonality of traditional airs" (p. 131).

The forms and language of Burns's Lowland Scotland seem to be the preferred cultural authority for most of the contributors in the volume. Douglas Dunn's splendid essay on "Burns's Native Metric" demonstrates the poet's creative engagement with the numerous forms of Scottish vernacular poetry, while Robert Crawford's lively discussion of "Robert Fergusson's Robert Burns" reveals more surprising links between the two eighteenth-century Scottish poets. It is perhaps Seamus Heaney, however, who comes closest to conveying the peculiar quality of Burns's relationship with his local culture, as he meditates on the power of speech: "So that part of Burns speaks to a part of me that would prefer to crack than to lecture, a part which has survived out of that older rhyme world which was still vestigially present when I was growing up in rural Ulster half a century ago" (p. 216).

Perhaps the most striking thing about this volume is its underlining of Burns's creative energies through the inclusion of essays written by contemporary poets and writers. Heaney, Dunn, and Crawford are all writing about poetry with the special knowledge of the practicing poet, which gives their work a particular authority of its own. But it is A. L. Kennedy's essay that explicitly sets itself apart from the kind of "modern criticism" that tends to "ignore the writer's craft, the writer's work and even the existence of such a thing as the imagination" (p. 24). As she weaves together memories of her own early encounter with a Burns Club, and Burns's encounters with women, a new complexity emerges from the gradual revelation of the inextricable entanglement of the sexual and creative. Interestingly, Kennedy also demonstrates a more sympathetic understanding of the cult of Burns than some of the other, perhaps more easily embarrassed, contributors. And perhaps, given Burns's own involvement with popular culture, academic readers should be wary of attempting to establish "better" or more important ways of remembering Burns.

Fiona Stafford, Somerville College, Oxford

**The Correspondence of James Boswell and William Johnson Temple 1756-95, Vol.I: 1756-1777.** Edited by Thomas Crawford. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997. Pp.lix + 479.

This volume prints all the surviving letters James Boswell and William Johnson Temple exchanged between 24 October 1756 and 21 March 1777, along with two letters from Temple to Boswell's wife Margaret, and a letter from Temple's wife Anne to Boswell and Boswell's reply. (Ten letters from Anne Temple to WJT, and one to a friend, are included in Appendix 2.) Ninety-six of Boswell's letters to Temple were included in Chauncey Brewster Tinker's edition of *The Letters of James Boswell* (1924), though with some prudish deletions and few notes. A number of the many then-discovered letters—28 from Boswell, 338 from Temple—were wholly or partially printed in the trade edition of Boswell's journal. Here we finally have all that survives from the first half of this steady and revealing correspondence, making this the most engaging collection of Boswell's letters yet published.

A four-page chronology usefully outlines the lives and careers of Boswell and Temple, who met at the University of Edinburgh in 1755-57, then revived their friendship when they were both in London for three months in spring 1763. The substantial introduction, written with the informed poise of Thomas Crawford's earlier analyses of this correspondence, first briefly narrates the publication history of these letters, then constructs an intricate story of the two parallel and divergent lives, and of a relationship that soon involved the men's wives and eventually their children. Crawford also alerts readers to the possible significance of allusions and passing references by describing the religious and political issues that concerned the two men throughout their relationship.

The annotation is extraordinarily thorough (roughly two pages of notes for every three pages of letter). Crawford calls attention to telling changes either man made as he wrote the letters (e.g. p. 341, n.4). He illuminates references, and gives readers suggestive glimpses into the world these men inhabited, by sketching the careers and ideas of numerous figures who appear in the letters, and by explaining such things as how students dined at Trinity Hall Cambridge (p. 3, n.4), the physical layout of Temple's hometown of Berwick (p. 20, n.1), the history of inoculation (p. 290, n.3), the boarding schools available in Edinburgh in 1773 (p. 331, n.4). He expands the drama with quotes from Boswell's journal and Temple's diary, and from the correspondence each man had with others. He gives detailed answers to questions raised explicitly or implicitly in the letters, such as what was "the best edition of Dio Cassius" (p. 260, n.11), and how quickly Anne Temple recovered from the birth of Francis on 28 July 1770 (pp. 281-82). He glosses obscure allusions, like Boswell's reference to "Celia who at Berwic deigns to dwell" (pp. 146, 147, n.4). He also tells when detailed searching left him without a clear answer (e.g. pp. 331, n.6, 344, n.7).

Of course the core value of this volume lies in the letters themselves. After writing twenty-four letters in 1758-60 (fifteen from Boswell, nine from Temple), they each wrote just one in 1761, none in 1762. But following their

long reunion in 1763, the revitalized correspondence was fairly regular through March 1777, with Boswell writing on average eleven letters each year and Temple nine. (Only in 1765 and 1771 were there fewer than thirteen letters.) Almost ninety percent of Temple's letters have been found, spread more or less evenly throughout the period, so we consistently hear his voice. Only about half of Boswell's letters have survived, however, and survival is quite uneven. For some years—especially 1763-65, 1767-68, and 1775—we have all or almost all of Boswell's numerous letters (67 of the 74 written in these six years); so for these years we have virtually the complete correspondence. But for eight of the twenty-one years covered by this volume, including six of the years from 1769 through 1776 (the exceptions being 1770 and 1775), we have hardly any of Boswell's letters (only 4 of 59 written in these six years). So for these years we have mainly Temple's voice, in 49 of the 53 letters he wrote, and must guess at what Boswell wrote from Temple's answers.

Despite the lack of so many letters, however, this collection is of major significance. We get key insights into Boswell, and a rich view of Temple's life and character. We also get glimpses of Gray, Hume, Johnson, and others, and overhear how two interested readers responded to new works by Ferguson, Smith, and Gibbon. I was most interested in this correspondence as a poignant, suggestive record of a long-term friendship sustained almost entirely through letters. Boswell and Temple began writing when each was only about sixteen, ambitious but still undetermined concerning his profession; and this volume ends in March 1777 with both married and to some degree settled. These letters show Boswell and Temple constructing a relationship by using the other, and his friendship with the other, to define or reaffirm who he was, who he would (or had) become. They took turns helping each other with melancholy and with doubts about religion. They encouraged each other's writing projects. In 1766-69, Temple was the major audience for whom Boswell narrated his many courtships, and later it was to Temple that he most fully outlined his justification for "concubinage" (p. 359), told of his "beautiful . . . intimacy" (p. 375) with Mrs. Stuart ("my wife's dearest friend"), and described his visit to "the celebrated Mrs. Rudd" (p. 412). Temple complained to Boswell about financial constraints, his isolation in Devon, and his problems with married life. Temple's letters also demonstrate his dogged persistence and resilience, and an ability to answer some of his recurring complaints (e.g. p. 369).

Boswell's self-dramatizing letters are generally livelier and more entertaining. But Temple's demonstrate the qualities of loyal friendship, as he criticizes Boswell for "needlessly run[ning] the risk of forfeiting his [father's] esteem & affection" (p. 340), cautions against depending on patrons rather than on his own "industry & talents" (p. 361), and gently but firmly rebukes Boswell for gratuitously—and as Crawford notes, "outrageously"—telling Anne Temple that at best her children would end up as "Clerks [or] Stewards to Noblemen" (pp. 329-30). Temple vicariously enjoyed Boswell's sustained "love of variety," his "wit, humour & gaiety," and his "admiration of the young & beautiful" (p. 417); but he also longed to see Boswell settle down to "the care of your property & the education of your children"; and he warned Boswell that "It is absolute cruelty & tyranny to give [Margaret] the least room for uneasiness" (p. 286).

At times each man was guarded, as Temple complained in May 1770 (p. 275), a month after he had failed to tell Boswell that he was thinking of separating from Anne (p. 272, n.4). But generally writing these letters felt like comfortably conversing. "I now sit down at one o'clock in the morning of Sunday the fourth by a comfortable German Stove to talk to you a little before I go to sleep," writes Boswell in 1763 (p. 81). "After two or three days interruption, I wait on you again. Our last conversation was perhaps drawn into too great a length. If you approve of it, we'll now change the subject, & pass from Superstition to something more amiable," writes Temple in 1767 (p. 177). The final letter in this volume appropriately ends with these words: "When I sit down to write to you, I never know when to conclude. Adieu — Adieu" (p. 434).

As seems inevitable in a book so large and ambitious, there are occasional mistakes. I noticed three copy-editing errors: on page 322 the heading for one letter is misaligned; the date at the top of pages 347-48 is incorrect; and on page 408 a line is missing in note 15. I noted two minor errors in the meticulous annotation: Boswell's "last" letter, sent on 12 September, could not have described his visiting Paoli on 22 September (p. 260, n.2); and in 1773 Boswell arrived in London eleven rather than "twenty-eight" days before he wrote Temple on 13 April (p. 326, n.1). The chronology, though entirely correct, is at times misleadingly incomplete. It reports Boswell's "first (flying) visit to Mamhead" in 1769, but not his important visit in April 1775; it notes most of Boswell's trips to London through 1778, but none of the six in 1779-1785, including the time he spent with Temple in London in 1783. Finally the "index of proper names and places," though quite full, is not always complete: under "Boswell, Alexander, Lord Auchinleck," for instance, one item is "and SJ, 341, 344," noting two places where Temple referred to Lord Auchinleck's "contempt of Mr Johnson"; but neither Lord Auchinleck nor these pages are listed under "Johnson, Samuel."

Collectively, however, these are minor blemishes in an edition packed with helpful information. This volume will richly reward virtually anyone interested in the eighteenth century, or in the dynamics of friendship. I eagerly look forward to the second volume.

John B. Radner, George Mason University

Thomas Crawford, ed. *Boswell in Scotland and Beyond*. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1997 [1998]. Pp. 154.

Boswell scholars who missed the 1995 conference "Boswell in Scotland and Beyond," sponsored by The Association for Scottish Literary Studies and held at the Advocates Library in Edinburgh, will be pleased to know that eight of the twelve papers presented there have been published in a modest volume edited by Thomas Crawford. Reflecting conference themes, *Boswell in Scotland and Beyond* emphasizes the biographical, with most of the essays examining Boswell in his historical, social, and geographical context. In "Boswell and the Law," William Prosser examines Boswell's attitude toward the law, his own legal practice, and the law's place in society to "help dispel some illusions commonly held and peddled" about Boswell's professional life (p. 20). Marlies K. Danziger reminds us that although Boswell was a Scot, he developed "distinctively cosmopolitan aspirations" (p. 33) during his Grand Tour. In "Young Boswell, Aspiring Cosmopolite," Danziger shows us a young man eagerly promoting himself in Continental society and having experiences that as a whole "were not conducive to his peace of mind" (p. 52).

Two papers explore the psychological consequences of Boswell's having been reared in Scotland at a time when Scots were reconciling themselves to the Union. In "Boswell and the National Question," Paul H. Scott explores the tensions created by Boswell's desire to enjoy a London life and his patriotic feelings that he was wrong to desert Scotland. "These tensions were all consequences of the Union" (p. 31). Gordon Turnbull looks at Boswell's allegiance to Scotland from another angle. In "Boswell and the Idea of Exile," he describes his subject's humiliating experiences in the service of Lord Lonsdale as a point at which Boswell finally recognizes that his propensity for viewing himself as a heroic exile amounted to "more or less deliberate acquisition of impediments to his own aspirations" (p. 89). The cathartic experience motivates a determined return to the "arduous labour" of the *Life of Johnson* in which he finds "rescue and redemption" (p. 102). In "Boswell's Ballads: A Life in Song," Morris R. and Melita Ann Brownell discuss their efforts to compile and catalogue the tunes and texts of songs referred to in Boswell's writings. So far they have identified about two hundred songs, about fifty of which they say were written by Boswell. Their essay contains extracts from twenty-five songs significant to Boswell's biography.

Three essays, with varying degrees of emphasis, discuss Boswell's works. In "The Myth of Johnson's Misogyny in the *Life of Johnson*," Irma S. Lustig defends Boswell against recurring criticisms that the *Life* misrepresents Johnson's attitudes toward women. Lustig locates in the *Life* "abundant evidence of Johnson's affection, sympathy, and esteem, for women of all ranks, individually and generally" (p. 83). Claire Lamont compares the images of Scotland in the minds of Johnson and Boswell and the two men's responses to the reality they encounter on their trip to the Hebrides. In "Boswell, Johnson and Images of Scotland," she draws primarily on *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* to demonstrate that for Johnson "images are to be compared with reality," whereas for Boswell, images "are the reality, and travel supplies an opportunity for life to match them" (p. 68). In "Boswell and the Diurnal," Pat Rogers shows how Boswell's "construction of the day as a formal and literary motif" (p. 104) is used to develop a literary means in both his journals and major works to express the consecutive (p. 104).

It should also be noted that Crawford's introduction discusses the four papers presented that do not appear in this volume.

Donald J. Newman, The University of Texas-Pan American

**Lives of the Literati**, 7 titles in 9 vols., cased. Scottish Thought and Culture, 1750-1800 (General Editor, Richard B. Sher). Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1997.

**The Edinburgh Magazine and Review**, 5 vols., cased. Introduction by William Zachs. Scottish Thought and Culture, 1750-1800 (General Editor, Richard B. Sher). Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1997.

These two sets of facsimile reprints from the series Scottish Thought and Culture 1750-1800 offer major resources for the study of the Scottish Enlightenment. There are six biographies in the first set, plus a volume containing four short lives. The life of James Beattie is that by Sir William Forbes, published in two volumes in 1806, with an introduction by Roger J. Robinson. This book remains of the major sources of information about Beattie, chiefly because Forbes compiled it almost entirely from his subject's letters. The second volume has many useful appendices, including a full list of Beattie's lectures in session 1777-78.

The biography of Hugh Blair, published in 1807, is by John Hill, with an introduction by Emma Vincent Macleod. The work is divided into three sections, covering Blair as a literary critic, as a preacher, and as a man. Blair was the first Regius Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh and his lectures, first published in 1783, had enormous influence, but Hill's biography is so respectful and conventional in its judgments that it remains valuable more as an illustration of Blair's reputation in his time than for what it says of him. In contrast, the massive life of William Cullen, consisting of two volumes, the first by John Thomson, published in 1832, and the second begun by him but completed by his son William and David Craigie in 1859, offers a thorough account of the history of medicine in the eighteenth century and, as Mike Barfoot points out his intro-

duction, illustrates aspects of nineteenth-century medicine, too. It is concerned as much with Cullen's medical theories as with his life.

The life of John Erskine, by Henry Moncrieff Wellwood (1818), with an introduction by Ned Landsman, introduces a paradoxical figure to the group, an orthodox Calvinist rather than a Moderate, but one who shared the tolerance and cosmopolitanism typical of Enlightenment figures. This biography includes a long appendix on the patronage issue in the Church of Scotland, interesting in itself and helpful background in relation to not just Erskine but also Blair and Robertson. Dugald Stewart's life of William Robertson (1802), here introduced by Jeffrey Smitten, concentrates on Robertson's histories. The book is shaped around these but glosses over the details of Robertson's life so much that, as Smitten says, there is a real need for a modern biography. The volume ends with a long appendix containing many letters.

The life of John Home, published in 1822, is by Henry Mackenzie, and is therefore, as Susan Manning makes clear in her introduction, of twofold literary significance. The centerpiece of Mackenzie's account is Home's tragedy *Douglas*, around which Mackenzie weaves a history of the Scottish Enlightenment full of nostalgia that says much about his own and his time's attitude to its immediate past. The last of these volumes is the most miscellaneous, a collection of the posthumous papers of William Smellie, published by his son Alexander in 1800 as *Literary and Characteristical Lives*, and including brief lives of John Gregory, Lord Kames, David Hume, and Adam Smith. In his introduction, Stephen Brown says these were intended for a dictionary of Scottish biography Smellie planned before his death. The lives are in various states of completion but are valuable for the personal anecdotes they contain. The volume also contains some of Smellie's early essays on various subjects.

Smellie was also an editor and contributor to the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, though the driving force was Gilbert Stuart. This modern facsimile comes with a brief introduction by William Zachs and a modern index by Rachel Evans. Appearing from 1773 to 1776, the magazine reflects intellectual life in Scotland in the midst of the Enlightenment, and in its pages one meets with most of the leading figures. There are many reviews of important books, and discussions of contemporary thought. The magazine also reflects the political situation of the time, particularly in relation to America.

As with the biographies in the set of *Lives of the Literati*, to have a facsimile of the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* gives access to more than just the text of key documents of the period. Much can be learned from the appearance of old books and even those libraries fortunate enough to possess copies of the originals would be wise to invest in these reprints for general use. Senior undergraduates and masters students would find them a rich mine of primary information about the Scottish Enlightenment and the literature, history, medicine, and church politics of the eighteenth century.

Christopher MacLachlan, University of St. Andrews

John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xii + 304.

This book is a study of the leading theoretician of the Scottish Covenanters in the Civil Wars of the mid-seventeenth century. Samuel Rutherford is best known to historians of early modern Britain as the author of "Lex, Rex" (one of the most radical statements of Puritan constitutional theory). This is the first major monograph devoted to this important figure in the history of early modern Scotland; it adds to our understanding of this key period of Scottish history by presenting us with a nuanced picture of a Covenanter whose writings provide profound insight into the progress and eventual failure of the Scottish Revolution. It is fair to say, then, that its primary value lies in John Coffey's careful exposition of the way in which radical Scots Presbyterianism made such an impact upon Scotland and the rest of the British Isles during the reign of Charles I. It also contains, however, much to stimulate historians of eighteenth-century Scotland.

Coffey contends that the historiography of early modern Scots Presbyterianism is both limited and misleading. His penetrating analysis of this enormously complex figure demonstrates clearly the vibrancy and breadth of Scottish intellectual culture in the seventeenth century. Rutherford is depicted very convincingly as the apogee of the Calvinist humanism which David Allan has argued was such a vitally important soil for nurturing the seeds of the Scottish Enlightenment. This work is a major rejoinder to the misleading (but still influential) picture of Scottish Presbyterianism painted by Hugh Trevor-Roper. Coffey successfully enunciates the interweaving of the native Scots traditions of Buchananite ancient constitutionalism and Melvillian Presbyterian theology with strands of English and Continental thought, which produced the multifaceted mind of Rutherford. He brings out the tensions between natural law-ancient constitutionalist arguments and the biblical (particularly Old Testament) covenantalist political theory that lay at the heart of Rutherford's deeply scholastic but also thoroughly Protestant humanist thought. The complexity of Rutherford's expressions do not illustrate Scottish backwardness but rather show Scottish participation in a shared early modern European culture imbued with those very tensions between a classical and a biblical heritage. Coffey succeeds admirably in his stated intent to "dispel the stereotype of the bigoted, narrow-minded Prebyterian cleric drawn by Buckle and Trevor-Roper" (p. 62).



Historians of eighteenth-century Scotland will be interested by this study of a seventeenth-century minister whose legacy was still to be felt strongly in the following century. Rutherford was central to the evolution of the Scottish Whig national myth which Colin Kidd portrays as collapsing in the eighteenth century. It was natural that Rutherford, the resistance theorist and fiery defender of Calvinist orthodoxy and Presbyterian ecclesiology, should be looked toward by those in the eighteenth century for whom such issues were still alive due to the contested nature of the Revolution Settlement.

It is hard to do justice to such a wide-ranging study in a brief review. Coffey's work is primarily an intellectual history of Rutherford, but he addresses a number of important issues through this approach. Rutherford embodied the tensions and tragic ironies that were inherent in early modern Scots Presbyterianism. This study also helps to bring out the impact of radical Presbyterianism on popular culture; indeed, Coffey's treatment of gender roles in early modern Scots Presbyterianism is particularly fruitful. The work of American historians, such as Leigh Schmidt, has demonstrated the richness of the religious culture of the Scots Presbyterians, a culture that shaped the lives not only of many eighteenth-century Scots but also of many others in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America (where Scottish communion "seasons" or, in the words of Burns, "Holy Fairs," were transmuted into evangelicals' camp meetings). Coffey points us toward an area which needs further research, namely the world of popular Scottish Presbyterianism and the intricate web of identities possessed by the many Scots who participated in it during the eighteenth century.

Paul Tonks, Johns Hopkins University

Andrew Fletcher, *Political Works*. Edited by John Robertson. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xlix + 243.

John Robertson's edition of Andrew Fletcher's political works is a welcome addition to the Cambridge Texts series, which has already produced upward of eighty texts distinguished by sound scholarship, affordability and, given the latter, surprisingly high quality printing.

Once upon a time, the Scottish republican Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653-1716), hitherto best known and popularly valorized for his "patriotic" stance during the Anglo-Scottish Union debates, would not have made it into such a series, the stated ambition of which is to provide an outline of the evolution of western political thought. But the Cambridge-led abandonment of "Whig" historiography (pioneered by one of the editors of this series, Quentin Skinner, among others) has since encouraged historians of ideas to reassess the contributions of those thinkers whose work was less prophetic of future times than enlightening about their own. Andrew Fletcher falls into the latter category: a figure who tells us more about the world we have lost than the one we have gained.

To say this is not to denigrate the political thought of this fiery, patriotic, politically active, and often intellectually elusive Scot, nor is it to claim that in our post-modernist world nationalist fervor has finally achieved intellectual respectability. Indeed, the most impressive achievement of this edition of Fletcher's works is the way in which it rescues Fletcher from the straitjacket of his former reputation as "Scottish Patriot" and reveals the broader contemporary problems to which Fletcher's thought addressed itself.

With six works included, this is the most comprehensive modern edition of Fletcher's works, and the inclusion of a translation of *Discorso delle cose di Spagna (A Discourse concerning the Affairs of Spain)* is particularly welcome, given the rarity of English-language versions of this tract. Robertson has, however, exercised care in his selection of Fletcher's writing, including only the works for which Fletcher's authorship is beyond doubt. The final selection somewhat reduces the impact of Fletcher's (real and supposed) tracts on exclusively Scottish political affairs and offers the reader a balanced menu of his political concerns.

These concerns are beautifully illuminated in Robertson's introduction which, imbued with the editor's extensive knowledge of Fletcher's life and work, and enlivened by a certain degree of refreshing irreverence, points out that the "Great Scot" spent much of his adult life eschewing the dour delights of his Scottish country estate for the more heady excitements of cosmopolitan coffeehouses. Fletcher's preoccupation with Europe was not confined to travel; his discourses on militias and on Spain, and his *Account of a Conversation* reveal the extent to which his pamphlets on Scotland can be read as part of a broader project to understand a European politics that was being transformed by commercial revolution.

The unifying principle of what is a varied corpus is, as Robertson points out, Fletcher's use of Machiavellian concepts to analyze a political world increasingly driven by the demands of commerce, and to understand and counteract the effects of this emerging world on the peripheries—both small states and provinces—which were in danger of being swallowed up by commercial empires. With this greater purpose in mind, certain aspects of his thought—the infamous proposal to introduce a form of slavery into Scotland, the utopian attempt to redesign Europe as a series of tiny republics—look less like inexplicable eccentricities and more like an attempt, albeit a failed one, to address the problems and opportunities of modernity.

Fletcher's draconian scheme, outlined in his *Second Discourse on Scotland*, to introduce a form of domestic servitude in order to rid the nation of the burden of the poor, makes sense in the context of the severity of Scotland's economic crisis and a rigorous republicanism which saw no inconsistency in condemning public tyranny

and approving private slavery. In *Account of a Conversation*, Fletcher's desire to eradicate the disparities of power in Europe and at the same time capitalize on the benefits of the modern metropolis by way of a new form of political organization—a series of confederated city-driven states—signals a departure from the requirements of his own brand of republicanism, depending as it did upon the existence of armed landowners, toward a recognition of the advantages enjoyed by modern centers of trade.

That Fletcher's solutions were doomed to failure because Machiavelli's moment was almost over does not detract from the quality of his attempt. The tensions evident in his writing between the ancient values of civic republicanism and the emerging values of commercial society were to be resolved in favor of modernity by a new generation of Scottish thinkers later in the century. Commerce was seen as capable of solving the problems it had created without the aid of neo-republican values and with the help of a less demanding form of freedom, better suited to its operations. But Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun earns his inclusion in the extended canon for recognizing, if not reconciling, the threat and the promise of the political moment that he occupied.

**Bridget McPhail, University of Auckland**

Don Garrett, *Cognition and Commitment in Hume's Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. xiv + 270.

Since David Hume is often accused of seducing us with limpid sentences that build to philosophical confusion, he is especially well served by Don Garrett, who is here to tell us that Hume's philosophy is, in truth, consistent and plausible. All great, departed philosophers deserve such representation. Garrett works his way, chapter by chapter, through a series of familiar Humean topics: the copy principle, the separability principle, induction, causation, liberty and necessity, miracles, personal identity, moral evaluation, skepticism and commitment. Within each chapter, he observes the same exemplary procedure. First, he sets out a spread of conflicting opinions advanced by various Hume scholars. Second, he turns to the apparently contradictory passages that engender the conflicting interpretations. Third, he lays out an enumerated distillation of what he takes to be Hume's essential argument. Last, he gathers the enumerated steps into a summary articulation, returns to the supposed inconsistencies, performs his adjudication—and then, for the most part, declares Hume's argument to be coherent and valid.

The results are impressive. Garrett writes clearly, and works his way through his material in a grounded and logical manner. He displays a strong command of the secondary literature, and a stronger familiarity with and commitment to Hume's *Treatise and Enquiries*. His skill at rendering Hume coherent through the specification of the distinct stages and clever subtleties of the arguments testifies to many close and sympathetic readings. The chapters are often relatively self-contained, and therefore the books can serve as a useful work of reference for those—well past the introductory stage—who wish to consult a concise presentation of, say, Hume on liberty, or personal identity.

ECSSS members should note that there is nothing here on Hume's Scottish matrix, nothing on his intellectual relations with other Scots, and that Garrett's interest in Hume's practical philosophy does not extend to his work in economics and history, topics that link most obviously to the Scottish circumstance. Those in search of a forceful defense of Hume the philosopher will find it an essential resource.

**Bruce Merrill, Cambridge, New York**

Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*. Edited by Derek Brookes. The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid (General Editor, Knud Haakonssen), Volume 2. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and University Park, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 1997. Pp. xxv + 345.

A new edition of Thomas Reid's *Inquiry* is an event of importance for the history of philosophy and, in particular, for the study of the Scottish Enlightenment. The aim of this edition is to present a complete, critically edited text based upon the fourth edition to be published during Reid's lifetime. In addition to the critical text Brookes provides an introduction, together with explanatory and textual notes. This is followed by a selection of manuscripts which incorporates the Hume-Reid exchange of letters concerning the *Inquiry* (including Reid's abstract, therefore); discourses delivered by Reid to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, which include early versions of Reid's criticisms of the ideal system, among them versions of the section against the system of ideas that Reid removed from the *Inquiry*; and, finally, miscellaneous writings on the self and perception. The volume concludes with a Register of Editions and a concordance between the pagination of this edition and previous editions (including the abridged edition by Lehrer and Beanblossom which currently serves as the basis on which most undergraduates are likely to be introduced to Reid).

The editor's introduction serves a number of useful purposes. It explains the background to the argument of the *Inquiry*—the activity of the philosophical club to which Reid belonged, the presentation of his ideas during his regency at King's College, Aberdeen, and the response of other philosophers. It also helps to set the scene for the epistemological problems with which Reid is concerned in the *Inquiry*, and indicates that these are approached

from the perspective of what has been described as “providential naturalism.” Reid’s naturalistic approach to cognitive processes like perception may be compared with the account of cognition provided by the system of ideas, and the introduction charts the evolution of Reid’s response to the ideal system (from initial acceptance to detailed refutation). Brookes’s introduction also confronts the puzzle of why the *Inquiry* omits any detailed examination of this theory, his suggestion being that Reid’s *experimentum crucis* effectively undermines the ideal system by identifying a type of counter-example in the form of simple conceptions which cannot be explained by reference to sensations. This enables Reid to develop an alternative account of perceptual knowledge on which it is a kind of law, fixed by the creator, that certain sensations are invariably connected with the conception and belief of corresponding external objects. Our senses are given to us in this way as a source of true information. While even the non-theist is obliged to recognize the involuntary and irresistible character of many, at least, of our intellectual operations, providential naturalism provides a rational basis for accepting the reliability of our faculties.

The critical text itself usefully incorporates Reid’s “Dedication,” which makes plain that the *Inquiry* represents a response to the skeptical system of Hume’s *Treatise*, and finds that it depends on the hypothesis that ideas and impressions, rather than external objects, are perceived by the mind, with the result that nothing beyond impressions and ideas themselves can be known to exist. The dedication also gives an account of the progress of Reid’s thoughts on the operations of the mind.

A helpful feature of the way in which the text is presented is the use of line numbering, which makes for easy identification of passages referred to in the editor’s notes. The explanatory notes contain useful bibliographical details for quotations, translations, references to the secondary literature on topics discussed in the *Inquiry*, and selections from Reid’s manuscripts. The textual notes record variations between the critical text and copies of the four editions of the *Inquiry* published in Reid’s lifetime.

Derek Brookes is to be congratulated for having produced an edition of Reid’s *Inquiry* which will no doubt come to be seen as authoritative. It provides an impressive range of material, in addition to the critical text, and unpublished material which sheds light on Reid’s intellectual biography has been painstakingly assembled. This handsomely produced volume will not only serve as the standard text of Reid’s *Inquiry* but will also provide an invaluable source for those with a scholarly interest in his philosophy.

Tony Pitson, University of Stirling

Daniel Brühlmeier, Helmut Holzhey, and Vilem Mudroch, eds. *Schottische Aufklärung: “A Hotbed of Genius”*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996. Pp. 157.

Adam Smith, *Vorlesungen über Rechts- und Staatswissenschaften*. Translated, introduced, and edited by Daniel Brühlmeier. Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1996. Pp. 290.

The German-speaking countries have been holding up their end of cosmopolitan scholarship, as this volume of essays on the Scottish Enlightenment and this translation of Adam Smith’s *Lectures on Jurisprudence* indicate.

The edited work contains a substantial overview by Nicholas Phillipson; “The Birth of the Social Sciences from the Spirit of Moral Philosophy” by Daniel Brühlmeier; Rudolf Lütke on aesthetics and taste; Adolf Max Vogt on the visual arts, Ossian, and the discovery of Paestum; Rudolf Trüpy on James Hutton and geology; Johanna Geyer-Kordesch on the medical enlightenment in Scotland; Fania Oz-Salzberger on the reception of the Scottish Enlightenment in France; and Norbert Waszek on Christian Garve as mediator of the Scots to Germany. A theme that runs throughout is the importance to the Scots of theory and of detailed study of the facts.

By way of critical remarks, I would only observe that Lütke’s article retails the rather discredited view that the Scots had no historical consciousness (pp. 40, 42), but that does not really affect his interesting points about the institutionalization of good taste according to Hume and other Scots. It is surprising that Waszek’s article does not mention Oz-Salzberger’s 1995 book or van der Zande’s recent articles, but that may be attributed to the fact that these chapters were originally written for a 1993 colloquium. Waszek’s article provides an intriguing challenge to Manfred Kuehn’s claim that Hume’s *Treatise* was the most important influence in eighteenth-century Germany (pp. 133-34).

Brühlmeier’s introduction to the Smith translation provides all the background and reference to the literature that a German-only reader should need to understand the context and theoretical importance of Smith’s lectures. One hundred seventy-two notes draw attention to comparisons to other works and other authors, and clear up difficulties. As the author of two books and several articles on Smith, Brühlmeier was well-qualified to do this translation.

Other notable recent German-language works that bring Scots to the German-speaking include Arnold Meyer-Faje and Peter Ulrich, eds., *Der andere Adam Smith [The Other Adam Smith]* (Bern and Stuttgart: Haupt, 1991) and a special section debate on alternative interpretations of the invisible hand metaphor in Smith’s work in *Ethik und Sozialwissenschaften: Streitforum für Erziehungskultur* (vol. 8, 1997, pp. 195ff.). Gerhard Streminger has written *Adam Smith* (Reinbek, 1989) and *David Hume: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Schöningh, 1994).

How are anglophone scholars doing at keeping up with the latest scholarship on eighteenth-century Germany and understanding the German influence in Scotland in the eighteenth century?

John Christian Laursen, University of California,  
Riverside

John Dwyer, *The Age of the Passions: An Interpretation of Adam Smith and Scottish Enlightenment Culture*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998. Pp. xi + 205.

In 1987 John Dwyer provided a somewhat surprising and much-needed corrective to the usual emphasis on rationality and self-interest that dominated studies of the Scottish Enlightenment. The message initiated by *Virtuous Discourse* has been elaborated and amplified in several essays and books, such as Dwyer's editorial introduction to Dwyer and Sher's collection, *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (1993). *The Age of the Passions* attempts to round out the importance of sociability and passion in Adam Smith and several of his contemporaries. The book begins with Smith, laying considerable stress on the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and particularly the last revision of 1790; it then moves to examine the contemporary periodical literature, including the *Scots Magazine* as well as several lesser figures such as James Fordyce; finally, we have a discussion of the importance of *Ossian* to the Scots literati of the late eighteenth century.

Before I discuss the substance of the text, I would like to raise a point about style. In the introduction, Dwyer makes it very clear that he is trying to report on and understand the eighteenth-century Scots—not necessarily to praise them (p. 10). This is only proper. Why then repeat this point several times in the text? Consider, for example, a paragraph that struck me:

In Fordyce's treatment of the feminine role in marriage the reader discovers the more sinister side of the ideal of the affectionate eighteenth-century marriage . . . In a sermon entitled 'On Female Meekness', Fordyce observed that the male and female temperaments differed in important respects—'there is a sex in minds'. Although both men and women were capable of sensibility and sympathy, women had this quality in far greater abundance. (p. 127)

Whether or not women are identical to men is a question of fact. One may consider the point unprovable; or one may say that differences exist but are minor; or one may say that the differences, even if major, should be ignored. By moving directly from a statement of purported fact to a belief in "sinister" design, Dwyer is failing to understand his subject.

That the *Theory of Moral Sentiments (TMS)* was a highly respected and influential book in the late eighteenth century is undoubted. However, it does not deal with the content of ethics. Dwyer is quite clear on this point. If then the *TMS* does not deal with the content of morality but only with the manner in which a conscience is aroused in us, would it not be more proper to provide a subtitle to the *TMS*—for example, socialization under group approval? Moral philosophy covered a great deal of ground in those days, and the *TMS* is really sociology and not ethics. By 1790, however, Smith appears to have had doubts about the desirability of socialization without explicit reference to ethics. So he retreated from the apparent indifference he had earlier shown to the rise of individualism and market-centered values. The point is a valid one, and I am only surprised that Dwyer fails to reference the most important paper dealing with it: Lawrence Dickey, "Historicizing the 'Adam Smith Problem,'" *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986).

Before we actually consider this to be a reversal of the values implicit in the *Wealth of Nations*, let us see how Smith participated in public ventures. When William Wilberforce asked Smith to contribute to the aid of fishermen, he is said to have replied, with characteristic coolness, that not much good had ever been done by acting out of public spirit.

It will not be fair to criticize Dwyer on economics, but the points made on pages 24-26 are questionable. That Smith had a definite agrarian bias is undoubted; that he preferred most the independence and virtues of the lesser gentry also seems correct. Whether this group behaved better for the arguments provided by Dwyer—"Desires are moderated both because capital is small and because commodities remain scarce" (p. 24)—is hard to accept. What has the moderation of desire got to do with the smallness of one's capital, and in what sense are commodities scarce for this one group and not equally so for others?

"The Natural History of Love" is a wonderful topic. I was fascinated when Dwyer originally noted its importance for eighteenth-century Scots. I must express disappointment that Dwyer has not done much more with it in this book. What better way to begin than with an affectionate letter of 11 April 1713 from Adam Smith, Sr. (father of the economist) to his wife, indicative of domestic love at the start of the eighteenth century?

My Dearest Lillie:

I have yours of the 4th. and am glad that Hew's ear runs, it will doe him good, I hope. You wryte nothing of yourself, which makes me hope that you are well, my Dearest Lillie, I heartily wish it may be so.

You wroat me formerly, my Dearest Lillie, that you had £200 goods and debts which I am very glad off—but perhaps, My Dear Lillie you doe not charge yourself with what is owing to Mr. Luen and to Mr. Garbrand, viz. to Mr. Luen about £20 and to Mr. Garbrand about £7, but, be that as it will, I think, my Dearest Lillie, its very well you have so much, therefor, my Dear, doe not be uneasie, for I think you have managed extraordinarily. I wish I could manage as well. My Dearest Lillie if you'll but take care of your health you cannot disoblige me, for, I'm sure, I have nothing els to quarrell you for but want of care of yourself, for I'm afraid you are too saving of what's necessary for you, which, my Dearest Lillie, will not please me, therefore I beg of you, my Dear, not to grudge yourself whatever may be necessary for you. My Dearest Lillie I beg of you to tell me ingenuously, how you are, for I will not be easie till I know.

My Dearest Lillie, I have been all day in the City and am a little weary, but, blessed be God, am otherwise very well. My Dearest Lillie God bless and preserve you.

Dearest Lillie farewell.

(quoted from W. R. Scott, *Adam Smith as Student and Professor*, pp. 15-16)

Perhaps the bourgeois values were already in place by, say, 1710, and the formulation of John Millar and Adam Smith may only have been that which received the best publicity? We have to note that Robert Wallace wrote a frank and perceptive essay on "Venery" (published by Norah Smith in *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 1973). The importance of sexual passion in guiding a civilization has been emphasized by Sigmund Freud and compactly described in *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Why not introduce Edmund Burke on this point? One would want to see a full development of this theme—what about the imagery of William Julius Mickle in *The Lusiad* (1771), or John Robison in *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe* (1797), or Thomas Robert Malthus in the first edition of the *Essay on Population* (1798)? After all, the Scots were the most important—perhaps the only—admirers of the sparkling first edition of Malthus's *Essay*, with its delightful view of love. There is much more to be done, and perhaps Dwyer will turn to this theme yet again.

Salim Rashid, University of Illinois

**Female Education in the Age of Enlightenment.** Introduction by Janet Todd. 6 volumes. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1996.

The latter half of the eighteenth century saw an enormous proliferation of conduct literature for women. The multivolume *Female Education in the Age of Enlightenment* offers facsimile reprints of six representative titles from this period. Volume one—consisting of James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women* (1767) and John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774)—begins with an introduction to the series by Janet Todd, who provides brief biographical sketches of the authors and presents a useful overview of female advice books from the sixteenth-century Protestant manuals that addressed both women and men on the establishment of a "godly household" to the dramatic increase over the course of the eighteenth century of works aimed specifically at a growing audience of female readers.

The most radical of the works presented here is Catharine Macaulay's *Letters on Education* (1790), which went beyond Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, notes Todd, in its call for complete equality in the education of girls and boys (p. xx). In comparison with the republican-minded Macaulay, the other authors in this series appear quite conservative in orientation. Indeed, with their emphasis on feminine piety and their insistence on female domesticity, these works might seem the very antithesis of "enlightened" texts. Yet their authors frequently draw upon Enlightenment themes of historical progress to argue for improvements in the manners and morals of both sexes, emphasizing the importance of "conversation" between men and women in "the general commerce of social life" (Fordyce, *Sermons*, 171). Hester Chapone's *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773), here bound with Thomas Gisborne's *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (1797), encouraged the female reader to "enlighten [her] mind" with "agreeable and useful books on manners and morals," which she characterized as "moral philosophy" presented in "an easier dress" (p. 203). Chapone also expected the young lady to familiarize herself with Enlightenment historiography, recommending Hume's *History of England* and Robertson's *History of Scotland* and promising much "advantage and delight" from "the first volume" (i.e., "A View of the Progress of Society in Europe") of Robertson's *History of Charles V* (p. 237). Similarly, Jane West's three-volume *Letters to a Young Lady* (1811) assured the female reader that it was "delightful" to "[trace] the progress of society through the gradations of barbarism, improvement, civilization, refinement, luxury, degradation, corruption, and decay," although she also suggested that history-reading would substitute for actual experience in the wider sphere of action from which women must be "precluded" (2:427-28). Such works thus suggest both the possibilities and limits of enlightenment for eighteenth-century women.

Volume one reprints two of the most commercially successful female conduct books of the period, both written by Scots. The popularity of Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women* (which the publisher incorrectly calls *Sermons for Young Women*) endured into the nineteenth century, with editions published at London and Philadelphia as late

as 1814, while Gregory's *Legacy* was easily the best-selling conduct book of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. First published posthumously in 1774, the *Legacy* went through countless reprints, was frequently excerpted in popular miscellanies, was translated into French, Italian, and Russian, and ran through dozens of American editions—including an 1823 publication (Troy, N.Y.: W. & J. Disturnell) that placed Gregory's *Legacy* alongside Hume's "Of the Study of History," which the bookseller titled "The study of history recommended to the ladies." While the *Legacy* was often held up as the standard for female advice literature, the work was not without its critics. Henry Mackenzie, for example, liked the *Legacy* "extremely," but found "too much of an artificial Sort of Decorum recommended in it"; he preferred Chapone's *Letters*, which he read "with great Pleasure" (*Henry Mackenzie Letters to Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock*, ed. Horst W. Drescher [1967], pp. 157, 169). A reviewer of *Adelaide and Theodore* in the *Critical Review* for October 1783 found fault with the *Legacy*'s overemphasis on female reserve and attributed this failing to its Scottishness:

Even the elegant and judicious precepts of the late amiable Dr. Gregory, whose country was so near our own, and allied to it by a similarity of government, of religion, and, in some respects, of manners, will scarcely form an English woman, who would be styled attracting. The reserve which he so strongly inculcates, and which is a striking feature in the characters of our fair neighbours, would be considered in this country as an affected distance, or a blameable timidity. (p. 300)

For the most part, however, the works of Gregory and Fordyce were assimilated to an emerging canon of morally improving works for the young *English* lady. It was because their works had "long made a part of a young woman's library" that Wollstonecraft singled out Fordyce and Gregory for criticism in her *Vindication*, and that Jane Austen—choosing satire over censure—depicted the pompous clergyman Mr. Collins reading aloud with "monotonous solemnity" from Fordyce's *Sermons* in *Pride and Prejudice*.

Mary Catherine Moran, Johns Hopkins University

Lisbeth Haakonssen, **Medicine and Morals in the Enlightenment: John Gregory, Thomas Percival and Benjamin Rush**. Wellcome Institute Series in the History of Medicine. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997. Pp. x + 247.

In the last two decades, biomedical ethics has become a growth industry. Historians of medicine have traced a history dating back to the eighteenth century, pointing to John Gregory's *Lectures on the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician* (1772) as the *locus classicus* of modern physician-patient relationships. In contrast, the other major work of the period, Thomas Percival's 1803 *Medical Ethics*, is said to concern professional etiquette, the way physicians behave toward each other. Gregory is viewed as the more "philosophical" of these, Percival the more practical.

In her detailed study of Gregory, Percival, and the influential Philadelphian Benjamin Rush, Haakonssen demolishes this dichotomy of practical vs. philosophical. The work of these three, she argues, had common roots in the medical school of the University of Edinburgh, and are more alike than different. Haakonssen combines social and intellectual history with textual analysis to construct a finely nuanced picture of the medical and ethical world of eighteenth-century Scotland. The complexity of this picture, as well as its particular context, lead her to question the "founding fathers" status of the three physicians.

Haakonssen's first chapter, in which she masterfully surveys the history and historiography of eighteenth-century medical ethics, is worth the price of the book. While she may overemphasize the "Baconian" orientation of Edinburgh medicine, making it seem more unified in theory than it perhaps was, her account nonetheless rings true and reminds us of the central role of Christianity in Scottish moral theory. In the subsequent three chapters she surveys in turn Gregory, Percival, and Rush. While each of these three chapters could stand on its own as a substantial essay, the whole is definitely greater than the sum of its parts.

In her account of John Gregory (1724-1773), Haakonssen emphasizes especially the years he spent in Aberdeen, both as a student in the late 1730s and in the decade 1756-66, when he occupied the position of "mediciner" at King's College. With his cousin Thomas Reid, Gregory helped to establish the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, whose members produced a number of treatises based on Reid's common sense philosophy. The Aberdonians defended Christianity against skeptics such as Hume, and Haakonssen compares Gregory to the reforming moderate clergy both in style and in philosophy.

Rather than looking at Gregory's *Duties and Qualifications of a Physician* in isolation, Haakonssen sees it in the context of his other works, the *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World* (1765) and the conduct book, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774). She refutes the suggestion that Gregory's concept of sympathy was identical to Hume's by reference to this wider context.

Haakonssen's long chapter on Thomas Percival (1740-1804) emphasizes the similarities between Percival's background in the "rational Dissent" of English provincial culture and the Scottish moderate clergy. When Percival went to Edinburgh to complete his medical education, he continued along a path already begun in War-

rington and Manchester, where many of his teachers had been educated in Scotland. Percival's *Medical Ethics*, therefore, had an extensive philosophical as well as practical basis. Haakonssen's radical reinterpretation rehabilitates Percival's work as a contribution to moral philosophy, and shows how similar his work is to Gregory's. To both, sympathy and civility were the keys to the behavior of the physician.

Rush (1745-1813) is, to Haakonssen, the least successful in his formulation of a medical ethics. Like Percival, Rush's Scottish-trained teachers led him to Edinburgh. Rush's medical ethics were also based on the notion of sympathy. But his unitary theory of disease (which bears some relation to the ideas of John Brown, whom Haakonssen does not mention) claimed a simplicity for medicine which was more suitable to the American frontier than to urban Britain. However, Haakonssen criticizes Rush less for this theory than for his lack of philosophical understanding; his reductionist psychology, she says, led him to neglect "the basic philosophical problem" of ethics, "that the necessary premise for this argument was a Christian utilitarianism" (pp. 237-38).

Haakonssen concludes that the main contribution of these physicians to modern thinking is in their definition of the doctor as a public servant. While a more extensive conclusion would have been welcome, the book as a whole is a valuable contribution to our understanding of eighteenth-century Scotland and its impact on modern ethical thought.

Anita Guerrini, University of California, Santa Barbara

Deborah A. Symonds, *Weep Not for Me: Women, Ballads and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland*. University Park, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 1997. Pp. xxi + 289.

Deborah A. Symonds's provocative and imaginative book treats infanticide and representations of it in the Scottish long eighteenth century. She takes ballads and court records of infanticide prosecutions as her source to provide a history of the impact of the capitalist transformation of agriculture on rural women in eighteenth-century Scotland. The two sources provide different accounts of this change: "while the ballad tradition continued to treat infanticide bluntly, the gentlemen of the courts, and ultimately doctors and novelists as well, struggled with the prospect of infanticide and concluded that women could not kill their infants. If villagers knew about infanticide, suspected it, and continued to sing about it, by late in the century bourgeois men and women, informed by late Enlightenment ideals, erased it" (p. 3).

Symonds puts the court records to striking use from the beginning. The book opens with a dramatic retelling of two murders. Both victims are pregnant women murdered by their lovers; both murderers leave tell-tale signs of their guilt. This opening demonstrates the desperation of two rural Scots at the coming of an unwanted child, whose birth would blight the fathers' and mothers' economic and social prospects.

The most compelling parts of the book lie in Symonds's presentation and analysis of documentary evidence from courts and contemporaries. The central chapters, chapters 3 through 7, rely on painstaking research and provide a challenging analysis of the sources. Chapter 3 cogently examines one case in detail and surveys several others. In addition to investigating women accused of infanticide, Symonds shows women taking the lead in detection and punishment of infanticide. Chapter 4 evaluates women's work in the Scottish economy, from rural household work and agricultural tenancy to roles developed by women as a result of the economic transformation taking place. Chapter 5 investigates the establishment of the Act Anent Child murder, placing its roots in Stuart authority rather than the kirk. Symonds argues in chapter 6 that the development of an exclusively maternal definition of women, combined with the language of natural rights, allowed the eventual defeat of the act. In chapter 7 she shows the impact of the transformation of society on the confessions—by words or by signs—of women accused of child murder.

The chapters of literary interpretation are equally thought-provoking. Some readers may find, however, that they raise more questions than they answer. The first chapter, on ballad singers and collectors, considers the contributions of women as oral composers and the errors, obfuscations, and bowdlerizations of the (largely male) ballad collectors. Symonds's account makes clear the extent to which many of the collectors ignored or attempted to erase the crucial participation of women in the ballad tradition. Her discussion of the oral composer Anna Gordon Brown is especially valuable, and it seems that Gordon Brown and other gentlewomen who sought ballads to learn were the best collectors. Ballads themselves are the topic of chapter 2, and if Symonds's readings of them are not always persuasive, they are always thoughtful and relevant to her thesis.

The use of ballads by literary writers, treated briefly in the first chapter, becomes the subject of chapter 8, an analysis of Walter Scott's *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*. Symonds treats Scott as a political writer, for whom the traditional aura of ballads, if not their grim subjects, held great appeal. In her reading, he transforms the bleak historical case of Isobell Walker, accused and convicted of infanticide, into the tale of the exemplary bourgeois Jeanie Deans, who wins a pardon for her sister, *wrongly* accused and convicted of infanticide. Symonds describes the paradoxical result: Scott "did not recognize that by erasing the reality of infanticide, he was helping triumphant capitalist farming to obscure the changes he deplored in a hierarchical old order, where particular rights and duties pertained to persons in their various stations" (p. 209).

Chapter 9, acting as a substantive conclusion, depicts the passing away of the old order through brief accounts of notable gentlewomen's lives and writings. Symonds oversimplifies questions of authorship and publication in her brief treatment of Lady Nairne, but her exposition of the writings of Elizabeth Mure and the life of Sophia Johnston is both engaging and persuasive. Due to its insightful analysis, rich detail, and the imaginative presentation of the argument, Deborah Symonds's book should make compelling reading for those interested in women's history or eighteenth-century Scotland.

Leigh Eicke, University of Maryland

John J. Toffey, *A Woman Nobly Planned: Fact and Myth in the Legacy of Flora MacDonald*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1997. Pp. 266.

A. J. Youngson, *The Prince and the Pretender: Two Views of the '45*. Edinburgh: Croom Helm, 1985; reprint, Edinburgh: Mercat, 1996.

The 1745 Jacobite rebellion creates unusual possibilities for historical analysis because contemporaries and historians formed very strong, well-supported, intelligent, but contradictory views of the rising. On the one hand, Jacobites and their supporters asserted that Jacobitism represented an alternative to parliamentary corruption and a rejection of the 1707 Act of Union. The '45 was the ultimate expression of loyalty to a dethroned king that had every chance of succeeding, if only the Jacobites' luck had been better. Opponents of Jacobitism asserted that it was an attempt to turn away from participatory government and move back to Catholic absolutism. In their view, the '45 was a minority movement whose brief success was only due to British surprise at the rebellion. How could these two, honestly held, contradictory views have coexisted?

Jacobitism is also interesting because of the way the movement was romanticized after its death. Although it was considered a threat in 1745, the movement was very quickly romanticized after its fall. Charles Edward Stuart changed, in the view of most Britons, from a dangerous, disruptive problem, to a bright young man, unjustly denied his throne but bravely trying to regain his legacy. Many of his supporters were also romanticized; over time, their virtues were accented, their flaws diminished, and their failures portrayed as cruel fate. The Jacobites became champions of a lost cause, struggling bravely in the face of all the odds. How did this happen? Why did the Jacobites hold such appeal during the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century and beyond?

These questions are dealt with in a new paperback reissue of A. J. Youngson's 1985 book, *The Prince and the Pretender*, and in John J. Toffey's *A Woman Nobly Planned*. Youngson takes a new approach to the differing views of Jacobitism: he writes the story of the 1745 rebellion twice, using the same sources, once from a Jacobite perspective and once from an anti-Jacobite perspective. In regard to the main outlines of Charles Edward Stuart's adventures, from the rising of the Jacobite standard at Glenfinnan in August 1745 to the Battle of Culloden in April 1746, Youngson sticks to the course of events established in several previous histories, yet he comes up with two contrasting stories. The Jacobite story, the story of the Prince, focuses on the place of Jacobitism in relation to British and Scottish history and the place of the Stuart kings in that history. The Stuarts are portrayed as good kings who resisted the attempts of Parliament to limit royal power. Ultimately, Parliament displaced them in the Glorious Revolution. The Jacobites supported the return of a strong monarchy, both out of belief in monarchism and out of revulsion at rampant corruption in Parliament. The anti-Jacobite story, the story of the Pretender, puts Jacobitism in a broader geographical but a narrower chronological context. Instead of being the finale of decades of conflict between Parliament and the monarchy, the '45 was primarily the result of British-French antagonism during the War of Austrian Succession. In this view, the French used the Stuarts and their followers to cause internal problems for Britain, distracting the British from their Continental interests and thus weakening Hanoverian influence in Europe. Moving from these two very different views, Youngson proceeds to give two contrasting interpretations of the rebellion, each of which is believable and well-supported. It is a fascinating study of how, despite historians' dedication to objectivity, history is necessarily affected by its writers' perspectives.

Toffey's biography of Flora MacDonald also shows different ways of looking at Jacobitism. Toffey, however, charts change over time, rather than holding up contrasting ideologies as the source of the difference. Toffey examines the life and reputation of Flora MacDonald, the Jacobite heroine who helped Charles Edward escape capture after Culloden by disguising him as her maid and helping him cross the Highlands. Unfortunately, MacDonald left very few writings and no memoirs, so it is impossible to address her true personality. Through a very careful analysis of the existing sources, Toffey does manage to piece together bits and pieces of her character, discarding much of the apocrypha that has arisen around her. However, that apocrypha is what truly interests Toffey. What was it about Flora MacDonald that made her so fascinating to people of her own time and ever since?

Toffey finds the source of MacDonald's enduring fame in her status as a folk heroine. She is remembered not so much for her effect on history as for the way her actions have been portrayed and romanticized for generations. MacDonald is usually the subject not of serious scholarship but of songs and stories; to many commentators, her actions are appealing but unimportant. Because she exists primarily in song and story, MacDonald has been constantly recreated as everything from a Scottish nationalist to an eighteenth-century Virgin Mary. Because so little



is known about what she actually was, she can be anything, and has been many things at different times. Toffey's analysis is interesting because it shows how MacDonald's personality has been set aside and repeatedly replaced. She can be used to reflect times in which she never lived, and she has been constantly recreated in order to do so.

Both these books help readers to consider Jacobitism and the '45 in new ways. Youngson's book explains how such contrasting stories could have grown up around the rebellion, depending on one's point of view and ideological preconceptions. Toffey attempts to explain how Flora MacDonald became the romantic heroine that she is and how her image has changed over time. Both authors' methodologies can be applied more broadly. Most historical events can be analyzed effectively from different viewpoints; in the case of Jacobitism, both trends have coexisted for so long that the possibilities are more obvious than in other areas. Both these books help readers arrive at more comprehensive views of Jacobitism; by embracing ideological differences and romantic traditions, they get to the root of changing interpretations.

**Kristen D. Robinson, University of Kentucky**

Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1997. Pp. x + 226.

The Scots College in Paris was the keystone of the Scottish Roman Catholic community from its refoundation in the early seventeenth century to its dissolution during the French Revolution. During that time it trained many of the secular clergy who served in Scotland and generally acted as a base for the Scots mission as a whole. It was there, for example, that Scottish priests received practical instruction in the art of staying alive and at liberty in priest-hunting, papist-hating, Calvinist Scotland, and it was to the Scots College that many of them periodically returned for rest and refreshment after the travails of years spent underground in the Highlands and Lowlands. As well, from the mid-seventeenth century onward the College took in increasingly large numbers of students from the dwindling Scottish Catholic elite, whom the faculty sought to bring up as pious Catholics, able to resist the blandishments and advantages of conformity to the Protestant order. Without doubt, the success of the mission during the worst period of persecution (from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries) in large part depended on how well the College did its job.

Insofar as the Catholic community survived until the great Irish immigration of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reestablished it as a major force in Scottish society, the Scots College and the associated Scots mission succeeded. But as Brian Halloran clearly shows, the College was sometimes more of a hindrance than a help to the Catholic community. The close engagement of the College's faculty and many of the mission priests with the Jacobite courts at St. Germain and Rome brought in its train very serious problems. The involvement of the College's principal, Louis (or Lewis) Innes, in Jacobite politics, for example, led to his becoming an almost permanent absentee, opening the way for the inept administration of Charles Whyteford. Innes's high profile within the Jacobite cause also excited the hostility of the British authorities and encouraged them to continue priest-hunting in Scotland long after they might otherwise have lost interest. The Jacobite rebellions not only disrupted the mission's work; they seriously damaged its support base in Scotland. The long, nepotistic ascendancy of the Innes family alienated and embittered many of the mission priests, leading to factions, denunciations, and quarreling that on occasion paralyzed the Scots College and even the mission as a whole. The initial equivocations of the College faculty, and Lewis Innes's brother Thomas in particular, regarding the papacy's efforts to extirpate the Jansenist heresy led to long investigations by the Vatican and an abiding legacy of suspicion that touched the whole Scottish mission and severely hampered its work into the later eighteenth century.

Yet the Scots College in one crucial respect made a decisive contribution to the survival of Scottish Catholicism. For its very existence proved that Rome and the larger Catholic community cared for their beleaguered brethren; they were not forgotten and alone as long as the Scots College in Paris (and its Jesuit-controlled counterpart in Rome) continued to exist.

Halloran's account of how the Scots College in Paris managed to sustain itself through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is, then, intrinsically useful. The book, however, bears all the hallmarks of having made a direct transition from Halloran's Ph.D. dissertation (including a number of typographical and other minor errors) and is, in consequence, thorough, detailed, and comprehensive, but also somewhat repetitious. It is too narrowly focused, as Halloran was not much interested there in historiographical disputes and larger questions having to do with Catholicism and Jacobitism. However, these problems, and some awkwardness in the prose style, should not detract from its value to the historian. We have long needed a reliable institutional history of the Scots College, and Halloran's account will doubtless become the standard for the foreseeable future.

**Daniel Szechi, Auburn University**

Christopher A. Whatley, **The Industrial Revolution in Scotland**. New Studies in Economic and Social History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. vii + 107.

There is no shortage of written material on the Industrial Revolution in *Britain*, but how exactly does Scotland fit in? Considering what very different economic positions Scotland and England held at the time of the Union, and their distinctive legal and education systems, it does seem rather surprising that the story of the coming of industrialization has, by and large, been told simply as a British one, with examples from, say, Lancashire, complemented by examples from, say, Lanarkshire.

No one could claim that the Scottish experience has not been researched or written about: Chris Whatley's references number 321. What has been lacking is a critical overview of the literature. This booklet is therefore immensely useful and should be a mainstay in schools and colleges across Scotland. The list of references will also prove a great boon, and Whatley carefully points out, at various points in the text, where more recent research has discredited earlier claims, and this, hopefully, will guide those new to the field to look at the material with a critical eye.

There are four chapters: the first looks at the pre-Union inheritance, the second aims to identify Scotland's Industrial Revolution from the Union to about 1850, the third grapples with causes, and the fourth looks at social aspects (i.e., the effects on the human population of all the massive changes which occurred). But what, if anything, is there for those members of this society who are more interested in the intellectual and cultural life of eighteenth-century Scotland than the nitty-gritty of industrialization? Well, on page 49 Whatley writes: "In character the Scottish Enlightenment was intensely practical, with the Newtonian principles of order and simplicity as well as its other ideas and ideals (such as social progress) being widely diffused through the pulpit, lecture-room and parish and burgh schools." And he goes on to provide examples of some important effects of rational inquiry and scientific method.

There was only one thing that really bothered me in this otherwise wholly admirable work. One is quite used to sighing over non-academics referring to the "1700s" because they can't grasp the term "eighteenth century." If a historian writes of "the 1700s," then to me that means 1700 to 1710 (like the 1730s, 1780s, or any other decade). So it was awfully jarring to find "the 1700s" used interchangeably with "the eighteenth century." I don't suppose students will be bothered, but some teachers might be.

Leah Leneman, University of Edinburgh

**Spottiswoode: Life and Labour on a Berwickshire Estate, 1753-1793**. Introduction by Douglas Hall. Commentary by Tom Barry. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997. Pp. 180.

This book is inspired by the fortuitous survival of an eighteenth-century estate ledger, compiled by the laird, John Spottiswoode, as a record of, and tool for, the management of his Berwickshire property. Though Spottiswoode does not indicate in these pages that he initiated any breakthroughs in agricultural improvements, this ledger does offer the reader a fine account of the workaday world of farm life within this Borders region. While Douglas Hall and Tom Barry do not publish the ledger itself, they do offer two rather lengthy essays consisting of thoughtful, thorough, and informed discussions of the history of the Spottiswoode family, the lands of the estate, the Scottish Borders region, as well as the state of contemporary agricultural practices.

Douglas Hall, resident on the lands of the former estate for more than a generation, presents the reader with an eighty-four-page essay entitled "The House of Spottiswoode." He begins his explorations with the earliest evidence of the family in the late Middle Ages, discussing the various family seats in the area south of the Lamermuir Hills, highlighting the years covered in the ledger and carrying discussion well into the present century. Hall demonstrates a fine grasp of Scottish political and social history, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Despite the apparent loss of most of the family papers, most likely through a deliberate act of destruction, Hall skillfully reconstructs the milieu and offers a fine portrait of the four members of the Spottiswoode family, each named John, who served as laird of the estate from 1700 until 1866. The ledger in question was the handiwork of John II (1711-93). Hall's essay concludes with a sad lament for the gradual disappearance of the estate during the twentieth century, a process culminating in the wholesale demolition of the buildings during the Great Depression. Fortunately, the photographs, paintings, maps, and an extensive family tree are well able to convey to the reader a sense of much that has transpired and disappeared.

The second long essay, "The Spottiswoode Diary: A Commentary," written by Tom Barry, is a detailed analysis of the document itself. Based on a reading of Barry's essay, this reviewer feels that the "diary" can best be described as a farm ledger, since it records the hiring of, and payments to, farm servants, craftsmen, and trades people. Spottiswoode also seems to have included both the names and payments of the estate tenants. Thus, this manuscript possesses considerable value for the historian. Fortunately, Barry is skillful in teasing meaning from Spottiswoode's manifold, frequently obscure, and all-too-fleeting entries, and he is quite helpful in translating eighteenth-century word usage and methods of measurement into modern idiom. He depicts an era in which coinage and hard woods were in short supply; there were few roads and fewer wheeled carts; most goods were moved about by pack animals; human diet was remarkable for its monotony; and, most important of all, improved

agriculture was in its infancy. The reader can comprehend from the text the slow and somewhat modest process of agricultural improvement on this estate, in the form of land drainage and enclosure, the building of stone dykes, tree planting, the cultivation of newer field crops, as well as the introduction of more productive varieties of livestock. Though Spottiswoode deserves credit for these significant enhancements, they were, in fact, quite modest when compared to processes that have been studied on other contemporary Scottish estates, such as those of Lord Kames of Blair Drummond and John Cockburn of Ormiston. Finally, Barry's discussion of this ledger sheds light on the routine relationships of the laird with literally dozens of persons who inhabited or worked on the estate. Some portrayals are more fully fleshed out than others, but it is a delight to read about individuals whose documented record of service endured for decades.

Although the scholarly value of *Spottiswoode* would have been further enhanced by the inclusion of a conclusion and a bibliography, Hall, Barry, and Tuckwell Press have done students of eighteenth-century Scotland a distinct service in making this book available. It will be a worthy addition to both private and school libraries.

Gilbert Schrank, Nassau Community College

### Briefly Noted

Craig Beveridge and Ronnie Turnbull, **Scotland After Enlightenment: Image and Tradition in Modern Scottish Culture**. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1997. Pp. 189.

Following up on *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (1988), the team of Beveridge and Turnbull has produced another volume of essays debunking Scottish Enlightenment culture and the present-day academics who love it. This time around there are new anti-Enlightenment heroes to exalt, including David Allan and Alasdair MacIntyre. Despite a tendency to oversimplify the historiography of eighteenth-century Scottish studies, as if the views of Hugh Trevor-Roper reign supreme in the field nowadays, Beveridge and Turnbull raise interesting issues and often provide provocative readings of key texts. I especially enjoyed their discussion of MacIntyre, whose notion of "tradition" as the foundation of all meaningful intellectual activity appeals to their belief that the modern (or postmodern) sensibility we have inherited from the Enlightenment is too eclectic, relativist, and atomistic to protect us from "intellectual anomie" (p. 170). This is somewhat ironic, coming from this ultra-eclectic duo, whose positions are hard to place along any philosophical or ideological spectrum (left-right or otherwise). Unlike some of their critics, however, they are searching for meaning in the world of ideas and thinking seriously about what Scotland has been and should be, and that's refreshing.

Alexander Broadie, ed., **The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology**. Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1997. Pp. xi + 820.

Here's value for you: over eight hundred pages for £10.99! Broadie gives us forty-eight selections from the likes of Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, Reid, Ferguson, and Kames. As one would expect, the focus is philosophical, but in a sense broad enough to encompass figures such as John Gregory, Hugh Blair, and William Smellie. Broadie adds a general introduction, briefer introductions to each selection, and a biographical index.

Ned C. Landsman, **From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture 1680-1760**. Twayne's American Thought and Culture Series. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997. Pp. xv + 224.

Although not focused on Scotland, this book forms a marvelous introduction to the transatlantic interplay of Enlightenment culture and Protestant piety that Scots did so much to foster in English-speaking America. Highly recommended for American history surveys.

**Descriptive List of Secretaries of State: State Papers Scotland, Series Two (1688-1782)**. List and Index Society, vols. 262-264. London, 1996.

**Scottish Archives: The Journal of the Scottish Records Association**. Vol. 1 (1995). Pp. 134.

The List and Index Society and the Scottish Records Association may not be as well known to our members as they should be. The three volumes published by the LIS give dates and summary information about letters among the Scottish State Papers in the Public Record Office from 1688 through 1782 (SP 54/1-48). These well-indexed, large-format paperback volumes can save much trouble and expense in the archives. They can be purchased from the Asst. Secretary, List and Index Society, Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU, U.K.

The Scottish Records Association, established in 1977 for the purpose of encouraging the preservation and use of public and private records in Scotland, holds an annual conference and now has its own journal, edited by Margaret Storrie. The first issue displays a strong eighteenth-century interest and contains contributions by three ECSSS members (R. H. Campbell, Ian Donnachie, and Christopher Whatley). To take advantage of the Association's special offer on its journal, contact the Honorable Secretary, Dr. Tristram Clarke, Scottish Record Office, HM General Register House, Edinburgh EH1 3YY, Scotland, U.K. (tclarke@sro.gov.uk).

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/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 1997, except for items published a year or two earlier that were not included in previous lists. Recent doctoral theses are also included.

David ARMITAGE, "Making the Empire British: Scotland in the Atlantic World 1542-1707," *Past and Present*, no. 155 (1977): 34-63.

Mike BARFOOT, "Introduction" to John Thomson, *An Account of the Life, Lectures, and Writings of William Cullen, M.D.* (Bristol, 1997), v-xvii.

August BENZ, "Ein wiederentdeckter Schottischer Aufklärer. Zum Gedenken des 200. Todestags von Thomas Reid," *Schweizer Monatshefte* 12 (1996-97): 69-70.

Fiona BLACK, "'Advent'rous Merchants and Atlantic Waves': A Preliminary Study of the Scottish Contribution to Book Availability in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1752-1810," *The Bibliothek* 22 (1997): 35-76.

Elaine G. BRESLAW, "A Perilous Climb to Social Eminence: Dr. Alexander Hamilton and his Creditors," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 92 (1997): 433-55.

Stephen BROWN, "Introduction" to William Smellie, *Literary and Characteristical Lives* (Bristol, 1997), v-xxi.

Stewart J. BROWN, "Introduction" and "William Robertson (1721-1793) and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *WREE*, 1-6, 7-35.

Daniel Brühlmeier, "Die Geburt der Sozialwissenschaften aus dem Geiste der Moralphilosophie," in *SA*, 23-38.

John W. CAIRNS, "Andrew Bell, Jonas Luntley and the London Edition of Mackenzie's *Institutions*," *The Bibliothek* 21 (1996): 7-11.

John W. CAIRNS, "Three Unnoticed Scottish Editions of Pieter Burman's *Antiquitatum Romanarum brevis descriptio*," *The Bibliothek* 22 (1997): 20-33.

John W. CAIRNS, "The Civil Law Tradition in Scottish Legal Thought," in *The Civilian Tradition and Scots Law: Aberdeen Quincentenary Essays*, ed. David L. Carey Miller and Reinhard Zimmerman (Berlin, 1997), 191-223.

Pierre CARBONI, "Les Penseurs écossais des belles-lettres," in *ÉL*, 23-56.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Burns and the Scottish Critical Tradition," in *LL*, 239-47.

Barney COCHRAN, "Grace, Virtue, and Law: Political Discourse and the Search for National Identity in the Early Scottish Enlightenment" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1997). [deals with George Turnbull and Robert Wallace]

Thomas CRAWFORD, "Burns, Genius and Major Poetry," in *LL*, 341-53.

Thomas CRAWFORD, "Introduction" to *BSB*, 1-12.

David DAICHES, "Robert Burns: The Tightrope Walker," in *LL*, 18-31.

Marlies K. DANZIGER, "Young Boswell, Aspiring Cosmopolite," in *BSB*, 33-54.

Marlies K. DANZIGER, "Le jeune Boswell en voyage et ses rapports avec la Franc-Maçonnerie," in *Franc-Maçonnerie: Avenir d'une tradition, chemins maçonniques* (Tours, 1997), 56-61.

Leith DAVIS, "The Politics of Hypochondriasis: James Currie's *Works of Robert Burns*," *Studies in Romanticism* 32 (1997): 43-60.

Deidre DAWSON, entries on "Sir David Wilkie" and "Painting, History" in *BHA*, 527-28, 773.

Deidre DAWSON, "La peinture des sentiments moraux: Gavin Hamilton et Jacques-Louis David," in *ÉL*, 319-42.

Gordon DESBRISAY, "Catholics, Quakers and Religious Persecution in Restoration Aberdeen," *The Innes Review* 47 (1996): 136-68.

Horst DRESCHER, "Henry Mackenzie: Lumières et sentiment," in *ÉL*, 87-103.

Roger L. EMERSON, "Hume and the Bellman: Zerobabel MacGilchrist," *Hume Studies* 23 (1997): 9-28.

Michel FAURE, "John Millar ou la culture politique d'un homme des Lumières," in *ÉL*, 209-27.

Roger J. FECHNER, "Burns and American Liberty," in *LL*, 274-88.

Henry L. FULTON, "From Mrs Dunlop to the Currie Edition: The Missing Links," in *LL*, 256-65.

Charles GRISWOLD, "Religion and Community: Adam Smith on the Virtues of Liberty," *Philosophy* 35 (1997): 395-419.

Charles GRISWOLD, "Adam Smith," in *Classics of Modern Political Theory*, ed. S. Cahn (1997), 518-21.

Charles GRISWOLD, "Happiness, Tranquillity, and Philosophy," *Critical Review* 10 (1996): 1-32 (much on Adam Smith).

- Charles GRISWOLD (with Douglas DEN UYL), "Adam Smith on Friendship and Love," *Review of Metaphysics* 49 (1996): 609-37.
- Charles GRISWOLD, "Nature and Philosophy: Adam Smith on Stoicism, Aesthetic Reconciliation, and Imagination," *Man and World* 29 (1996): 187-223.
- Anita GUERRINI, "The Varieties of Mechanical Medicine: Borellie, Malpighi, Bellini, and Pitcairne," in *Marcello Malpighi: Anatomist and Physician*, ed. Domenico B. Meli (Nuncius, 1997), 111-28.
- Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "Reason and Will in the Humanities," in *Is There a Human Nature?*, ed. Leroy S. Rouser (Notre Dame, 1997), 63-77.
- Colin KIDD, "The Kirk, the French Revolution and the Burden of Scottish Whiggery," in *Religious Change in Europe 1650-1914: Essays for John McManners*, ed. Nigel Aston (Oxford, 1997).
- Colin KIDD, "The Ideological Significance of Robertson's *History of Scotland*," in *WREE*, 122-44.
- Colin KIDD, "Sentiment, Race and Revival: Scottish Identities in the Aftermath of Enlightenment," in *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850*, ed. L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (Manchester, 1997).
- Colin KIDD, "The Strange Death of Scottish History Revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c.1790-1914," *Scottish Historical Review* 76 (1997): 86-102.
- Heimer F. KLEMMME, "Die praktische Bedeutung metaphysischer Untersuchungen," in *David Hume, Eine Untersuchung über den menschlichen Verstand*, ed. J. Kulen Kampff (Berlin, 1997), 19-35.
- Sylvie LAFON, "La fable dans l'Écosse des Lumières: William Wilkie et Allan Ramsay," in *ÉL*, 73-85.
- Ned C. LANDSMAN, "Presbyterians, Evangelicals, and the Educational Culture of the Middle Colonies," *Pennsylvania History* 64 (1997): 168-82.
- Ned C. LANDSMAN, "Introduction" to Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, *Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D.* (Bristol, 1997), v-xiv.
- John Christian LAURSEN (with Richard H. Popkin), "Hume in the Prussian Academy: Jean Bernard Mérian's 'On the Phenomenalism of David Hume'," *Hume Studies* 23 (1997): 153-91.
- Leah LENEMAN, "'A Tyrant and Tormentor': Violence against Wives in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland," *Continuity and Change* 12 (1997): 31-54.
- Leah LENEMAN, "Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: Evidence from the Divorce Courts," *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh* 27 (1997): 242-45.
- Bruce P. LENMAN, "'From Savage to Scot' via the French and the Spaniards: Principal Robertson's Spanish Sources," in *WREE*, 196-209.
- F. Peter LOLE, "The Erskines as Jacobites," *The Jacobite: Journal of the 1745 Association*, no. 95 (1997): 13-20.
- Donald A. LOW, "Nature's Social Union and Man's Dominion: Burns the Poet after Two Hundred Years," in *LL*, 105-10.
- Irma S. LUSTIG, "The Myth of Johnson's Misogyny in the *Life of Johnson*: Another View," in *BSB*, 71-88.
- Susan MANNING, "Burns and Wordsworth: Art and 'the Pleasure which there is in life itself'," in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (London, 1996), 182-206.
- Susan MANNING, "Burns and God," in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. Robert Crawford (Edinburgh, 1997), 113-35.
- Susan MANNING, "Literature and Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol 4 (1997): 587-613.
- Susan MANNING, "Boswell's Pleasures, The Pleasures of Boswell," *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 20 (1997): 17-31.
- Susan MANNING, "Walter Scott: The Critical Question," review article, *The Cambridge Quarterly* 26 (1997).
- Susan MANNING, "Does It Matter that Ossian Was Thomas Jefferson's Favourite Poet?," *Symbiosis* 1 (1997): 219-36.
- Susan MANNING, "Introduction" to Henry Mackenzie, *Account of the Life and Writings of John Home* (Bristol, 1997), v-xvii.
- Carol MCGUIRK, "Loose Canons: Milton and Burns, Artsong and Folksong," in *LL*, 315-25.
- Carol MCGUIRK, "Haunted by Authority: Nineteenth-Century American Constructions of Robert Burns and Scotland," in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. Robert Crawford (Edinburgh, 1997), 136-58.
- Emma Vincent MACLEOD, "Introduction" to John Hill, *An Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair, D.D.* (Bristol, 1997), v-xiv.
- Duncan MACMILLAN, "Géricault et Charles Bell," *Géricault* (Paris, [1997]), 449-91.
- Emily MICHAEL, "Francis Hutcheson and the Glasgow School of Logic," in *Logic and the Workings of the Mind: The Logic of Ideas and Faculty Psychology in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Patricia Easton (Atascadero, 1997).
- Pierre MORERE (with P. Chézaud), "Introduction," in *ÉL*, 7-22.

- Edwin MORGAN, "The Five-Pointed Star," in *LL*, 13-17.
- Vincent MORLEY, "Idé-eolaíocht an tSeacabíteachais in Éirinn agus in Albain," *Oghma* 9 (1997): 14-24.
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#### Key to Abbreviations

*BHA*=*Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Gerald Newman (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1997).

*BSB*=*Boswell in Scotland and Beyond*, ed. Thomas Crawford (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1997 [1998]).

*ÉL*=Pierre Morère, ed., *Écosse des Lumières: le XVIIIe siècle autrement* (Grenoble, 1997).

*LL*=Kenneth Simpson, ed., *Love and Liberty: Robert Burns, A Bicentenary Celebration* (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997).

*SA*=Daniel Brühlmeier, Helmut Holzhey, and Vilem Mudroch, eds., *Schottische Aufklärung: "A Hotbed of Genius"* (Akademie Verlag, 1996).

*WREE*=*William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, ed. Stewart J. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

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Balance 1 Jan. 1997: £3159.69 (corrected)

Income: +£1500.94 (membership dues, book orders, and publishers' services)

Expenses: -£896 (100 copies of *Ossian Revisited*: £590; Chicago conference: £300; partial dues refund: £6)

Balance 31 Dec 1997: £3764.63

#### II. Bank of Scotland Savings Account (Chambers St, Edinburgh)

Balance 1 Jan 1997: £2260.70

Interest: +£84.25

Balance 31 Dec 1997: £2354.95

#### III. Summit Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1997: \$3410.00

Income: +\$4620.99 (membership dues, book orders, and publishers' services)

Expenses: -\$2479.94 (printing and copying: \$1716.67; Chicago conference: \$262.70; paper and supplies: \$180.42; software: \$84.79;

book payment: \$51.60; tax exemption fee to IRS: \$150; NJ non-profit corporation fee: \$15; bank fees: \$18.76)

Balance 31 Dec 1997: \$5551.05

#### IV. Summit Bank Savings Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1997: \$2216.50

Interest: +\$44.94

Bank credit: +\$20.00

Balance 31 Dec 1997: \$2281.44

#### V. Total Assets as of 31 Dec 1997 [vs. 31 Dec 1996]: \$7832.49 [\$5626.50] + £6119.64 [£5420.39, corrected]

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