EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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ECSSS IN ENLIGHTENED UTRECHT

For the second time in three years, ECSSS returned to continental Europe for its annual conference, this time to the delightful medieval city of Utrecht in The Netherlands. The conference was held from 4 to 7 July 1998 at the Academiegebouw, University of Utrecht, and was co-sponsored by the Dutch Eighteenth-Century Studies Society, along with the Research Institute for History and Culture and the Department of History at the university, and the Huizinga Research School. But the real forces behind it were the conference director, Wijnand Mijnhardt, and his attentive staff, and the program director, Kathleen Holcomb. Thanks to their efforts, the Society enjoyed an outstanding conference from start to finish.

The theme of the conference, "Scotland, the Netherlands, and the Atlantic World," provided ample scope for participants to explore a wide range of interesting topics. The conference featured more than thirty papers in fifteen sessions: Travellers and Correspondents; Empires and Colonies in the Americas; Commerce and Technology; The Scottish Enlightenment; Scots-Dutch Influences on American Religion; Boswell; Books; William Robertson on the Continent; The Scottish Emigré Experience in Holland and America; Academic Matters; Law; Painting and Literature; The Theory and Practice of Revolution; Bernard de Mandeville; and Religion in Scotland and the Netherlands in the 1780s. Speakers came from the Netherlands, Scotland, Canada, England, Ireland, the United States, Belgium, Hungary, Poland, and Italy.

There were also three stimulating plenary lectures. Margaret C. Jacob of the University of Pennsylvania (now of UCLA) delivered the first of them at the Academiegebouw: "The Populist Origins of the Enlightenment." On the second day of the conference, the participants traveled by bus to Zuylen Castle, where they were thoroughly entertained by C. P. Courtney of Christ's College, Cambridge, who spoke on "Belle van Zuylen and James Boswell," followed by a boat trip back to central Utrecht. The third plenary lecture took place the next day, when Wijnand Mijnhardt spoke on Dutch culture. That evening a lovely concert of "Nederlandse Muziek" was performed by Mirjam Beumer (soprano), Floris Dercksen (cello), and Gert Oost (organ), perfectly situated in the extraordinary main hall of the Academiegebouw. On the final day, the conference concluded with a truly magnificent banquet at nearby Huize Molenaar, where our hosts outdid themselves with a brilliant display of Dutch hospitality. The Society was fortunate to have on hand all seven of its presidents (Ian Ross, Roger Emerson, Andrew Hook, John Robertson, Susan Manning, James Moore, and now M. A. Stewart), who were photographed together in the garden of the Huize Molenaar. It was a wonderful conference, and the Society is deeply grateful to Wijnand and his staff, as well as Kathleen, for all they did to make it so.

STEWART AND MCGUIRK ELECTED

At the Society's business meeting in Utrecht, M. A. Stewart, noted Hume scholar and Research Professor in the History of Philosophy at the University of Lancaster, was elected the seventh president of ECSSS. The vice-presidency went to the eminent Burns scholar Carol McGuirk of Florida Atlantic University. The founding executive secretary of the Society, Richard Sher, was also elected to another term of office. Other results included Paul Scott and Mark Spencer, members-at-large, and Hiroshi Mizuta and Horst Drescher, corresponding members. Kathleen Holcomb was elected to a new position as website manager.

In other business, the Society adopted a new dues schedule. The cost of membership for graduate students was further reduced to half-price, and retired and unwaged members were given the same rate. Since some members who do not have either U.S. or U.K. bank accounts have sometimes had difficulty paying dues, it was agreed to allow members to subscribe for five years at the cost of four. (This option was provided to members in the 1999 membership renewal mailing in January, and so far a dozen members have taken advantage of it.) It was also agreed that recipients of Lifetime Achievement Awards should be appointed life members.

IAN ROSS HONORED

At the Utrecht conference, Ian Simpson Ross became the third person to be honored by ECSSS with a Lifetime Achievement Award, joining David Daiches and Thomas Crawford in that prestigious category. The founding president of the Society, now retired from the English Department at the University of British Columbia, Ian has enriched all of our lives with fine books on Lord Kames and Adam Smith, as well as many articles on various topics having to do with the intellectual and literary life of the Scottish Enlightenment. At the banquet, the outgoing president of the Society, Jim Moore of Concordia University, paid tribute to Ian in a witty speech and then presented him with a beautiful plaque commemorating this honor. The executive secretary, Rick Sher, recalled Ian's encouraging role at the ASECS meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1986, when the Society was born. Then, with a characteristic twinkle in his eye, and his wife Ingrid at his side, Ian spoke sincerely of the long road that brought him to his present position.

We hope Ian won't mind our sharing with you a portion of a letter he sent to the executive secretary a few weeks after the Utrecht conference: "In my speech of thanks for the award, I should have said more about what the Society has meant to me over the last eleven years—a source of constant stimulation and encouragement for the research work I like best, and which I believe through all our efforts is filling in the world's intellectual map in a satisfactory and critical way. I am very sensible of the great honour done to me, and hope to continue work for many years on the literati with a renewed awareness of the support of colleagues. In your next circular to the Board of Directors of the Society, please express to them my grateful thanks for the high honour they accorded me." It was our great pleasure, Ian!

EXCITEMENT BUILDS FOR DUBLIN

The Enlightenment Congress only happens once every four years, and it is without doubt the main event in international Enlightenment studies. This year's Congress at University College Dublin during the last week of July promises to be one of the largest and best ever.

As we did in Bristol eight years ago, ECSSS will be holding its annual conference within the friendly confines of the Congress this year. But instead of just two seminars and a reception with a plenary speaker, this time we are sponsoring a full-scale conference within the Congress! There will be eight ECSSS sessions over the course of three full days (29-31 July), including two co-sponsored by the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative. Michael Fry and Murray Pittock have organized a strong program (a preliminary version of which was sent to all ECSSS members with the 1999 renewal mailing in January) on the theme of "Scotland and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century." There will be approximately thirty speakers in the ECSSS sessions, which will cover such topics as economic improvement, Berkeley and Hume, enlightened Presbyterianism in Glasgow and Ulster, image and identity, Celticism and literary nationalism, Robert Burns, and provincial radicalism. In addition, the Society will sponsor a luncheon on the 29th, with a plenary lecture by T. M. Devine of the University of Aberdeen on "The Scottish and Irish Diasporas in the Eighteenth Century," and a reception on the 30th, followed by our annual business meeting.

In addition to the ECSSS mini-conference, many of our members will be speaking in regular sessions and round table seminars held throughout the course of the Congress. It's going to be a very special week, and we hope to see you all there!

TORONTO IN 2000: CALL FOR PAPERS

It may not be too early to start thinking about the conference that ECSSS will be holding jointly with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 12-15 October 2000, at Victoria College, University of Toronto. The conference theme will be "Memory and Identity: Present and Past." Since the deadline for paper proposals will not be until 15 April 2000, a flyer formally announcing a call for papers will not be sent out to members until early January 2000. But anyone wishing to apply before then may send a paper proposal to John Baird, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada M5S 1K7 (fax: 416-585-4584; e-mail: john.baird@utoronto.ca) or Paul Wood, Department of History, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 3045, Victoria, B.C., Canada V8W 3P4 (fax: 250-721-8772; e-mail: pbwood@uvvm.uvic.ca).

2001: POLITICAL ECONOMY

In late May or early June 2001, ECSSS will sponsor a conference on "Political Economy and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Culture" at the James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy, George Mason University. By then the Buchanan Center will have moved from Fairfax to its convenient new quarters in Arlington, Virginia, just a Metro stop or two from Washington, D.C. The Liberty Fund will be holding a related conference immediately before or after ours and has agreed to fund the transportion costs for three expert speakers who will be participants at their conference and plenary speakers at ours. David Levy of George Mason University (economics) and Gordon Schochet of Rutgers University (political science) have been appointed co-directors of the ECSSS conference. We have also been in touch with the Adam Smith Society about co-sponsoring this event, and we hope to involve the Folger Library as well. A Call for Papers will be included with next year's newsletter.

ECSSS SEMINARS AT ASECS

Milwaukee in 1999. By all accounts, the ECSSS seminar at the 30th annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in March was one of the best ever. Entitled "Writing Biographies of Scottish Enlightenment Figures: Perspectives and Problems," the session was organized and chaired by Roger Fechner. It featured four talks by scholars who have been engaged in writing the biographies of Scottish Enlightenment figures: Jane B. Fagg on Adam Ferguson, Henry L. Fulton on John Moore, David B. Raynor on David Hume, and Jeffrey R. Smitten on William Robertson. A lively discussion ensued, extending into the late evening, thanks to a party given by Roger Fechner. Our thanks once again to Roger for his generous services at the ASECS meeting!

Philadelphia in 2000. At next year's ASECS meeting in Philadelphia, 12-16 April 2000, ECSSS will sponsor a seminar on "Scottish Books and Booksellers in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia." Those interested in participating should send a paper title and one-page abstract by 1 August to Richard B. Sher (see addresses and fax number on the back cover).

SCOTTISH CHURCHES IN HISTORY

A day-conference on "The Scottish Churches, Politics and the Union Parliament, 1707-1999" was held on Saturday 17 April 1999 at New College, Edinburgh. Hosted by the Scottish Church History Society and the Faculty of Divinity at Edinburgh University, the conference was intended to mark the election of the Scottish Parliament by offering a historical perspective on relations between the churches and politics in Scotland.

The conference was opened by Owen Dudley Edwards of Edinburgh University, who called attention to major developments in the discipline of ecclesiastical history and the significance of the new parliament. Colin Kidd of Glasgow University then explored the influence of the eighteenth-century established church in shaping a civil religion and tolerant civic society in Scotland. Callum Brown of the University of Strathclyde considered the parish community in Scotland, arguing that the establishment principle was felt most strongly at the parish level, and that the parish system of the established church formed the foundation of local government in Scotland until the 1920s. The enduring influence of established religion after the mid-nineteenth century was questioned by Stewart J. Brown of Edinburgh University, who directed attention to the tremendous growth of dissent between about 1790 and 1815, and the refusal of the parliamentary state to fund a program of church building in the 1830s aimed at preserving the influence of the parish system for a rapidly growing population. He saw a more liberal, pluralistic Scotland emerging after the Disruption of 1843. Donald Withrington directed attention to the weakness of the social mission of the Free Church after the Disruption of 1843, as contrasted with the social outreach and social idealism of the established church. There was, he suggested, a dramatic recovery of the established church in the second half of the nineteenth century, which contributed to a revived idea of a Christian state in Scotland, but one reflecting liberal ideas of toleration and progress.

Andrew Ross of Edinburgh University then shifted attention from the churches' social engagement in Scotland to the churches' overseas mission. In particular, he explored the role of the Scottish churches in influencing colonial policy in Malawi. Finally, John McCaffrey of Glasgow University discussed the growing confidence and influence of the Roman Catholic community in Scotland, emphasizing the assimilation of migrants from Ireland and the growing sense of Scotland as a religiously plural society. In a masterful final commentary on the conference, Hugh McLeod of the University of Birmingham called for more work on the influence of religious establishment, on the role of Presbyterianism in shaping the Scottish identity, and especially on the experience of religion by people at the local level.

The conference papers will be published as a separate volume by the Scottish Church History Society, and should be available next year. Copies can be ordered from Peter Donald, Hon. Secretary, Scottish Church History Society, 3 Southside Road, IV2 4XA, Scotland, U.K.

INSTRUMENTS OF ENLIGHTENMENT

On Saturday 24 April 1999 the University of Aberdeen played host to a one-day conference entitled "Instruments of Enlightenment." Sponsored by the English Department and the university's Centre for Research on the Eighteenth Century, the conference contained a particularly strong Scottish strand. Kath Francis (Edinburgh University) looked at Adam Ferguson's martial sensibilities, while Dafydd Moore (Exeter University) compared Ferguson and James Macpherson in an analysis of the "Imaginative Life of the Scottish Enlightenment." Macpherson provided a focus for a number of papers. An approach to the subject of Macpherson's education was made by Mel Kersey (Leeds University), who considered the influence on Macpherson of Aberdeen's own Thomas Blackwell, author of the influential *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735). Adam Rounce (Bristol University) connected Charles Churchill's anti-Scottish sentiment to the Bute administration, and to the poetics of Macpherson in particular. James Anderson, editor of *The Bee*, was the subject of a paper from Hamish Mathison (Aberdeen University), who linked periodical publication with Scottish educational ideals. Rachel Woolley (University of Newcastle) read Mary Shelley's *Valperga* through the lens of Hume and Gibbon on history, one of a number of papers on eighteenth-century education.

Perhaps the "find" of the day was the paper by John Shufelt (Tunghai University), which raised the

prospect of a whole new tranche of sources for Swift's works, *Gulliver's Travels* included. He concentrated on the hoax travel accounts written by the mysterious "Psalmanazar" (1704-1705). His hoax was aided by one Alexander Innes, an Aberdeen-educated army chaplain. Between Innes and Macpherson, much discussion over lunch and dinner centered around the connections we might make between Scottish literary hoaxes, frauds, and dissimulations of the eighteenth century.

The organizers, Hamish Mathison and Angela Wright, intend to publish the proceedings shortly, and wish to thank Aberdeen University for its generous support, and the contributors for an enlightened and sociable proceeding. A copy of the program can be found at www.abdnac.uk/~enl085/conf1.htm.

DARIEN INVESTIGATED

On 28 November 1998 a one-day colloquium entitled "New Perspectives on Darien" was held at the University of Dundee, under the sponsorship of the History Department. Speakers included Edward Cowan, Allan Macinnes, Michael Fry, Christopher Smout, John Young, and the conference organizer, Christopher Storrs of the Dundee History Department.

SCOTT IN OREGON

While many ECSSS members are enjoying the pleasures of Dublin this summer, others will be making their way to the University of Oregon for the sixth meeting of the International Scott Conference, 21-25 July. At least two members are scheduled to participate in both conferences, but few of us have that much global stamina!

Organized by Ian Duncan of the English Department at Oregon, the Scott conference will be devoted to the theme of "Scott, Scotland and Romanticism." Plenary lectures will be given by Robert Crawford on Scott and European Union, Susan Manning on Scott and Mark Twain, Jerome McGann on Scott's Romantic Post-Modernity, and Alexander Welsh on Scott, Homer, and Archaism. There will be a series of seminar-style workshops on various contexts and four roundtable discussion forums addressing topics of current interest in the field: new developments at Scott's library at Abbotsford (with Douglas Gifford and a team of scholars associated with the archive), the ongoing Edinburgh Editions of the Waverley Novels, and the Collected Works of James Hogg (with series editors Ian Alexander, David Hewitt, and Douglas Mack), Romantic Nationalism (with Cairns Craig and Katie Trumpener), and Scotland and Romantic Historicism (with Ina Ferris and James Chandler).

A number of ECSSS members will also be participating in the regular conference sessions. These include Andrew Hook on Scott and Scottish Romanticism in France, Horst Drescher on Scott and Henry Mackenzie, Gordon Turnbull on Boswell's children, Janet Sorensen on dialects, slang, and the language of the nation, Richard Maxwell on siege narratives, and Catherine Jones on Scott and Enlightenment psychology. There will also be talks on Sir John Sinclair, Scott and Ossian, Scott and homosexual antiquarian circles, and on many of Scott's literary contemporaries.

Inquiries should be addressed to Ian Duncan at the English Department, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1286, USA (tel.: 541-346-1051; fax: 541-346-1509; or e-mail: iduncan@oregon.uoregon.edu). Additional information is available at the conference website: www.english.tamu.edu/pers/fac/snodgrass/scott99/scott99.html.

ROBERT FERGUSSON AND MORE

The University of Strathclyde will host a two-day conference on 14-15 January 2000, "Brothers in the Muse: Burns, Fergusson and the Vernacular Revival," to mark the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Fergusson. Co-sponsored by the Scots-Irish Research Network (see story below) and the Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies, the conference will address the issues in Scottish literature and language arising out of the eighteenth century in general and out of the relationship of Fergusson and Burns in particular. It is anticipated that addresses will be given by major scholars in fields such as: The Language of Fergusson and Burns; Fergusson's Poetry; Radicalism in Fergusson and Burns; Irish and Scottish Revolutionary Writing; Jacobitism and Jacobinism; Fergusson and Irish Tradition; The Burns Canon; Allan Ramsay, Fergusson, Burns and the Song Tradition; and Scottish and Irish Literary Relations in the Eighteenth Century.

Although the deadline for submission of paper proposals has passed, those interested in this conference are advised to contact either Murray Pittock (Convener, Scots-Irish Research Network, Department of English Studies, Livingstone Tower, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XH, Scotland, U.K.) or Ken Simpson (Director, Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies, Livingstone Tower, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XH, Scotland, U.K.). Refereed publication of selected papers is anticipated.

SCOTTISH LIT CHAIRS IN FLUX

Three ECSSS members with a specialization in eighteenth-century literature, including two former presidents of the Society, have recently made moves that will have important implications for the study of eighteenth-century Scottish literature in Scotland.

Susan Manning, a past-president of ECSSS and a current member of its Executive Board, has accepted an offer to become the first holder of the Grierson Chair of English Literature at the University of Edinburgh. Susan will leave Newnham College, Cambridge, to begin her new post in Edinburgh in October 1999. At Edinburgh, she plans to continue to develop the field of Scottish-American comparative literature at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Another of our past-presidents, Andrew Hook, recently retired as the Bradley Professor of Literature at the University of Glasgow, though he has continued teaching at the university and has been heavily involved in developing the curriculum for its Chrichton College in Dumfries. He has been doing some globe-trotting this year (Navarra in Pamplona, Vienna) and looks forward to spending the 1999-2000 academic year as a visiting fellow in the English Department at Princeton University. As a tribute to his accomplishments, the University of Glasgow has created the Andrew Hook Centre for American Studies, which opened in October 1998 (see story below). Andrew reports that his collection of essays on Scottish and American topics, *From Goosecreek to Gandercleugh: Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural History* will be out shortly with Tuckwell Press, and we expect a review to appear in next year's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*.

After a two-year search, Clifford Siskin has been selected to replace Andrew Hook as the holder of the Bradley Chair at the University of Glasgow. Formerly professor of English at State University of New York, Stony Brook, Cliff recently published *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700-1830* (1998), which is reviewed in this issue.

ANDREW HOOK CENTRE OPENS

As noted above, the University of Glasgow has created the Andrew Hook Centre for American Studies in honor of the newly retired Bradley Professor, who was the third president of ECSSS. The centre opened in October 1998 with seven students, who may elect to complete the course either full-time in one year or part-time in two. Core courses are offered in American studies in the first term, and there are options among courses in American history, American literature, film studies, and other fields in the second term, in addition to a dissertation written over the summer. For further information, e-mail to s.newman@modhist.arts.gla.ac.uk.

ON-LINE DEVELOPMENTS

New ECSSS Website. Under the direction of its newly elected website manager, Kathleen Holcomb, ECSSS has a new website that contains more information than previously—and in a better-looking format. The new address is **www.angelo.edu/~ecsss/**.

C18 Bibliographies On-Line. Jack Lynch of Rutgers University, Newark, has announced the formation of C18 Bibliographies On-Line, a growing series of selective annotated bibliographies on eighteenth-century figures. They are available free at **www.c18.org/biblio/** or **www.c18.rutgers.edu/bihlio/** (either address will work). Each bibliography discusses the standard editions, biographies, bibliographies, and major criticism for an eighteenth-century writer or historical figure. Although the scope is international, Scots are well represented: Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson, David Hume, James Macpherson, and Thomas Reid are on-line now, and over the next few months James Boswell, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, William Robertson, Adam Smith, John Logan, Lord Stair, and others will be added, and more will be coming as contributors are lined up. Volunteers are encouraged to propose other bibliographies. For more information, contact Jack Lynch at jlynch@andromeda.rutgers.edu.

The Reid Project. Find out the latest information about the Aberdeen-based Thomas Reid project at **www.abdn.ac.uk/philosophy/reidstu.htm**. The news includes two new works in progress—an annotated catalogue of Reid's surviving manuscripts and the placement of Reid's papers on CD-ROM.

Jim May's Research Guide. Jim May of Penn State U. and EC/ASECS, editor of the most informative newsletter published by any of ASECS's affiliate societies, has put on-line an excellent guide to bibliographical tools, constituting the first part of his *Printed Sources of the 1990s for 18th-Century Studies*. It's at **www.personal.psu.edu/special/C18/maytools.htm**.

Kevin Berland's Selected Readings. More bibliographical treasures from Penn State can be consulted at **www.personal.psu.edu/special/C18/sr/sr.htm**.

SCOTS-IRISH RESEARCH NETWORK

In February 1998 a Scots-Irish Research Network (SIRN) was launched at the University of Strathclyde, covering six departments: English studies, history, sociology, applied arts (music and drama), educational studies, and social studies, with some sixty participating faculty and research students. SIRN has links to both the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative (involving the universities of Strathclyde, Aberdeen, and Trinity College Dublin—as discussed in our 1997 issue) and Glasgow's annual Celtic Connections festival, for which SIRN members act as organizers and speakers.

SIRN exists to promote a multidisciplinary environment and joint supervision arrangements for graduate students working on Scots-Irish topics; to promote a multidisciplinary lecture, seminar, and conference program in Scots-Irish Studies, and collaborative research projects; and to maintain and develop links with the wider arts and cultural community in Scotland, contributing to the discussion of contemporary change in Scotland and Ireland. Douglas Mack, Frank McLynn, Cairns Craig, and Alex Murdoch were among the speakers in SIRN's 1998-99 speakers' program.

SIRN's convener for the period 1998-2000 is Murray Pittock. Other ECSSS members among the participating faculty are Gerard Carruthers, Hamish Fraser, Andrew Noble, and Ken Simpson. For more information, contact Murray Pittock at m.pittock@strath.ac.uk, or you can direct your browser to SIRN's website at www.strath.ac.uk/Departments/English/sirn1.html.

NEW ABERDEEN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Last year's news that T. M. Devine had left the University of Strathclyde for the University of Aberdeen left us wondering what kind of activities he would be associated with in the northeast. The answer came in the form of a slick, heavily illustrated brochure on the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, which bills itself as "the first of its kind in the world for graduate study and research on the history, language, literature and culture of Ireland and Scotland" (presumably it was started just before the Scots-Irish Research Network at Strathclyde, discussed above). The Institute will build on the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative, with which Aberdeen is already involved.

Housed in Humanity Manse in Old Aberdeen, the Institute will perform a number of functions. The most important will be to serve as a research center, encouraging investigations of topics related to Irish and Scottish history and culture. Besides faculty and doctoral students in various cooperating disciplines, the Institute will sponsor three postdoctoral research fellows annually. The research agenda will initially focus on the theme of the Irish and Scottish diasporas, a five-year project on a global scale. In addition, the Institute will run a masters degree program in Irish and Scottish Studies that should be a popular attraction. It will draw on the Institute's interdisciplinary faculty and will be flexible enough to allow students to focus on either Scottish or Irish studies—or both.

Tom Devine, who also holds the title University Research Professor in Scottish History, will serve as director of the new Institute. Supporting him will be an eminent advisory board consisting of Christopher Smout, Nobel laureate Seamus Heaney, and other major figures in Scottish and Irish studies.

For more information, e-mail to the Institute at riiss@abdn.ac.uk, or consult the Institute's website: www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss.

ADAM SMITH SOCIETY ACTIVE

The Adam Smith Society has announced plans to start a new peer-reviewed journal, *The Adam Smith Review*. The new journal will be edited by Vivienne Brown of the Open University. It will include scholarly articles, critical notices, and book reviews, and will seek to draw contributors from a wide range of disciplines. The Society is currently negotiating with university presses for sponsorship of the journal, which will have an international group of Smith scholars as its editorial board.

The Society has other activities in the works, including seminars at the meetings of the American Philosophical Association and other conferences. For more information, contact the executive secretary, James R. Otteson, at jotteson@tenhoor.as.ua.edu, or at the Department of Philosophy, University of Alabama, Box 870218, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0218, USA.

SMITH AND GIBBON LIVE!

On 21 April Adam Smith and Edward Gibbon traveled to Washington, D.C., and presented a special program for the Washington Collegium in the Humanities at the Folger Shakespeare Library. The program was entitled "Dr Smith and Mr Gibbon: History, Philosophy and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century." Dr. Smith focused on his enlargement of moral philosophy into a historicist science of man, while Mr. Gibbon spoke on his total commitment to writing large-scale historical narrative. Members of the audience were overheard to say that Dr. Smith looked and sounded a great deal like Nicholas Phillipson of the History Department, University of Edinburgh, and Mr. Gibbon much like John Pocock, emeritus professor of history from Johns Hopkins University. Adding to the coincidence is the fact that parties interested in booking Dr. Smith and Mr. Gibbon for a similar engagement are asked to contact the very same Phillipson or Pocock at their university addresses or at nicholas.phillipson@ed.ac.uk.

SRO NO MORE

The Scottish Record Office has changed its name to the National Archives of Scotland, leading us to expect that the familar acronym "SRO" will soon be replaced by "NAS" in footnotes and bibliographies. When last we heard, plans to close the SRO's, that is, the NAS's West Register House in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, were on hold as other options were being considered, including the possibility of using the building to house Edinburgh City's archives, which are currently crammed into remarkably unsatisfactory quarters in the basement of the Edinburgh City Chambers in the High Street.

CUSE AVAILABLE

Members wishing to obtain a copy of the Edinburgh University Press paperback edition of Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (originally published in hardcover in 1985 by Edinburgh University Press and Princeton University Press, and now out-of-print) may do so by sending $15 U.S. or £10 U.K. to the author at the address on the back cover of this issue. Please make checks/cheques or money orders payable to the author, who will donate the profits to ECSSS. Supplies are limited.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Gioia Angeletti received her Ph.D. from the U. of Glasgow in 1997 with a thesis entitled "Scottish Eccentrics: The Tradition of Otherness in Scottish Poetry from Hogg to MacDiarmid" . . . **David Armitage**, now associate professor of history at Columbia U., is awaiting publication by Cambridge U. Press of his book on the ideological origins of the British Empire . . . **Christopher Berry** is now head of the politics department at the U. of Glasgow . . . **Paul-Gabriel Boucé**'s

recent volume of essays, *Guerres et paix: la Grande-Bretagne au xviiie siècle* (Paris, 1998), contains several papers on Scottish themes . . . **Stewart J. Brown** stepped down as editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* after the April 1999 issue . . . **Jennifer Carter** retired from her position at the U. of Aberdeen in December 1998 . . . **Joyce Chaplin** was visiting associate professor of history at Harvard U. in 1998-99 . . . **Frank Cossa** spent a sabbatical leave from College of Charleston studying art history in Rome . . . **C. P. Courtney**, a life fellow at Christ's College, Cambridge, spoke on Belle de Zuylen at a conference at the château de Zuylen in October 1998 . . . **Gordon DesBrisay** passed his leave from U. of Saskatchewan at the Obermann Center for Advanced Study, U. of Iowa . . . **Ian Duncan** has edited Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1996) and *Rob Roy* (1998) in the Oxford World Classics series . . . **Roger Emerson** ended his distinguished teaching career at the U. of Western Ontario when he retired this spring . . . **Peter Fosl** spent last summer as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities in Edinburgh and subsequently took up a new position as associate professor of philosophy at Transylvania U. in Lexington, Kentucky . . . **Ed Gray** spent the year as a fellow at the Huntington Library . . . **Anita Guerrini**'s book on George Cheyne will be published by U. of Oklahoma Press . . . our deep condolences to **Knud Haakonssen**, whose wife Lisbeth (author of *Medicine and Morals in the Enlightenment*, reviewed in our last issue) succumbed to cancer in February . . . **Colin Kidd** has taken over the post-1707 editorship of the *Scottish Historical Review* from Jay Brown and published a new book with Cambridge U. Press: *British Identities Before Nationalism* (to be reviewed in our next issue) . . . **John Christian Laursen** has been promoted to professor of political science at the U. of California, Riverside . . . **Bruce Lenman** writes that all his scholarly energy of late has gone into finishing a major book, *Colonial Wars and English Identities* . . . **Anthony Lewis** has enrolled as a part-time architecture Ph.D. student at Edinburgh U., writing a thesis on the building of the New Town . . . in October 1998 **Helen Lillie** published *The Rocky Island*, the third in her trilogy of Strathblane novels . . . **Roger Mason** has taken over as pre-1707 editor of the *Scottish Historical Review*; in 1998 a collection of his essays appeared with the title *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* . . . **Thomas Miller**'s *The Formation of College English* was co-recipient of the MLA's Mina P. Shaughnessy Prize . . . **Dafydd Moore** spent the academic year as a tutor in the English department at U. of Exeter . . . **James Moore**, immediate past-president of ECSSS, has been promoted to professor of political science at Concordia U. (long overdue!) . . . **John Moore** spent the year at the U. of Tampere in Finland on a Fulbright Fellowship . . . **Terrence Moore** has completed his Ph.D. in history at Edinburgh U. with a thesis entitled "The Enlightened Curriculum: Liberal Education in Eighteenth-Century British Schools" and has been hired as assistant professor of history and political science at Ashland U. in Ohio . . . **Mary Catherine Moran** has received her Ph.D. in history from Johns Hopkins U. with a dissertation entitled "From Rudeness to Refinement: Gender, Genre and Scottish Enlightenment Discourse"; she is now in Edinburgh on an SSHRC postdoctoral research fellowship . . . **Alex Murdoch** is the new book review editor of the *Scottish Historical Review*; his new textbook, *British History, 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture* has been published by Macmillan in the U.K. and St. Martin's Press in North America (hardcover only in the USA, however) . . . **David Fate Norton** has taken retirement from McGill U. and relocated to Victoria, B.C., with his wife Mary Norton, his partner in Hume editing and bibliography . . . **Karen O'Brien** has accepted a readership at the U. of Warwick . . . **John G. Reid** is the co-author of *The New England Knight: Sir William Phips, 1651-1695* (1998) . . . **David Raynor** takes on a three-year term as head of the philosophy department at U. of Ottawa . . . in January **John Robertson** delivered a paper on "Enlightenment and Revolution: Naples 1799" in the Royal Historical Society's lecture series at U. College, London . . . **Gordon Schochet** spent the past academic year as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton . . . **Christoph Schröer** is researching English and Scottish Jacobite political discourse and social milieus in the period 1688-c.1750, as part of a larger project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) . . . **Paul Scott** recently published a volume of essays with the Saltire Society, *Still in Bed with an Elephant* . . . **Richard Sher** will be a visiting scholar at U. College Dublin in July . . . **R. S. Stephenson** completed his Ph.D. at U. of Virginia in 1998 with a dissertation entitled "With Swords and Plowshares: British and American Military Society in the Trans-Allegheny West, 1754-1774" . . . **Toshihiro Tanaka** has retired from a distinguished career at Kwansei Gakuin U. in Japan and is now professor emeritus . . . **Eduardo Velásquez** had fellowships in 1998-99 from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Earhart Foundation, and the International Social Sciences Institute at the U. of Edinburgh . . . **Paul Wood** spent six months as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the U. of Edinburgh working on his edition of *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid*; since returning to the U. of Victoria in British Columbia he has become the director of the Humanities Centre . . . in autumn 1998 the British Academy launched *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* by **William Zachs** (to be reviewed in our next issue).

Smollett and the Scottish Language of British Cultural Identity

Janet Sorensen, Indiana University

Among the recent investigations of those cultural formations which allow vastly disparate groups of people to believe they share a common *national* British identity, the exciting studies of the Celtic context, including those of Robert Crawford, Katie Trumpener, and Thomas Miller, have taken the crucial and overdue step of emphasizing the shaping influences not only, or even primarily, of Englishness on Scotland, but of Scottish culture on British national identity itself.[1]

The mutually-constitutive yet deeply-conflicted relationship between British national and imperial ideologies in England and Scotland is nowhere more apparent than in their linguistic practices, language theories, and literary representations of language. Forced to negotiate between a devalued, native "peripheral" Scots or Scots Gaelic and a newly official, recently standardized "central" English language, eighteenth-century Scottish writers, more than a few critics have argued, existed in a condition best understood as a kind of cultural schizophrenia.[2] This divided state would appear to be borne out by any number of fascinating and complex cases which instantiate the full repertoire of ambivalency we have come to associate with colonial discourse.

The term "cultural schizophrenia" is in fact too limited to describe fully the context or import of the cultural work of Scots writers. For the "split [schiz] mind [phrene]" that the term denotes suggests a failed reconciliation between two pre-existing identities. To understand the, by turns, lithe and maladroit mediations of Scots writers as simply negotiations of pre-given English ("foreign") and Scots ("native") cultures is, however, to leave the most interesting questions unasked. A primary question is how, as they write themselves through those languages, do they also simultaneously construct an understanding of the social meaning of those languages and the character of the cultures that have produced them. As they position themselves through language, these writers help to develop notions of orality and literacy, dialect and standard, linguistic particularity and universality, femininity and masculinity, and their distribution between colonial, imperial, and national languages. As they assimilate, resist, and produce the languages of Britain, they also define its constitutive cultural elements. In turn, as its writers move between an externally fixed standard and a pure, internally derived vernacular, Scotland illuminates the condition of all national cultures.[3] Even "core" writers such as Samuel Johnson and the "heir" to his authoritative English style, Jane Austen, share a position analogous to these writers and are responding to, as often as they are dictating, the terms of these cultural linguistic productions. The writings of the center turn out to be as ambivalent as those of a supposedly "schizophrenic" periphery.

Linda Colley has rightly noted that British nationalism is not merely an homogenizing blend of multiple identities. Britishness does not supplant and obliterate other loyalties; she writes: "Identities are not like hats. Human beings can and do put on several at a time."[4] This model of Britishness, however, is fairly static. While the "hats" metaphor implies active switching as the person wearing the hats assumes a different identity with each new hat, the peaceful coexistence of identities that can be "put on several at a time" is not always borne out in the linguistic evidence. The notion of oscillation between, but also fabrication of, identities is the key to an understanding of Scots and British linguistic deployments in this period. Whatever it is that human beings are putting on "several at a time" when they construct their identities actually changes in these relationships. Presenting a more complex conceptualization of British national identity than most, Colley is still open to the criticism that her historiography underestimates the messy and open-ended inventions of British identity as well as the antagonism between some of those identities, such as allegiance to the Hanoverian regime versus a resistant Jacobitism. It is in focusing on the use of language that the fluid negotiations between affiliations—negotiations which sometimes remain unavoidably contradictory—are most obvious, for these produce multiple senses of what it means to be English, Scottish, Celtic, and British.

Tobias Smollett offers a particularly striking example of these negotiations. As he revels in language's physicality, invoking oral pronunciation/aural reception through alliteration and onomatopoeia with such titles as *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle*, Smollett is the eighteenth-century novelist most interested in representing non-Standard English alongside his measured English prose.[5] Sensitive to the ability of language to indicate a wide range of social strata, as well as its slippery relationship to the world it would name, Smollett exhibits a heightened awareness of language. His ability to estrange English—a linguistic technique which influenced the writings of that emblematic figure of Englishness, Charles Dickens—stems in part from his bilingual status as a Scot. Lowland Scots played a major, if unacknowledged, role at the center of English print culture, ghosts in the machine of the period's copious literary production; Smollett did not simply assimilate an English linguistic

identity but helped construct it, particularly in opposition to a peripheral Celtic culture and its feminized corporeal dialect.

Deeply invested in constructing British identity, Smollett emphasizes the exchange of language as central to its formation, refining and policing a Standard English language that would serve as the medium of British identity. In *Humphry Clinker*, his final novel, Smollett positions himself as recorder of "Celtic" dialects for an English readership, yet through his untrustworthy "translations" he establishes the Standard- English-using Scot as national insider—a breathtakingly bold move in the face of that era's English jingoism and open animosity to Scots. In this way, he participates in the eighteenth-century's standardizing of a national vernacular in which class linguistic difference came to supersede regional linguistic difference. This shift is achieved through a feminizing embodiment of the language of English and Celtic "outsiders" such as laborers and women.

The English that Smollett praises in others and uses himself is deemed rational precisely because of its disembodied character. Consider his language in *The Briton*, a political periodical in support of the Bute ministry: "I have been reproached as an advocate for the present ministry, and as a panegyrist of Lord B_te . . . this however is a task which, I apprehend, any man has a right to decline, without any imputation upon his character."[6] As the editor of this periodical, Smollett maintains at all times a position of "disinterest" and strives to ward off allegations of Scottish bias, and his decorous, controlled language reflects those efforts to portray an impartial judge removed from regional attachments. Alternatively, in *Humphry Clinker* the language of the Welsh characters Tabitha and her maid Win magnifies the oral and embodied character of a feminized Celtic-inflected language, evident in Win's statement: "I set and cry by myself, and take ass of etida, and smill to burnt fathers, and kindal-snuffs; and I pray constantly for grease."[7] English stands as the "transparent" language to a hopelessly opaque, "material" Celtic dialect.

As an aspiring Lowlander of the land-owning class, seeking and gaining his fortune in London, Smollett found that mastery of the linguistic standard offered a basis of national membership much more accessible than a regional or ethnic yardstick to which he could never match up.[8] Is he, then, a peripheral figure merely assimilating the cultural practices of the center? After all, he was a leader of the resurrection of the movement for a British academy that began in mid-century. We know that Smollett was obsessed with weeding Scotticisms from his language, and his proposed academy would standardize and make available a stable version of the language to all, aiding and abetting his efforts to eliminate all traces of a distinctive Scots language from the English lexicon.[9] If Smollett's calls for an academy seem related to his position as an outsider hoping to more effectively blend in with the literate London class in which he circulated, that position did not disqualify him from helping to arbitrate what that standard should be. Smollett did not imagine himself, as a Scot, necessarily on the receiving end of the "proper" English of his geo-cultural "betters"; he conceived of himself as being in a position to dictate it. In the absence of an official academy, he and his staff at the *Critical Review* from 1756 to 1763 assumed the role of "protectors of the language and arbiters of usage—a kind of English academy de facto," as both Robert Spector and James Basker have argued.[10]

The *Critical Review* devoted large portions of reviews of publications to a critique of their deviations from Standard English, as in this attack on an anonymous military treatise: *The Target*, "it were to be wished, however, that the treatise had been translated into English. In its present appearance, we know not to what dialect it belongs."[11] Such a role aligns Smollett and his heterogeneous editorial staff (consisting of other Scottish, Irish, and English writers) with Johnson himself, who only a year earlier had published his *Dictionary* and forwarded similar claims of authority. As editor of the *Critical Review*, Smollett, like Johnson, helped to shape not only the national language, but also the literary values of his contemporaries. Such values clearly had resonance beyond the aesthetic field, as analysts of the role of literary criticism in the formation of the public sphere and the rise of bourgeois hegemony in Britain have pointed out.

Regardless of his efforts to assimilate, however, Smollett was continuously attacked on the basis of his Scottishness, an activity in which Johnson sometimes indulged, which linked the "lesser" linguistic practice of the Lowland Scots tongue to an equally inferior, "beggarly" and "grasping" Scots people. The most vicious attacks on Smollett as a Scots outsider centered on the questions of diction and style now so often consigned to fairly narrow belles lettristic study. For instance, John Wilkes's *North Briton* (a periodical established to counter the Bute-promoting propaganda of Smollett's *The Briton*) continuously singled out words and phrases that marked the status of Smollett (and Bute) as a Scot and therefore an outsider. In one case *The Briton* takes up one such accusation, as a "hearty well-wisher to South Briton, altho' a native of Argyle" sympathetically writes to *The Briton*'s editor (no. 11, 7 August 1762), insisting that

> The man who calls himself the North Briton, has hinted more than once that you are my countryman, and affirmed that you cannot write English; as a proof of this assertion, he hath

> twice twitted you in the teeth with the word glorification printed in italics. Now, although I don't pretend to be a connoisseur in the English language, I will affirm . . . that glorification is an English word, to be found in all the common dictionaries . . . On the other hand, I could wish he would settle the authenticity of the word vouchsafements, used as a substantive in the same page; a word which I don't remember to have seen in any dictionary.

In this passage, "a native of Argyle" (one the many personae Smollett adopts in the pages of *The Briton*) demonstrates the stakes involved in one's choice of language: one's right to claim authority within a national community can be determined through the pedigree of the words a writer or speaker uses. Claims to membership in the nation depend upon selecting words that are themselves insiders—even if their users are not.

The fact that these contests over linguistic propriety took place in journals staffed by Scots and English hacks who, for all their cultural authority, remained largely faceless cultural workers reminds us that, as Sterling Leonard points out, these linguistic battles were "fought most hotly by persons who had had to earn and prove their gentility."[12] The question of style and its substantiation of true British identity (as opposed to a Scots "would-be English") emerges repeatedly in the periodical literature of the mid-century. One reason for the quite extreme concern with language might be the keen ability of "outsiders," such as Smollett, to acquire the learning and taste necessary to "pass" as English, to render their linguistic difference nearly imperceptible.

Thus, the English "patriot" attempting to exclude Scots from the national circle depends upon the search for the visible clues indicating an impostor status. An anonymous pamphlet, *The Battle of the Reviews* (1760), seizes on telltale linguistic signs as it assails the "essentially" Scots Smollett. Its author refers to Smollett with the anti-Scots epithets "Sawney" and "MacSmallhead" and derides Sawney MacSmallhead's language as "sometimes embellished with the gay flowers of figurative thoughts . . . but that . . . often degenerates into what the French call a *Faux brillant*, bearing no remote Resemblance to a Coat edged with Tinsel, instead of Gold or Silver Lace, which, however, may strike at a Distance, but discovers the Cheat when closely examined."[13]

Here the link between an abusive name which draws attention to Smollett's Scottishness and a critique of his style which turns on tropes of counterfeit and dissimulation gets at the underlying suspicion of Smollett's false relationship to the English language he claims to refine and form. Superficially, Smollett's command of English, even of its familiar figures, might seem impressive, the passage suggests. Yet at bottom it is a "cheat"—no Scots could ever claim such mastery. A Scot will always be once-removed from the "authentic" value of the golden mean of proper English style and diction. The pamphlet goes on to vilify the Celtic editorial staff of the *Critical Review*: "the laqueys . . . enjoyed in fair and legible Letters the Names of Duncan MacCroudy, Archbald MacBonacs, Donald MacHaggess, and Paddy Fitzpatrick. . . . Being without Characters as I said, I was apt to surmise that they were Non-Entities; or like the Eccho, Voices and Nothing more" (pp. 166-67). This fascinatingly imaged assault jokingly disputes the actual physical being of these Celtic "fringe" writers beyond the letters on the page that spell their names. It is especially significant that the writer suggests that their only reality might exist on the level of sound: "Eccho, Voices and Nothing more."

The echo figure is of course interesting in that it suggests the "double" status of these Celtic writers, and directly invokes the notion of linguistic mimicry. "Eccho" also suggests an incorporeal presence, and when we consider that a good number of the mid- century's Grub Street hacks and ghostwriters were Scots—recall the Scots composition of Johnson's *Dictionary* staff, for instance—we might indeed begin to imagine these Celtic cultural workers as a sort of "ghost in the machine" of the print culture developing Standard English during this time. "Smollett," reigning over the lot, was himself a hack writer; his *Complete History of England* was a notoriously hasty production, and he too did the "invisible" work of editing and translating. In order to do this work, these Scots had to remove the Scots "particularities" from their language, disembodying themselves, in a sense.

In Smollett's later work, *Humphry Clinker*, Jery's description of the Sunday open house held at S[mollett]'s home depicts this class of workers much as spirits who have temporarily taken human form, only, one suspects, to "disappear" again during the work week. Visible as Celts on the weekend, when the pressures of tending to a "general" English do not demand that they render their linguistic cultural differences invisible, these low-level workers in letters let their linguistic differentiae show in their time off. Those partaking in the weekly relaxation at the home of Smollett—the best-known member of that legion of faceless Scots— were

> journeymen, to more creditable authors, for whom they translated, collated, and compiled, in the business of book-making . . . not only their talents, but also their nations and dialects were so various, that our conversation resembled the confusion of tongues of Babel. We had the Irish brogue, the Scotch accent, and foreign idiom . . . The most learned philosopher of the whole collection . . . [a] Scotchman gives lectures on the pronunciation of the English language. (pp. 126-27, London, 10 June)

These Celtic and foreign word workers speak a Babel; outside the pale of Englishness, their mix of dialects does not even suggest an other, lesser, unified nation. The oral Babel audible in their afternoon's entertainment on their day off, however, is undetectable in the print productions they manufacture during the week. Proper style and the highest standard of writing, presumably, can be achieved regardless of one's continuing audible link to a regional dialect. Yet in order to achieve it, Celtic writers must become "nonentities . . . voices and nothing more." The Scots wordsmith stands in striking contrast to the increasingly embodied and pathologized English author in the eighteenth century.

The only moment of these men's continuing cultural distinction on a physical "legible" level would be in their voice, in the accented spoken word. On the weekend, when they are known through their particular speaking voice, rather than through their voiceless superintendence of a general English, they become embodied. Acknowledging that the voice might be the final moment of insurmountable difference, Smollett pokes fun at the presumptions of a Scot who would give lectures on the pronunciation of English, much like William Kenrick, who had written that "there seems indeed a most ridiculous absurdity in the pretensions of a native of Aberdeen or Tipperary to teach the natives of London to speak and read."[14]

Thus, before we too decisively locate Smollett as a "core" figure, we do well to keep in mind these contemporary figurations of the Scots minions to an English print culture—"voices and nothing more," a "confusion of tongues," and ghostly presences in a world that demanded they lose their accent. We might also remember that early in his career Smollett had written a lamentation for the fate of the Jacobites at Culloden, "The Tears Of Scotland" (1746). The imagery of this poem adds another layer to the fraught meditations on physicality, embodiment, and particular regional affiliations. In its final stanza Smollett writes:

> Whilst the warm blood bedews my veins,
> And unimpair'd remembrance reigns;
> Resentment of my country's fate,
> Within my filial breast shall beat.

Although it is important to note that in these lines Smollett already emphasizes the pastness of Scottish struggle, and ties pro-Scots feelings not to "head" and rational analysis but to a separate "heart" and the physicality of "warm blood" and a beat within the breast, his sympathies with the defeated Jacobites seem unmistakable. He refers to his "sympathizing verse" and links the Jacobite cause to himself in the use of the first person, referring to the "resentment of my country's fate," and he conjures up images of "ravish'd virgins", perishing infants, and "pious mothers doomed to death"—not the stuff of objective distance.

The speaker's own relationship to physicality here seems especially important, since insuperable cultural difference was associated with the physical, speaking body. It is when he is in open sympathy with the Celtic cause that the speaker describes bodily sensations and responses. The poem is written in Standard English, but its appeal to physicality—in its imagery, initial musical ballad form, and evocation of sentimental physical response—is a gesture which, on a more exaggerated level, is also one of the distinguishing features of Smollett's fiction. Although the imagery of a victimized nation turns on the highly gendered tropes of violated motherhood and vitiated reproduction, the speaker's own response is feminized. Scotland's tears are his tears; its condition elicits sympathy and sentiment from a native son.

Indeed, it was the physicality of spoken language, with its audible, unignorable residue of accent, which presented the greatest hindrance to Smollett's attempts at assimilation. Despite moving to London, and notwithstanding his status as "a gentleman by birth, education, and profession," as he liked to put it, Smollett was not comfortably enough distanced from the battles between openly hostile Scots and dominating English that were raging in the North. In an episode which pointedly, even violently, reiterated Smollett's peripheral status, he, like his disinherited Scots character Roderick Random, feared for his life if his Scottish identity were to be discovered in his speech. If Scots "difference" was naturalized in the physicality of "voice," the question for Smollett became how to negotiate that line of differentiation in an appeal for Anglo-British credibility.

A conventional analysis might simply read Smollett's later power plays and his ongoing struggle to erase any of his linguistic expressions accented with Scots difference as a maneuver for position, dearly purchased through the suppression of a Scottish identity he more keenly experienced in his youth. Yet both "Scots" and "English" identities are mutually formed by the relationship between them. It is in the movement between abrogation and assimilation of Englishness that Smollett's Scots identity is best understood, not in the notion of a pristine Scottish culture infiltrated or overwritten by English practices. It is through the relationship to England, and not prior to it, that a body-based, separate linguistic Scottish identity emerges—and is exaggerated in Smollett. What is interest-

ing about a Scots cultural difference naturalized as it is mapped onto the physicality of the body is how Smollett manipulates and exaggerates this trope in his construction of Celtic identity in an Anglo-British culture.

Notes

1. *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, ed. Robert Crawford (Cambridge, 1998); Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997); Thomas P. Miller, *The Formation of College English: Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the British Cultural Provinces* (Pittsburgh, 1997).

2. See David Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience* (London, 1964) and Kenneth Simpson, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Scottish Literature* (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 2. Essayists in the journal *Scotlands* 1 (1994) make salutary arguments for a new image of Scottish literary culture not simply as a native tradition fractured by foreign influence but as "pluralistic, synthetic . . . international" (Introduction).

3. Although she is less interested in language per se, Leith Davis, in *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830* (Stanford, 1999), makes a similar point regarding the representative status of Scotland.

4. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven and London, 1992), 6.

5. Johnson's *Dictionary* gets at the sound-sense echo of the origins of the word "clink" when it notes that the word is "perhaps softened from clank, or corrupted from click" and defines it as "to strike so as to make a small sharp noise." Smollett loads his language with subterranean Scots meanings: in eighteenth-century Scots, "clink" could mean "money or cash," "rod" could mean "road," and "pickle" could mean "a grain of oats" or "a small particle." *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, ed. Mairi Robinson (Aberdeen, 1985). Aileen Douglas also notes that "Clinker" signifies, appositely, "mistake" and "coal that won't burn" . . . "matter with which nothing can be done." *Uneasy Sensations: Smollett and the Body* (Chicago, 1995), p. 183.

6. *The Briton* no. 10, 31 July 1762, in *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, ed. Byron Gassman (Athens, Ga., 1993), p. 284

7. *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. Lewis Knapp, rev. Paul-Gabriel Boucé (Oxford, 1992), p. 338.

8. Richard B. Sher writes: "National prejudice towards Scotland was rampant in England during the second half of the eighteenth century . . . . Among English men of letters the sentiment was particularly understandable, for since the 1750s the Scottish literati had been vigorously challenging the English assumptions of supremacy." "Percy, Shaw and the Ferguson 'Cheat': National Prejudice in the Ossian Wars," in *Ossian Revisited*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh, 1991), p. 212.

9. See James G. Basker, "Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, ed. John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 81-95.

10. James G. Basker, *Tobias Smollett: Critic and Journalist* (Newark, Del., 1988), p. 76, and Robert Spector, *Tobias George Smollett* (Boston, 1989).

11. June 1756, p. 438, cited in Basker, *Tobias Smollett*, p. 76.

12. *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage 1700-1800* (New York, 1962), p. 174.

13. *Tobias Smollett: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Lionel Kelly (London and New York, 1987), pp. 164-65.

14. *Dictionary . . . to which is Prefixed a Rhetorical Grammar* (London, 1773), p. 1.

Note: This article is based on Janet Sorensen's forthcoming book with Cambridge University Press, Language, Culture, and the Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing, a study of key sites of Lowland/Highland/English linguistic interactions—from English instruction in the Gaelic-speaking Highlands to the resistant poetry of Alexander MacDonald, from Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres to the Celtomania of the second half of the eighteenth century. Her intention there is to look at some of the ways in which linguistic practices and theories work with and against the building of a British national language, and to offer a revision to the internal colonial model of eighteenth-century British relations of cultural production. The author would welcome comments, which may be e-mailed to jsorense@indiana.edu or sent to her at the Department of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405, USA.

Notes on the James Hutton Bicentennial

Kennard B. Bork, Denison University

Among the interesting but lesser known facets of the Scottish Enlightenment are the contributions of James Hutton, M.D. (1726-1797), as he sought a new way of looking at and understanding our earth. Hutton's life, his vision of a dynamic planet driven by an internal heat engine over vast spans of time, and his place in the vibrant circles of Edinburgh society are topics now receiving illuminating attention. Dennis Dean, author of *James Hutton and the History of Geology* (1992; reviewed in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 7 [1993], pp. 23-24), recently published a companion book that considers *James Hutton in the Field and in the Study* (1997). This article focuses on several other contributions to the bicentennial of Hutton's death in 1997.

The first is a slim, superbly illustrated booklet by Donald McIntyre (an Edinburgh-trained geologist himself) and Alan McKirdy, **James Hutton: The Founder of Modern Geology** (Edinburgh: The Stationery Office, 1997; pp. x + 51; distributed in North America by Renout Publishing Co., Ottawa). It takes readers on a fascinating tour of the sites and ideas that led Hutton to be part of the founding of modern geology. As the tour proceeds, we start to comprehend the field-based evidence that allowed Hutton to argue that much of what we see in the rock record is the product of subsurface heat acting over immense periods of geologic time. That heat created a dynamic planet whose long history includes uplift of strata (Siccar Point), building of mountains (the Highlands), and emplacement of granites (Glen Tilt). The significance of these events, to Hutton and to modern geology, is well explained in a lucid narrative that is beautifully buttressed with diagrams, portraits, historic sketches, and evocative photographs of field sites documenting points made in the text. The authors do a commendable job of engaging a potentially diverse audience. The neophyte geologist learns basic principles, while the advanced student of the earth profits from seeing sketches made on site by John Clerk of Eldin and photographs of outcrops actually visited by Hutton. Someone new to the history of geology receives valuable lessons about eighteenth-century science, while cognoscenti can enjoy myriad details concerning Hutton and his colleagues.

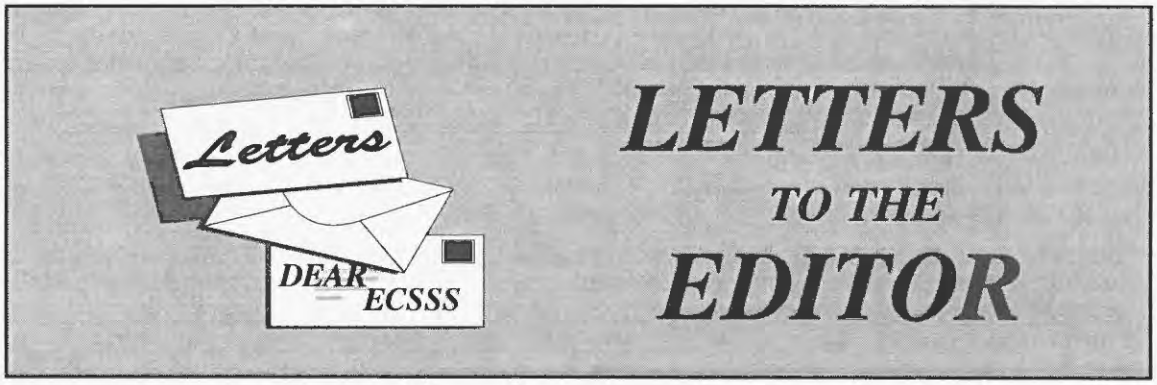
Donald McIntyre has also contributed an extensive article on "**James Hutton's Edinburgh: The Historical, Social, and Political Background**," published in *Earth Sciences History* 16 (1997): 100-157. There he weaves a rich tapestry of names, dates, places, and ideas, with threads so dense that a brief review cannot do justice to the emerging images. The high degree of social and intellectual interaction among prominent Enlightenment figures is one recurring theme. Another is the complex web of political machinations that set so much of the stage for events in the Scottish Enlightenment. McIntyre presents a chronology from 1759 through 1795 that not only sheds light on individual contributions but also explains various political and military impacts on Scottish society. Of necessity, the narrative jumps a bit from topic to topic. For those more interested in Scottish history than in Hutton's specific story, the paper offers a major section on the historical background to Scotland's emergence as an Enlightenment center. It then provides informative "landmarks in Hutton's career." Genealogists will appreciate an appendix on the Clerks of Penicuik and family trees of the Dundas, Robertson, and Ferguson families, and there is a long section of references. It's a feast, but you may prefer to snack on tidbits at any one sitting.

No overview of the year 1997, as it relates to James Hutton, would be complete without mention of the Hutton/Lyell Bicentennial Conference. The first segment (30 July-3 August) focused on Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875) and was held at Burlington House in London. Field trips to Sussex and the Weald helped place Lyell and his work in geologic context. Participants then traveled to Edinburgh for the "**James Hutton Bicentennial Conference**" (5-9 August), organized by the Royal Society of Edinburgh and chaired by Gordon Y. Craig, professor of geology at the University of Edinburgh. An in-town tour of "Classical Geological Sites in Edinburgh" included the unveiling of a plaque in honor of Hutton, near his old house, followed by an informative walk to Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat.

Although the technical sessions (in the attractive setting of the Royal College of Physicians) incorporated enlightening material for professional geologists, their focus on contemporary geoscience left the Enlightenment period far behind. The specific content of the talks would no doubt have dazzled Hutton with their high-tech methods and new visions of moving plates and extraterrestrial impacts. Nonetheless, he may also have been gratified by the basic quest to understand a dynamic and ancient earth, as evidenced in the published volume of conference proceedings, edited by Gordon Y. Craig and John H. Hull as **James Hutton: Present and Future** (Bath: The Geological Society, Special Publication no. 150, 1999; pp. 92; distributed in North America by AAPG Bookstore, Tulsa, OK). Of the ten articles in this aptly titled book, generalists might wish to consult D. B. McIntyre, "James Hutton's Edinburgh: A Précis," D. L. Anderson, "A Theory of the Earth: Hutton and Humpty-

Dumpty and Holmes," and D. R. Dean, "Hutton Scholarship 1992-1997," while students of geology will find much of interest in the technical articles, such as U. B. Marvin, "Impacts from Space: The Implications for Uniformitarian Geology."

The field trips at the bicentennial conference featured more history of interest to ECSSS members than the technical program. One post-conference field trip visited Siccar Point, with its famous angular unconformity, followed by interesting tours of the Dunglass Estate, of Clan Home/Hume, and Tantallon Castle, of the "Red" Douglases, earls of Angus. The next day's options included trips to either Kinnordy House, the Lyell estate near Kirriemuir, Angus, or to Hutton's field area in Glen Tilt, Perthshire. Those visiting Kinnordy House were treated to an exceptional display of materials relating to the history of geology, from Adam Sedgwick's field boots to a superb collection of Lyell's papers, including correspondence with Charles Darwin. A tour of Glamis Castle concluded the trip. Those selecting the Glen Tilt option witnessed the field sites and sketches that were so crucial in helping Hutton to confirm the igneous nature of granites as he developed his *Theory of the Earth*. Although guidebooks are no longer available, key aspects of the Siccar Point and Glen Tilt trips are considered in McIntyre and McKirdy's booklet.



Dear Editor,

In her review of Scott's *Redgauntlet* in the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels in the spring 1998 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (no. 12, pp. 19-20), Susan Manning says: "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." It would indeed be perverse—had the editors of Scott taken that position.

Dr. Manning does not seem to realize that when a new edition of a novel is based upon the first edition in preference to the manuscript and to the author's corrected proofs, when both are extant and all but complete, it implicitly accepts the McGann theory that authority lies in the socialized text. Nor does she seem to realize that the McGann thesis does not constitute an argument for saying that everything that was done to an author's text by printers and publishers in getting a novel into print was right.

When Jerome McGann argues for "a socialized concept of authorship and textual authority" in *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago and London, 1983), p. 8, he is specifically arguing against the position of Fredson Bowers as summarized in his dictum "When an author's manuscript is preserved, this has paramount authority, of course" (p. 5). The editors of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels agree with McGann, and used the same reasoning to decide that the new edition of Scott could not be based on Scott's manuscripts. Nonetheless the examination of the manuscripts and proofs shows that readings were lost through accident, error, and misunderstanding. In the case of *Redgauntlet*, there is no question of guessing: the proofs before they were corrected by Scott show where the copyist and/or the compositors were wrong. This is not an issue about Scott's intentions; it is a question about what Scott wrote, and what others failed to follow. In about 1200 such cases, readings were restored to the nex text of *Redgauntlet*, but at least 50,000 changes made by the intermediaries in converting the holograph manuscript into a printed book were accepted as being in line with Scott's expectations about the form of the novel he wished to see in print. In exactly the same way, Jerome McGann, in his edition of Byron's *Complete Poetical Works* (Oxford, 1986), vol. 5, p. xviii, largely accepts the earliest print of *Don Juan*,

but says his primary purpose is to "correct the text of the poem in the many places where it still remains invisibly mistaken."

Basing the new edition of Scott's novels on the Magnum Opus, the last edition of the Waverley Novels to be published in Scott's lifetime, between 1829 and 1833, would have constituted a rational textual decision, but it was rejected for two reasons. First, the form of the text which has been available for most of the nineteenth and all of the twentieth century has been the Magnum Opus. Second, it is not possible to have a "cleaned-up" version of the Magnum texts, as Dr. Manning wants. In the case of *Redgauntlet*, Scott made only 200 or so corrections or revisions in the Interleaved Set from which the Magnum version was derived. The printed text he corrected for the Magnum has about 900 divergences from the first edition, none of which was santioned by Scott. A further 1200 changes were made in the course of reproducing Scott's corrected text in the Magnum. Thus, of the 2300 changes between the edition and the Magnum version of the novel, only 200 come from the author; some of the rest do correct manifest faults, but many are themselves clear errors, and most are slippages. And all these are in addition to the 1200 mistakes made in reading the manuscript and proofs. The Magnum text has considerable cultural significance, both for a reading of Scott and because it is the form of the text that has lasted for some 170 years, but it is textually corrupt. It can only be "cleaned up" by a process which would, in fact, take us back to the first edition, but with Scott's late introductions, notes, and corrections added, thus generating an eclectic text such as Greig and Bowers would have approved of but which would not be sanctioned by contemporary textual theory and practice.

The criticism of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels is really directed not at the actual editorial policy as manifested in editorial practice but at the General Introduction to the series. Certain aspects of that General Introduction are regrettable, and are regretted by their author. The introductions and notes Scott wrote for the Magnum Opus are fascinating extensions of his historical and autobiographical fictionalizing (they are not explanatory, and they are no more history than the novels). They do not cabin, crib, and confine the narratives (such a judgment is a hangover from an earlier ear of Scott criticism, and appeared in the General Introduction from an over-enthusiasm for what had been newly established in the revised texts). And one can go further and defend the narratorial framing and layering of the Magnum, although calling it a "glorious cabinet of miscellaneity" may be damning it with great praise. But a critical defense is not a textual defense, and there is no satisfactory way in which the Magnum text can be cleaned up.

David Hewitt, University of Aberdeen
Editor-in-Chief, Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels

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Susan Manning replies:

I am sure Professor Hewitt did not mean to insinuate that I have not read Jerome McGann; nor would I wish to endorse *en masse* McGann's various pronouncements on textual editing and the sociology of texts. My intention in raising some of the critical issues relating to the textual policy of the editors of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels was in no way intended to cast doubt on their expert judgment, or even the fundamental editorial decision about choice of base text, but simply to suggest to a less specialized readership – in the context of reviewing several editions which took different approaches to editorial problems – that textual decisions always also involve critical consequences, and that there is still a debate worth having here.

I would agree that such reservations as I have concern the General Introduction rather than the editorial practice as manifest in *Redgauntlet*; I hope this came across in the phrases quoted in my review. I'm pleased, too, that Professor Hewitt agrees with me that the Magnum editions do not represent "textual degeneration." It is extremely useful to have both first edition Scott and Magnum Scott simultaneously available (where this is the case) for comparison. In many respects the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels is a magnificent achievement, as should be apparent from the general tenor of my remarks; I have purchased, on publication, all the volumes to emerge to date, and regard them as essential.

Susan Manning, Newnham College, Cambridge University

Review Essay:
Disciplining the Eighteenth Century

Thomas P. Miller, University of Arizona

Robert Crawford, ed., **The Scottish Invention of English Literature**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. viii + 259.

Lynee Lewis Gaillet, ed., **Scottish Rhetoric and Its Influences**. Mahwah, N.J.: Hermagoras Press, 1998. Pp. xviii + 238.

Clifford Siskin. **The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700-1830**. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Pp. x + 285.

The Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society brings together scholars from many disciplines and countries. While it is all too easy to ignore the differences among us, disciplinary histories such as these challenge us to reflect upon how our historical perspectives are shaped by our subject positions, or rather our positions within a subject. The interdisciplinarity of ECSSS provides a context in which disciplinarity itself can be called into question. Such questions need to be asked because the disciplines we occupy can feel deceptively permanent, though they tend to be modern constructions that are becoming increasingly unstable. These books situate the origins of college English in the Scottish Enlightenment, and they challenge English professors to reflect upon how the study of English became the study of literature, in the modern sense of nonutilitarian nonfactual discourse-poetry, plays, novels and short stories. For those in other fields, the history of college English represents a case study of how the Scottish Enlightenment functioned as a seedbed for the emergence of modern disciplines.

Siskin looks beyond the "newly restricted arena" of "Literature" to examine how eighteenth-century conceptions of literature encompassed the "work of writing," with "*writing*" used "as shorthand for the entire configuration of writing, print, and silent reading" (p. 2). "Engaging the problem of the constitutive power of writing" as *the* problem of the eighteenth century, Siskin sets out an argument that brings

> disciplinarity, professionalism, and Literature together as historical categories—categories constituted through acts of classification—acts that select hierarchically, and thus empower, particular kinds of knowledge, particular kinds of work, and particular kinds of writing. That empowerment has, in turn, entailed the naturalizing of those hierarchies, such that disciplinarity became the proper path to truth, professionalism became an unavoidable product of economic development, and the selection we know as Literature became the transcendent output of the human imagination-simply the best. (p. 6)

With the range and insight of the best new historicists, Siskin argues that "Literature" was a prerequisite for modern disciplinarity because it set out the what specialists were said to have in common, and thereby established the grounds for such dichotomies as "professional/amateur, discipline/avocation, real/made up" (p. 7). Literature became a natural pastime through the process of "*novelism*"—"the habitual subordination of writing to the novel"—engendered as leisural reading in a comfortably demarcated domain (p. 22). English literature, according to Siskin, replaced "Scottish philosophy" as the shared culture upon which Scots as Britons could establish specialized disciplines.

From his position within "English Literature departments," Siskin seeks to reclaim the discursive domain left outside the confines of literary studies. However, he shows little awareness that rhetoric is more than an historical subject of interest and no concern for the work of teaching writing that established English departments in American universities. According to Siskin, the "The Great Forgetting" of how British literature was engendered was necessary to the canonization of "The Great Tradition," but Siskin himself forgets the work of writing and the historical importance of rhetoric in ways that legitimize the hierarchies that define English departments in the United States, if not elsewhere as well. His calls for broader investments in literacy are thus limited by his sense that English studies are naturally equivalent with literary studies—an assumption that he challenges historically but depends on professionally.

Such strategic forgetfulness is less objectionable in histories of the discipline in Britain because the subordination of literacy to literary criticism may not be as historically definitive there. Robert Crawford, a Scottish English professor, first argued that the Scots had "invented" English Literature in *Devolving English Literature* (1992). Crawford set out an account as expansive as Suskin's without the strategic forgetfulness about rhetoric that is common among professors of English literature in America, where Gerald Graff's *Professing English Literature: An Institutional History* (1987) has defined the history of the discipline. Histories such as Franklin Court's *Institutionalizing English Literature: The Culture and Politics of Literary Study 1750-1900* (1992) established the continuities between the Scottish Enlightenment and modern literary studies, following up on Court's important *PMLA* article representing Adam Smith as the first university professor of English literature. Rhetoric is treated as more than a historical preamble to the profession of English in James Berlin's *Writing Instruction in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges* (1984), Nan Johnson's *Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric in North America* (1992), Win Horner's *Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric: The American Connection* (1993), and my own *The Formation of College English: Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the British Cultural Provinces* (1997). Rhetoricians have built on the research of Wilbur Samuel Howell and historical scholarship done in speech, while literary critics have followed up on books by Chris Baldick, D. J Palmer, Stephen Potter, and Terry Eagleton to argue that the Scottish institutionalization of English literature was central to the formation of British literature as a means to instill the culture of the British Empire.

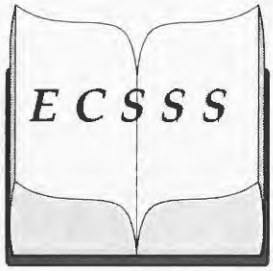
Crawford's *The Scottish Invention of English Literature* and Lynnee Lewis Gaillet's *Scottish Rhetoric and Its Influences* are rich contributions to these ongoing conversations. Our understanding of the emergence of college English out of Scottish rhetoric and belles lettres is enriched by accounts written by scholars from both sides of the Atlantic, and Pacific. Contributors demonstrate that British, American, Canadian and Australian professors of English have much to teach each other about themselves. Disciplines can be better understood when we recognize that they work differently in different places and times, and this understanding can be fostered by comparative analyses that examine not just then and now but also here and there.

With the critical insight and broad vision that characterizes his perspective, Crawford has brought together essays by leading scholars in this area, such as Franklin Court and Andrew Hook, who helped establish the eighteenth-century continuities between Scotland and America, and Joan Pittock, Ian Duncan, and Fionna Stafford, who have composed a sense of British literature that foregrounds Scottish writers. Crawford also includes contributions by American rhetoricians such as Paul Bator and Linda Ferreira-Buckley that look beyond the hierarchies of English departments to examine the historical continuities of literature, composition, and rhetoric. The contributors relate Adam Smith to the emergence of a print economy, the profession of literature and romanticism, unruly genres and disciplinary readings, American studies and Scottish English teaching, the engendering of literature and the disciplining of gender violators, and the profession of a world language and colonial institutions.

These contributions can be very usefully read against the accounts included in Gaillet's *Scottish Rhetoric and Its Influences*, which collects essays delivered at the Tenth Biennial Meeting of the International Society of the History of Rhetoric in Edinburgh in 1995. Both of the volumes include work by Pittock and Ferreira-Buckley as well as articles (by Sarah Sloane and Martin Moonie, respectively) on William Greenfield, Hugh Blair's ignominious successor at Edinburgh, who was literally excised from the history of higher education for violating established sexual mores. The articles are mostly short convention papers, but the number of contributions is consequently larger—seventeen, as opposed to a dozen in Crawford's collection. On the other hand, the topics covered are limited to rhetorical theory and practice, including a range of works from Hume and Smith through Blair and George Campbell to George Jardine, Samuel Newman, and Alexander Bain.

These three books amply demonstrate that professors of English in the British Isles, South Pacific, and North America need not be divided by a common discipline. Our discipline began with provincials who taught English because they were not English, and that fact has broad significance for understanding how disciplines work, especially in public institutions. Comparative historical studies can help us to understand how disciplines exist everywhere and nowhere, refracted through cosmopolitan ideals negotiated against local needs and values. Teachers of English in Scotland, the United States, Canada, and Australia may work in the same profession, but they do very different work. As these three books amply document, our understanding of the functions of disciplines can be enriched by historical research on the teaching of English in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Disciplinary histories are, ironically, particularly relevant to an interdisciplinary audience such as ECSSS because they encourage us to ask how disciplines compose histories for themselves, and how those histories position the disciplines within national and international developments. Such questions are not merely of historical interest. We are all facing accelerating institutional changes, I suspect, and our historical inquiries can help us to learn from our differences to meet these changes.

BOOKS in REVIEW



James Boswell's Life of Johnson: An Edition of the Original Manuscript, Volume 2: 1766- 1776. Ed. Bruce Redford, with Elizabeth Goldring. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xvii + 303.

The General Correspondence of James Boswell, 1766-1769: Volume 2: 1768-69. Ed. Richard C. Cole, with Peter S. Baker and Rachel McClellan, and with the assistance of James J. Caudel. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xxi + 330.

The Correspondence of James Boswell with James Bruce and Andrew Gibb, Overseers of the Auchinleck Estate. Ed. Nellie Pottle Hankins and John Strawhorn. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. lvi + 276.

The first of these publications in the Yale Research Edition of Boswell's Private Papers provides key insights into the composition of the Boswell's major work, while the other two demonstrate his wide-ranging energy and help bring to life the world he inhabited.

The manuscript for the *Life of Johnson* is being published in four volumes, each corresponding to a volume in the Hill-Powell edition of the *Life* (with H-P page numbers atop each page). Here in volume 2 Bruce Redford follows the clever editorial strategies invented by Marshall Waingrow to display the process of composition that culminated in the first edition of the *Life*. Without this edition, readers could notice the many ways sections of the *Life* differ from Boswell's original journal, but with it we can chart the layered process of composition. We can see that Boswell often started with the words from his journal but then made changes; can note where he originally wrote two or more options, one of which he later selected; and can track where he added small or large units to the existing draft, and deleted short or substantial sections of what he had earlier written. In the key passage where Boswell compares Johnson's mind to "the vast ampitheatre the Collosseum at Rome" (pp. 56-57; cf. p. 236), for instance, we can here observe the many small but significant selections, additions, deletions, and substitutions Boswell made as he worked at presenting his first experience of Johnson's fear of death.

Footnotes and endnotes report changes made in correcting proofs, and in later editions. (The packed index collects all references to such changes.) Footnotes speculate about what Boswell had in mind in writing specific passages (e.g., p. 41, n. 4), call attention to Boswell's marginal queries (p. 192, n. 7) and hesitations (p. 177, n. 2), and tell when a deleted paragraph was "reworked and repositioned" elsewhere (p. 144, n. 5). They print notes that were suggested but not added (p. 57, n. 7), and notes that were later added but not included in Hill-Powell (p. 151, n. 5). In one footnote Redford follows the lead of Boswell, in a sentence later deleted, to comment that the passage from the *Life of Prior* quoted by Hill-Powell in a footnote (2:78, n. 3) somewhat misrepresents Johnson's critical judgment of Prior (p. 41, n. 3). My only complaint with this most useful and informative text is that it does not print as part of the manuscript those portions of Boswell's 1772 journal that he used as a "paper apart" for the corresponding portion of the *Life*. It would be helpful to see immediately just what Boswell cut from the first London entries he wrote after he decided to become Johnson's biographer, to learn whether he hesitated as he adapted these entries, and to follow the stages (if any) that resulted in the small verbal changes we can notice.

The second text under review completes *The General Correspondence of James Boswell 1766- 69* (volume 1, containing letters for 1766-67, was published in 1993). Excluded from this collection, which covers the period from Boswell's return to Scotland in February 1766 to just after his wedding, are the letters Boswell exchanged in these years with David Garrick, John Johnston of Grange, and William Temple, all now published in other volumes of Boswell's correspondence. Also unavailable here are Boswell's sketchy but significant correspondence during this period with Samuel Johnson, the numerous letters exchanged with various members of his immediate

family, and the many letters he and Margaret Mongtomerie wrote as they moved toward their marriage on 25 November 1769—all of which will be published separately. What remains, however, is quite rich. This volume contains more than 160 letters for 1768-69, including about 120 written to Boswell by close to 80 different correspondents, ranging from the unknown to the well known. It also contains descriptions of more than 100 additional letters that have not survived. After June 1769 these now-missing letters are (mostly) listed in Boswell's Register of Letters, but for the first seventeen months of this period they had to be identified from journal entries or surviving letters.

Even more richly than Boswell's journals for this period, these letters touch on a variety of topics in British political, intellectual, and social history, all of which can be fully explored with help from the remarkably thorough 56-page index for both volumes. They also let us overhear the good sense and wit, the steady concern and playfulness Boswell regularly heard from others as he pursued his careers as lawyer and writer, and confirmed his decision to marry Margaret. Especially for the period covered by Boswell's Register of Letters, this collection suggestively complements his journal. For July 1769, for instance, we have here eleven letters to Boswell (from nine different people), plus a record of four others to him and of sixteen he sent—a total of 31 letters to 21 different correspondents, all people he was not seeing as he did his work in Edinburgh. A footnote fully identifies most correspondents at their first appearance, and the letters are annotated with admirable fullness. Letters in Italian are translated, but those in French are not. I noticed only one omission: a letter to Paoli, listed in Boswell's Register as sent on 10 June 1769, is not mentioned on p.181.

Though I judge both the books just discussed to be quite valuable, *The Correspondence of James Boswell with James Bruce and Andrew Gibb, Overseers of the Auchinleck Estate* gave me the most interesting new perspective on Boswell. Chauncey Brewster Tinker's edition of Boswell's *Letters* (1924) includes about half of the surviving letters to Gibb, who took over as overseer after Bruce died in 1790, but none of those that Boswell wrote to Bruce, who had been overseer since 1741, shortly after Boswell's birth, nor any of those that Bruce and Gibb wrote to Boswell. This volume collects all these letters, and provides full descriptions of those now unavailable. It therefore takes us through Boswell's life between December 1762 and March 1795, showing his sustained interest in what was happening on the family estate.

What has survived is uneven, however. For the period from December 1762 through August 1769, when Boswell and Bruce are known to have exchanged 34 letters, including 15 from Boswell, we hear only Bruce's voice in the 14 letters that survive. He sends news of Boswell's two brothers, reports about life at Auchinleck, and writes with concern about Boswell's plans, his work as lawyer and writer, and perhaps his repeated bouts of gonorrhea. He endorses Boswell's decision to marry his cousin Margaret, and reports that Lord Auchinleck's plan to remarry gave him "a surprizing shock" (p. 20). In the thirteen years between August 1769 and July 1782, Boswell and Bruce exchanged 68 letters, ranging from annual lows of just one (1770) or two (1775) to a high of 19 in 1779. But none of these letters survive, so for these years we have just the reports from Boswell's Register of Letters, where, starting in January 1776, Boswell included a brief description of each letter, and for many of those to and from Bruce wrote unusually detailed summaries. In addition to providing news of the family estate and of Lord Auchinleck's health, Bruce was acting as Boswell's agent at the farm Boswell had purchased in 1767, and also as a confidant. (On 9 July 1782, Boswell asked Bruce to burn the letter he was writing "of various family particulars," just as he had burned Bruce's most recent letter [p. 34].)

Then for the last eight years of Bruce's life, starting with Boswell's first letter in this collection (13 November 1782), we finally hear both voices. During this period Boswell and Bruce are known to have exchanged 140 letters, 98 of which survive, including 73 of the 92 written in Boswell's first 26 months as laird. We can read Bruce's regular, careful reports about fields and crops and dykes, about rents and tenants and the weather, and we can witness Boswell's efforts to manage his estate energetically, prudently, and humanely. We also hear Bruce regularly urging Boswell to avoid (or return from) London, and Boswell's various responses (including the sole mention of Johnson in these letters [p. 89]). Starting in 1784 Boswell becomes solicitous concerning Bruce's health, and both worry about Margaret's. No letters survive for the period between Margaret's death in June 1789 and Bruce's in August 1790, and Boswell's Register of Letters for these months lists just three letters to Bruce, and only one from Bruce, a letter incorrectly described here as "*To* Bruce" (p. 125).

Between 6 November 1790 and 27 March 1795, Boswell exchanged 147 letters with Andrew Gibb, including 30 that he wrote in the nine months before he met the young man he appointed overseer on his brother David's recommendation. All but four of Boswell's 86 letters survive, but only 13 of Gibb's, including three letters not directed to Boswell, so for this period the dominant voice is Boswell's. In fact, his is the only voice we hear (in 34 letters) between January 1791 and November 1792, and again (in 26 letters) from August 1793 to March 1795. I was intrigued to see how steadily and specifically Boswell thought about Auchinleck during these years, as he showed himself to be a knowledgeable, attentive, and considerate laird, a demanding but encouraging employer, Gibb's "wellwisher" even when he scolded.

The 26-page introduction to this collection is packed with valuable information concerning the letter-writers, Auchinleck, and new agricultural practices in Ayrshire. The letters and descriptions are fully annotated with help from the rich materials in the Boswell Papers at Yale. Three appendices list all the lands and tenants at Auchinleck (in 18 pages), describe the Bruce and Gibb families (4 pages), and gloss unfamiliar words (8 pages). There are also detailed maps of the estate of Auchinleck and of Ayrshire, and a thorough 30-page index. It is sad that neither Nellie Pottle Hankins nor John Strawhorn was able to see in print the book they so carefully and helpfully co-edited.

John B. Radner, George Mason University

Fiona Stafford and Howard Gaskill, eds. **From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations**. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998. Studies in Comparative Literature 15. Pp. xiv + 264.

This book is a splendid addition to the Macpherson-Ossian revival that began in 1988 with Fiona Stafford's *The Sublime Savage: James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*, followed soon after by other works, notably Howard Gaskill's fine *Ossian Revisited* (1991) and *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works* (1996). Nearly all the essays in this new collection emerged from papers read at the Macpherson bicentenary conference held in 1996 under the auspices of Somerville College, Oxford, and guided along by Stafford's sure hand. The seventeen essays here proclaim once again the enigmatic and fascinating character of James Macpherson and suggest "the intangibility," the "elusiveness," of the Ossian poems as works of literature. Among these diverse, informed, and welcome analyses, particular essays have resonance for those who have spent years sifting the broken shards of Macpherson's reputation and his memorable work.

Derick Thomson's presence looms happily over Macpherson scholarship, recalling his presence over thirty years ago at the bicentennial of the publication of *Fingal*. In "James Macpherson: The Gaelic Dimension," he succinctly presents the relevant issues once again while embracing new ideas and research throughout "the Macphersonic pieces" (p. 23). David Hall Radcliffe's "Ancient Poetry and British Pastoral" incisively states a credible argument for Macpherson as "any good pastoralist [who] has the high art to make unnatural characters appear probable by inserting them into a convincing fictional universe with its own set of implicit rules" (p. 35). Radcliffe's reference to "artful savagery" keeps alive one of the most long-held and accurate images in Macpherson studies—the poet as romantic primitivist. Alan G. Macpherson's depth of knowledge concerning names, dates, and other facts concerning Macpherson clan history remains as always impressive. His linkage between biographical and literary analysis in "'On the Death of Marshall Keith' and Clan Consciousness" provides insights that textual study of the poem alone would not offer. He persuades, as he has in numerous other articles, the value of first understanding James Macpherson's immediate and extended Highland family matters before one can fully grasp Ossian literary and cultural issues. Thomas Keymer's "Narratives of Loss: *The Poems of Ossian* and *Tristram Shandy*" explores the little known literary connection between these works and suggests that *Ossian* "may well have alerted Sterne to some of the more melancholy possibilities . . . in what begins for Tristram as a strictly comic literary impasse" (p. 95).

The influence of Ossian on the Continent and America remains a fruitful area for scholars, who also show how the poems inspire a rich source of critical discourse. German literature's connection to Ossian is most conspicuous in the works of Klopstock, Herder, Goethe, and Lenz, among a host of other poets and dramatists. F. J. Lamport's "Goethe, Ossian, and *Werther*" and Howard Gaskill's "Blast, rief Cuchullin . . .!: J.M.R. Lenz and Ossian" reinterpret what some have suggested was Macpherson's limited nationalistic purpose. Both essays deepen our understanding of individual passages of Ossian, and Gaskill quite rightly points out Ossianic omissions and missteps in modern scholarship—for example, a recent biography of Lenz omits his translation of *Fingal* from a list of his published work. In "Terrible Women and Tender Men: A Study of Gender in Macpherson's *Ossian*," Lisa Kozlowski examines one of the many welcome and new directions that Macpherson scholarship will take in the future. Stafford's comment, in her essay on Macpherson, Milton, and the Romantics, "that perhaps there is something inherently self-destructive about the Ossianic world" (p. 182) implies Macpherson's modern temperament and its "web of diverse contexts." American writers' reactions to Ossian remain one of the least explored and understood avenues of critical study. Dafydd Moore's "James Macpherson and William Faulkner: A Sensibility of Defeat" insightfully recommends a diversity of approaches to Ossian's text and context, resulting in one of the collection's most imaginative essays. Moore has read and connects his topic within the full spectrum of Macpherson scholarship from 1988 to 1996, an accomplishment not evident in some of the other pieces.

The editorial work has been well done. The decision to provide separate index entries for Macpherson's work and Ossianic poems suggests the thoughtfulness of the overall work. Not only do these essays celebrate Macpherson's achievement and examine its larger cultural significance, but also, thanks to the high quality of the essays and the attention to presentation and detail of the editors and publisher, we have a book that every undergraduate

and graduate library will want to add to their collection. Macpherson scholarship can look forward to a bright future with the example of this volume.

Paul J. deGategno, North Carolina Wesleyan College

Studies in Scottish Literature: Special Robert Burns Issue. Volume 30 (1998). Pp. xii + 318.

Anniversaries provide excellent excuses for fresh examinations, and Burns studies have certainly been flourishing since 1996, the bicentenary of the poet's death. Two major Burns conferences were held that year, one at the University of Strathclyde in January and the other at the University of South Carolina in late March. Papers from the former conference were edited by Kenneth Simpson and published in 1997 as *Love and Liberty: Robert Burns, A Bicentenary Celebration* [reviewed by Hamish Whyte in *ECS* no. 11, 1997, pp. 15-16]. Now those from the latter conference have been published as a special issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature*, featuring illustrations in characteristic style by Alasdair Gray (who also contributes an essay of his own).

The *SSL* collection of essays is eclectic, a reflection of Burns's appeal to many different groups, both academic and non-acadmic. It begins with reflections by Tom Sutherland, who was dean of agriculture at the American University of Beirut when he was kidnapped by Islamic Jihad in 1985. Sutherland recounts how his recollection of Burns's poetry provided him with "joy and comfort" throughout his captivity. From there the volume moves to examinations of Burns in historical perspective, from his inheritance of the tradition of the makars (in essays by R.D.S. Jack and Robert L. Kindrick) to his influence on MacDiarmid (in essays by Margery Palmer McCulloch, Carol McGuirk, and Robert Hay Carnie). A number of contributors raise questions regarding Burns's relation to the literary marketplace of his day (Peter Murphy, Jeffrey Sklobow, Jeff Ritchie) and his subsequent marketing by later writers and biographers (Thomas C. Richardson, Roger L. Tarr, James Mackay). Addressing the issue of Burns's marketing for political purposes in the current climate of change in Britain, A. M. Kinghorn asks whether Burns, the national poet, "has a role to play in the nation's political future" (p. 187). While Kinghorn reads Burns as "a republican poet-patriot who developed radical views and republican leanings" (p. 187), other contributors express contesting views of Burns's Scottish nationalism. In an essay on Burns's relation to Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson, Kenneth Simpson takes Burns's nationalism for granted: his "body of poetry expresses a cultural nationalism, which in itself may serve as a channel of expression of an otherwise thwarted political nationalism" (p. 33). Norman Elrod and Robert L. Kindrick are in accordance with this view. Elrod writes: "That Burns was a Scotsman, devoted to the strengthening of Scottish self-awareness and self-confidence, seems clear to me" (p. 117), while Kindrick contends that Burns's "espousal of medieval traditions . . . is clear evidence of his own literary nationalism" (p. 91). Jeff Ritchie advocates a more nuanced reading of Burns's nationalism, however, arguing that "Burns's ambition is to take part in the construction of the Scottish myth; the creation and preservation of what Peter Murphy calls a 'blurry people' or 'imaginary class'" (p. 133).

In contrast to the thorny question of how national identity is manifested in literature, the volume also contains essays suggesting a connection between music and internationalism. Writing on James Watson, Harriet Harvey Wood suggests that Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Songs* "supports the idea of a common British song culture, in which poems, songs and song-settings traveled freely back and forth between England and Scotland long before the Union took place" (p. 27). Alec Finlay returns to this point in his examination of Hamish Henderson's espousal of folksong in opposition to what he saw as the confining literary nationalism of the Scottish Renaissance.

In his essay on "1786 and 1796," Donald Low asks: "What of the future of Burns studies?" (p. 186). Judging by the content of this volume, which encompasses so many varying perspectives, discussion and debate on Burns will be accompanying us on into the twenty-first century.

Leith Davis, Simon Fraser University

Leith Davis, **Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation 1707-1830**. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. Pp. vii + 219.

"If any Noble Action was performed by Scots-men, all was said to be done by the English; If we pretended to Precedency as Guards, Royal Regiments, or the like, we were then not *English*, that's in plain *English* nothing" (p. 30). Thus, John Hamilton, second Baron of Belhaven, in 1701—sounding very much like a modern Scot in the heat of the World Cup. It is this implicitly dichotomous discourse with its easy oppositions and apparent hierarchy that Leith Davis seeks to interrogate in *Acts of Union*. Basing her argument in the theories of Mikhail Bakhtin, Benedict Anderson, and Homi Bhabha, Davis argues that "dialogism exists in the discourse of the nation [read "Britain"], where the nation is imagined simultaneously as both unitary and contested" (p.2). And in the body of

her text, Davis ranges across a series of moments to consider successive pairs of authors as they negotiate the complexities of a nationalism that is at once British and Scottish or English.

Davis's analyses of these moments through their literary manifestations constitute the strength of her book. She considers how Belhaven and Defoe situate themselves in mutual opposition, yet through the process of literary exchange suggest Britain in formation "as a heterogeneous nation joined through the medium of writing" (p. 19). Through Fielding and Smollett, Davis argues that after the '45 political debate is displaced into culture, making the novel a space of contradiction yet also an expression of British unity. "Origins of the Specious: James Macpherson, Samuel Johnson, and the Forging of the Nation," ponders the oppositional yet unifying literary dynamics of Britain's notorious rivals, and argues that the process of forgery paradoxically forged together England and Scotland. A chapter on Burns and Wordsworth identifies a less ingenuously national Burns than we assume, and assesses that cultural image as the product of Scotland's anxiety for influence and Wordsworth's anxiety at that influence. "Citing the Nation: Thomas Percy's and Walter Scott's Minstrel Ballads" critiques Scott's early and late positioning of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* to reveal his growing uneasiness about literary origins and originality. And throughout, Davis contributes substantially to the recently complex understanding of "Britain" developed by critics such as Robert Crawford, David McCrone and Murray Pittock—often in response to the challenging Linda Colley. In Davis's nuanced readings, hoary national, cultural, and personal rivalries stand visible as sites of constant, complex, and vital exchange where "the nation" (whether England and/or Scotland) is ever alive through the dynamics of discourse.

If this book's primary importance resides in the exchange and alteration Davis identifies between nations and across literature within the trope of Britain, Davis nonetheless achieves significant readings for individual authors. While we learn little new about Wordsworth, and while Belhaven's prominence in this text is unlikely to have critical repercussions, Davis's readings of Defoe, Fielding, Macpherson and Burns refreshingly complicate our literary and historical assumptions across the map of British literature. Against a Defoe primed to write and repress Scottish difference, we perceive a playful author who relished including and ventriloquizing oppositional discourse, and who fully appreciated that "a nation united by reading and writing has to be constantly reread and rewritten in order to maintain its existence" (p. 45). Alongside the poet "bred at a plough-tail" (p. 109), Davis figures a Burns who "draws attention to the differences within the nation as well as indicating the acts of poetic and readerly imagination which are necessary to create a sense of national identity," yet who "questions the image of Scotland" (p. 107). Moreover these readings, with their equal interest in and hospitality to English and Scottish voices, reveal in Leith Davis a scholar capable of the wide, critical yet sympathetic imagination required for meaningful cultural studies.

Of course, this text does have limits. Its wide sweep produces fascinating detail, but occasionally discourages depth. While the book successfully argues and demonstrates through many moments that the nation is problematized as it is written, it lacks the scope consistently to support its reverse case that the written is problematized through the nation it narrates. Finally, although the argument clearly operates within postcolonial theory, deftly invoking it every so often to explain the operations of nation and narration, Davis sets herself an impossible task given her many agendas when she states that the book's wider aim is "to use the case of Britain . . . to interrogate postcolonial theories of nationalism" (p. 2).

Still, these are the difficulties of a thoughtful and ambitious project, aware of its implications yet lacking the space to pursue them within the text at hand. I look forward to Davis's next step—perhaps in the direction of one of these unfulfilled ambitions. And to her I owe the fact that next time I see Prince Charles in a kilt, I will think not "fashion victim!" but of "the example of Britain in the eighteenth century . . . a concept of national identity based not on homogeneity . . . but on difference" (p. 5).

Caroline McCracken-Flesher, University of Wyoming

William Ferguson, **The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998. Pp. vi + 341.

This book is a work of deep scholarship and also a delight to read because of its force and irreverence and its ability to give life and personality to people who have been only names before. It is an important contribution to our understanding of the Scottish past. It is not, as you might expect from the title, an attempt to define and explain the Scottish identity; rather, it is an account of the changing views of our early history from myths to the scientific approach.

Many countries have had myths to explain their origins and gratify self-esteem by claiming descent from biblical or classical heroes, usually with a name suggested by the name of the country, as Danus for the Danes and Francus for the French. The English adopted Brutus, who was said to be descended from Aeneas, a story elaborated upon by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* of 1135. In this account, Brutus

ruled over the whole island of Britain, and the Picts and Scots are dismissed as mongrel races of no importance. "The relevance of this to later English claims to suzerainty over Scotland is abundantly clear," Ferguson writes. "And long, long after Geoffrey's history was given up by English historians his ethos lived on: the English believed, and probably still do, that they had a natural right to rule the British Isles" (pp. 14-15). Myths, not matter how absurd, can have powerful and enduring effects. The confusion in English minds between Britain and England has deep roots.

The Scottish myth produced to refute English pretensions in the proceedings before the papal curia in 1301 claimed that the Scots derived their name and royal house from Scota, said to be a daughter of a Pharaoh who married Gaedal Glas. Such myths as these were accepted by early chroniclers. A more rational approach to early history gradually emerged, but much remained obscure because of the absence or loss of written records. This was true particularly of the Picts, of whom no writing has survived. This encouraged wild speculation, continuing to quite recent times. Ferguson gives great credit to George Buchanan, who "by a dazzling display of erudition" in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* of 1582 concluded that "the Picts were akin to the Britons but spoke a P-Celtic tongue that was closer to Gaulish than to the Brittonic of the south of Britain" (pp. 89-90). Modern scholarship agrees with him. Another Celtic tongue was introduced into Scotland by the Scots from Ireland, who founded the Kingdom of Dalriada in the fifth century and a joint kingdom with the Picts in the ninth. Scotland was therefore essentially Celtic in its origins, and even the name, Scots, long applied to the people of both Ireland and Scotland. Ferguson has no doubt that Gaelic tradition was "the most potent force in producing the concept of Scottish nationhood" (p. 99). This is not a concept with which everyone has always been entirely happy. Much of Ferguson's book is concerned with attempts to dispute or disregard the Celtic character of Scotland.

Buchanan was anathema to those, like Father Thomas Innes (1662-1744), who upheld the divine right of kings. They were outraged both by his criticism of Mary Queen of Scots and by his advocacy of the Scottish theory of sovereignty of the people in his *Historia* and in *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos*. Others objected to his view of the Picts and to the whole idea of the Celticism of Scotland because of anti-Gaelic prejudice. One of the first, and most extreme, of these was John Pinkerton (1758-1826), who maintained that the Picts were Goths, that is to say Teutonic or German. Ferguson says that many of Pinkerton's ideas, "even when every allowance is made for the then state of knowledge, can only be pronounced made" (p. 252). That has not stopped several people from adopting his general thesis, including Thomas Carlyle (presumably because of his admiration for everything German) and the otherwise-sane historian, John Hill Burton.

Ferguson is scathing in his criticism of the Enlightenment historians: "Whatever did not square with their philosophy was not knowledge, and they loftily dismissed anything they could not understand. In no other area of human knowledge were the serious intellectual shortcomings of the Enlightenment so obviously exposed as in the study of history. As far as their attitude to the past was concerned they were regressive, and they seriously impeded the triumph of record scholarship on which historical science depended" (pp. 206-207). How does this square with Hume's well known observation that "this is the historical age and this is the historical nation"? The Enlightenment historians approached all questions in what they regarded as a historical spirit, but it was history based more on speculation than on deduction from the records.

Throughout the book Ferguson remarks on the tendency of English historians from the earliest time to the present to disparage Scotland. he says of one of them in the seventeenth century that George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh thought that he was "just another ignorant and insolent Englishman who loved to deride and belittle Scotland and its affairs" (p. 151). In the eighteenth century, "English Scottophobia, then as now, centered on London, where it is still an active ingredient of the metorpolitan mind" (p. 227). And so on down to the present, when Hugh Trevor-Roper, Lord Dacre is a particular target of Ferguson's indignation. In Scotland we have tended to be tolerant of this continuous English criticism and belittlement. I think Ferguson does a useful service in drawing attention to it because it has probably been an ingredient in the inferiority complex that many people have detected in modern Scotland, but from which we are now escaping.

Ferguson ends on a note of cautious optimism. He says that Scottish national feeling has "proved itself in the past to be remarkably tough and resilient. It faces a difficult future but not one that is devoid of hope. For Scottish national identity and Scottish national feeling are not as moribund today as some find it politic to believe. And, to put the matter in its wider setting, sane nationalism the world over is perhaps all that stands between the earth and ruthless pillaging by global gangs of Mammonites that would cheerfully ruin the planet for profit" (p. 316).

Ferguson's vigorous and wide-ranging book is itself evidence of this resilience. Scholarship in obscure questions has seldom been so stimulating.

Paul Henderson Scott, Edinburgh

Leah Leneman, **Alienated Affections: The Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684-1830**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998. Pp. x + 354.

Alienated Affections is the stuff that social historians' dreams are made of. It allows us into the bedrooms, not to mention the kitchens, outhouses, and back stairways, of households. It provides tangible evidence of the relationships between servants, masters, and mistresses. It shines a light on the effects of urbanization and British imperialism on increasing infidelity. And it puts some messy historical meat on neat conceptualizations like the family economy, enlightenment, and sensibility.

Leneman is able to do this largely because Scottish law, unlike its English counterpart, made divorce possible, if not exactly practical, long before the mid-nineteenth century. These proceedings were duly recorded in the records of the Scottish Commissary Court. With a surprising amount of detail, they show us dramatically changing attitudes toward marriage as individuals began to opt out of incompatible relationships. The developing Scottish experience shows that women could be, and often were, the initiators of divorce and separation proceedings. The evidence of accusers, defendants, and witnesses allows us to examine the closest of relationships from various points of view. So, for example, we get a rare glimpse of women who took the initiative to get rid of abusive or incompatible mates.

Leneman would be the first to admit that the actual number of divorces is the tip of the marital iceberg. Many unhappy men and women lacked the funds (about three months wages) to enter into legal proceedings; others likely feared the publicity and possible stigma attached to legal proceedings. As Leneman suggests, the real question should be not why so many people sought divorce (more than six hundred) but rather why the number was so small in the reckoning of more than a century. But this qualification largely evaporates when one considers the fascinating detail within these records. For the accusation and counter-accusation evidences a society where marriages could be informal; an increasingly urban and mobile community where unmarried and even bigamous relationships were more common than one might think; and a society where adultery was often tolerated.

It is when the author explores these court records for evidence of issues that were not strictly related to matrimony and divorce that the merits of this well-written and handsomely produced volume become really clear. What makes this book worth its weight in gold to historians of Scotland is the information it contains on the relatively fluid nature of Scottish society, the relationships between servants and masters, and even the families of many of Scotland's most famous citizens: Henry Dundas, William Robertson, Douglas the eighth Duke of Hamilton, Robert Burns, and many others. A very serious scholarly shortcoming, however, is the omission of so many of these names in a separate index that purports to be devoted to names!

Yet another puzzle in this otherwise fascinating volume is the author's temerity in exploring several themes in Scottish social history that literally scream out for attention. Thus, the comments on eighteenth-century sensibility are perfunctory, something that is rather surprising given the preeminence that sensibility gave to conjugal affection and the nuclear family over more traditional kinship relationships. Similarly, Leneman's intriguing descriptions of master-servant relationships would have benefitted from a discussion of the Scottish Enlightenment's attempt to make these relationships more orderly, particularly by getting rid of the practice of servants' vails (tips). Unhappy marriages and cumbersome marriage contracts among noble families clearly related to the debate over entailed land that went to the heart of economic growth or improvement in Scotland.

It may well be that Leneman wished to confine herself to the significant descriptive task more closely at hand. I for one would not require the author to wander into historical debates over entails, sentiment, and the Scottish Enlightenment if it meant sacrificing any of those explicit descriptions of what it meant to heat the sheets in an eighteenth-century Scottish bedroom.

One final practical observation. European social historians looking for course texts on preindustrial society should seriously consider *Alienated Affections*. It is lucidly written and has plenty of trans-national relevance, and once they start reading it, students will find it difficult to put down.

John Dwyer, York University

Charles W. J. Withers, **Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998. Pp. xvi + 271.

This is an uneven book, to say the least. Possibly someone teaching nineteenth-century Scottish demography would find useful material in it, but only small sections of the book are likely to be of interest to readers of this newsletter.

Some confusion is evident from the title and subtitle; indeed, one wonders if the main title was an afterthought, since the subject of Highland-Lowland migration is not the same as Highland-*urban* migration. Far from disentangling the two themes, Withers, astonishingly, conflates them. On p. 64 we read that from the mid-eighteenth century onward "the seasonal migration of Highlanders to the Lowland harvest" became increasingly

common. After giving some specific examples of Highlanders migrating south for the harvest and other agricultural work, Withers writes: "So widespread was this seasonal out-movement that we must suppose that Highlanders moving south to take up residence in the urban Lowlands would have known what to expect." What??? Does he really consider periods of time spent in purely rural surroundings in the Lowlands equivalent to living in Edinburgh or Glasgow? Apparently he does. On p. 68 he cites at length from a report of 1851 on the experience of a crofter who for twenty years had been working on a farm in East Lothian for six months of the year in order to be able to afford to live on his croft in Skye the other six months. And he returns to this man on p. 232 in a paragraph beginning: "The patterns of 'permanent' migration to the *urban* [my emphasis] Lowlands were underlain by circuits of temporary and seasonal mobility." So the Lowlands were apparently one great urban sprawl!

The book is divided into three sections: "The Background to Highland Migration," "The Nature of Highland-Lowland Migration," and "The Making of Urban Gaelic Culture." Obviously the reader needs some background to Highland migration (whether to "the Lowlands" or to the towns and cities), but fifty-seven pages for this scene-setting seems excessive. The second section is for demographers and contains little eighteenth-century material. The third section is also misleadingly titled, since one of Withers's main arguments is that there was no single "Gaelic culture" as such but a myriad of different experiences. But at least here we get specifics, and eighteenth-century specifics at that.

Withers cites commentators who claimed that Highland migrants belonged to the lower orders of society (p. 134) and proves from various sources that there were Highlanders in the cities belonging to all strata of society. (He lays particular emphasis on merchants [p. 155], but Edinburgh court records reveal that there were always Gaelic-speaking lawyers who could be called upon to interpret for witnesses who spoke no English.) By far the most interesting sections are those on Gaelic chapels (pp. 160-78) and Highland societies (pp. 185-89) in the eighteenth century. Readers of this newsletter are unlikely to be shocked or surprised to learn that at the Gaelic churches English services were also given and that "urban Gaelic communities were, to some extent, complicit in their own anglicisation" (p. 170). We should be wary, Withers writes (p. 177) "of uncritically assuming the urban Highland population to be a unified migrant 'community'." What serious historian would for even one moment assume any such thing? Withers presents some interesting material on Highlanders in eighteenth-century Scottish cities, but his conclusions are not exactly ground-breaking.

To sum up: the book, as a whole, cannot be recommended to members of ECSSS, but sections mentioned above are useful. There is clearly a great deal more to be done on Highlanders in urban Scotland during the eighteenth century and, though this would have to be teased out of a variety of sources, it could lead to some fascinating findings.

Leah Leneman, University of Edinburgh

Jeremy Black, **Britain as a Military Power, 1688-1815**. London: UCL Press, 1999. Pp. 344.

Britain as a Military Power is the latest of Jeremy Black's curt, incisive, and detailed examinations of military history, and one which displays his developing credentials as an archipelagic, not merely an Anglo-British, historian. Though much of the book is naturally concerned with Britain's rise to imperial dominance in the long eighteenth century, Black's emphasis on the importance of "quasi-official" and non-standard forces in the wars of the period naturally enables him to examine the Scottish risings in some detail. In particular, his treatment of the Rising of 1715 as an anti-Union rising looking back "to Anglo-Scottish conflicts prior to the Union of the Crowns" is thought-provoking. Black's vision of Jacobitism as a grave threat, a potential Scottish destroyer of Union on the same scale as later Irish unrest, is profoundly interesting. The similar structure of government propaganda against the Irish Rising of 1798 to that in 1745 is instructive here, and one of the many fruitful observations to come out of the Irish government's roadshow conference of last year, one which in Scotland was balanced by panels discussing Scottish radicalism in the period.

Black's emphasis on Jacobitism is of a piece with his central thesis, which offers reservations concerning John Brewer's 1989 thesis of blanket ideas of "modernization," and points out the importance of military contingency, field leadership, and tactics. He also, and rightly, does not view the Jacobite armies as essentially primitive and bound to be overcome by a posited "modernity." (One interesting vignette of this which mostly lies outside Black's purview is that there is a "story" of bayonet technology enshrined in Jacobite historiography, which implies that the Duke of Cumberland's advanced drill and socket bayonets overcame at Culloden where the plug bayonets and basic drill of Mackay failed at Killiecrankie. In fact, proportionate Jacobite casualities were if anything even higher at Killiecrankie, and there is precious little, if any, independent evidence that Cumberland's bayonet drill actually worked.) Black's empiricism distrusts sweeping narratives of change such as this one.

There are a few errors of detail, unsurprising in a book with such a large sweep. In particular, Defender activity in Ireland appears to be conflated with United Irishmen action, even though these groups never properly

gelled, and diverged widely in their subsequent attitudes to '98 (sacrificial veneration and disavowal, respectively—in the latter case rather like Lowland Jacobites disowning the '45). But on the whole this is a challenging and varied tour of theaters of war, which sends a broadside of facts against structural explanations of eighteenth-century power politics. There are some particular gems—Black's treatment of naval warfare and the tactics of close engagement is a specially bright spot in this interesting and useful book.

Murray G. H. Pittock, University of Strathclyde

Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837: An Encyclopedia. Edited by Gerald Newman. New York: Garland Press, 1997. Pp. xxv + 871.

This handsome volume, with its double-column pages, high quality illustrations, useful cross-references, and superb index of seventy pages will be welcomed by general readers, students, and professional academics alike. The third in a Garland series of reference works, it supplements earlier volumes on Victorian Britain (1988) and Twentieth-Century Britain (1995), with further volumes on the medieval and Tudor periods still in preparation.

Clearly an editorial undertaking of enormous dimensions, the encyclopedia represents six years of collaboration between the general editor, Gerald Newman, and four associate editors, each from a different area of historical specialization, who together have largely succeeded in overcoming the problems of selection and proportion that are inherent in any reference work, to achieve an admirable blend of chronological unity, historical synthesis, and thematic balance. This is largely the result of the editorial strategy employed: coverage of traditional topics and themes, alphabetically accessible for quick reference, combined with such newer areas of interest as 'the development of Hanoverian business, education, child rearing, sexuality, women's achievements, consumerism, and so on' (p. viii). Furthermore, each topical entry is appropriately cross-referenced to larger selected themes, providing for in-depth elaboration of important points in the briefer entries and thus allowing the reader to appreciate the place of any particular topic or individual in larger contexts of Hanoverian civilization. In this way, the work is not only a convenient resource for those seeking basic information on virtually every aspect of Hanoverian Britain, but also meets the needs of academics and researchers looking for bibliographical references and distillation of current scholarship within familiar fields of reading and expertise. All the entries, whether extensive or brief, are clearly and elegantly written, based on the latest research, and each provides suggestions for further reading at the end.

Another virtue of this encyclopedia is that it integrates Wales, Ireland, and Scotland into the national picture—projects a truly British dimension—a feature that makes the volume especially useful for those interested in the complexity and variety of the Scottish experience during the Hanoverian period. There are excellent entries on leading Scots in virtually every walk of life, but even minor characters, such as Lachlan Macquarie and Lord Braxfield, receive due mention. The more lengthy surveys of Scottish agriculture, banking, education, poor law, universities, and enlightenment successfully mix narrative and analysis and *en somme* provide skillful assessments of Scotland's multifaceted contribution to the growth, prosperity, and intellectual vitality of Hanoverian Britain.

Only one criticism suggests itself. Obviously, no one-volume reference work, however ambitious, can include everything, but I find it surprising that while there are entries for at least the more important Scottish politicians, none appear for figures in the diplomatic realm. Since by 1770 Scotsmen had charge of British relations with nearly every major European court, at the very least the leading figures—men such as Andrew Mitchell, Hugh Elliot, Robert Keith, and Joseph Ewart—should not have been ignored.

But this is only a personal predilection. In all, the book is to be recommended as an excellent resource for anyone interested in British history and culture during the Georgian era.

K. W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Daniel Szechi, **The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688-1788**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994; distributed in North America by St. Martin's Press. New Frontiers in History. Pp. xxv + 172.

Murray G. H. Pittock, **Jacobitism**. British History in Perspective. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998. Pp. ix + 163.

Once dismissed as the hobbyhorse of a lunatic fringe too stubborn to admit defeat (or perhaps too stupid to know it had been beaten), Jacobitism has in recent years assumed a central place in the study of eighteenth-century British history. What had once been relegated to specialists is now considered essential reading for undergraduates. And so two British presses with the same North American co-publisher or distibutor have produced concise overviews of Jacobitism for students.

The result is two strikingly similar books—in scope, in size, in audience, in tone. Both presume to cover Jacobite history in the three kingdoms in the century after 1688, describing the '15, the '19, the Atterbury Plot, the '45, and the seemingly endless machinations behind them. Both open with a survey of Jacobite scholarship since the nineteenth century, noting major statements by Petrie, Namier, Cruikshanks, McLynn, Clark, and Monod, classifying them (in Szechi's terms) as "optimists," "pessimists," and "rejectionists." And both combine narratives of political and military history with accounts of Jacobite ideology and culture.

Despite the similarities, the two books differ in emphasis. Though both take Jacobitism seriously, Pittock is more "optimistic" than Szechi, whose reservations about Stuart prospects are more pronounced. Whereas Szechi focuses almost exclusively on avowed supporters of the Stuarts—those who took up arms or at least supported the cause publicly—Pittock often discusses crypto-Jacobites; he thereby runs the risk of seeing sympathizers everywhere he looks. Szechi includes two features lacking from Pittock: a "Jacobite Chronology," 1688-1807, and nine short "Illustrative Documents."

Most important for members of ECSSS, though, is the treatment of Scotland. Szechi's coverage is more pan-European, especially in the second half of his book, which leads to some curious perspectives: he addresses the '45, for instance, in a section on France; British involvement seems merely incidental. Pittock, on the other hand, pays more attention to Scotland, as is clear in his invariably conscientious reference to "James II and VII," even "William III and II." He never forgets that the Stuarts were Scots before they were Britons. He treats Scottish nationalist and anti-Union sentiment more thoroughly than Szechi, and traces at greater length the aftermath of the movement as it played out in popular culture and later Scottish history.

Any attempt to cover a century of military, political, and social history in the three kingdoms—and, in Szechi's case, in France, Spain, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Italy, and the Vatican as well—in just over a hundred pages is bound to be superficial. Neither sports much original scholarship; Pittock, for instance, cites fewer than a dozen archival documents and two dozen primary printed sources in his 630 footnotes. But the audience for these books is not specialists but students, and their shared virtue is not originality but clarity of presentation. Readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* will learn little from them, but beginners will be grateful for these clearly written *vade mecums* to guide them through the tangle of Jacobite history and scholarship.

Jack Lynch, Rutgers University, Newark

John R. McIntosh. **Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998. Scottish Historical Review Monograph Series, No. 5. Pp. xi + 260.

This book is intended to fill what is not just an important omission but a gaping hole in the literature of eighteenth-century Scotland. Not only has there never been a full-length study of the Popular Party—the party in the church that opposed patronage and supported the requirement of a popular call to the ministry—but almost no party figure has received a sustained treatment in this century. The only substantial exception is John Witherspoon, and the attention he has attracted has far less to do with his activities in Scotland than his actions in America following his emigration in 1768 to take up the presidency of the College of New Jersey.

Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland goes a fair way towards filling that gap. Its principal focus is theology, and McIntosh delineates three main groups that emerged within the party: the traditionalists, dominant in the early part of the century; a small group that embraced a liberalized theology associated with William Wishart, which they shared with most of the Moderates; and those such as John Erskine, who adapted their theology to new trends in secular thought, and therefore can be considered both evangelical and enlightened. The last group increasingly dominated the party, and their insistence upon providing a ministry capable of inspiring as well as instructing the populace formed the basis of much Popular opposition to patronage. Those same concerns led the party to endorse some "liberal" secular trends, such as the American Revolution.

This is important material, and the book forms a significant counterweight to Richard B. Sher's *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1985). McIntosh seems to believe, with some justification, that Sher's book underestimated the Popular party, but he in turn undoubtedly underestimates his own indebtedness to the nuanced narrative Sher provided, about which he finds almost nothing positive to say. Even his title is a play on Sher's. Much of the argument would be strengthened by paying closer attention to some of the methods and conceptions the earlier work employed. Thus in the first chapter the author wisely borrows from Sher and Ian D. L. Clark the stricture that the term "Moderate" should be limited to those who supported the policies of William Robertson and his colleagues after 1752, rather than to just any proponents of a liberalization of church doctrines or policies. He then inexplicably drops those restrictions, describing John Willison, for example, as having been among the first Popular ministers to preach against the Moderates, despite the fact that Willison died in 1750! Willison did preach against what he regarded as the backslidings of modernizing ministers, but some of the ministers he decried ended up in the Popular party, as McIntosh is well aware. Conversely, because of their

general avoidance of controversial divinity, we know less about the actual doctrines of most of the Moderates than this book would lead one to believe.

The book would also be stronger if it followed Sher in moving beyond the realm of published writings and asked as well why particular kinds of works might have been published while others were not, within the context of the political and cultural situation of eighteenth-century Scotland. For the most part, it simply assumes that what was published was what was important. Thus McIntosh concludes that patronage was not really so great an issue for the Popular party after all, since it is the subject of only fifteen of the three hundred published works he has tabulated. Anyone who has read those works and noticed the continual wranglings the issue caused congregations and presbyteries for decades, as well as the willingness of ministers to vacate or be ejected from their pulpits for refusing to force nominees upon unwilling congregations, will be hard pressed to agree—even if those same ministers did not always publish their views of the matter. Patronage was overwhelmingly responsible for the almost meteoric growth of the secession after 1740, which was one reason for the relative rarity of publications about patronage. Similarly, McIntosh concludes that the party was not truly evangelical in that its ministers rarely expressed an experiential rather than intellectual view of conversion, but that completely ignores the more than seventy ministers who preached exactly that at the revivals at Cambuslang and elsewhere during the 1740s, a formative event in the history of the Popular party, about which the book says next to nothing. That is probably because most of what was pronounced there was either unpublished or published anonymously or in serial publications rather than in single-author works.

The book is based upon the author's 1989 University of Glasgow thesis, and he appears not to have looked at much in the secondary literature since it was completed; the bibliography includes almost nothing published after 1985. Thus he has missed the resurgence of interest in the Popular party during the past decade, reflected in publications by Roger Emerson, Paul Wood, Robert Kent Donovan, Nina Reid-Maroney, and this writer. He would find there much material to flesh out a view of the Popular party as evangelical, enlightened, and occasionally liberal.

Ned C. Landsman, State University of New York, Stony Brook

Laurence B. McCullough, **John Gregory and the Invention of Professional Medical Ethics and the Profession of Medicine**. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishing, 1998. Philosophy and Medicine Series, vol. 56. Pp. xv + 347.

Laurence B. McCullough, ed. **John Gregory's Writings on Medical Ethics and Philosophy of Medicine**. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishing, 1998. Philosophy and Medicine Series, vol. 57. Pp. xi + 254.

John Gregory was one of the more interesting and neglected figures of the Scottish Enlightenment. Descended from a famous family of academic mathematicians, he established his mark in the field of medicine, which he taught first in his native Aberdeen (where he was a founding member of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society) and then at the University of Edinburgh. At the time of his sudden death in February 1773, a few months shy of his fiftieth birthday, he was best known for his strong-selling, mistitled book, *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World* (1765), but he had also published lectures on the duties of a physician and the philosophy of medicine and—literally in the week of his death—on the elements of the practice of medicine. A pamphlet published a year after his death, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, turned out to be his greatest legacy to the world at large, for it was frequently reprinted and was perhaps the most popular advice book for women of the age.

It is therefore remarkable that a figure of such wide-ranging importance has received so little scholarly attention. We have neither a modern biography of Gregory nor much critical scholarship on his particular contributions. There are signs that this state of affairs may be changing, however. Recent books by Stephen A. Conrad, Roger L. Emerson, H. Lewis Ulman, and Paul Wood have told us more about Gregory's role in the Aberdeen Enlightenment. Mary Catherine Moran is in the process of exploring Gregory's work as a guide to female conduct. And Lisbeth Haakonssen's *Medicine and Morals in the Enlightenment* (1997) included a chapter on Gregory as one of the founders of medical ethics. Haakonssen's book built on, but also took issue with, a stream of articles by Laurence B. McCullough on Gregory and the origins of medical ethics, beginning as far back as the late 1970s. Now McCullough has brought together his thoughts on this subject in these two volumes, one of which takes the form of a monograph and the other a reprint of some of Gregory's writings, both published and unpublished.

Taken together, these books constitute the best modern starting point for the study of Gregory, especially as a medical ethicist. Fully one-half of *John Gregory and the Invention of Professional Medical Ethics and the Profession of Medicine* is devoted to a long chapter on "John Gregory's Life and Times: An Intellectual History" (pp.

15-172). As the title indicates, this is not a biography of Gregory, which is still badly needed. There is too little here on Gregory's family and on his relations with other physicians, such as William Cullen and William Buchan, and certain aspects of Gregory's career (such as his involvement with the freemasons) are never even mentioned. Even as an "intellectual history" of Gregory and his times, the chapter is understandably slanted toward the main theme of the book, medical ethics, with the result that the coverage of Gregory's thought is imbalanced. Still, there is more here on Gregory's life and career than in any other modern work, and McCullough draws freely on his subject's unpublished manuscripts and develops interesting connections with the thought of Francis Bacon, Scottish Enlightenment figures such as David Hume, and the English "bluestocking" Elizabeth Montagu. In another long chapter, the author discusses Gregory's medical ethics in the context of these intellectual connections. His thesis is that Gregory combined Bacon's scientific method with Hume's theory of sympathy and a "feminine" approach to medical practice based largely on Montagu and her circle as moral exemplars, in order to forge a completely new approach to medical ethics and the medical profession. It is an approach grounded in science but based ultimately on values, resulting in the invention of "the concept of medicine as a fiduciary profession involving service to patients as a way of life" (p. 173). In a final brief chapter, McCullough argues that Gregory's theory of medical ethics has much to teach us today, though this discussion is not developed very fully.

The main evidence for McCullough's argument on Gregory's contribution to medical ethics comes from a course of lectures that Gregory began delivering at the University of Edinburgh in the late 1760s. In 1770 a version of those lectures was published anonymously, and supposedly without the author's knowledge or approval, as *Observations on the Duties and Offices of a Physician and on the Method of Prosecuting Enquiries in Philosophy*. McCullough suspects (as I do) that Gregory was actually a party to the *Observations*, and even speculates that his teenage son James may have been responsible for the harsh advertisement with which it begins. Two years later Gregory published under his own name a revised edition of the same work with a different title, *Lectures on the Duties and Qualifications of a Physician*. Since both works have long been inaccessible to most modern readers, McCullough quotes extensively from them in his monograph and then reprints them in their entirety, along with additional manuscript material on the same subjects, in *John Gregory's Writings on Medical Ethics and Philosophy of Medicine*. There he sets off the texts with an Introduction that is devoted chiefly to summarizing Gregory's life and works, once again with a focus on the themes of medical ethics and philosophy of medicine.

Despite the useful service that McCullough has performed as author and editor, one wishes he had shown more skill in the assessment and presentation of historical material and in the editing of texts. The long "intellectual history" of Gregory in McCullough's monograph sometimes has an amateurish quality as a result of simplistic discussions of historical material (e.g., the argument that Gregory developed his medical ethics in response to a crisis of Scottish national identity) and heavy quoting from secondary sources, sometimes in place of hard evidence. Quotations in the monograph from Gregory's medical writings are generally too long (especially in light of the inclusion of the same material in the companion volume), and at times are repeated to no purpose (e.g., p. 171). There are some surprising errors of fact, such as the claim that Gregory's contemporary biographer was William Smellie the male-midwife—rather than William Smellie the printer (p. 225), and there are puzzling mistakes in the use of evidence, such as the unsupported statement that Gregory was a committed deist (p. 33) and the assertion that a letter in which Gregory asks Elizabeth Montagu to show his *Observations* to Lord Lyttleton constitutes "evidence" that Lyttleton may have helped with the publication of the *Lectures* (p. 183). The volume of Gregory's writings misses a good opportunity to combine the largely similar texts of the *Observations* and the *Lectures* in a single critical edition, showing the reader where the texts vary and containing informative notes. Instead, the texts are given in succession, with only a handful of notes identifying names cited in the texts, and it is up to the reader to sort out the textual variations. The Introduction to the same volume is little more than a condensed version of the "intellectual history" in the monograph, sometimes containing identical passages, and there is much repetition in the bibliograpies. In short, in place of these two books with a total of about 600 pages, each selling for more than $100 U.S., and each with some features to recommend it, we might have had one really valuable book with a single, pared-down discussion of Gregory's life and times, an essay on Gregory's medical ethics, and a unified, critical edition of the *Observations/Lectures*—all in perhaps 400-450 pages.

One other thing irked me. When McCullough sent his monograph to press, Lisabeth Haakonssen's book was about to appear, though he had not yet seen it. As it turns out, Haakonssen would present an interesting discussion of Gregory's view of sympathy, disagreeing with McCullough's view (as espressed in a 1993 article) that Gregory defined that term in strictly Humean, rather than Smithean, terms. In his book, McCullough replies in a long, dogmatic note (pp. 308-309), based wholly on an advance review of Haakonssen by Robert Baker, in which he completely misunderstands her well-reasoned argument on the matter of sympathy, which rests on a more nuanced understanding of the differences between Hume and Smith than McCullough offers.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

Peter J. Diamond, **Common Sense and Improvement: Thomas Reid as Social Theorist**. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998. Publications of the Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, Germersheim, no. 24. Pp. 406.

The academic study of Thomas Reid seems finally to be coming of age. After an initial burst of activity in the 1970s and 80s, the 1990s have seen, *inter alia*, the publication of critical editions of some of Reid's most important writings and William L. Rowe's monograph on Reid's defense of the notion of free will, *Thomas Reid on Freedom and Morality* (1991), as well as the launching of the Reid Project at the University of Aberdeen. Much of the research done in the last decade has served to broaden the horizons of Reid scholarship and, although there are some pockets of dogged resistance, many of those involved in Reid studies now recognize the need to move beyond the narrow scrutiny of the details of his common sense epistemology in order to achieve a richer and more nuanced understanding of his place in the Scottish Enlightenment. One of the scholars who has helped to reorient the study of Reid in recent years is Peter Diamond, who has written suggestively on Reid's engagement with the natural law tradition and on the tensions in Reid's thought between the scientistic imperatives of anatomizing the mind and the demands of practical moralizing. Diamond's new book (which has its origins in his 1986 doctoral thesis) builds on his previous inquiries and in so doing breaks fresh historiographical ground, for it is the first extended treatment of Reid as a social theorist to appear in print.

Common Sense and Improvement consists of seven lengthy chapters devoted to Reid's Aberdeen context, his methodological concerns in constructing a science of morals, the "rhetoric" of Reid's presentation of practical morality, his philosophical relations with Hume, his defense of free will, his account of our rational principles of action, and the theoretical and applied dimensions of his political thought. Whatever one may make of Diamond's general interpretation of Reid, it must be said that his individual arguments are based on a careful reading of the published works, a selection of the relevant corpus of manuscripts (although Diamond could have extracted more from the papers than he has done), and a relatively wide range of eighteenth-century sources. As far as the specifics of his analysis are concerned, Diamond has a number of sensible things to say about Reid's Aberdeen background, his role as an academic moralist, and the complexities of his intellectual relationship with Hume. But a number of claims made in the course of the book are far less persuasive.

For example, it is difficult to accept Diamond's insistence that Aberdeen's distinctiveness as a provincial capital was due to its physical and economic isolation from the rest of Scotland. While it is true that Aberdeen was geographically remote, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was not isolated culturally from the rest of Scotland or the Continent. Moreover, the local preoccupation with agricultural improvement, which Diamond regards as a key feature of Aberdeen's distinctive identity, was hardly confined to the northeast. Rather, the improvement of agriculture was a common concern across much of Scotland, and the improving ethos of the Aberdonians ought to be seen in this broader context. Aberdeen certainly had a distinctive identity in the period, but it is highly doubtful that this is explicable in terms of its supposed isolation, or that Reid's intellectual concerns were in any way the product of a cultural milieu that was either insular or introverted.

Furthermore, for all Diamond's talk of Reid's "rhetoric," there is a decided lack of specificity regarding the meaning of that term when applied to Reid's texts. More surprisingly, Diamond makes no attempt to provide a sustained analysis of the rhetorical dimension of Reid's writings, as John J. Richetti's *Philosophical Writing: Locke, Berkeley, Hume* (1983) and M. A. Box's *The Suasive Art of David Hume* (1990) have done for Hume. This is a pity because there are marked stylistic differences between the *Inquiry* and the two later *Essays*, and the disparity of styles might well shed light on the shift in Reid's philosophical agenda once he left Aberdeen for Glasgow. Diamond touches on an important issue here, which makes it all the more unfortunate that he does not substantiate his interpretation with a close analysis of the actual rhetoric of Reid's works.

Given the protracted genesis of the book, it is inevitable that some of the references are outdated and that there are discernible strata in the text which mark out Diamond's patchy response to research relevant to his argument which has appeared since 1986. Although he makes a serious effort to address the issues raised in Knud Haakonssen's edition of Reid's papers on practical ethics, when discussing Reid on free will Diamond only makes passing reference to Rowe's monograph on the subject and, more seriously, does not mention Kurtis Kitagawa's important Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis of 1994, "Not Without the Highest Justice: The Origins and Development of Thomas Reid's Political Thought," which covers much the same ground as Diamond's book. *Common Sense and Improvement* would have been better if Kitagawa's thesis and some of the recent literature on Reid had been taken on board, but despite its flaws it advances a cogent revisionist view of Reid which deserves serious consideration from all those interested in the philosophical dimensions of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Charles L. Griswold, Jr., **Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. xiv + 412.

Salim Rashid, **The Myth of Adam Smith**. Cheltenham, U.K., and Northampton, Mass.: Edward Elgar, 1998. Pp. ix + 227.

It is hard to believe that the two books under review are about the works of the same person. *The Myth of Adam Smith* by Salim Rashid, an economist, aims to explode what it sees as the myth that Smith inaugurated the systematic study of economics; it argues that what is true in Smith's economics is not original to him, and what is original is not true. *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment* by Charles L. Griswold, a philosopher, presents a more sympathetic approach to reading Smith as both a partisan and critic of the "Enlightenment," whose work remains a valuable resource for present-day philosophers in preserving what is best in Enlightenment thinking, while attempting to overcome its—and Smith's—philosophical shortcomings.

Rashid's book is largely a compilation of articles published from 1980 to 1994. The demolition tactics of these articles are aimed at what is seen as an excessively hagiographical attitude among the admirers of Smith's economics. It is argued that Smith's two greatest contributions to economics—the analysis of the division of labor and the market mechanism—were not original to him, and that the latter had been stated with greater precision by his predecessors, whose views were either plagiarized by Smith or misrepresented beyond recognition. Furthermore, Smith had no respect for historical or empirical evidence but used it to suit his own purposes, an approach that is also evident in his distortion of the history of economics which was designed simply to puff up his own meager contribution. In his own time, Smith was not highly rated as an economist, and so the increasing prominence of the *Wealth of Nations* after 1790 has to be explained by a sociology of knowledge approach applied to Scotland's political and cultural elites of the time rather than by the book's intrinsic analytical qualities.

This attempt to debunk the "Adam Smith myth" may be seen as a refreshing antidote to some of the irremediably uncritical hagiography which has found its way into print over the years, but, as observed in the *Wealth of Nations* when criticizing the physiocrats, in trying to correct one set of misconceptions it is a mistake to bend the rod too far in the other direction. Some of the analytical criticisms are pertinent, for example, concerning Smith's defense of free inland trade in corn, and there is considerable historical evidence from other scholars of a developed economic literature prior to the *Wealth of Nations*, which was not itself the immediate knock-down success that many later economists (and non-economists) have supposed. But, in attempting to stitch together everything that anyone has ever said that is critical of Smith's works, Rashid's book encompasses such a limited purview of the scope of the *Wealth of Nations*, and displays such a hostile animus toward Smith, that the overall project scarcely succeeds in being the scholarly and dispassionate appraisal of Smith's place in the history of economics that it aspires to be.

Griswold's book attempts to situate Smith's "corpus" in the context of the age-old debate between philosophy and rhetoric, Platonism and skepticism, realism and *poiesis*. By interpreting the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in terms of an extended theatrical metaphor, it is argued that Smith's supposition that mankind's home is the *theatrum mundi* rules out the possibility of any external or Archimedian standpoint for human reflection which must instead be carried out by means of spectatorial practices based on human sentiments and the lived experience of ordinary life. Smith is thus a non-dogmatic skeptic (a non-foundationalist rather than an anti-foundationalist) whose dialectical analysis of moral philosophy and civil society is conducted without reference to external sources of validity or truth. Smith's philosophy is therefore characterized as *poiesis*. It is also argued, however, that Smith recognizes that there is a common-sense acceptance of moral objectivism in ordinary life, and that Smith tries to ward off the potentially subversive implications of his own "enacted" skepticism by using a protreptic rhetoric aimed at reinforcing just this common-sense notion of moral objectivism since it is so conducive to moral and public order. Smith's philosophy thus relies on common-sense everyday experience in its rhetorical enactment while showing that philosophical skepticism is not livable in the practice of everyday experience. There is therefore a metaphilosophical tension between Smith's *poiesis* and his realism, between his philosophical skepticism and the lived experience which presupposes objectivism, and in this tension Smith is re-enacting Hume's admission that the life of a skeptic is not livable. This argument thus displaces the "Adam Smith problem" from the issue of the consistency of Smith's economics and moral philosophy to that of Smith's unlivable skepticism, a problem that is ours, too, it is claimed, in the pressing issue of "harmonizing at the theoretical level the notions of realism and *poiesis*" (p. 366). The proposed solution to this problem is a rehabilitation of a form of Platonism and Socratic inquiry in order to preserve the humane virtues of the Enlightenment as against the present-day "irrationalities, relativisms and vulgarized skepticisms" (p. 371), which are the degenerate product of that same ambiguous Enlightenment heritage.

This is a major study, scholarly and richly argued, which cannot be fully addressed in a short review. One issue, however, concerns the principle of interpretation. This principle is "the supposition that the texts in question

are unified products of design''; this is the favored version of the assumption that ''authorial intent'' should guide an interpretation, and it presupposes that ''a text is coherent and possesses a unified meaning unless shown otherwise.'' This suggests that, using the terms employed in the discussion of Smith's metaphilosophy, Griswold sees himself as an interpretative ''realist'': for him a text ''*possesses* a unified meaning'' and works ''*possess* organic unity''(emphasis added), and it is this unity which the interpreter must ''search for'' just as, say, a dialogue is properly a ''search for truth'' (pp. 26-28). But this formulation implies that the principle of authorial intent is a working principle of interpretation; it functions by making explicit the kind of interpretative labor that is required of the reader, and this is stated a few pages later: ''it cannot be denied that Smith forces the reader to do the labor of unification'' (p. 30). It is not clear how Smith forces this labor upon his reader any more than, say, Plato does on his reader or Hume on his, but the point being registered here is that ''organic unity'' is the product of the interpretative labor of the reader. This means that interpretation is another instance of *poiesis*. In Smithian terms, an interpretation of Smith's works is yet another ''invention of the imagination,'' and it is influenced by an aesthetics of reading. In Griswold's book, the aesthetics of reading, cherished by some Enlightenment writers, too, is a Platonic one of organic unity, but the metaphilosophical problems that this reading finds—or rather labors extensively to produce—in Smith's works are mirrored in reverse image by its own practice of reading: just as Smith's alleged skepticism is unlivable in practice, so too is interpretative realism; just as Smith's *poiesis* does not exclude moral objectivism in practice, so interpretative realism does not exclude *poiesis* in practice. The metaphilosophical need for ''harmonizing''—itself a Platonic desire—the notions of realism and *poiesis* is as relevant (or perhaps as doomed?) for interpretation as it is for philosophy.

Adam Smith's renown was initially as a moral philosopher, but this view suffered an eclipse as he came to be seen predominantly as an economist. A comparison of the two books under review suggests that this may no longer be the case. Rashid's book is particularly hostile to Smith as an economist of any analytical merit, but few economists now take a serious interest in Smith's analysis. Griswold's book may be taken as indicative of a renewed interest in Smith by philosophers (although it too takes little interest in economic analysis). This suggests that even if the economic landscape has changed beyond recognition in the last two hundred years, the most famous product of eighteenth-century Scotland still speaks to philosophical and moral concerns that have not been extinguished by the vast increase in the wealth of nations which has taken place since then.

Vivienne Brown, The Open University, UK

Shoji Tanaka, **The Ethics of Adam Smith: The Theory of Moral Sentiments and the Wealth of Nations**. 2 volumes (in Japanese). Tokyo: Ochanomizu Publishing Co., 1997. Pp. xv + 226, xvii + 254.

Shoji Tanaka is one of the leading historians of ideas in Japan, and over the past thirty years he has published several substantial books on Locke, modern natural lawyers, and Smith. This book is clearly meant to be a completion of his *magnum opus* on Adam Smith, the others having been published on jurisprudence (1988) and natural theology (1993).

The first volume opens with a discussion of the significance of the recent (post-1985) ''revival'' of Smith scholarship in the west, and goes on to appraise the controversy between Laurence Dickey and D. D. Raphael concerning the degree of continuity between editions of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Although Tanaka shows greater sympathy with Dickey's ''historicizing'' interpretation, he proposes the need to establish a third, synthesizing approach. Tanaka attempts to solve the difficulty by distinguishing in Smith's text between changes in modes of expression, rhetoric, emphasis, etc., and changes in fundamental logic and concepts. His thesis is that the central doctrines of *TMS*, such as sympathy and the impartial spectator, did not change in the latter sense throughout Smith's lifetime but changed significantly in the former sense.

The second volume is divided into two equal parts (parts II and III). In part II, Tanaka situates the theoretical crux of the entire *Wealth of Nations* in the idea of the system of natural liberty and emphasizes its Calvinist framework, in which man is seen as acting freely on the market but is actually guided by divine providence. Most remarkable here is Tanaka's claim for the underlying unity between the first edition of *WN* (1776) and the first four editions of *TMS*, which were published prior to *WN*. Tanaka groups them together and repudiates the usual argument which sees in the second edition of *TMS* an appearance of the new arguments for the special place given to conscience in moral judgment. In Tanaka's view, these new arguments are ultimately consistent with the basic apparatus in the first edition.

In part III, Tanaka draws the most significant dividing line in the development of *TMS* between the fifth (1781) and sixth (1790) editions and then relates it to the almost drastic change in Smith's outlook on the issue of moral and political corruption in commercial society. Furthermore, he skillfully shows that the beginnings of that shift were foreshadowed a little earlier. The first sign of the change appeared in the first edition of *WN*, and particularly in the implicit gap between optimistic ''logic'' concerning the ultimate harmony of interests and critical re-

presentation of the degrading moral standards among middling and lower commercial classes. The second sign was Smith's extended and explicit criticisms in the third edition of *WN* (1784) against the egoistical character and behavior of the same classes. Smith's particular emphasis upon the need to demonstrate the logically independent status of conscience, and his special affinity in this sense with the Stoic argument for the virtue of self-command discoverable in the sixth edition of *TMS*, may well be regarded as the outcome of Smith's conflicting views of the future of civilized society during the final stage of his life. But, again, in Tanaka's view, this apparent change of tone and emphasis should not be taken for the fundamental logical change in Smith's ethical system.

Tatsuya Sakamoto, Keio University, Tokyo

Hall, Mark David, **The Political and Legal Philosophy of James Wilson, 1742-1798**. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1997. Pp. x + 228.

James Wilson was born in Carskerdo, Scotland, attended Saint Andrews, and at twenty-three set sail for America. He settled in Philadelphia, where he became a revolutionary and committed democrat (later, ironically, being tagged by history as a conservative). He practiced and taught law and engaged in unwise speculation for the remainder of his life, which ended early and in debt. In the meantime, he became one of the most effectual of America's Founders, unmatched in his energy and leverage at the Constitutional Convention. He later served as an associate justice on the First Supreme Court and became the first law professor in the United States, at the College of Philadelphia. Here, beginning in 1789, he gave his famous lectures on the law.

Mark David Hall makes extensive use of these law lectures, as well as other writings, in his straightforward, unsurprising, yet useful, survey of Wilson's political and legal views. Proposing to connect Wilson's political activity and his thought, Hall echoes Samuel Beer's assertion that Wilson was the most prescient of the Founders. Much recommends this claim. Wilson pressed for a strong, independent, directly elected President; in fact, he favored direct election of the Senate as well, and promoted what today we call "one-person, one-vote." He favored open immigration and believed that immigrants becoming citizens should be eligible for any elective office. He foresaw a large role for the national government and insisted that the United States was an organic whole; sovereignty rested with the people, not with the states. Wilson deserves Hall's encomiums and a much higher status in America's history.

Hall also argues that Wilson was a unique thinker, whose views derived from a diverse inheritance, including "Christian" natural law theory, the Scottish Enlightenment, John Locke, the "ancients," English legal tradition, and writers on international law. Yet Hall finds that all but the first two of these sources were frequently the object of Wilson's criticism. And while Wilson certainly called natural law "of origin divine," the influence most persuasively elaborated by Hall is from the Scots. Indeed, to grasp the difference between, say, James Madison and Wilson, one must note, in part, the prominence of two powerful Scottish dispositions—David Hume's and that of Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid (even if the American renderings did not fully reflect the complexities of the differences). Wilson's law lectures are suffused with his interpretation of "common sense" philosophy and notions of the natural sociability of humans. Wilson was strikingly optimistic about the future of humankind. He thought that all people were capable of a "moral sense." Thus he favored extensive democracy and believed that a democracy would not violate "rights." Madison (and Hamilton), more influenced by Hume's political theories, believed that "auxiliary precautions" needed to be ensconced in any constitutional system to disallow "passions" and "interests" from threatening the rights of the few (or even the many) and the stability of the polity. Given what we know about the course of world history since the late eighteenth century, it is difficult to say that Madison's Hume-inspired view was less contemporary than Wilson's "moral sense" prognosis. What we do know is that there appears to be a trajectory in American thinking from eighteenth-century Scottish influences to today between "idealists" and "realists." Both are distinguished traditions. Hall's serviceable book helps to elevate James Wilson to a founding position in the former.

John A. Moore, Jr., University of Tampere, Finland

Anthony W. Parker, **Scottish Highlanders in Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement at Darien, 1735-1748**. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1997. Distributed from London by The Eurospan Group. Pp. 182.

This reviewer first encountered this work as its external examiner when it was submitted to the University of St. Andrews as a Ph.D. thesis. It builds on previous scholarship by Edna Sue Bailes, who submitted a Ph.D. thesis to the University of Edinburgh in 1977 on the Scots in Georgia, and on work by the distinguished Georgia historians Harvey H. Jackson and Edward Cashin. Its virtue is that supervision by T. C. Smout at St. Andrews, and the opportunity to conduct lengthy research in Scottish archives, allowed Anthony W. Parker to provide a

Scottish context for the history of the small but significant settlement of Scottish Highlanders at Darien in Georgia in 1736. No one has combined previously Parker's knowledge of the sources held in Georgia, many of them obtained by searches of U.K. archives on behalf of the state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a sound knowledge of recent research on the history of the Scottish Highlands in the eighteenth century.

The experience of these Scottish Highland pioneers in America had an important effect on the history of the Scottish Highlands later in the eighteenth century, in that their example established a possibility grasped by many thousands of others. James Boswell, in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, recorded in his entry for 8 October 1773 reading old letters kept by the Laird of Coll, "one of which was written at the time of settling the colony in Georgia. It dissuades Coll from letting people go there, and assures him there will soon be an opportunity of employing them better at home. Hence it appears that emigration from the Highlands, though not in such numbers at a time as of late, has always been practised." On the other hand, Georgia was not viewed as a land of opportunity by all Highlanders in the 1730s. The minutes of the Synod of Ross (CH.2/312/4/p.61) record testimony by "Donald Munro an unmarried man aged thirty three years" that the minister Donald Fraser, charged with immorality and drunkenness before the synod in 1740, had threatened Marjorie and Christian McCadie with transportation to Georgia. Not everyone who went to Georgia was a volunteer.

Parker's book is a welcome contribution to an emerging history of the Scottish Highlander in North America. The author explains in the preface that he focused initially on the settlement at Darien to keep his research manageable. Since he is now based at the University of Dundee, we can look forward to future contributions from him on the assimilation of the Scottish Highlanders in Georgia to the vastly different environment and cultures they encountered in British North America during the eighteenth century.

Alex Murdoch, University of Edinburgh

T. M. Devine and J. R. Young, eds. **Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999. Pp. ix + 310.

During his tenure at the University of Strathclyde, T. M. Devine ran a Scottish Historical Studies Seminar that generated two little volumes of essays focused on the eighteenth century: *Improvement and Enlightenment* (1989) and *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society 1700-1850* (1990). In 1996-97 Devine organized a more ambitious eighteenth-century seminar at Strathclyde under the auspices of the Research Centre on Scottish History, and the result is a much larger volume of seventeen essays (four more than the combined total of the other two), which marks the end of the Devine era in Glasgow. It's naturally a less focused book than either of the others, and in some respects a more uneven one, though not without its fair share of valuable contributions.

Although the essays move chronologically from the late seventeenth century through the end of the eighteenth, covering many of the standard themes of Scottish history along the way, Devine wisely warns that "the volume is not to be seen as a textbook" because some key issues go unstudied and others, such as the Enlightenment, are examined only in regard to "specialist aspects" (p. 1). The coverage of religion provides a good example: although no chapters are devoted to Presbyterianism or Episcopalianism as such, the volume contains a reassessment of the tiny Roman Catholic community in Scotland by James F. McMillan, who makes a case for placing much of the blame for the poor performance of the Scottish Catholic Mission on "internal weaknesses" (p. 102). Interesting stuff, though the author seems strangely unaware of Robert Kent Donovan's excellent work on the "external" problems that Scottish Catholics faced, in the form of rabid anti-Catholicism among zealous Presbyterians.

Which of the contributions best live up to the book's subtitle by providing "new perspectives" on eighteenth-century Scottish history? In my opinion, two chapters near the end of the book stand out. Highest honors go to an article by Andrew Mackillop on "Highland Estate Change and Tenant Emigration." Challenging the "People's Clearance" thesis associated mainly with J. M. Bumsted, Mackillop shows that this subject cannot be studied in terms of landlords on the one hand and tenants on the other, because the variables were too many and too complex. Farming vs. grazing, black cattle vs. sheep, tenants vs. other tenants (as well as tacksmen), the southern and eastern Highlands vs. the Northwest, one estate vs. another, economic improvement vs. emigration—the variations are enormous, and Mackillop's superb essay suggests that we are just beginning to understand them. My other choice is the piece that follows: Christopher A. Whatley on the problem of serfdom among Scottish colliers and salters. By carefully examining the available evidence, Whatley forces us to rethink the traditional notion that Scottish miners were all treated as slaves; not only were many of them free, or contracted for short terms, but even those who were legally slaves may have earned more money and possessed a more sophisticated working-class consciousness than free workers in some other trades. Having made his case, Whatley goes on to examine some of the reasons why the myth of the Scottish colliers has survived so long and then connects the abolition of collier serfdom to the rise of political economy during the Enlightenment period.

In some instances, pairs or groups of articles in the collection complement each other to create stimulating thematic unities. This is the case with the essays by Alexander Murdoch, Richard J. Finlay, and Michael Fry on aspects of Scottish and British identity. Murdoch uses case studies to support a version of Linda Colley's thesis on the growth of British identity, here stated in the form of the following proposition: "what happened in the eighteenth century was that Britishness in a Scottish, English and Welsh context ceased to be sectarian and became imperialistic" (p. 106), though he carries the point a bit further by pointing to the "racist" dimension that it also acquired. Finlay takes a quite different view by emphasizing the complex role of religion in Scottish identity-building, specifically challenging Colley's notion that a unified Protestantism served as a crucial bond of British identity in opposition to non-Protestant others. Fry's chapter argues that Scots did not do imperialism in the same way as the English, because instead of "an Empire of conquest, occupation and settlement" (p. 66) they desired "an Empire of commerce" (p. 64). "Scots did not act like Englishmen even when they went to live in America" (p. 64), Fry writes, because their ideal was to make their fortune and return home rather than to colonize the New World, and that's why they identified more closely with Scotland, and Britain generally, than with the place where they happened to be residing. Unfortunately, this thesis works better for some regions, such as the Chesapeake and Jamaica (as studied in a fine book by Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun*), than for others, such as New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvantia (as studied by Ned Landsman). The evidence cannot simply be brushed aside by appealing to contemporary judgments, as Fry tries to do when he remarks that "if there was a coherent body of Scots supporting the Revolution, it seems odd that nobody else noticed it" (p. 65); that approach begs a more interesting question, which is why Scots in America were stereotyped so severely that they were seen as arch-loyalists no matter what they did as individuals or even as groups in particular regions.

New perspectives also emerge from Jane Rendall's article on the writing of "women's history" in the Scottish Enlightenment—an important topic that deserves fuller treatment. Rendall constructs a fascinating typology of Scottish writing about women. As she notes, "conflicting definitions of national identity . . . found their focus in alternative representations of womanhood" (p. 144), such as the debate between those who idealized the status of women in Celtic or Germanic "golden ages" and those who located that golden age in the modernizing present or future, and these historical approaches impinged even upon the female conduct literature written by Scottish authors such as James Fordyce and John Gregory. Among other chapters worthy of comment, T. C. Smout delivers a suggestive piece on agricultural improvement and the environment; Ian D. Whyte provides useful statistics on Scottish urban growth; T. M. Devine shatters the myth of the resolutely uncommercial Highlander in a manner that nicely sets up Mackillop's chapter; and Elaine W. McFarland usefully reviews the ties between late eighteenth-century Scottish and Irish radicalism.

The only sour note in the volume comes at the end of an otherwise unexceptionable chapter on Scottish Jacobitism by Allan I. Macinnes. After insisting quite sensibly on the need for more rigorous research on this subject, he foolishly concludes his essay by warning that only his research agenda can save Jacobite studies from "the disconnected depths of post-modernist cultural studies which are currently masquerading as interdisciplinary approaches to history" (p. 85). His evidence, given in the corresponding note, is the 1995 ECSSS conference on Jacobitism and Enlightenment at the University of Aberdeen, which he dismisses in the following sentence: "Short on erudite scholarship and long on self-indulgent rhetoric, the treatment of Jacobitism would largely appear to confirm the predilection of practitioners of cultural history towards intellectual masturbation" (p. 89). The speakers on Jacobitism at that conference included (among others) Jeremy Black, Eveline Cruickshanks, Leith Davis, John S. Gibson, William Donaldson, Andrew Hook, Colin Kidd, Bruce Lenman, Micheál Mac Craith, Breandán Ó Buachalla, Murray Pittock, Clifford Siskin, Andrew Skinner, Daniel Szechi, Chris Whatley, and the program organizer, Michael Fry. Readers familiar with their scholarship can draw their own conclusions about where the predilection toward "intellectual masturbation" may actually lie.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

Briefly Noted

Charles Monaghan, **The Murrays of Murray Hill**. Brooklyn, New York: Urban History Press, 1998. Pp. x + 166. [534 Third Street, Brooklyn, NY 11215, USA]

On the strength of his school textbooks, such as *The English Reader* (1799), Lindley Murray (1745-1826) was, according to this book, the best-selling author in the world during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. And since his textbook readers contained selections from Scottish authors such as David Hume and above all Hugh Blair, he may well have been the biggest popularizer of the Scottish Enlightenment as well. This avowedly "modest," decidedly unacademic book seeks to rescue Murray and his New York family from obscurity. It may well lead interested readers to other sources, including Murray's extant manuscripts.

John Reeder, ed., **On Moral Sentiments: Contemporary Responses to Adam Smith**. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1997. Key Issues Series. Pp. xxi + 239.

Ian S. Ross, ed., **On the Wealth of Nations: Contemporary Responses to Adam Smith**. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1998. Key Issues Series. Pp. xxxvi + 248.

The purpose of Thoemmes Press's "Key Issues" series, as articulated by series editor Andrew Pyle, is to make available "the contemporary reactions that met important books and debates on their first appearance." The volumes are readable paperbacks, designed for classroom use. Introductions are kept short, but the readings themselves generally eschew the snippets approach in favor of full-length letters and reviews. So far the series has covered some big names in intellectual history, such as Hobbes, Locke, Gibbon, Malthus, and Mill, as well as some interesting topics that are not confined to a single author (e.g., Hannah Augstein's volume on *Race: The Origins of an Idea, 1760-1850* and Roy Harris on *The Origin of Language*). There have been at least two volumes on Hume, edited by Stanley Tweyman: one on *Hume on Miracles*, the other on *Hume on Natural Religion*.

In the two titles under review, Adam Smith enters the series, with one book devoted to contemporary responses to each of his classic texts. Both books begin with responses by Smith's (mostly Scottish) friends, such as David Hume and William Robertson, and then move further afield. For John Reeder this generally means moving along chronologically, to include nineteenth-century assessments of the likes of *TMS* by Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, and James Mackintosh. With the exception of the Frenchman Theodore Jouffroy, he sticks to the British debate—which is unfortunate because *TMS* inspired interesting reactions on the European continent during the eighteenth century. Ian S. Ross divides his work up in a different manner, moving from Smith's Scottish friends, to the obligatory letter from Thomas Pownall (almost sixty printed pages in this edition), to contemporary reviews and criticism by late eighteenth-century practitioners of political economy, to a valuable section on *WN* in British politics, and finally to consideration of responses to the book in Germany, France, Italy, and America.

Anthony Cooke, Ian Donnachie, Ann Macsween, and Christopher A. Whatley, eds., **Modern Scottish History: 1707 to the Present**, 5 vols. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, in association with the Open University in Scotland and the University of Dundee, 1998.

This five-volume series represents an ambitious attempt to provide an integrated and "up-to-date" approach to Scottish history at the university level (specifically, an honors-level, distance-learning undergraduate course for adults studying part-time, developed jointly by the two sponsoring universities). Volume 1 consists of thirteen topical chapters on the period from 1707 to 1850, in which leading scholars such as Christopher Whatley (the Union of 1707), Michael Fry (politics), Allan I. Macinnes (Highland Society), W. Hamish Fraser (Social Class), T. C. Smout (the Environment), and Donald Withrington (Education), to name a few, discuss their topics in essays punctuated by activity exercises. Volume 3 consists of secondary readings that cover aspects of the same period. Volumes 2 and 4 are parallel volumes for the post-1850 period, and volume 5 consists of "major documents," mainly in the form of short snippets, for the entire period from 1707 to the present. Although the method may be new, the material is, unfortunately, not always so. The first volume is generally well executed, but with the exception of Smout's fascinating piece on the environment, the topics it contains are mainly the stuff of traditional social and political history (i.e., Jacobitism, demography, urbanization, industrialization, rural transformation), even though the course is supposed to be comprehensive. Worse, the collection of secondary readings in volume 3 looks like something left over from another era (only five of twenty-four articles were written within the past decade). And there is a real question whether the £75 that students doing the full course will have to shell out for these five volumes might not be better spent on Smout's classic surveys and a selection of other secondary and primary texts. Nevertheless, the outstanding contributors to the first volume make this book one of the best available introductions to the traditional study of eighteenth-century Scottish history.

Hugo Arnot, **The History of Edinburgh**. Edinburgh: West Port Books, 1998. Pp. xiv + 403. [West Port Books is located at 145-7 West Port, Edinburgh; e-mail: westport@compuserve.com]

This book is not a facsimile but a new reprint of the first edition (1779) of Arnot's classic, easily the best eighteenth-century history of Edinburgh. It contains fourteen fold-out illustrations (including the marvelous map) from the second impression, in addition to a caricature of Arnot by John Kay. Although the new Preface is inadequate and sometimes inaccurate (e.g., in its superficial treatment of the book's publication history and its failure to understand the way certain parts of the book, such as the chapter dealing with the university, changed in the second and third editions), the volume is so handsomely produced (despite a tendency for the cover to warp), so useful to any student of eighteenth-century Scotland, and so inexpensive (£18.95 for the standard edition, and only £14.95 for the CD-ROM), that it should be a priority purchase for individuals and libraries.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

Recent Articles 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 1998, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous lists.

Paul G. BATOR, "The Entrance of the Novel into the Scottish Universities," in *SIEL*, 89-102.

Christopher J. BERRY, "Liberty and Modernity," in *Liberalism and Today*, ed. K. Kujawinska-Courtney (Lodz, 1998). [uses Adam Smith to develop the theme in the article's title]

Christopher J. BERRY, "Enlightenment, Scottish" and "Human Nature, Science of in Eighteenth Century," in *REP*.

Fiona BLACK, "Book Distribution to the Scottish and Canadian Provinces, 1750-1820: Examples of Methods and Availability," in *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling and Using Books*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester and New Castle, Del., 1998), 103-20.

Alexander BROADIE, "Reid Making Sense of Moral Sense," *Reid Studies*, 1 (1998): 5-16.

Daniel BRÜHLMEIER, "Adam Smith und Internationale Beziehungen," in *Welwirtschaftsethnik: Globalisierung auf dem Prüfstand der Lebensdienlichkeit* (Bern, 1998), 171-87.

Daniel BRÜHLMEIER, "Considérations sur l'esprit de commerce at le marché libre chez Montesquieu et Adam Smith," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 130 (1998): 301-14.

Daniel CAREY, "Reconsidering Rousseau: Sociability, Moral Sense and the American Indian from Hutcheson to Bartram," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1998): 25-38.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Fox Hunt Wed to a Priest," *Herald*, 28 October 1998. [on Alexander Geddes]

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Culture," in *MSH*, 253-74.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "A Note on Poems Newly Attributed to Burns," in *Burns Chronicle* (1998), 26-28.

Franklin E. COURT, "The Early Impact of Scottish Literary Teaching in North America," in *SIEL*, 134-63.

Thomas CRAWFORD, "Burns, Love, and Liberty," in *CERB*, 95-116.

Leith DAVIS, "Re-presenting Scotia: Robert Burns and the Imagined Community of Scotland," in *CERB*, 63-78.

Leith DAVIS, "Gender and the Nation in the Work of Robert Burns and Janet Little," *Studies in English Literature* 38 (1998): 621-45.

Gordon DESBRISAY, "City Limits: Female Philanthropists and Wet Nurses in Seventeenth-Century Scottish Towns," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, new ser., 8 (1997): 39-60.

Horst W. DRESCHER, "Eine schottische *Geschichte von Amerika*," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Studies in European-American Relations*, ed. Udo J. Hebel and Karl Orseifen (Trier, 1996), 90-101.

Ian DUNCAN, "Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson and the Institutions of English," in *SIEL*, 37-54.

R. J. FECHNER, "Witherspoon, John (1723-94)," in *REP*.

Peter S. FOSL, "David Hume," in *British Philosophers, 1500-1899*, ed. Philip B. Dematteis and Peter S. Fosl, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography* series (Detroit and London, 1998).

W. Hamish FRASER, "Social Class," in *MSH*, 203-29.

Michael FRY, "Politics," in *MSH*, 43-62.

Howard GASKILL, "'Blast, rief Cuchullin...!': J.M.R. Lenz and Ossian," in *FGTR*, 107-118.

Judith V. GRABINER, "'Some Disputes of Consequence': Maclaurin among the Molasses Barrels," *Social Studies of Science* 28 (1998): 139-68.

Judith V. GRABINER, "Was Newton's Calculus a Dead End? The Continental Influence of Maclaurin's Treatise of Fluxions," *American Mathematical Monthly* 104 (1997): 393-410.

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

Knud HAAKONSSEN, "Adam Smith," in *REP*, 8:815b-822b.

Gary Layne HATCH, "Student Notes of Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric," in *SRII*, 79-94.

Andrew HOOK, "Scottish Academia and the Invention of American Studies," in *SIEL*, 164-79.

Colin KIDD, "Protestantism, Constitutionalism and British Identity under the Later Stuarts," in *British Consciousness and Identity*, ed. B. Bradshaw and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 1998).

Colin KIDD, "The Rehabilitation of Scottish Jacobitism," *Scottish Historical Review* 77 (1998): 58-76.

Colin KIDD, "Macpherson, Burns and the Politics of Sentiment," *Scotlands* 4 (1997): 25-43.

Gauti KRISTMANNSSON, "Ossian: A Case of Celtic Tribalism or a Translation without an Original?," in *Übersetzen-Dolmetschen-Interkulturalität: 50 Jahre Fachbereich Angewandte Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Germersheim*, ed. Horst W. Drescher (1997), 449-62.

F. J. LAMPORT, "Goethe, Ossian and *Werther*," in *FGTR*, 97-106.

John Christian LAURSEN, "David Hume and the Danish Debate about Freedom of the Press in the 1770s," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1998): 167-72.

Susan MANNING, "Introduction," Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (Oxford, 1997).

Susan MANNING, "Enlightenment's Dark Dreams: Two Fictions by Henry Mackenzie and Charles Brockden Brown," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 21 (1997): 39-56.

Susan MANNING, "Ghost-Writing Tradition: Henry Mackenzie, Burns and Macpherson," *Scotlands* 4 (1998): 86-107.

Susan MANNING, "Henry Mackenzie and Ossian; or, The Emotional Value of Astericks," in *FGTR*, 136-52.

Susan MANNING, "Belonging with Edwin: Writing the History of Scottish Women Writers," *Scottish Literary Journal*, Supplement no. 48 (1998): 1-9.

Mícheál MAC CRAITH, "*Fingal*: Text, Context, Subtext," in *FGTR*, 59-68.

Carol MCGUIRK, "Poor Bodies: Robert Burns and the Melancholy of Anatomy," in *CERB*, 32-48.

Vincenzo MEROLLE, "Rethinking the Enlightenment," *Scottish Studies Newsletter*, no. 27 (1997): 10-19.

Charles MONAGHAN, "Lindley Murray, American," in *Two Hundred Years of Lindley Murray*, ed. Ingrid Tieker-Boon van Ostade (Münster, 1996).

Martin MOONIE, "William Greenfield: Gender and the Transmission of Literary Culture," in *SIEL*, 103-15.

Dafydd MOORE, "James Macpherson and Adam Ferguson: An Enlightenment Encounter," *Scottish Literary Journal* 24 (1997): 5-23.

Dafydd MOORE, "James Macpherson and William Faulkner: Towards a Sensibility of Defeat," in *FGTR*, 183-215.

William Edward MORRIS, "The Hume Literature, 1995," *Hume Studies* (1996).

William Edward MORRIS, "The Hume Literature, 1996," *Hume Studies* (1997).

William Edward MORRIS, "Hume, David (1711-1776)," in *Encyclopedia of Empiricism*, ed. Don Garrett and Edward Barbanell (Greenwood, Conn., 1997).

Alex MURDOCH, "Emigration from the Scottish Highlands to America in the Eighteenth Century," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1998): 161-74.

Stana NENADIC, "The Enlightenment in Scotland and the Popular Passion for Portraits," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1998): 175-92.

Robin NICHOLSON, "The Tartan Portraits of Prince Charles Edward Stuart: Identity and Iconography," *British Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1998): 145-60.

Robin NICHOLSON, "Patronage and Portraiture of the Exiled Stuarts," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 3 (1998): 2-7.

Andrew NOBLE, "Wordsworth and Burns: The Anxiety of Being under the Influence," in *CERB*, 49-62.

Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "James Macpherson and Jacobite Code," in *FGTR*, 41-50.

Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Staff and Student: The Teaching of Rhetoric in the Scottish Universities," in *SRII*, 111-20.

J.G.A. POCOCK, "Enthusiasm: The Antiself of Enlightenment," in *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1800*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein and Anthony J. LaVolpa, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, special issue, 60 (1998). [relevant to Hume]

Adam POTKAY, "Happiness in Johnson and Hume," *Age of Johnson* 9 (1998): 165-86.

David H. RADCLIFFE, "Imitation, Popular Literacy, and 'The Cotter's Saturday Night'," in *CERB*, 251-80.

David H. RADCLIFFE, "Ancient Poetry and British Pastoral," in *FGTR*, 27-40.

Jane RENDALL, "Tacitus Engendered: Gothic Feminism and British Histories 1750-1800," in *Imagining Nations*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt (Manchester, 1998).

Ian ROSS and David RAYNOR, "Adam Smith and Count Windisch-Grätz: New Letters," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 358 (1998): 171-87.

G. Ross ROY, "Poems and Songs Spuriously Attributed to Robert Burns," in *CERB*, 225-37.

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Silvia SEBASTIANI, "Storia universale e teoria stadiale negli *Sketches of the History of Man* di Lord Kames," *Studi Sorici* 39 (1998): 113-36.

Goko SENO, "Adam Smith on Man, Society and State," *Bulletin of Seigakuin University General Research Institute* 14 (1998): 48-90.

Richard B. SHER, "Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in Comparative Perspective," *Book History* 1 (1998): 32-93.

Richard B. SHER, "Hugh Blair (1718-1800)," in *REP*, 1:781-82.

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Geoffrey M. Sill, "Neurology and the Novel: Alexander Monro *Primus* and *Secundus*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and the Problem of Sensibility," *Literature and Medicine* 16 (1997): 250-65.

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Sarah SLOANE, "Professor William Greenfield, Sad Successor to Professor Hugh Blair: A Study of the Second Regius Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at University of Edinburgh, 1784-1798," in *SRII*, 95-110.

Fiona STAFFORD, "*Fingal* and the Fallen Angels: Macpherson, Milton and Romantic Titanism," in *FGTR*, 164-82.

Fiona STAFFORD, "Hugh Blair's Ossian, Romanticism and the Teaching of Literature," in *SIEL*, 68-88.

Eduardo A. VELÁSQUEZ, "Rethinking America's Modernity: Natural Law, Natural Rights, and the Character of James Wilson's Liberal Republicanism," *Polity* 29 (1996): 193-220.

Norbert WASZEK, "David Hume als Historiker und die Anfänge der Hegelschen Geschichtsphilosophie," in *Hegel in der Schweiz (1793-1796)*, ed. Helmut Schneider and Norbert Waszek (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), 173-206.

Norbert WASZEK, "Aux sources de la 'Querelle' dans les 'Lettres sur l'Education Esthétique de l'Homme' de Schiller: Adam Ferguson et Christian Garve," in *Crise et Conscience du Temps*, ed. Jean-Marie Paul (Nancy, 1998), 111-29.

Christopher A. WHATLEY, "The Union of 1707," in *MSH*, 1-22.

Paul WOOD, "'The Fittest Man in the Kingdom': Thomas Reid and the Glasgow Chair of Moral Philosophy', *Hume Studies* 28 (1997): 277-313.

Paul WOOD, "Reid, Parallel Lines, and the Geometry of Visibles," *Reid Studies* 2 (1998): 27-41.

Key to Abbreviations

CERB = *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*, ed. Carol McGuirk (New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1998).

FGTR = *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations*, ed. Fiona Stafford and Howard Gaskill (Amsterdam and Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, Studies in Comparative Literature 15, 1998).

MSH = *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present. Volume I: The Transformation of Scotland, 1707-1850*, ed. Anthony Cooke et al. (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998).

REP = *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward Craig (London and New York, 1998).

SIEL = *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, ed. Robert Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

SRII = *Scottish Rhetoric and Its Influences*, ed. Lynee Lewis Gaillet (Mahwah, N.J.: Hermagoras Press, 1998).

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 1998 - 31 Dec. 1998

I. Bank of Scotland Checking Account (Chambers St, Edinburgh)

Balance 1 Jan. 1998: £3764.63

Income: +£1101.51 (membership dues, book orders, publishers' services, and royalties on publications)

Expenses: -£95 (miscellaneous)

Balance 31 Dec 1998: £4771.14

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

Balance 1 Jan 1998: £2354.95

Interest: +£112.07

Deposit: +£111.00

Balance 31 Dec 1998: £2578.02

III. Summit Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1998: $5551.05

Income: +$5251.77 (membership dues and book orders: $4005.50; publishers' services: $225; adjustment for 1997 Chicago conference: $1021.27)

Expenses: -$3766.23 (newsletter printing: $1310.00; paper, supplies, and miscellaneous photocopying: $533.80; Utrecht conference and Edinburgh planning lunch: $900.36; plaque: $91; computer repair: $143.10; equipment: $518.25; toner cartridge: $199.95; photography: $23.22; clerical: $30.00; bank fees: $16.55)

Balance 31 Dec 1998: $7036.59

IV. Summit Bank Savings Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1998: $2281.44

Interest: +$42.76

Balance 31 Dec 1998: $2324.20

V. Total Assets as of 31 Dec 1998 [vs. 31 Dec 1997]: $9360.79 [$7832.49] + £7349.16 [£6119.64]

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Eighteenth-Century Scotland
Federated NJIT/Rutgers-Newark History Department
New Jersey Institute of Technology
University Heights
Newark, NJ 07102-1982 USA
Tel: 973-596-3377
Fax: 973-762-3039
Email: sher@admin.njit.edu