

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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

A FABULOUS TIME IN DUBLIN

ECSSS held its annual conference at University College Dublin on 29-31 July 1999, under the auspices of the Tenth International Congress on the Enlightenment. "Scotland and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century" was a great success, thanks largely to the work of the organizer of the six ECSSS sessions, Michael Fry, and the organizer of two sessions sponsored jointly by ECSSS and the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative, Murray Pittock. More generally, the Herculean efforts of the Enlightenment Congress director, Andrew Carpenter, made it possible for ECSSS to meet in such a comfortable and stimulating setting.

The ECSSS conference began on the morning of 29 July with a session on Hutcheson and Moderation, featuring talks by Fred Seymour Michael, Anne Skoczylas, James Moore, and Stewart J. Brown. Several dozen members of ECSSS and friends of the Society gathered for a cold salmon luncheon later that day, where T. M. Devine of the University of Aberdeen spoke on "The Scottish and Irish Diasporas in the Eighteenth Century" and the president of the Society, M. A. Stewart, presented Michael Fry and Murray Pittock with gifts in thanks for their contributions. Tom Devine then chaired a session on Economic Improvement and Enlightened Identities, with talks by David Dickson, Robert Harris, and John Patrick Montaña. On 30 July there was a double session on Image and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scotland and Ireland (co-sponsored by the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative). Micheal Mac Craith, Murray Pittock, Linde Lunney, and Vincent Morley spoke in the first session, while Katherine Grenier, Jon Curley, and Clotilde Prunier were the speakers in the second session. The second part of this double session coincided with a panel on Berkeley and Hume that included talks by Ruth Savage, Atis Zakatis-tovs, and David Raynor. The day's work was followed by a late afternoon business meeting, and then a reception sponsored by ECSSS, where the person responsible for the entire Congress, Andrew Carpenter, was honored by the Society.

On the final day of the Congress, early risers enjoyed a session on Celticism and Literary Nationalism, with talks by Catherine Jones, F. J. Lamport, Gauti

Kristmannsson, and John Burke. After lunch there was a panel on Robert Burns that featured presentations by Fiona Stafford, Carol McGuirk, Andrew Noble, and Gerard Carruthers. Finally, at a session on Metropolis and Millenium, papers were presented by Tatsuya Sakamoto, Roger Fechner, and Ned Landsman.

One of the many nice things to come out of the Dublin conference was stronger ties between ECSSS and the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society. The Executive Board, and subsequently the membership, approved a plan to invite ECIS to join ECSSS for a joint conference in Belfast in 2004. In addition, after several ECIS officers informally expressed interest in the ECSSS conference in Edinburgh in 2002, it was decided to include Ireland along with Scotland in the conference title and encourage ECIS participation (see below).

OFF TO TORONTO!

After two consecutive European conferences, ECSSS returns to North America this year for a joint conference with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies on "Memory and Identity: Past and Present." It takes place 18-21 October 2000 in Toronto, using both the University of Toronto and the nearby Colony Hotel as venues.

The conference organizer, John Baird, has done a splendid job of putting this show together. At press time in May, approximately 45 three- or four-paper panels had been organized, with 3-5 panels running simultaneously in each of 11 sessions. There will be three plenary speakers: Réal Ouellet of Université Laval on "Français canadiens ou Canadiens? Construction et mutation d'une identité"; Mark Phillips of the University of British Columbia on "A Short History of Distraction: Enlightenment History and Its Aftermath"; and Margaret Doody, University of Notre Dame, "'A Good Memory is Unpardonable': Self, Love, and the Irrational Irritation of Memory."

Besides a few dozen papers that are wholly or partly devoted to Scottish themes, several events at the conference will be of particular interest to ECSSS members. At the Fisher Library, which boasts one of the finest collections of eighteenth-century titles in North

America, Paul Wood of the University of Victoria and the Fisher staff are organizing an exhibit on Scottish Enlightenment books that will be one of the most impressive ever mounted, including among other things copies of Thomas Reid's *Essays* with annotations by John Robison. To accompany the exhibit, the Fisher will be publishing a catalogue with contributions by Stephen Brown of Trent University on the printing and scholarship of William Smellie, Roger Emerson of University of Western Ontario on the library of Ilay, third duke of Argyll, Richard B. Sher of New Jersey Institute of Technology on some topics in the book history of the Scottish Enlightenment, and Paul Wood (who is also editing the catalogue) on Reid and Robison.

Friday evening 20 October will be a particularly eventful time for ECSSS members. Following the plenary lecture by Mark Phillips (whose new book, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820*, is heavily concerned with Scottish topics and figures), ECSSS will sponsor a reception in the Fisher Library. The guest of honor will be Roger Emerson, an ECSSS past-president, who retired last year as professor of history at the University of Western Ontario.

Information on registering for the conference, booking accommodations, and obtaining discounts on airfare is included with this mailing. The conference program can be found on the ECSSS website (www.angelo.edu/~ecsss) and the CSECS website (www.c18.org/scedhs-csecs). John Baird informs us that there is still a need for people to chair panels, and those wanting to do so should send him an e-mail as soon as possible, addressed to john.baird@utoronto.ca.

This is going to be a spectacular autumn event, and we look forward to seeing many ECSSS members there!

POLITICAL ECONOMY IN 2001

Plans are rapidly taking shape for next year's conference on "Political Economy and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Culture," which is co-sponsored by ECSSS and the Adam Smith Society, and hosted by the James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy at George Mason University. The conference will be held in Arlington, Virginia (a few minutes outside Washington, D.C.) from 10 to 12 June 2001.

This will be the first major conference to focus on connections between political economy in the age of Adam Smith and Scottish culture in the widest sense of that term, including the Enlightenment, social and economic life, politics and patronage, religious belief and ecclesiastical affairs, emigration and migration, Jacobitism, novels and poetry, social and political theory, science and medicine, philosophy, and many other themes. Among the plenary speakers is Andrew Skinner, Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy Emeritus at the University of Glasgow, speaking on "Scottish Political Economy in the Enlightenment."

Participants at the conference will stay at the newly remodeled Hilton Arlington & Towers, which sits atop the Ballston Metro Station on the Orange Line that connects Arlington with Washington, D.C. Sessions will be held at the brand new law school buildings of George Mason University. A unique feature of this event will be its connection with a similarly themed conference that Liberty Fund will be holding at the same hotel from 7 to 9 June. We anticipate that several participants at the Liberty Fund conference will want to stay on for the ECSSS/Adam Smith Society conference that will follow it.

A Call for Papers will be found elsewhere in this mailing. Send one-page proposals for 20-25 minute papers (including title), along with a brief c.v., by 1 November 2000, to Richard B. Sher, Executive Secretary-ECSSS, New Jersey Institute of Technology, University Heights, Newark, NJ 07102-1982 USA (or e-mail to sher@njit.edu).

EDINBURGH IN 2002

Strange as it may seem, ECSSS has never had a meeting in Edinburgh, the traditional capital of Scotland. All that will change when the Society meets at the University of Edinburgh on 4-7 July 2002. We expect this to be one of the biggest and most important conferences in the Society's history, so advance planning is advised.

The theme of the conference is "Union and Cultural Identities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland and Ireland." The conference organizer is Alexander Murdoch of the Scottish History Department, but many others at the University of Edinburgh are helping him to make this a very special event, including Stewart J. Brown (divinity), John Cairns (law), Cairns Craig (Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland), Susan Manning (English), and Stana Nenadic (economic and social history). As mentioned above, the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society (ECIS) has been invited to participate, and we also expect participation by the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative and other relevant organizations.

Watch for the Call for Papers for this conference to accompany next year's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*.

OTHER ECSSS CONFERENCES

At the business meeting in Dublin, the Society voted to hold its conference in 2003 at Charleston, South Carolina, or else in the Caribbean. Since then Katherine Grenier (History, The Citadel) has been developing a strong case for Charleston, and it is likely that a proposal will be ready for consideration at the Toronto meeting. The Society voted to hold a meeting in Belfast jointly with the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society in 2004. Regarding the following year, 2005, László Kontler of Central European University in Budapest,

Hungary, proposed his university and city as a site, and after discussion the membership approved his proposal.

ECSSS SEMINARS AT ASECS

Philadelphia in 2000. ECSSS was well represented at this year's meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Philadelphia. On the final day of the conference, 15 April 2000, the Society held a well-attended session on "Scottish Books and Booksellers in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia." Chaired by James Green of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the session included talks by Nancy E. Hoffman (St. Joseph's U.) on "William Bartram and Benjamin Smith Barton's Botanical Connections with the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*"; Richard B. Sher (NJIT) on "Reprinting Scottish Enlightenment Books in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia"; and Roger Fechner (Adrian College) on "The Edinburgh and Philadelphia Editions of John Witherspoon's *Works*." After the session, ECSSS sponsored a luncheon that was attended by about two dozen people.

New Orleans in 2001. At the luncheon in Philadelphia, Adam Potkay and Judith Slagle volunteered to take charge of planning the ECSSS session at next year's ASECS conference in New Orleans, 18-22 April. With a twinkle in his eye, Adam suggested that New Orleans, with its French background and associations with Mardi gras, would lend itself particularly well to a session on "Scottish Writings on the Passions," and the members in attendance concurred. Anyone wishing to contribute a 20-minute paper on this topic should send a proposal and c.v. as soon as possible (and no later than 1 August) to Adam Potkay, Dept. of English, P.O. Box 8795, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795, USA; or send Adam an e-mail message at aspotk@wm.edu.

It was also agreed that the practice of holding an ECSSS luncheon after the ECSSS session is a good one, and the executive secretary has already contacted the ASECS conference organizer about the possibility of doing this in New Orleans next year.

ECSSS PUBLICATIONS

The Society apologizes to all contributors to the forthcoming volumes in our "Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" series: *Nation and Province in the First British Empire* (ed. Ned C. Landsman) and *France and Scotland in the Enlightenment* (ed. Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère), both of which have encountered unforeseen delays. Under a new plan, the first of these books is now moving toward publication by Bucknell University Press (which is part of the Associated University Presses consortium), with British co-publication by Tuckwell Press. We are hopeful that the second will follow the same course soon afterward.

"BROTHERS IN THE MUSE"

Annually since 1990 the Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies at the University of Strathclyde has organized an international Burns Conference, and the three-day event in 1996 was an acknowledged highlight of the bicentenary celebrations. This year saw Ken Simpson and Gerry Carruthers of the Centre join forces with Murray Pittock, Convener of the Glasgow-Strathclyde School of Scottish Studies, to offer a two-day conference on 14-15 January 2000, "Brothers in the Muse: Burns, Fergusson, and the Vernacular Revival," which marked the 250th anniversary of Robert Fergusson's birth, and located his work and that of Burns within an ongoing tradition.

Speakers and performers numbered 35, delegates (over the two days) 260. It was an international gathering, with speakers including Stephanie Friedman (Chicago), David Radcliffe (Virginia), Outi Pickering (Turku), and Marina Dossena (Milan). There was proof of the drawing-power of Scottish vernacular poetry not only in the attendance but also in the range of professions represented from the platform: N. C. Craig Sharp, professor of sports science at Brunel University, gave a fascinating paper on "Burns's 'lost weekend': Hogmanay 1786"; for David Purdie, a specialist in metabolic bone disease, the concern was "Burns and Horace"; and Rod Paterson, noted singer and songwriter, gave expert illustration to Carl MacDougall's fine treatment of "Burns and the Ballad."

In the tradition of these events, music and song featured prominently, with papers from Mark Sheridan, F. W. Freeman, and Maurice Lindsay. Pat Talbert (S. Carolina) delighted the audience with a lively set of fiddle tunes, and delegates had the opportunity to attend the "Celtic Connections" events in The Royal Concert Hall.

A theme of the conference was the broader contextualizing of Fergusson and Burns. Chris Whatley related Fergusson to "the golden age of disorder in the Scottish town"; Gerry Carruthers and Sarah Dunnigan broke new ground in demonstrating the links between Fergusson's poetry and that of William Drummond; Douglas Mack directed us from Burns and Fergusson to the later vernacular revivals of Hogg and Macdiarmid; Margery Palmer McCulloch compared Fergusson and Garioch as "Poets of Auld Reekie"; and Susan Manning found tantalizing lines of contact between Fergusson and Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener."

Distinguished plenary talks were delivered by Robert Crawford ("God Will Damn Robert Fergusson"), Murray Pittock, generously deputizing for an ailing speaker ("How Irish Was Scottish Literature in the Age of Fergusson and Burns?"), and R.D.S. Jack ("The Artistry of Robert Fergusson"). Glasgow's Laureate, Edwin Morgan, was characteristically erudite on "Poetry of the Scottish City," and—understandably—the media made much of Tom Preston's brilliantly

original paper, "Slaves, Blues and Braid Claithe: The Vernacular Revival."

G. ROSS ROY COLLECTION CELEBRATED

To celebrate the tenth anniversary of the acquisition of the G. Ross Roy Collection of Robert Burns, Burnsiana, and Scottish Poetry by the University of South Carolina, a symposium and exhibit, and a reception for Ross and Lucie Roy, were held on 23 September 1999 in the Graniteville Room of the Thomas Cooper Library. Many of the collection's star eighteenth-century holdings—letters, manuscripts, and printed works of Burns and other vernacular poets—were on exhibition in the Special Collections area, including recent acquisitions of original letters of Burns, Scott, Galt, Hogg, and Carlyle.

Ross and Lucie Roy were thanked by the Thomas Cooper Society for their generosity in supporting scholarship on Scottish poetry. The afternoon's speakers—both former W. Ormiston Roy Fellows at USC who have worked with the collection—were Kenneth Simpson (U. of Strathclyde, but visiting at the University of Connecticut in Fall 1999), who gave a delightful talk on Scottish identity and Scottish literature, "Wha's Like Us?," and Carol McGuiirk (Florida Atlantic), who, in a talk entitled "The Posthumous Adventures of Robert Burns," described using the extraordinary resources in the collection in order to learn more about the three nineteenth-century exhumations of Burns's remains. Ross Roy, founder and editor of *Studies in Scottish Literature* and Distinguished Professor Emeritus of English and Comparative Literature at USC, also spoke briefly on the history of the collection, which is not only the most extensive Burns collection in North America but includes well over ten thousand volumes on other leading Scottish writers from the sixteenth century to the present day. The collection has provided the basis for two major international conferences (on early Scottish literature in 1990, and on Robert Burns in 1996), as well as several smaller conferences and symposia. Ross Roy continues to serve as curator.

This warm and convivial gathering also celebrated the recent publication of a facsimile of the Roy Collection's unique copy of *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* (U. of South Carolina Press, 1999). The original, surreptitiously published in 1799 by the Crochallan Fencibles (an Edinburgh club) on account of the work's erotic content, is at least partly (and may be entirely) the work of Robert Burns. The authentic look of the work has been maintained by putting Ross Roy's insightful essay, "Robert Burns and *The Merry Muses*," in a separate pamphlet, which joins the facsimile of what Roy calls "the greatest and certainly the rarest of all Burns books" (p. xix) in a matching slipcase. The essay relates the story of *The Merry Muses* and Burns's

connection with it, and reprints an important letter from Burns to John M'Murdo that is also in the South Carolina Collection. Ross Roy's 30-minute video, "The Merry Muses of Caledonia," was also shown at the symposium.

For further information about the G. Ross Roy Collection or the Ormiston Roy Fellowship, contact Patrick Scott, Associate University Librarian for Special Collections Dept., Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208 (tel.: 803-777-1275, or e-mail: scottp@gwm.sc.edu).

SE IN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

A major conference on The Scottish Enlightenment in its European Context has been announced for 3-6 April 2001. It will be held in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, as part of the university's 550th anniversary celebration, under the auspices of the British Society for the History of Philosophy. Knud Haakonssen (U. of Boston) and Manfred Kuehn (U. of Marburg) have been lined up as plenary speakers.

The deadline for the organizers to receive abstracts of 500-1000 words (for papers that will run no more than 25 minutes each), is 12 June 2000. Abstracts should include title, author(s), and affiliation(s) and should be sent by e-mail, if possible, to Dr. Susan Stuart at s.stuart@philosophy.arts.gla.ac.uk. If e-mail cannot be used, send abstracts to Susan Stuart at the Dept. of Philosophy, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ, Scotland, U.K., taking care to mark your envelope with the words "Scottish Enlightenment in its European Context." More information can be found at www.gla.ac.uk/Acad/Philosophy/2001.html, which is the conference website.

HOGG AND STEVENSON

The University of Strathclyde will host the ninth James Hogg Society conference on 5-7 July 2000. The theme of the conference, "Hogg, Scotland, and Romanticism," plays on the title of the "Scott, Scotland, and Romanticism" conference that was held at the University of Oregon in July 1999. Contact Douglas Mack (d.s.mack@stir.ac.uk) for more information.

Just after the Hogg conference, a conference on "Stevenson, Scotland and Samoa" will be held at the University of Stirling, 10-14 July 2000. For further information on that conference, contact Eric Massie (eric.massie@stir.ac.uk).

HUME SOCIETY ACTIVE

The Hume Society will hold its 27th Hume Conference 24-29 July 2000 in Williamsburg, Virginia. The theme is "A Feast of Reason." Among the four plenary speakers is ECSSS past-president Susan Manning (U. of Edinburgh), who will speak on "Hume's Fragments of Union and Scottish Enlightenment Fiction."

Next year the 28th Hume Conference will be held at the University of Victoria in British Columbia from 23 to 27 July 2001. The conference directors (who include ECSSS members David Fate Norton and Paul Wood) would particularly welcome papers on the following topics: Hume and Locke; Hume and the Passions; Hume as Storyteller. They also invite submissions of 1200 words or less for a symposium on Hume's remark, "A wise man, therefore, proportions his belief to the evidence."

For further information on the Williamsburg and Victoria conferences, see the Hume Society website at www.hi.is/~mike/hume.html.

REID STUDIES THRIVING

The Second International Reid Symposium will be held at the University of Aberdeen, 10-12 July 2000, on the topic "Philosophy in Scotland Then and Now." The program can be viewed at the new Reid Project website, www.abdn.ac.uk/philosophy/reidstu.shtml. Among the speakers are two ECSSS members who have been invited to deliver plenary addresses: Peter Kivy (Rutgers U.), "Gerard, Kant and the Idea of Genius" and Paul Wood (U. of Victoria), "Who Was Thomas Reid?"

Last year the second issue of *Reid Studies* was published under the editorship of Paul Gorner, with articles by Ronald E. Beanblossom, Alexander Broadie, Keith Lehrer, Terence Penelhum, Stephen Priest, R. F. Stalley, and Paul Wood. In addition, the issue includes an updated Reid bibliography by Martino Squillante, covering both Reid's works and critical studies of Reid. Finally, the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid continues to move ahead. A paperback edition of the Derek R. Brookes edition of Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind* is expected in October 2000, and Brookes's critical edition of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* has been announced by Edinburgh University Press for February 2001, to be followed by Paul B. Wood's edition of Reid's *Correspondence*.

AUCHINLECK HOUSE RESTORATION

An ECSSS meeting at Auchinleck House in Ayrshire? It could happen!

The latest newsletter of the Auchinleck Boswell Society provides encouraging news about the house, which was originally built by James Boswell's father, Lord Auchinleck of the Court of Session, and then inherited by James himself in 1782. The Scottish Historic Buildings Trust purchased the badly deteriorated house

in 1986 and worked to restore the roof, windows, and exterior in order to prevent further damage. It then stood for more than a decade while various rumors circulated about its possible future. Recently, the Landmark Trust has become involved, with support from the Heritage Lottery Fund, Historic Scotland, and a large anonymous donation from the United States. As a result, more than two million pounds are now available for the restoration of the house itself and some of the grounds, including the pavilions on either side of the house, the obelisks, the bridges, and the screen walls. Once the repairs are complete, the property will be rented commercially, with the rents being used to fund ongoing repairs. For a time it had been feared that the house would be subdivided, but it now appears that this will not be the case; instead, it will remain as a single house, available to be rented for short-term holidays and special events.

THE FUTURE OF IASH

The Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh has been a boon for those interested in Scottish studies, including many ECSSS members. Under the direction of Peter Jones, IASH has thrived for a decade and a half. One particularly notable event in 1986, Institute Project Scottish Enlightenment (IPSE), helped to put the Institute on the map and marked an important step in the development of Scottish Enlightenment studies. Since then other conferences and events have maintained its important role.

In September 2000 Peter Jones retires, however, and last year, in anticipation of that event, the university initiated a review of the Institute, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. The Lord Cameron of Lochbroom. The president of ECSSS, M. A. Stewart, replied to Lord Cameron's inquiry with a letter sent on behalf of the Society, discussing the importance of the Institute for Scottish studies—eighteenth-century and otherwise—and expressing our hope that it will continue to be used for that purpose among others. The letter was accompanied by a £300 donation from the Society.

As we wait to hear about the future of the Institute, there are some promising developments. In September 1998 Cairns Craig, chair of the English Department at the University of Edinburgh, was appointed deputy director of IASH for three years and director of the university's new Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland for the same period of time. This was an encouraging sign in light of Cairns's strong devotion to Scottish studies. We have also heard recently that the university plans to maintain the Institute, with a part-time director and reduced funding. This may not be ideal, but at least IASH will continue.

SCOTTISH STUDIES REVIEW LAUNCHED

The Association for Scottish Literary Studies has announced a major development in Scottish studies publications. The journal *Scotlands*, formerly published by Edinburgh University Press, and *Scottish Literary Journal*, published by the ASLS, have merged into a new, twice-yearly multidisciplinary journal called *Scottish Studies Review*. The new journal will be published by ASLS, under the joint editorship of Murray Pittock (U. of Strathclyde) at the Glasgow-Strathclyde Scottish Studies Centre and Robert Crawford (U. of St. Andrews) at the St Andrews Scottish Studies Institute. Valentina Bold at Crichton College, Glasgow U. will serve as review editor.

SSR is intended to set a new standard in Scottish studies, and to serve as a publication forum for the Scottish studies centers that have been appearing in Scotland, Europe, and North America. Although the core focus of the journal will be literature, in keeping with the traditional focus of the ASLS, coverage will also be provided of art history, history, music, and Scottish culture generally. Each issue of *SSR* will contain refereed articles on a variety of topics, with no attempt to focus the contributions on a single theme, the way *Scotlands* attempted to do. There will also be interviews with prominent figures in contemporary Scottish culture and a substantial review section.

ECSSS wishes *Scottish Studies Review* the best of success! The executive secretary of the Society, Richard Sher, has been invited to serve on the editorial advisory board, and it is hoped that ECSSS members will contribute to the new journal both as authors and as readers.

NEW LIBERTY FUND BOOK SERIES

Liberty Fund, Inc., has announced the establishment of a new publication series entitled "Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics," under the general editorship of Knud Haakensen of Boston University. In addition to the major natural law works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the series will publish a number of important Scottish Enlightenment books, including volumes by George Turnbull, Lord Kames, David Fordyce, John Millar, and James Mackintosh. A particularly important part of the series for students of the Scottish Enlightenment will be the first critical edition of the works and correspondence of Francis Hutcheson. The volumes will begin appearing in 2001.

The new editions will include introductions and annotations by specialist scholars, including David Lieberman, James Moore, Udo Thiel, and Paul Wood. All volumes will be available in both hardcover and paperback, at the very affordable prices for which Liberty Fund is well known.

SCOTTISH STUDIES IN GLASGOW

Glasgow's two outstanding universities have joined forces to establish the world's largest school of Scottish studies, The Glasgow-Strathclyde School of Scottish Studies (GSSSS). The school was officially launched on 26 November 1999 by Edwin Morgan, Glasgow's Poet Laureate, at a jointly sponsored reception in the Collins Gallery at the University of Strathclyde. It is led by two ECSSS members, Alexander Broadie at Glasgow U. (convener) and Murray Pittock at Strathclyde (head and budgetholder). Many other outstanding faculty from both universities are also involved, including Gerry Carruthers, Colin Kidd, and Ken Simpson. For more information, see the flyer that is enclosed with this mailing, or visit the School of Scottish Studies website at www.strath.gla.ac.uk/scotstudies.

SCOTTISH STUDIES IN ST. ANDREWS

Although on a smaller scale than the Glasgow-Strathclyde school, the St. Andrews Scottish Studies Institute (SASSI) remains one of the best organizations of its kind for eighteenth-century and early modern studies, with particular strengths in literature (Robert Crawford, Christopher MacLachlan) and history (Roger Mason, David Allan, Keith Brown). For further information, go to www.st-andrews.ac.uk/institutes/sassi.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Paul Bator now lectures on English literature at Stanford U. . . . **Jerry Beasley** and his band "Jerry and the Juveniles" entertained at this year's ASECS conference in Philadelphia . . . **Barbara Benedict** reports that U. of Chicago Press will be publishing her next book on curiosity in the eighteenth century . . . **Sebastian Bott** of the U. of Zurich has published *Friends and Lovers of Virtue: Tugendethische Handlungsorientierungen im Kontext der Schottischen Aufklärung 1750-1800*, which we hope to have reviewed in next year's issue . . . **Fiona Black** spent the academic year teaching library science at the U. of South Florida but has since returned home to Regina, Saskatchewan; she is now the editor of *SHARP News*, the newsletter of the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading & Publishing . . . **Alexander Broadie** has been appointed convener of the Glasgow-Strathclyde School of Scottish Studies . . . **Leslie Ellen Brown** has assumed the position of vice-president and dean of the faculty at Ripon College in Wisconsin . . . **Stewart J. Brown** is now dean of the faculty of divinity at the U. of Edinburgh . . . **John Cairns** has been promoted to reader in law at the U. of Edinburgh . . . **Gerard Carruthers** is co-editing a book of critical essays on *English Romanticism and the Celtic World* . . . **Barney Cochran** is now settled in "the heartland of Ohio" as assistant professor of history at Mount Vernon Nazarene College . . . **Frank Court** is now

professor emeritus at Northern Illinois U. . . . **Deidre Dawson**, now an associate professor of French at Michigan State U., was elected assistant secretary general of ISECS at the Dublin Congress on the Enlightenment . . . **Peter Diamond** has moved to the Political Science Dept. at Pace U. . . . **Alexander Du Toit** has completed his U. of London Ph.D. thesis on "Presbyterianism, Patriotism and Empire: An Alternative View of the Historical Writing of William Robertson" . . . **Leigh Eicke** is now lecturer in English at the U. of Maryland, where she is completing her Ph.D. . . . **Roger Emerson** reports that he is enjoying the retirement gift he received from the History Dept. at U. of Western Ontario last June: the 1992 CD ROM version of the *English Short-Title Catalogue* . . . **Roger Fechner** has announced plans to publish an edition of the *Works of John Witherspoon* with Thoemmes Press . . . **Henry Fulton** looks forward to completing his biography of John Moore now that he has retired from his professorship in English at Central Michigan U.; Henry has also become a volunteer chaplain at the local hospital and expects his future research to deal with the Church of Scotland . . . **Anita Guerrini** has received tenure and promotion to associate professor in environmental studies and history at U. of California-Santa Barbara; she is spending the year on leave at the Centre Alexandre Koyré in Paris, with an NSF grant for her new project on "animals and public anatomy in Enlightenment Europe" . . . **Knud Haakonssen** was awarded the Centenary Fellowship of the Scots Philosophical Club and received a short-term fellowship from the Japan Foundation for the Promotion of Science to undertake a lecture tour this spring and summer . . . **Eugene Heath** has been promoted to associate professor of philosophy, with tenure, at State U. of New York at New Paltz . . . **Lore Hisky**, recently elected FSA-Scot, presented "Robert Burns: Caledonia's Bard" at the Memphis Scottish Society's Burns Night in January . . . while passing the 1999-2000 year as a visiting fellow of English literature at Princeton U., **Andrew Hook** recently learned of his election as a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh . . . **Colin Kidd** has been promoted to a readership at the U. of Glasgow . . . **C. M. Jackson-Houlston** has published a book on nineteenth-century ballads and songs in British prose, with a chapter on Walter Scott's use of folk song . . . **Margaret Jacob** is now in the History Dept. at UCLA, working on radicalism in the 1790s . . . **Catherine Jones** has left the west of Ireland to take up a lectureship in English at the U. of Aberdeen . . . **Ned Landsman** gave the plenary address on "Mobility and Stability in Scottish Society and Culture" at the conference on "The Emigrant Experience: The Scottish Diaspora," sponsored by the Scottish Studies Program at the U. of Guelph, Ontario . . . **Bruce Lenman** had to cancel his research leave for the spring 2000 term due to his younger son's near-fatal car accident on Christmas eve, but we're happy to report that a significant recovery is now taking place . . . **Irma Lustig**

has been kept busy writing articles for the *New DNB* on Boswell's wife and father, and his friend, Andrew Crosbie . . . **Robert Maccubbin** has moved *Eighteenth-Century Life* from Johns Hopkins U. Press to Duke U. Press . . . **Carey McIntosh** has retired from the English Dept. at Hofstra U. . . . **Hamish Mathison** has completed his Ph.D. at U. of Aberdeen and is now lecturer in English literature at the U. of Sheffield . . . **Vincent Merolle** and **Norbert Waszek** have been engaged in work on a new project, *2000: The European Journal* . . . **Hiroshi Mizuta** has been elected a fellow of the prestigious Japanese Academy . . . **Dafydd Moore** spent the academic year as lecturer in English literature at the U. of Plymouth . . . **James Moore** will be giving a series of public lectures in Montreal next year on the relationship of Protestant ethics and enlightenment—"an extended response to the Max Weber thesis," Jim tells us . . . **Tony Parker** has been appointed director of the School of American Studies at the University of Dundee . . . after many years in Finland, **Outi Pickering** has moved to Oxford following her husband's retirement . . . **Murray Pittock** has been appointed head and budgetholder of the Glasgow-Strathclyde School of Scottish Studies . . . **Jean Ranallo** and her husband will settle permanently in Englewood, Florida, after some years of dividing their time between Florida and New England . . . **Silvia Sebastiani** spent parts of the past academic year doing research in London and Edinburgh . . . **Richard Sher's** article on the Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in the first issue of *Book History* won the 1999 Percy G. Adams Article Prize, awarded annually by Southeast ASECS . . . **Geoffrey Sill** has assumed the role of chair of the English Dept. at Rutgers U.-Camden . . . **Ken Simpson** spent fall 1999 as the Neag Distinguished Visiting Professor in British Literature at the U. of Connecticut, and upon returning home to Scotland was co-organizer of the conference "'Brothers in the Muse': Burns, Fergusson and the Vernacular Revival" at the U. of Strathclyde in January . . . **Judith Bailey Slagle** is now assistant chair of English at East Tennessee State U. . . . **Jessica Spector** is now assistant professor of philosophy at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn. . . . **M. A. Stewart** has been appointed honorary research professor of the history of philosophy at the U. of Aberdeen, and senior research fellow at Harris Manchester College, Oxford . . . **Jeffrey Suderman's** book on George Campbell will be published by McGill-Queen's U. Press. . . . **L. Gordon Tait's** book on *The Piety of John Witherspoon* will be published by Geneva Press in Louisville . . . **Hideo Tanaka** has published *Republicanism and Enlightenment* (Kyoto, 1998) and *Enlightenment and Reform: A Study of John Millar* (Nagoya, 1999), both in Japanese . . . **Udo Thiel** passed this academic year as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the U. of Edinburgh.

SIMON FRASER CENTRE KICKS OFF

Leith Davis, Simon Fraser U.

The new Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University (www.sfu.ca/scottish) was inaugurated 9-11 March 2000 at a conference on "Culture, Community and Nation: Scotland at Home and Abroad," at Harbour Centre in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia. The conference focused on issues of identity, memory, and myth, using Scotland and Scots in Canada as focal points for discussion. Drawing on an interdisciplinary combination of social and cultural historians and literary scholars and writers, the conference sessions explored the origins and current state of nationalist sentiment in Scotland, the role of myth and memory in the transference of culture following emigration, and the current strengths of Scottish culture in both its national and transnational manifestations. Part of the mandate of the Centre for Scottish Studies is to provide a bridge between the university and the general community, and the conference was an exciting embodiment of that mission. Local attendees had the chance to hear presentations by scholars from Canada, Scotland, and the United States, and scholars studying the complex effects of emigration on Scottish identity heard about how emigrants themselves lived out their definitions of "Scottishness."

The conference started off Thursday night with a lecture by Tom Nairn on "The Problematics of Scottish Emigration and Immigration." Arguing that recent political changes in Scotland will also be accompanied by changes in the relationship between Scots at home and abroad, he suggested that "a new [Scottish] identity is now in formation," which will involve "the death of nostalgia." According to Nairn, the loss of Scottish political power in 1707 was accompanied by frustration, but also by a certain lack of responsibility which manifested itself in parochialism, "straight-jacket conformity," and "wooden authoritarianism." At the same time, Scots became "world-class experts in nostalgia," cultivating an image of their nation which remained firmly rooted in a glorious past. It is precisely this nostalgic image of the nation which is at the heart of Scottish emigrants' idea of Scotland. Now that Scotland has been given a chance to have political power, however, there is a disjunction between the actual nation at home and its conception abroad as a symbol of the past. While indicating that a period of transition is at hand, Nairn remained optimistic about the eventual outcome. Although they might lose their sense of nostalgia about a romantic Scotland, Scottish emigrants (along with Scots at home) might enjoy a new sense of responsibility by being able to have more effect on Scottish affairs. He suggested that what is needed is a "House of Return"—a place (possibly the vacant school on Calton Hill in Edinburgh) where emigrant Scots could research their past history and also create a new relationship with the Scottish nation. One issue over which Scots abroad might be able to exert some influence is the promotion of Gaelic. Immigration in Scotland is so small as to be insignificant, he suggested, but what Scotland does have is an existing Gaelic language and culture which may be realigned to ensure that the new Scottish identity includes a multiplicity of perspectives.

In a keynote lecture on Friday morning, Ken Simpson pondered the question: "Wha's Like Us? Scottish Literature and Scottish Identity." (The answer to the question, I understand, is usually something like: "precious few, and they're dead.") Ken attempted to examine the parameters of this Scottish sense of uniqueness by taking the audience through several centuries of Scottish self-representations in literature. Lyric tenderness, acerbic social satire, the polarities of experience and extravagance, and a deep celebration of communal life were the characteristics he identified as particularly Scottish.

The session which followed addressed the issue of "Imagining a Community: Issues of Identity and Politics in Modern Scotland." In "Authenticity and Romantic Scotland," Ian Duncan (U. of Oregon) traced the "double genealogy of authenticity—of textuality and feeling—from Ossian, through Humean empiricism, to Scott's fiction." In a paper on "Nation and Notation: Imagining Scotland in Music, 1707-1814," Leith Davis (Simon Fraser U.) considered how the concept of Scottish national music evolved within the context of British culture, but also how it worked to contest that sense of culture by challenging disciplinary divisions and by challenging assumptions about the relationship between orality and print. In "Scott, Culture, and the Afterlife of the Scottish Artefact," Miranda Burgess (U. of British Columbia) considered Scott's antiquarianism as "a model for the emergence of Scottish cultural production out of the mechanisms of economic production, as well as a model for the emergence of a new 'British' nation out of the mingling tastes of Scottish and other subjects of taste."

Unfortunately, Carol McGuirk (Florida Atlantic U.) was unable to attend the conference because of a death in her family, but her paper on "The Posthumous Adventures of Robert Burns" was read in her absence. It focused on her efforts to unearth information on the three exhumations of Burns in 1815, 1834, and 1857. Trying to understand the development of Burns's apotheosis from poet to cultural icon, McGuirk observed: "We may give a date then—1815—to the birth of the full-blown Burns cult: for this is the year in which friends and family with first-hand knowledge are supplanted by bardolaters—that is, witnesses more to Burns's fame than to his poetry."

The first of two roundtable panels on "National and Transnational Scottish Identity: Hollywood and Beyond" took place on Friday afternoon. Part 1, "Performing the Nation," was led off by Caroline McCracken-Flesher (U. of Wyoming), who spoke on "A Short History of Tomorrow: From Walter Scott to the Scottish Parliament."

She argued that, far from being merely delimiting indicators of Scottish identity, the tartan and other elements of Walter Scott's certification of Scotland "in fact maintained the notion of Scottish difference such that the nation continued to merit a parliament and now can exercise power. Moreover, that power, through the encompassing myth of tartanry, is potentially of a new nationalism, oddly *not* one narrowly ethnic but playful, expansive, inclusive." In "RLS, Scottish (Split) Identity and Popular Culture," Don Nichol (Memorial U.) asserted that "Robert Louis Stevenson gave the twentieth century its most enduring image and expression of split personality in 'The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde'." He demonstrated his point by referring to some of the many adaptations of the novel into film. James Lachlan MacLeod tackled what he saw as Lars von Trier's inaccurate and stereotypical depictions of Highland religious culture in *Breaking the Waves*: "As Scotland enters the new millennium, with a new parliament and a new sense of identity, it is surely time to confront the stereotypes that continue to dog her. Highland religion is a rich, varied, sophisticated, intense and deeply spiritual phenomenon; it deserves better than to be belittled and caricatured by those who neither know it nor understand it." David Ritchie (Pacific Northwest College of Art) investigated a different kind of stereotype, the image of Scots as wild Rob Roys, by considering the history of Scottish swords. Finally, Valentina Bold (Crichton College, Glasgow U.) discussed her study of the concept of the "acquired family" in Scottish emigrant communities.

On Friday night, conference participants were treated to an exhilarating performance by Robert Crawford (U. of St. Andrews), who read selections from his own work, including the recently published *Spirit Machines*. He also discussed his thoughts on editing the *New Penguin Book of Scottish Verse*, which is soon to appear. A lavish reception, sponsored by the British Consul, followed Crawford's reading.

Saturday began with a slide presentation on "The 'Scotland and the World Initiative'" by George Dalgleish of the National Museums of Scotland. Ted Cowan (U. of Glasgow) then gave a lively keynote address on "The Scottish Imaging of Canada." He started by examining the representation of Canada that was conveyed to potential Scottish emigrants. Emigration to Canada was seen variously by emigrants and politicians: as a method of personal and national enrichment; as a means of getting rid of trouble-makers and ne'er-dowells; and as a contribution to the construction of a "people buffer" against the power of the United States (He singled out John Galt as the initiator of the tradition of defining Canada against the U.S.) Cowan examined the way that the Scottish publishing market in North America influenced the imaging of Scottishness in Scotland, asserting that by the nineteenth century Canada had become uniquely associated with the production of Scottish identity.

The next panel considered the issue of Scottish migration to Canada in more detail. In "The Move to New Worlds: Emigration and Memory," Margery Harper (U. of Aberdeen) argued that the image of Scotland in Canada was largely the production of Highland emigrants with a greater psychological need to remember than their Lowland counterparts. In "Weeping Women and Wild Men: Scottish Patriarchy in Early Nineteenth-Century Upper Canada," Michael Vance (St. Mary's U.) considered the transfer of domestic ideology from Scotland to the New World, noting how the domestic ideal was invoked in order to justify Scottish relations with native groups. In "The Generation Gap in a Late Nineteenth-Century Highland-Canadian Community," Jack Little (Simon Fraser U.) considered relations between French Canadian and Scottish settlers in Winslow. Paul Koroscil (Simon Fraser U.) presented a case-study of one Scottish immigrant in "J.C. Dun Waters: Fintry, Stirlingshire and Fintry, B.C."

The second "National and Transnational Identity" panel, "Writing the Nation," took place after lunch on Saturday. In "Ossian and the Landscape of Authenticity," Ellen Palmer (McMaster U.) argued that the notion of Celtic liberty represented by the poems of Ossian (and the critical dissertations that were written in their wake) challenged the idea of Gothic liberty articulated by London-based antiquarians. In "Life Could Not Be Endured Were It Seen in Reality," Mark Weinstein (Nevada U.) contrasted Scott's later novel, *Saint Ronan's Well*, with the earlier "optimistic and comedic" novels, suggesting that the former depicted "Scotland trapped between a dead past and a future powerless to be born, a sad but wise prognostication of Scotland's predicament over the following two centuries." Kirsti Wishart (St. Andrews U.) considered Robert Louis Stevenson as a "Travelling Scot," suggesting that his sense of Scottishness affected his interpretation of imperial adventure: his national identity generated "an interest in figures that exist outside the Manichean oppositions of imperialism, particularly in regard to his fascination in the figure of the hybrid." Hanne Tange (U. of Glasgow) re-examined the Scottish Renaissance rejection of the past in "Farewell to Scotland!," suggesting that promotion of Scottish language and denigration of figures like Burns and Scott by MacDiarmid and others must be seen in the context of the Modernist post-war project. Finally, in "Herbert's Laurel and Crawford's Burns: Postmodern Scotlands," Jeffrey Skoblow (Southern Illinois U.) examined Robert Crawford's "Burns Ayont Auld Reekie" and W. N. Herbert's "The Laurelude" as poems that subvert any effort to conceive the identity of Scotland in simple terms.

The conference concluded with brief meditations on "The Scottish Contribution to the Modern and Post-Modern" by Ted Cowan, Ken Simpson, Tom Nairn, and Robert Crawford. Part of the work of a Scottish Studies Centre in the current era of globalization, it was suggested, is to re-examine and re-configure old ways of defining identity. In an era when identity itself has become a fluid concept, re-considerations of "Scottishness"—which has time and time again been connected with "antizyzygy" and/or multiplicity—have perhaps never been more salient.

LEAH LENEMAN (1944-1999)

By Rosalind Mitchison
Professor Emerita, Edinburgh University

Leah Leneman, historian and writer of cookery books, has died at the age of 55. She had varied talents, and consequently a varied career, starting with training in stage acting. There followed various minor theater roles and some work in stage managing. Then she worked as a reservations clerk for BOAC, a position which brought opportunities for cheap travel. She had been born in Illinois, attended school in Hollywood, California, and eventually settled in Scotland with British nationality. She trained as a mature student, with English A-level exams, an honors degree in History at Edinburgh University, and then a Ph.D. thesis based on the eighteenth-century papers of the Duchy of Atholl at Blair Castle. The thesis was on the life of the peasantry, and was turned into her first major historical publication, *Living in Atholl: A Social History of the Estates 1685-1785* (1986). But Leah already had other publications. Her travels had put her in touch with the Indian vedanta movement, which first made her a vegetarian, and later carried her to what she saw as her logical destination: a vegan. She was eventually hired as an assistant to the editor of the Vegetarian Society's magazine, where she was able to push the vegetarian movement into the idea that food without animal contributions could still be delicious. She published several cookery books, for instance *The Amazing Avocado* (1984) and *Vegan Cooking* (1982). This part of her output gave her experience with publishers, as well as a small but steady income from sales and Public Lending Right. This point she complained about: it was the height of meanness to rely on the public library for cookery books.

With her combination of natural talent and office experience, Leah rapidly built up a reputation as a fast and accurate worker, guaranteed to meet deadlines. She was thus able to do historical research without having to hold a teaching or administrative post. She would work for a period in the Scottish Record Office (as the Scottish National Archives were formerly called), where her lack of Latin prevented her from holding a regular post, and then for a period doing her own research, often using knowledge of the structure of the records gleaned by her paid work. She moved from being a research assistant on projects funded by research councils to holding her own research council grants, and built up an impressive list of publications in her last decade. Together, she and I produced a study of eighteenth-century illegitimacy, *Sexuality and Social Control* (1989), which led to two more books: *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality & Social Control in Rural Scotland, 1660-1780* and *Sin in the City: Sexuality & Social Control in Urban Scotland, 1660-1780* (both 1998, and reviewed together in this issue). Her speed of working led to several other books: *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* (1991; reprinted 1995), a study of the suffragist movement in Scotland, distinct from that in London which was dominated by the Pankhursts, and *In the Service of Life: The Story of Elsie Inglis and the Scottish Women's Hospitals* (1994), about the Scottish women's hospitals in the first world war. She also wrote on Elsie Inglis's retreat with her unit from Serbia. One of her last books was *Alienated Affections: The Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684-1830* (1998), a study of divorce in Scotland in the early modern period, when it was available and within the financial grasp of the bulk of the population—a situation very different from that in England. Leah also published several articles about the social history of women and the family, which are listed annually in the "Recent Articles" section of this publication, and she chronicled the visual history of modern Scottish women in *Into the Foreground: A Century of Scottish Women in Photographs* (1993). There was also *Fit for Heroes? Land Settlement in Scotland after World War I* (1989), a short work on the movement to settle ex-service men on the land, which showed that her sympathies were not limited to the feminist movement. Altogether it was a considerable output within a short period.

Leah had a naturally easy writing style. Her capacity to absorb a large amount of source material gave her accounts the tang of reality. Her appreciation of the humorous element in most human activity was conveyed to the reader with a light touch. She had little interest in sociological theorizing or historiographical theory. Life, as she unearthed it, was rich in people of all classes and types, especially women.

In 1991 breast cancer led her to surgery. She was well for five years after that, and did much traveling, including skiing trips and scuba diving. Cancer recurred but then so did a remarkable remission. But the cancer resumed, and eventually she had to stop work. She died at home the day after Christmas, courageous to the end. She was not married but enjoyed a long-term relationship with Graham Sutton, who memorialized her lovingly in *The Scotsman* (28 December 1999).

PROGRESS, NATIONAL CHARACTERS, AND RACE IN THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT

Silvia Sebastiani
European University Institute, Florence

As is well known, the Scottish historians of the second half of the eighteenth century, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, William Robertson, John Millar, and Henry Home (Lord Kames), based a view of progress in historical development, explained in successive stages, on the comparison between different types of society. The universalistic consequences of this view of history, which emphasized the uniformity of the process of civilization, aroused, on the other hand, the problem of the cultural and social distance between Europe and non-Europe, as well as between the peoples of Europe itself. In this way, concepts of "race" and "nation" were already to emerge, showing that a crucial problem in the Scottish debate on progress dealt with the contested "common prerogative" of mankind.

The new historical scheme, based on Hume's sociological definition of the "National Character," presented an image of a progressive advance in economic and political structures, as well as of a process of refinement of the whole society, including its cultural aspects. The idea of a development from the primitive passions of the savage to the sociability and sensibility of the eighteenth century excluded the possibility of a critique along the lines proposed by Rousseau, and laid the foundations for a historical evaluation of the excellence of European civilization. In the progressive scheme of the Scottish literati, the distinctions between peoples tended to assume meaning only in the superior and more refined stages of society. In relation to the inferior steps of development, the same comparative and sociological principles operate instead as generalizing elements, as first clearly demonstrated by Adam Ferguson in 1767 in his *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*. For Ferguson, all barbarous peoples are ardent supporters of liberty and courageous in consequence of a society characterized by equality and independence. But such a generalization, based on the same Humean concept of the uniformity of human nature, also affirms a principle of the universality of progress: the "native" Americans, portrayed as similar to the ancient Europeans, could in Ferguson's opinion have followed the same path, had they not been prevented from so doing by a historical condition of subordination. Nothing distinguished a "German or a Briton, in the habits of his mind or his body, in his manners or apprehensions, from an American, who, like him, with his bow and his dart, is left to traverse the forest" (Edinburgh, 1966, p. 80).

It is exactly this principle of universality and of generalization that Henry Home, Lord Kames, the oldest of the group of Scottish historians, intended to reconsider in his *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774). Referring deliberately to Ferguson, Kames affirms that the distinct feature of the love of liberty and of courage "is indeed applicable to many savage tribes, our European forefathers in particular; but not to all"; not to the native Americans, above all (2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1778, 1:40-45, quoting 45; emphasis added). The native Americans are not merely a savage society. They represent a society that *had not developed itself*, as European society had done, and that had *remained* savage. They were therefore both an example of the first stage, and the first significant exception to the theory of progressive development: "The North-American tribes are remarkable," Kames writes, "with respect to one branch of their history, that, instead of advancing, like other nations, toward the maturity of society and government, they continue to this hour in their original state of hunting and fishing" (3:144-45). Furthermore, in Kames's eyes the savage tribes of North America are distinguished as much by their physical as by their "moral" characteristics. American men, all homogeneously a red copper color, notwithstanding the diversity of climates under which they live, were lacking in active courage and were instead capable of supporting the most terrible pain. Their methods of making war were based on the ambush and betrayal, indications of cowardice, in contrast to the direct and open battles preferred by the "virile" ancient Europeans. Several features likened the physical aspect of the American men to the female figure, so that De Pauw could easily consider them an effeminate "race," in his *Reserches Philosophiques sur les Américains* (1771). From Lafitau's *Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains* (1724) to Buffon and De Pauw, a vast literature based the idea of an imperfect humanity of the American on ethnological assumptions about their relations with women. This supposed sexual frigidity distinguished them from the civilized Europeans as well as from all the other savages, particularly the Africans, who, at the extreme end of the spectrum, were described as beastly in their attraction to the opposite sex. According to Kames, furthermore, sexual weakness was the explanation for the lack of development of the American Indians, by causing the demographic scarcity and stagnancy of the New World.

In this way, reflection on the existing differences of development brings Kames back from history and society to nature, leading him to establish in the first of his *Sketches* the concept of the difference *ab origine* between the diverse groups of human beings:

"As far back as history goes, or tradition kept alive by history, the earth was inhabited by savages divided into many small tribes, each tribe having a language peculiar to itself. Is it not natural to suppose, that these original tribes were different races of men, placed in proper climates, and left to form their own language? (*Sketches*, 1:75; emphasis added)

Kames thus introduced the polygenetic vision as a premise to the theory of stages, intending to reconcile this with the idea of Christian providence. For this reason, in the "Preliminary Discourse" he discusses critically and refutes Buffon's "anthropological" theories about the human species, which the Frenchman considered as a "succession constante d'individus semblables et qui se reproduisent." Based on this principle, Buffon explained the diversity between peoples in terms of "varieties" within the bounds of a single species. The races are the result of the influence of external factors such as climate or food; as with other animals, "le même homme" under diverse climates changes his physical aspect, color, size, and "degenerates." Kames opposes this overly "artificial" idea, citing in support such characteristics and differences as are immediately evident, conflating the terms "race" and "species," as Voltaire had already done in his *Traité de Métaphysique*, so as to consider the different races not as different varieties of the same species, but as different species of the same genus.

Kames's discussion of the manifest evidence of physical differences between the various races thus serves to support the idea that there exist manifest differences in the "moral" characteristics of peoples, defining the relationship between "national character" and progress in a completely different manner from Ferguson. Kames merely develops the idea suggested by Hume in his essay "Of National Characters." Even if Hume explained the varied European national characters in sociological terms, the contrast between these European characters and the uniformity and rudeness of non-European peoples was of *natural* origin: "Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if *nature* had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men" ("Of National Characters," 1748, in *Essays, Moral, Political and Literary*, ed. E. Miller, Indianapolis, 1987, note added in 1753, p. 208; emphasis added). In substance, Kames develops this idea, arguing that the internal disposition and nature of peoples were not explicable merely in terms of culture or education. An open or a closed attitude toward foreigners, bravery, or cowardice, the vices and virtues of a people, and the way of the relationship between the sexes could not be the products of chance, but must necessarily have a "constant and invariable cause": "the character of that greater part can have no foundation but nature" (*Sketches*, 1:39-40). All these aspects accordingly form part of "national characters," congenital and specific: "original characters," "racial" characters.

Generally speaking, this was what James Macpherson asserted in 1771 in his *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, where he states that "since the beginning of history" the nations of Africa did not get out of their "natural barbarism," the Americans did not show any sign of improvement, while the Tartars retained "the rudeness of the ancient Scythians," despite their vicinity to civilized Persia, India, and China (3rd edn., 1773, p. 14). Instead, many regions of Europe seemed destined "to produce a race of men, that might, in the progress of time, have polished themselves," without receiving arts from other nations. Even if Macpherson just hinted at it in a passage of his historical work, he shared a polygenetic approach with Hume and Kames, according to which "among mankind, as in other animals, there seem to be a variety of species" (p. 264): neither the climate nor the food would permit a Laplander to exceed a German in height. Macpherson agreed with Kames that human history was not to be based on the common origin of humankind, as attested by "the general line of character, which runs through the human species, under every climate" (p. 13). The opposite appeared to him self-evident: the origins of Great Britain and Ireland, on which the myth of Ossian was constructed, were in fact set against the "natural" savagery of Africa, America, and east Asia, as well as the impure manners of the southern Europe. The Caledonians, who, according to Macpherson, were part of the Celts, appeared different and superior to all the other nations of savages, because they had, since the very beginning, the traits of refinement and civility, typical of modern society, mingled with the heroism of warriors.

However, if the historical work of Macpherson introduced heterodox concepts such as polygenism in a traditional framework, it was Kames who devised a convergence between the idea of progress and the idea of race within the new conjectural, comparative, and philosophical approach to history. Accordingly, his defense of the poems of Ossian was not just another chapter in the Ossianic controversy, but more interestingly a coherent discussion of a separate race. The world of Ossian constituted, in comparison with the "great uniformity in the progress of manners" evidenced by the other "nations" of hunters, the second extraordinary exception in the history of humanity, after the negative one of the Americans. The Caledonians did not fight in order to loot, nor, like the Americans, make cowardly use of the ambush: their wars were fought in the open and with a desire for honor. It was not their custom to humiliate their adversary, as the Homeric heroes had done by mutilating corpses: they were instead distinguished by "humanity blended with courage," and their manners were "so pure and refined as scarce to be paralleled in the most cultivated nations" (*Sketches*, 1:439, 422). Finally, although hunters, they respected, esteemed, considered, and loved their women, so that they had little reason, if any, to envy modern

society. Though the Caledonians were not an "original tribe," with manners peculiar to themselves, they had long preserved the purity of their original customs thanks to the Scottish mountains. The exceptional character of the Caledonians therefore revealed the exceptional character of all the "Northern nations of Europe," with a degree of uniformity that must be attributed to nature, as Kames had theorized in his "Preliminary Discourse." If the boundaries of the "human" geography of Macpherson and Kames occasionally differed, they converged nonetheless in constructing the picture of a Nordic race, preserved in its greatest purity in the Scottish Highlands.

Through a blend of historical-sociological method, polygenetic theory, and commitment to the Ossianic cause, Kames thus turned the differences in civilization into differences in "humanity." As Giuliano Gliozzi has noted in an article in *Rivista di Filosofia* (77 [1986]: 91), Kames expressed "the oneness of human nature in a plurality of natures," so that with his "Preliminary Discourse" the "History of the Species, in its progress from the savage state to its highest civilisation and improvement" began as a divided history: "Some nations, stimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progress; some have proceeded more slowly; and some continue savages" (*Sketches*, 1:84; emphasis added).

The problem of the unequal development of the earth's various peoples was not, however, felt and emphasized only by polygenists. In John Millar's Introduction to *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, originally published in 1771, the idea of the natural progress of the society immediately recalls the reality of the different rhythms of development: in fact, "various accidental causes, indeed, have contributed to accelerate, or to retard this advancement in different countries" (3rd edn., 1779, in W. C. Lehmann, *John Millar of Glasgow*, Cambridge, 1960, pp. 176-77). William Robertson notes the same central point in 1777 in his *History of America*; so too does Gilbert Stuart in his review of Robertson in the *Monthly Review*, which underlined that the underdevelopment of the American tribes marked "a blank in the history of the species" (56:454). Robertson, who begins his book by criticizing those who assume that the "native" Americans are "a separate race," thus in fact disputing the Bible, seeks to account coherently for their missing progress on the level of "moral and political causes." At the same time, perhaps no account was more influential than Robertson's in outlining the extremely abject, rough, and unhappy condition of the American savage. Naked, uncultivated, solitary, at the mercy of the environment in which he lives, and incapable of governing "over the inferior creatures," he "is the enemy of the other animals, not their superior" (5th edn., 1788, 2:27-28, 123-24). Deprived of the prerogative assigned to him by Christian mythology as the "Lord of the Creation," and exceptional in regard to the capacity of the human species to progress, the "ignoble savage" in fact remains chained to the animal world. Robertson was emphasizing Buffon's assertions about the incapability of savages to control their environment. Paying tribute to the Mosaic account, he was patently not interested in the contradictions in the definitions of species and race disseminated in the volumes of the *Histoire Naturelle*, which opened the way for the polygenetic theses of Voltaire and Kames: on the one hand, in fact, the principle of degeneracy placed in crisis the Aristotelian fixity of the species; on the other, Buffon himself admitted that his criterion of establishing the status of the species, based on the capability of having fertile progeny, was not universally valid. However, when elaborating on his suggestions connecting the sexual desire of peoples with the female condition, Robertson ended by asserting that the contempt and supreme disregard of the Americans for their women were "perhaps" caused by the "coldness and insensibility which has been considered as peculiar to their constitution" (2:103). Thus, the monogenetic approach, no less than the polygenetic one, tends to portray diverse "humanities." Robertson's partiality to the system of Buffon and De Pauw would not escape Dugald Stewart, who commented that it "has unquestionably produced a facility in the admission of many of their assertions which are now classed with the prejudices of former times" (*Biographical Memoirs of Adam Smith, L.L.D., of William Robertson, D.D., and Thomas Reid, D.D.*, Edinburgh, 1811, p. 241).

This was also a significant critique that the radical journalist Gilbert Stuart moved to the mainstream of the Scottish literati, in his reaction to Robertson's and Hume's historical works. Not only Kames, but also Millar and Robertson, in setting up a sharp opposition between the primitive and the civilized stages, tended to construct two different natures, the "natural" man and the civilized man, destroying the very idea of the uniformity of human nature which they professed to believe. Stuart's Whig approach to history recovered the positive parallel between modern savages and ancient Europeans, as emphasized by Ferguson; but, at the same time, he strongly refused the shared idea of the progress and improvement of the conditions of women in modern and commercial society, in contrast to their abject situation among primitive peoples: in so doing, he denied arguments in favor of the "exceptions." In this way, his inquiry went to the heart of the racial construction of the "other," both in the explicit form of the "Celticism" of Macpherson and Kames, and that less evident form which resulted from the emphasis on the differences produced by progress.

Stuart's outsider and radical point of view, however, was not capable of deciding the issue between polygenism and monogenism. A stronger challenge to the polygenetic theory was to come from the development of the anatomical, scientific study of man and comparative anatomy. In 1775 the Scot John Hunter, a medical doctor and a member of the Royal Society, asserted that the only solution in explaining the variety of types of man

was in the study "of the nature of the human body": only by the scientific study of the structure of man could one evaluate the reactions and adaptation to the environment, and the importance of "external" circumstances, such as climate, geographical position, and way of life ("Inaugural Disputation on the Varieties of Man," 1775, in T. Bendyshe, ed., *The Anthropological Treatises of Blumenbach and Hunter*, London, 1865, pp. 357-94). In the years immediately following, a series of explorations and relations of comparative anatomy, craniology, and phrenology by continental scholars found space in the pages of the *Monthly Review* and the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*. Peter Camper demonstrated that the orangutan could not belong to humanity because it had diverse vocal organs that would never have permitted it to articulate sounds and form a language (*Philosophical Transactions*, 69 [1779]: 139-59). The Germans Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and Eberhard August von Zimmermann supplied the foundations for the definition of large racial groups, with variety developing as a result of "degeneration" from a single original stock, induced by a variety of environmental circumstances and material factors. Blumenbach, in particular, divided humanity into five different races—Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay—and supplied the first systematic illustrations of their differences referring to skin color, as well as to the structure of the head, the proportions of the skull, the sensory organs, and the teeth (J. F. Blumenbach, *De Generis Umani Varietate Nativa*, Göttingen, 1775). In this way, methods of physical anthropology led human differences to be attributed less to cultural and more to physical characteristics—exactly the mixture upon which Kames had constructed his discourse. The "racial" division on the basis of disposition and different mental faculties was thereby avoided, something that according to Hunter would have led to the absurd result of dividing a single family into different races. Nonetheless, the polygenetic theory was to be contrasted with the theory of a racial differentiation within the monogenetic dogma, which used European aesthetic criteria, such as the beauty of the race and the symmetry of the body, and ethnocentric psychological valuations, to define the boundaries between the diverse categories of men.

If Kames's *Sketches*, in the views of the Scottish literati, was a "popular work," accessible to the middling rank readers of both sexes, the learned, complex, and detailed language of the new "geographical history," as found in Zimmermann, was more than what "an English reader is, in the present day, accustomed to endure," as the *Monthly Review* commented (*Geographische Geschichte des Menschen*, Leyden, 1778-83; *Monthly Review*, 130 [1789]: 678ff.). A synthesis came from the Reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, professor of moral philosophy at the College of New Jersey in Princeton, with solid intellectual and material ties with the Scottish context. He used the conceptual instruments of racial analysis of Blumenbach, Zimmermann, and Hunter for this purpose, uniting them with the idea of progress in stages. The introduction of these theses into the Scottish historical reflection of the 1780s allowed, and provided evidence for, the unravelling of the distortion of "national character" by means of concepts of race/species, through which a polygenetic approach denied a part of humanity the ability to progress. On the one hand, according to Smith, the varieties of the human species appear to be determined by the combination of environmental-climatic factors with the degree of development of a society, with the influence of the former becoming stronger the more backward the society. On the other hand, characteristics such as a more or less benevolent attitude toward foreigners, far from being—as Kames would have believed—a demonstration of the original diversity of the species, depend on contingent causes and are questions related to the diverse cultures: "Nations have different ideas of courage and honour, and they exert these principles in different ways. . . . The reasons of their conduct . . . arise naturally out of their state of society" (*An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*, Edinburgh, 1788, pp. 188-89). Behind Kames's concept of race/species, the "nations" were revealed and the nucleus of the problem became, with complete clarity, progress: "Observe the man, first wild"—John Hunter had written—"and then carried to the highest pitch of cultivation and polish, how much the same man differs from himself?" ("Inaugural Disputation," p. 390). There is, in short, no more difference between the European savage of past centuries and the refined, civilized European of the eighteenth century, than there is between the latter and the native American.

The logical consequences of these arguments were articulated in 1780 by James Dunbar, teacher of moral philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, and careful reader of Raynal's *Histoire des Deux Indes*, in his *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages*. Dunbar opposed those who had attributed the diverse "characters" of peoples to innate and original causes, making certain regions of the world "the permanent and natural habitations of inferior mortals" (2nd edn., 1781, p. 441). Denouncing the arrogance of Europe, which "affects to move in another orbit from the rest of the species" and "is even offended with the idea of a common descent" (p. 161), Dunbar intended to supply an alternative vision of "the history of humankind," "with the least possible violence to the common prerogatives of the species" (p. 439). In this way, he outlined a middle path, standing by a universalistic principle in history, but accommodating the diversity of the particular histories of different "nations": "The character of ancestors has influence on the line of posterity; and . . . a long series of causes, antecedent to birth, has affected, in each individual, not only the mechanical and vital springs, but, in some degree also, the constitutional arrangements of his intellectual nature" (pp. 437-38). The Jews were an ex-

ample: because of their consanguinity, they maintained their original character, though scattered all over the earth, showing as marks of uniformity the same unsociable, idolater, and "untractable spirit"; while the ancient Germans had so peculiar features, that Tacitus considered them as "a pure and distinct race, not derived from Asia, from Africa, from Italy, or from any other region" (p. 448). Thus, in Dunbar's peculiar conflation of the Scottish sociological approach with the Whig interpretation of history, the "national character" was to be considered in terms of "hereditary genius of nations": a cultural burden which while influencing the lineage of posterity, was modified by the course of historical and political events. This principle was exemplified in the line that united the ancient Breton to the Englishman and, with them, the American settler. According to Dunbar, this line would be interrupted by the American Revolution then unfolding, because "from a new order of things, there must finally arise that peculiar association of qualities, which is properly called national, as distinguishing a people long under the same physical and moral oeconomy, from the rest of the world" (p. 451). Civilization and liberty were, therefore, not contained in, or connected to, the blood of a people, but in and to their history. Features that for Kames are "innate and constitutional differences," become for Dunbar "fluctuating and contingent"; not prejudicial to the common origins and possibilities of human kind, but not any less ideological. Opposing a polygenist concept of race, Dunbar traces the essential lines of the concept of "nation."

Note: This is an excerpt, translated and slightly revised, from a longer article, published as "Razza, donne, progresso nell'Illuminismo Scozzese," *Passato e Presente* 18 (2000): 45-70.

TWO NEW TOOLS FOR SCOTTISH GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH

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The first serious benefits of electronic media have arrived for students and scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland and the Americas!

For some years now, David Dobson has been turning out volumes on Scottish emigration to the Americas from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. Now the publisher of these books, Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc. (www.GenealogyBookShop.com) has combined with the software maker Broderbund to produce an inexpensive (US\$39.99) electronic compilation of these volumes under the title **Immigration Records: Scottish Immigrants to North America, 1600s-1800s** (CD 268). In an enthusiastic blurb that gives this CD-ROM the somewhat grandiose title *The Collected Works of David Dobson* (though for some reason Dobson's name does not even appear on the CD-ROM itself, or in its supporting literature), the publisher asserts that in compiling his ten books on this subject (one of which comprises seven volumes), Dobson has "examined every known or potential source of information, including parish records, passenger lists, prison records, church records, court records, deeds, wills, marriage contracts, Treasury papers, State papers, newspapers, and journals—and as far as these sources would allow, he amassed a body of information that is absolutely definitive." That's an impressive claim, and I am certainly not qualified to judge whether it is accurate. But there is no doubt that this CD-ROM contains information on a vast number of individuals (75,000, according to the publisher's blurb) who went to the Americas (including the Caribbean) from Scotland during this period—voluntarily and by force, temporarily and permanently). And there is no doubt that the research which went into it was incredibly laborious.

The amount of time, space, and money that this CD-ROM can save scholars, family researchers, and libraries is enormous. Because all the data are keyed to a single indexing system, one can quickly and easily search a name and receive successive reports drawn from all of Dobson's books, in the form of exact facsimiles of pages from his many volumes. The kind of information that is provided varies considerably according to the sources used, but it is often quite substantial. My biggest criticism is that searching is limited to personal names, so that one cannot, for example, search for "Dalkeith," "Philadelphia," "bookseller," or "1785"—let alone two or more variables like these at the same time. How much more useful this resource would be if that were possible!

Potential users should be aware that in order to operate this software they must also have either Broderbund's Family Tree Maker (version 3.02 or higher) or the Family Archive Viewer (version 3.02 or higher), which is free with the purchase of this CD (except for Macintosh users, for whom Family Archive Viewer is not available). This engine software can be used to run other Broderbund CDs in this series, such as *Lewis's Gazetteers of England, Ireland, and Scotland* (CD 7270), which for the same price as the Dobson collection combines the gazetteers of the Victorian topographer Samuel Lewis on England (4 vols.), Ireland (2 vols.), and Scotland (2 vols.).

While trying out my review copy of the Dobson CD, I chanced to learn from Roger Robinson of a new on-line searching service called *Scots Origins* (www.origins.net/GRO/about.html). Run by the General Record Office for Scotland, it is a "pay-per-view" service, but the price is reasonable, and the information plentiful. For £6, one can search, over a period of twenty-four hours, thirty pages of records (at up to fifteen records per page) from the Old Parish Registers of births/baptisms and banns/marriages from 1553 to 1854. This turns out to be quite a lot, and searching is also great fun. Moreover, if one of your searches turns up the individual you were searching for, you can, at the click of your mouse and for an additional charge of £10, order an "extract" or transcription of all the information in that entry which is held in the original register at the GRO. All this is a breeze compared to the traditional alternatives, which are either to hire a professional genealogical researcher or else to go personally to New Register House in Edinburgh, reserve a place at a cost of £13-17 per day (plus additional charges for purchasing extracts), and start cranking the microfilm.

Let me give an example of how it works, drawn from my own research. I wanted to know the birth date of the Philadelphia bookseller Thomas Dobson, who was known to be born in Scotland. On the basis of a death certificate stating that Dobson was seventy-two when he died in March 1823, his biographer, Robert D. Arner, asserts in his book *Dobson's Encyclopaedia*, and also in *American National Biography* (6:662), that he was born in 1751, probably in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and that nothing is known of his family. A search in *Scots Origins* for any "T* Dobson" (where an asterisk is a wild card) born or baptized in Scotland between 1750 and 1752 proved Arner wrong on all counts. The search produced only one entry: a Thomas Dobson baptized on 20 May 1750 in Galashiels, Selkirk, the son of William Dobson and Alice Walker. That would make him seventy-two at the time of death, just as the death certificate states. All that information took just minutes and cost just 20 pence (one-thirtieth of £6) to obtain. I didn't order the extract of the record from which this information was derived, but if I had done so it is entirely possible that I would discover more information for the additional £10 charge (although it is also quite possible that the original record contains nothing more than what I had obtained for 20p.).

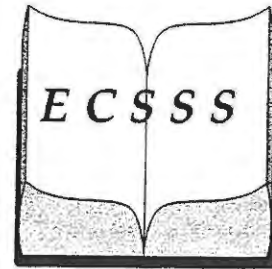
As the Dobson search demonstrates, *Scots Origins* is immensely more productive if one has a way of narrowing the search. In this case, the narrowing was done by restricting the dates to just three years. In some other successful searches, where I could not restrict the dates, I knew the location. When a name is too common, searches can be difficult or impossible unless one has very specific supporting information. For example, the chronologist John Blair was probably born in the decade of the 1710s, possibly in the vicinity of Edinburgh, but the name is so common that a search turned up twelve John Blair's born in Edinburgh or surrounding parishes between 1710 and 1720, and without more details there is simply no way to make the match.

The most satisfying searches involved a combination of information drawn from the Dobson CD and the *Scots Origins* database. The booksellers Robert Campbell of Philadelphia, who published the first American edition of Hume's *History of England*, and his brother Samuel Campbell of New York provided a good project for this purpose. I knew they were Scottish, and that their father's name was Samuel, but I had no idea where in Scotland they were from or when they were born. With a surname as common as Campbell, it would have been useless to search *Scots Origins* without more specific details. Fortunately, a search of Dobson's *Immigration Records* quickly turned up what I needed: one of the volumes recorded that Robert Campbell, a "bookseller and stationer" who died in Philadelphia in 1800, was born in Edinburgh, and that a Samuel Campbell, who died in New York in 1813, had been born in Edinburgh "c1737." I reasoned that this was Samuel, Sr. A search of *Scots Origins* for a "Sam* Campbell" born or baptized in Scotland between 1732 and 1742 turned up only one hit: a Samuel Campbell who was baptized on 19 September 1736 in St. Andrews. Subsequent searches established that this individual had married a Catherine or Katherine Taylor in Perth in November 1759, that Samuel, Jr., was born to this couple in Edinburgh on 15 July 1765, and that Robert Campbell was born to them in Edinburgh on 28 April 1769. The entire process of reconstructing the genealogy of the bookselling Campbell brothers, from the beginning of the search of Dobson's database to the completion of the search in *Scots Origins*, had been accomplished from my study in less than half an hour, at a cost of less than a pound!

One of the unexpected problems that surfaced in the course of searching *Scots Origins* was pointed out to me by Roger Robinson: in several cases, such as that of James Beattie, established birth dates turn up in *Scots Origins* as dates of baptism rather than dates of birth, which were less frequently recorded in the parish records. In some cases, the extract may resolve these discrepancies, but in other cases the enhanced access to the parish records that *Scots Origins* provides may have the ironic consequence of increasing our uncertainty about exactly when particular Scottish historical personages were born. In other cases, birth dates given in standard sources may simply be incorrect. At the editorial offices of the *New Dictionary of National Biography* at Oxford University Press, all eighteenth-century Church of Scotland ministers who are subjects in the dictionary, and whose birth dates are given in Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, are now being checked against the information in *Scots Origins*. It will be interesting to see what effect this magnificent new tool ultimately has on our understanding of eighteenth-century genealogy and biography.



BOOKS in REVIEW



Colin Kidd, **British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. viii + 302.

In the last issue of this publication, Paul Scott reviewed William Ferguson's *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest*, a book which in a way Colin Kidd has now answered. For Ferguson, the real nationality of Scots was based on the assimilative abilities of the Gaels of Dalriada, on the dominance of their arms and language, the persuasive usefulness of their myths of origins, and their extension to others, in a long period of warfare with the English, of their tribal feelings, which by 1300 were felt throughout the Hebrides and what is now mainland Scotland. By then, all this had crystalized, as nationalist feelings tend to do, into a distinctive people whose state protected their values and identity, and set them off from the Irish Scots and from their other neighbors (pp. 32-33, 306). The evolution, understanding, and defense of this heritage by men of differing beliefs is Ferguson's theme. Ferguson treats it as a story of the real evolution of Scottish consciousness (p. 301). Kidd sees all this as the continual construction of identity, but in the end he wonders if "'identity' (as opposed to loyalty, station, degree, honour, connection, orthodoxy and conformity) might [not] itself be [an] anachronistic" category with which we construct an ethnicity which was of less importance to the course of affairs and thought than "concepts of jurisdiction and allegiance, rank and order, gentility and dependence, dynasty and church" (p. 291). Ferguson, the nationalist, ends with Hugh MacDiarmid's call for Scots to "be yersel's" (p. 316), while Kidd's earlier book (1993) had shown that Scots, because of religious, linguistic, political, and other differences, have never been able to sustain the sort of nationalism which others produced in the nineteenth century. Both authors provide interesting and complementary accounts of how Scots tried to construct views of themselves; they deal often with the same materials, Kidd more analytically and abstractly, Ferguson with all the names of those who gave the genealogies of Fergus I or II and with the controversies which this activity produced. In short, both books deal with the unstable imagining or inventing of identities in early modern European communities. Kidd stresses how that related to and affected political discourse in the British world: England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the American colonies. The creation of "usable pasts" (p. 288) produced out of the materials to hand—Christian mythology, secular ideology, and the necessities of the moment—gave rise to unstable notions of ethnic identity. For Kidd, ethnicity derived whatever significance it had from the way in which it was defined by other conceptions which were generally religious, political, and constitutional. These were very much related to the state of culture and scholarship then prevailing in the places in which they were enunciated. "Scottishness" has no essential meaning such as that which Ferguson finds and which was found by men like Lord Stair, whom Ferguson quotes to good effect but who is ignored by Kidd. This is a pity since Stair's belief in a people of "one blood and lineage" (p. 153), living in its own empire under unique laws and customs, was likely to have been not only the belief of this jurist but of many common people who were unaware of, and unmoved by, many of the theories which these historians discuss. Stair's view is closer to what Ferguson is arguing but also closer to the more popular and literary source which he cites. It would not do for many of the rather different men whom Kidd discusses.

Both Kidd and Ferguson agree that the standard way to conceive of a people until the nineteenth century was still generally religious. How were the Scots, for example, related to the sons of Noah? Both Catholics and Protestants asked this question, as did those who found Scots to be Gaels, Goths, or others. As Kidd says: "Matters of race, ethnicity and the genealogies and relationships of peoples and nations were, in the first instance, part of the province of theology" (pp. 10-11). Part 1 of his volume is taken up with an exposition of this theme and with tracing the theories of the origins of the various British peoples from Japhet, Gomer, Ashkenaz, and their descendants—all the names of which Ferguson tends to give. It was a theory long in dying and one ultimately incompatible with racist theories and with some conceptions of "otherness." Race and the theory of polygenesis came

together more or less at the end of the eighteenth century. Both deplore racism, but Ferguson tends to ignore the evils which nationalism has produced in the modern world.

In part 2, Kidd shows how the imagined political world of the progenitors of the modern Britons—not just Scots—helped to define their character as a people whose identity rested not on mixed and complex blood lines but on the ancient and present constitutions they had come to have, a topic which Ferguson deals with in more historical and less analytical terms. Scottishness, for Kidd, depended upon a variety of ancient constitutions, including those of the churches, and upon the ways in which these had been defined and preserved, corrupted or improved over time. The ancient constitution (so simple a thing when J.G.A. wrote on that subject in 1957) became more problematic as its varieties increased, giving occupation to many scholars and arguments to even more ideologues. To construct the “Celt,” “Goth,” and those who belonged to these and to similar groups was an arduous process that relied not so much on the discrimination of differences among peoples as upon perceiving “the exceptional nature of England’s historical experience rather than any qualitative difference between the peoples of England and Europe. National differences were real and substantial, but a result of historical processes, not of inherent and aboriginal ethnic characteristics” (pp. 211-12). Gothic constitutions tended everywhere to give freedom, but the freedoms preserved by the Spanish, French, English, or Scots were products of their histories, and they themselves had been changed by that history. Those who thought the English had become a “unique ethnic group” (p. 213) were usually xenophobic popular radicals after c.1760. Englishness might be providential, the product of history, the result of the laws or manners, but it was not to be explained “in terms of ethnic differences” (p. 214). That was generally the way in which Americans thought about it, too, although they tended to see their institutions as the ones which had not been corrupted.

Kidd in his conclusion says: “These case studies [in part 3] illuminate the artifice and contingency which lurk behind supposedly primordial and natural identities” (p. 284). He must find Ferguson’s view of the essential and persisting ethnicity of the Scots as strange as the older man’s view of the enlightenment, which Ferguson derides when he can but seems to know only from sources new in his youth. While he quotes Richard B. Sher’s work and cites recent books on Scottish literature in the eighteenth century, Ferguson’s view of the Enlightenment seems to rest on Ernest Campbell Mossner’s flawed studies of Hume (1943, 1954) and on older works by Leslie Stephen (1876, 1902), Carl Becker (1931), and Bertrand Russell (1945). He tends to see it as a “peculiarly unhistorical movement that treated history as a mere philosophical premiss” (p. 207). In his book, most of those whom he treats in the eighteenth century are not those who would normally be classed as enlightened historians. In contrast, Kidd’s book has a good deal for the student of the Scottish Enlightenment. Kidd’s discussions of the way in which Scots saw themselves, and the perplexities which they found in dealing with—imagining—their past, will be useful to those who worry about Scottish historians and literary figures. What the nationalist deplores, the younger Tory accepts not as truth but as a construct with consequences: “the middle of the eighteenth century . . . [saw] the substitution of an enlightened Gothicism for a discredited Gaelic historical mythology,” a change they both associate with the work of Thomas Innes. Kidd says this “assisted Anglo-Scottish integration” (p. 251), a cause he favors; Ferguson sees this as the discussion of the unknowable by the prejudiced. It is almost as bad as the discussion of the Goths, whom Kidd sees in a wider historical framework. Scottish thinkers from Sir Thomas Craig onward had rooted their understanding of the history of the country and its laws in comparisons with other Gothic peoples, an activity exemplified in the works of those who, like Lord Kames and John Millar, traced the history of European feudalisms and thought about the convergence of English and Scottish laws. Since they did not privilege the Anglo-Saxons, it was easier for them also to accept the Union and to see in it the promise of more liberty for Scotland, where the Gothic forms had better contained the kings than the aristocrats. Even men like Hume were much interested in questions touching on these themes, although Hume tended to see liberty as the product of the modern world and not something which one could find in the archaic past. The fact that Scots and Europeans were so interested in the Gothic constitutions of other peoples gives an insight into one of the sources of the cosmopolitanism of this age. Scots’ concerns with ancestors, Goths, and much else treated here were shared elsewhere and formed one of the cross-cultural themes of contemporary scholarship. Kidd, like Ferguson, has things for the literary historian, including a discussion of James Macpherson, who may have thought of himself as a German, not a Celt (p. 200), a suggestion which must bother Ferguson.

Kidd’s is a good book and one not written in an arcane jargon, as is so much of what has recently passed for scholarship. Ferguson’s is an entertaining read, though repetitive in its comments on George Buchanan and in its seventeen attacks on Hugh Trevor-Roper, Lord Dacre. The writing is enlivened by prejudice, seasoned with malice, and full of interesting materials as well as nonsense; see his comment on vegetarianism (p. 274). These books address different audiences and take very different turns, but they also supplement one another and may profitably be read together.

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Murray G. H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, and New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Pp. 224.

The American sociologist, Michael Hechter, in his book *Internal Colonialism* (1975), interpreted the history of the British Isles as a prolonged attempt by England to assert control over Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. He called these three countries "the Celtic Fringe." It was, he said, "a defining characteristic of imperial expansion that the center must disparage the indigenous culture of peripheral groups." In a sense, the theory was an oversimplification, in that Scotland, for example, although mainly Celtic-speaking in origin, also had an influx of a branch of the Germanic-speaking peoples who brought the language which became English to the country which became England. A variant of this language gradually displaced Gaelic in much of Scotland. Tension between the two language groups was therefore internal to Scotland as well as imposed from outside. Even so, there is sufficient substance in Hechter's theory to explain much of the history of the British Isles. Norman Davies's recent book, *The Isles*, takes a similar approach.

This disparagement of Celtic culture by the English "center" is the central theme of Murray Pittock's new book. It is packed with a wealth of detailed research, much of which is unfamiliar and shocking. He quotes, for instance, Thomas Carlyle, speaking as "we English," and apparently in all seriousness: "The time has come when the Irish population must either be improved a little, or else exterminated" (p. 58).

The Celts have been romanticized at times when they were not seen as a threat, as in the writings of Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold. They have also been exploited, especially as cannon fodder. "There is plenty of evidence," Pittock says, "that Scottish troops, though officially partners in Europe, suffered as if they were expendable colonial auxiliaries" (p. 108). Celticism is now studied and celebrated as never before, but Pittock still finds "a failure, often a total failure" of the English "to conduct cultural dialogue with the other countries of the British Isles" (p. 142). He cites the attitude of the BBC to developments in Ireland as a notable example of this. British elites, he says, have "a profound habit of only talking to themselves" (p. 143).

This is an erudite, important, and disturbing book. It explains why the British state is in urgent need not only of constitutional change but of a fundamental change in attitude.

Paul Henderson Scott, Edinburgh

Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. Pp. xx + 283.

Anita Guerrini has produced a valuable study of a complex and fascinating eighteenth-century writer and personality. There is much original research in the book, including that concerning Cheyne's links with mystical writers in Aberdeenshire, and with a number of important Scottish natural philosophers and physicians. Guerrini also throws new light on Cheyne's connections with other important figures in eighteenth-century England, a number of which, like himself, were [é]migr[é] Scots. The book is especially marked by its interdisciplinary breadth. It shows mastery of a sizable amount of current research in a number of different fields, including history of medicine and science, history of religion, eighteenth-century Scottish studies, and feminist studies. The book will find an audience among a wide range of scholars interested in eighteenth-century culture. Of particular interest to members of ECSSS are the first three chapters, which have much to say about the Scottish Jacobite world that Cheyne inhabited in his early years.

Guerrini argues that "Cheyne's popularity as doctor stems from his combination of . . . mysticism and a mechanical concept of physiology" (p. xix). In spite of a paucity of material about Cheyne's life before he moved to England at the age of thirty, she argues convincingly that both aspects of his practice and writing have Scottish roots.

The book begins with a chapter interpreting physical and spiritual crisis reported in Cheyne's autobiographical account appended to *The English Malady* (1733). Guerrini locates that crisis in 1705, shortly after Cheyne published his *Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion*. She argues that it was Cheyne's own dissatisfaction with a purely rational religion that led him to return to Aberdeen from London, and seek out spiritual guidance from George Garden, whom he had first encountered in the late 1680s when he was an undergraduate at Marischal College. Garden, a Jacobite, was removed from the ministry by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1701 after he published a book defending the doctrines of the Flemish mystic Antoinette Bourginon. According to Guerrini, it was the works of Bourginon and other mystics recommended by George Garden and his brother James (formerly professor of divinity at King's College, Aberdeen) that "constituted Cheyne's theological education in the summer and autumn of 1705" (p. 13). While a mystical tradition, which recommended a simple union of one's soul with God and the avoidance of both sectarianism and enthusiasm, was firmly rooted in the teachings of seventeenth-century Aberdonian Episcopalians, Guerrini claims that it was particularly the teachings of Bourginon, who taught the mortification of the flesh as a means of salvation, which appealed "to the sick and obese

Cheyne" (p. 15) in 1705. In *The English Malady* Cheyne the physician "downplayed his mysticism" and emphasized the somatic causes of the disease from which he and his patients suffered, for fear of appearing a religious enthusiast. Nevertheless, according to Guerrini, it is clear that he thought the disease from which he suffered was brought on by his religious deficiency, and that "the body could not be healed without healing the soul" (p. 9).

The second root of Cheyne's success as a fashionable eighteenth-century doctor lay in his claim to understand the human body through the most up-to-date science. The key influence here was the Edinburgh Jacobite physician Archibald Pitcairne: "Pitcairne not only taught Cheyne what he knew about medicine but also launched Cheyne's career as a pugnacious defender of his own 'modern' medical theories, which appropriated the ideas of Isaac Newton" (p. 24). I will limit my comments here to a puzzling thesis that Guerrini puts forward in her second and third chapters. What distinguished Pitcairne's and Cheyne's iatromechanism from its predecessors was its claim to apply mathematics—particularly Newtonian mathematics—to explain physiology. She argues that this project must be understood in the widest possible sense, through Foucault's claim that in late Baroque culture "*mathesis*" was used "as a model for political, social, and physical order" (pp. 35, 44). However, this leaves the reader with the unresolved paradox that Pitcairne's absolutist and Jacobite politics were totally opposed to the Whig politics of Newton himself (cf. p. 37). While Pitcairne himself may have regarded mathematical learning as necessary as part of a plan to retain the traditional order in society, there seems to be no reason to think that his view was shared by other Newtonians, even Cheyne.

Guerrini's discussion of the Edinburgh fevers debate that began in the early 1690s, and that Cheyne himself entered in 1701 with his first publication, *A New Theory of Continual Fevers*, suggests a more restricted understanding of Pitcairne's thesis that mathematical learning is necessary for the physician. The dispute was largely between the followers of Pitcairne, who insisted that Newtonian philosophy was necessary for the doctor, and professed followers of Sydenham, who adopted "a Baconian methodology of collecting clinical observations in order to build a picture of disease" (p. 31). Pitcairne's claim that the authority of the physician required mathematical learning was rejected by the Edinburgh College of Physicians, and Pitcairne and his followers were expelled in 1695. It is unclear that the Baconian defenders of an "empirical" approach to medicine had any less commitment to the "authority" of the physician than did Pitcairne and his followers. It seems that they just appealed to a different intellectual grounding for their authority.

After Cheyne moved to London in late 1701, he became mathematics tutor to William Ker, younger brother of the duke of Roxburghe, and competed with many of his countrymen for the favor of the rich and powerful. Guerrini discusses a number of Scots physicians and scientists who, like Cheyne, moved to London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Cheyne's own success as a physician came slowly, and it was not until he moved permanently to Bath in the 1720s that he began to write the popular medical works on which his reputation was based. Guerrini discusses these writings in detail and provides the social and cultural context in which their influence can be understood.

John P. Wright, Central Michigan University

Samuel Fleischacker, *A Third Concept of Liberty: Judgment and Freedom in Kant and Adam Smith*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Pp. xiv + 336.

This well-argued book makes the case for a third concept of liberty based on Adam Smith and Kant. Where John Rawls lionized his version of Kant and put eighteenth-century Prussia on the map of contemporary political philosophy, now Fleischacker has moved the origins back to Smith. Here is one answer the next time someone asks why we study an obscure provincial culture of more than two centuries ago: among other things, that culture produced the best theory of justice available today.

The Smithian-Kantian third way between Isaiah Berlin's negative and positive liberties is based on freedom of judgment (Aristotle's *phronesis*). Smith and Kant fight against paternalism, emphasizing individual independence and the ongoing, conversational nature of judgment. This is better than tying justice to dogmatic Kantian reason, as Rawls does, which actually limits freedom. No arguments are ruled out of bounds once and for all, as so many of our deliberative democrats like to do (of course, it is always the other person's arguments that are ruled out). The third way is also better than tying humanness to political participation as some communitarians do: we may want to exercise our judgment elsewhere. There is a tyranny in requiring people to join us in our deliberations if they don't want to. Quentin Skinner's claim that "we must . . . devote ourselves whole-heartedly to a life of public service" is rightly labeled "metaphysical hocus-pocus" (p. 247).

Smith is Aristotelian in several ways, Fleischacker argues, but not in every way. He has good arguments against those who say that abandoning Aristotelian teleology means that Smith cannot be considered Aristotelian (pp. 149ff.). He draws on Martha Nussbaum to flesh out some of the elements of a liberal Aristotelianism (pp. 231ff.).

Judgment is not a function of the unencumbered self. Smithian and Kantian theories of judgment both rely on aesthetic judgment as a paradigm, and Fleischacker shows how both argued that judgments of beauty and of politics are socially embedded. But that does not stop him from showing that Smith and Kant are also fundamentally individualists: community does not override individuality. The Smithian-Kantian third way is also egalitarian. Both thinkers thought we could all develop judgment, even if we are not all quick thinkers and good speakers. Smith opposed the writings on poverty of his own day, Fleischacker suggests, because they were "nauseatingly patronizing" (p. 167). He opposed combinations of masters more than combinations of workers; he opposed large corporations; he could not even foresee the spread of the factory system—but if he had, Fleischacker argues, he would have opposed the elements in it which reduce independence and judgment (p. 182). Kant's political economy is read by Fleischacker as a version of Smith's (p. 184).

In addition to the big picture, some of which I have sketched above, there are lots of fine analyses of prevailing interpretations of Smith and Kant. For example, Fleischacker argues against Charles Griswold and Douglas Den Uyl on Smith's emphasis on social cooperation (p. 143), and against Paul Guyer on the interpretation of Kant's harmony of the faculties (pp. 26ff.) The policy implications of the third way are not the *laissez-faire* prescriptions of Milton Friedman. Rather, the state can encourage independence and judgment by providing the minimum food, shelter, and health care that make it possible for us to judge at all, and by providing education and other stimulants for the development of judgment. But if the state never sets us loose in a market of some sort, we will never develop those skills of judgment, nor any self-respect.

Scottish studies readers may disagree here and there with details of Fleischacker's readings of Smith; repeated references to "the blind emotional determinism of Hume" may irritate Hume scholars who know things are not that simple. One peculiarity that Scottish studies people will not particularly mind is that the author suggests that there is not much of a scholarly literature on Kant's "What is Enlightenment?" (p. 316). But there is a huge literature. James Schmidt's *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions* (1996) would be a good place for the author to start.

The later chapters on Kant include deft criticism of Rawls, and the last chapter of the book is a *tour de force* in which the author applies his reading of Smith and Kant to present-day controversies, vindicating the value of his third way. I heartily endorse most of it, including his criticisms of MacKinnon, Sandel, Raz, and others. I will apply my own judgment to one point: the author writes of a government duty to provide leisure in order for people to think and develop their judgment, and that short vacations are not enough (pp. 238, 277). I would argue that this is not something governments can supply. An individual can blow a long sabbatical by frenetically riding around on a motorcycle, or, as D. H. Lawrence put it, traveling in order to escape the important questions of life; and one can often reflect and think on the job. Surely many people with two-week vacations have developed better judgment than others with long leaves or short working hours. As Fleischacker himself says, some people don't use their leisure properly because they would rather work more for more money, and it is hard to see what the government can do about that. This is something people have to make the time for and do for themselves.

One more point: the author concludes that the ideal judging citizen "is a skeptic" (p. 277) and "her skepticism . . . means that she is not so much as tempted by religious and political cults" (p. 278). Some attention to the skeptical tradition and Smith's and Kant's place in it may have helped give meaning to these claims.

Never underestimate the power of nationalism in both the production and the reception of philosophical ideas. Lewis White Beck titled an essay "A Prussian Hume and a Scottish Kant" many years ago. This work could have been titled *A Prussian Smith and a Scottish Kant*, with a subtitle: *and we still need them today*.

John Christian Laursen,
University of California, Riverside

Sir James Steuart, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*. Edited by Andrew S. Skinner, with Noboru Kobayashi and Hiroshi Mizuta. 4 vols. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1998. Pp. cxvii + 353, 339, 372, 362.

It seems astonishing that there has not been a complete edition of James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, first published 1767, since the *Collected Works* appeared in 1805, edited by General Sir James Steuart, son of the author. Andrew Skinner's widely used 1966 edition included almost the whole of books 1 and 2, with reduced versions of books 3-5, but now at last we have a modern, scholarly edition of the complete text. Andrew Skinner, Noboru Kobayashi, and Hiroshi Mizuta have produced a complete *variorum* edition, together with an enlarged and updated Introduction, a list of Steuart's published and unpublished writings, a list of authorities, and two indexes.

The first part of the Introduction includes an updated biography by Andrew Skinner which builds upon his 1966 Biographical Introduction. Here Skinner provides a more detailed account of Steuart's Jacobite activities than

has hitherto been available, drawing on unpublished as well as printed sources. As Jacobite ambassador at the Court at Paris, 1745-46, Steuart attempted to secure French assistance for the Jacobite cause but was unsuccessful; he then remained in exile in mainland Europe (including France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Holland) until he returned to Britain in 1763, although he did not receive a pardon until 1771. Much of the *Principles* was composed during Steuart's exile, although with some final, concentrated writing being undertaken in 1766, and this experience of other European countries led Steuart to the view that policy should be related to prevailing circumstances as well as to theoretical principles.

The second part of the Introduction comprises Noboru Kobayashi's "The First System of Political Economy," based on an essay first published in Japanese in *Keizai Ronshu*, 1992. Kobayashi argues that Steuart's *Principles* is a "major classic" (p. lxx) whose relative neglect in Britain arose partly because its theoretical orientation (especially its monetary theory) was unacceptable to post-Smithian and post-Ricardian economics, and partly because some of its theoretical presuppositions and institutional detail seemed out of date. Unfortunately, the explicit enumeration of the reasons for this neglect starts suddenly at number four (p. lxxx) in what otherwise seems to be a summary of Steuart's system (and then continues on into the following section, even though these two sections each have their own independent numbering systems), and it is difficult to appraise the overall theoretical significance of the different kinds of reasons given for this neglect. It's good to have this essay made available to an English-speaking readership, but I found the approach somewhat hagiographic in places, and I would like to have seen a more systematic referencing system, which locates Steuart's contribution more firmly within the history of economics. It would also have been useful to learn what the complete *variorum* text might add to an understanding of Steuart's work.

The complete edition of Steuart's *Principles* is nonetheless something that all Steuart scholars would want to have, but at the staggering price of approximately £300 there can be few individuals (this fortunate reviewer excepted!) who will be able to have their own copy, and many libraries will also think twice before spending such a sum on a single work. In view of this it is difficult not to wonder whether the publishers might have tried to reduce the enormous bulk of this publication, for example, by using finer paper and having a less spacious typography (the 1966 edition actually has slightly more words to the line than this edition). In addition, further proof-reading would have picked up the remaining typographical errors and inconsistencies. For example, the Abbreviations page seems incomplete; the distinction between arabic and upper-case roman numerals to differentiate between volumes of this edition and the books of the *Principles* is not consistently adhered to (and another convention for this edition is introduced later in the new index); none of the six passages quoted from the *Principles* on pages lxvi-lxviii is without error; and the spelling of the title varies among "oeconomy," "oconomy," and "economy." Notwithstanding these shortcomings, however, the editors are to be congratulated on producing the complete *variorum* edition of Steuart's *Principles*.

Vivienne Brown, The Open University (Visiting Philosopher, Oxford)

James Hutton, *An Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge, and of the Progress of Reason, from Sense to Science and Philosophy*. 3 vols. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1999. Pp. xi + lxxii + 649, xxiii + 734, xvi + 755.

Of all the leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, James Hutton remains the most elusive. Since the appearance of the first volume of Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* in 1830, Hutton has been regarded primarily as one of the founding fathers of modern geology. While there is no question that his ideas played a key role in the transformation of the study of the earth at the turn of the nineteenth century, the heroic image of Hutton as a geologist initially fashioned by Lyell has largely obscured the breadth of Hutton's thought and interests. In recent years, scholars such as Roy Porter and Dennis R. Dean have finally challenged the historiographical pieties surrounding Hutton inherited from the Victorian era and have advanced more rigorously contextual readings of his geological inquiries, but comparatively little has been written about Hutton's investigations in other areas, and most of his surviving manuscripts remain unpublished. Hutton's speculations about the nature of force and matter attracted some historical attention during the 1970s, while his serious engagement with agricultural improvement has received periodic, if limited, notice. In 1980, new avenues of interpretation were opened up with the publication of the medical dissertation Hutton presented at Leiden in 1749 by Arthur Donovan and Joseph Prentiss. Having already enriched our knowledge about the practice of chemistry in eighteenth-century Scotland, Donovan seemed poised to produce a significant revisionist account of Hutton's career as a man of science, but unfortunately this did not materialize, leaving an obvious gap in the literature which has yet to be filled.

Given the somewhat somnolent state of Hutton scholarship at present, Thoemmes's new reprint of Hutton's major synthetic work, *An Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge*, is especially welcome, for it will make his contribution to the Scottish science of man more readily accessible. One can only hope that this reprint will serve as a stimulus to the further study of his philosophical thought, both in its own right and in relation to his other in-

quiries. Bibliophiles will perhaps regret the loss of the generous margins of the original quartos, but the text is well reproduced and handsomely bound. The only real disappointment comes with the brief introductory essay by Peter and Jean Jones, who are both seasoned students of Hutton, having authored a number of illuminating articles dealing with various aspects of Hutton's philosophy and science during the 1980s. Regrettably, their Introduction provides little by way of historiographical orientation or serious guidance as to the significance of Hutton's philosophical ideas in relation to either his scientific work or the broader Enlightenment context.

Nevertheless, Thoemmes Press again deserves thanks for issuing an undeservedly neglected classic of the Scottish Enlightenment. How nice it would be to see Hutton's *Dissertations on Different Subjects in Natural Philosophy* (1792) and his *A Dissertation upon the Philosophy of Light, Heat, and Fire* (1794) reprinted as well.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

James Fieser, ed. *Early Responses to Hume's Moral, Literary and Political Writings*. Bistol: Thoemmes Press, 1999. Vol. 1: *Hume's Moral Philosophy*. Pp. xxiv + 383. Vol. 2: *Hume's Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*. Pp. xxii + 436.

These two substantial volumes are the first in James Fieser's projected "ten-volume collection of eighteenth and nineteenth-century critical publications on all facets of Hume's writings." Volume 1 consists of thirty-two chronologically arranged responses to Hume's moral philosophy. Selections begin with the 1741 review of Book III of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* in the French journal *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* and run to Ernest Albee's chapter on Hume's ethics in his *History of English Utilitarianism* (1901). The collection is prefaced with a short introductory essay that aims to summarize Hume's moral theory (as rendered in the *Treatise* and second *Enquiry*) and offers a brief but useful "Overview of the Early Responses" Hume evoked. Each selection is fully annotated and prefaced with a concise editorial introduction in which Fieser situates the piece in its historical context and provides biographical data about the selection's author. Volume 2 follows a similar design, offering an equal number of select responses to Hume's *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*.

Fieser's choice of selections in both volumes is judicious, although more obscure and harder-to-acquire material might also have been included. Some of the selections making the cut, such as oft-reprinted passages from Adam Smith which appear in both volumes, are readily available in numerous modern editions. While British responses justifiably predominate, a number of continental writers are included, but eighteenth-century American replies to Hume are notably overlooked. More regrettably, the text of these volumes is often inaccurate, and careful readers will profit by comparing Fieser's transcriptions with the originals. For example, checking William Rose's review of Hume's *Political Discourses* in the *Monthly Review* for 1752 against Fieser's thirty-page rendition in volume 2 reveals at least twenty-six discrepancies (a full list is available on request from this reviewer, at spencer@julian.uwo.ca). Many of these discrepancies concern punctuation and italics, but others are significant for understanding the meaning of the passage in which they occur (e.g., p. 18, line 6: "case" read "ease"; p. 35, line 7: "by distinct factions" read "by two distinct factions"; p. 40, line 2: "blame fortune ourselves" read "blame fortune on ourselves").

However, this ambitious project promises to fulfill its worthy goal of keeping current "the early publications that perpetuated—and sometimes created—Hume's legacy." When completed (two volumes are to be published each year through 2003), it will no doubt become the standard collection of early responses to Hume.

Mark G. Spencer, The University of Western Ontario

Editor's Note: Jim Fieser has seen an advance copy of an earlier draft of this review, which contained details of errors in the current print run. He has expressed his gratitude to the reviewer for pointing these out, and has indicated that the errors are being corrected in future print runs.

The Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers. Edited by John W. Yolton, John Valdimir Price, and John Stephens. 2 vols. in slipcase. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1999. Pp. xxiii + 1013.

This dictionary marks a useful addition to the existing reference literature in eighteenth-century studies. Relying on the labors of approximately one hundred contributors, the editors have assembled biographies of roughly six hundred individuals who had some connection with eighteenth-century British philosophy. (I must own up to being one of the contributors, though I wrote only one minor entry on John Logan and had not seen the entire work until I began this review.) "Philosophy," "British," and "eighteenth century" are all interpreted rather loosely here, with the happy result that the dictionary tends to be inclusive and broad rather than narrow in scope. One might not expect to find the Swiss philosopher Jean Louis Delolme or De Lolme, the American founding father Thomas Jefferson, the physician Matthew Baillie, or the Irish philosopher William Molyneux (who died in

1698) in a book with this title, but all of them are here. Each entry includes a bibliography, which may be divided into a number of categories depending on the individual case. Usually this means that one encounters at least the major philosophical works published by each subject, as well as some of the relevant secondary literature. There is some inconsistency here: the bibliographies on William Smellie and John Robison are more than twice as long as that on Adam Smith, for example. But in multi-author works of this kind, a certain amount of unevenness is unavoidable regarding content, extent of technical language, and other variables. In general, the level of competence is high, and the editors have done a fine job of making this dictionary accessible to the general reader. The publisher has done its part, too, by designing the book in a handsome manner that adds to its readability, though the decision to use authors' initials at the end of each entry, rather than full names (which occupy no more lines), makes for some unnecessary page-turning.

Readers of this periodical will naturally want to know how well this dictionary does at representing eighteenth-century Scots. By a quick count, more than 125 subjects are Scots in some sense of that term. Many minor Scottish philosophical figures are here, including some, such as John Bethune and William MacGhie, who are not in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. (One of the editors, John Valdimir Price, has been particularly active in his contributions in this area.) In addition, certain fields, such as science and medicine, have been handled very generously.

Yet there are also major omissions where the Scots are concerned. Thomas Ruddiman is included, but not his Presbyterian sparring partner, George Logan. The philosophical segments in the works of William Robertson and some other historians would seem to entitle them to inclusion. Among other Scots who belong in a book that defines the term "philosopher" so broadly in many respects, I might mention, off the top of my head, John Walker, William Greenfield, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, William Alexander, George Chalmers, William Ogilvie, James Mylne, James Anderson, Lord Dreghorn, Sir James Mackintosh, and the educator James Barclay. The omission of John Witherspoon is inexcusable and doubly revealing. First, the coverage of Scots who emigrated to America is weak (William Smith of the University of Pennsylvania and Charles Nisbet of Dickinson College are others who come to mind). Second, and more seriously, this work is at worst negligent, and at best inconsistent, in regard to Scottish religious and ecclesiastical writers. Hume's thoroughly unphilosophical friend, Rev. John Jardine, is given a brief entry, and so are John Bonar, George Anderson, and some other minor clerical figures who opposed Hume and Kames on religious grounds, but Witherspoon, John Erskine, Daniel MacQueen, the "Marrow" men, and other prominent evangelical Presbyterian ministers who made contributions to philosophy or theology are excluded, as is the Moderate theologian James Macknight.

These criticisms aside, every academic library will profit from having this set in its collection. It is hoped that Thommes Press will eventually make this dictionary and its seventeenth-century companion available as on-line resources, which can be continually revised and expanded.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Andrew Hook, *From Goosecreek to Gandercleugh: Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural History*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999. Pp. 248.

It's a long way from Goosecreek to Gandercleugh. The essays in this latest book by the leading scholar of Scottish-American literary studies cover an impressive chronological and cultural range: from Enlightenment Philadelphia to distinctly unenlightened contemporary Ku Klux Klan activities, from Franklin to Faulkner, and from Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* to *Braveheart*. Eighteenth-century specialists will miss a great deal if they confine their reading to the four or five chapters directly concerned with their period of study; one of the strengths of the book is the way the concerns of a series of occasional pieces, brimming with local detail and held together by Hook's distinctive cultural-historical sensibility, are made to balance and inform one another. The introductory analysis of American historians' hostile (and, as Hook shows, amazingly ignorant) response to Garry Wills's suggestion that the intellectual inheritance of Jefferson included the Scottish Enlightenment as well as Locke, is paired, for example, with the book's closing section on "The Scottish Invention of American Studies," in which an equally neglected strand of influence is uncovered from the nineteenth century. And Macaulay's America proves to have important affinities with Samuel Miller's, while the chapter on Henry George and Scotland, enlightening in itself, also suggests how much work remains to be done in the history of Scottish-American economic study both before and after.

Members of ECSSS will recall hearing earlier versions of some of these essays as papers delivered to conferences of the Society; it is a particular pleasure to see these in print. I remember, for example, the lively discussion provoked by his analysis of Miller's *Brief Retrospect* at the never-to-be-forgotten 1994 meeting in Providence, Rhode Island. On that occasion, and again in print now, Hook showed why we need to pay attention to a work which, by his own account, is "a long way short of a compelling read." Here, to greet the nineteenth cen-

ture, was a fusion of characteristic forms which showed just how interwoven, by 1800, the cultural traditions of Scotland and America had become: the American Election Day or New Year's sermon with the Scottish encyclopedia, the cautionary and the comprehensive joined in a distinctive hybrid form. Another satisfaction offered by this collection of essays is the way neglected works like Miller's, or John Nichol's pioneering *American Literature* of 1882 (the subject of another chapter in this book), are juxtaposed with synoptic accounts ("Philadelphia, Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment") and revisitations of areas previously attended to ("Scott and America"). Taken together, the essays add considerably to the map of Scottish-American literary relations originally charted by Hook's own pioneer work *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations 1750-1835* (1975). In the event, the collection has something of the feel of a retrospective; each chapter is prefaced by a brief contextualizing section which explains the circumstances of its original occasion, and indicates its place in the larger enterprise. There are no grand narratives here, however; instead—as befits the sheer diversity of his points of interest—the reader encounters a generously varied offering of the fruits of Hook's serendipitous curiosity about the detail of the dense weave of connections which has linked Scottish and American culture from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-1990s.

Not everything is rosy in this garden of mutually informing discourses, and Hook is right to point out that influences may be malign as well as good. The early chapter on "Scott and America," in which he rehearses Mark Twain's notorious accusation that Scott had turned the collective head of the South with his "chivalry nonsense" and was, singlehandedly, in a large measure responsible for the Civil War, is made ominously contemporary when Hook returns to the theme in the book's penultimate chapter. Two things emerge starkly: first, we still do not know nearly enough about the nature and detail of Scott's influence—or, indeed, I would add, of "influence" itself; the word normally carries either a pointlessly precise or a uselessly vague charge in literary studies—on the South. Secondly, whatever Southerners themselves thought Scott's writing meant to them at the time of the Secession, some Southerners are still willing to invoke his name as some kind of sanction to violent or lawless behavior. More sinister still, the vogue for *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* (the film) combines with extreme right wing politics to find inspiration in the Scottish National Party for a neo-segregationist southern separatism. The sheer unpalatability of such a perception of affinity forces one back to reconsider what in Scott's writing (which does not, after all, seem to have had this effect in Scotland—it's rarely cited by worthies of the SNP) could have so chimed with Southern circumstances to produce this effect. If it offers no definitive answers to this puzzle, Hook's analysis at least identifies the complexity of the issues with a precision that prevents easy foreclosure.

The documentary and informational basis of his approach provides a welcome counterweight to some recent, more ideologically based accounts which make assertions about national or ethnic identity serve the turn of facts. As several essays in the collection suggest in different ways, it may be that America's historical difficulty in acknowledging the strength of a distinctively Scottish contribution to its cultural constitution derives from a haziness shared by both Americans and Scots themselves as to the precise nature of this "Scottishness." It's a salutary caution, and one that all of us who work in what we call "Scottish Studies" do well to bear in mind as we construct our own generalizations.

Susan Manning, University of Edinburgh

William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade: with a Checklist of His Publications*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1998. Pp. xvii + 433.

Modestly billed as a "traditional biography of a bookseller and publisher" (p. 3), William Zachs's work fills a gap in the history of the firm before Samuel Smiles's *A Publisher and His Friends* (1891), on the founder's better-known son and successor, John Murray II. Whereas Smiles focuses on the relationship between a publisher and his authors, however, Zachs is chiefly concerned with Murray's relationship to booksellers, printers, and other members of the book trade. The two lines of development—professional and personal or familial—make for a complex and somewhat discontinuous narrative, in which his wife's family, by and large, furnished the capital for the growth of his profession.

The first John Murray (or McMurray, as he was born in Scotland) entered adult life as a second lieutenant in the Royal Marines, a career that aborted with the end of the Seven Years' War, a year later, in 1763. Married on half-pay in 1766, Murray considered various futures before settling down as a bookseller in 1768, succeeding William Sandby at 32 Fleet Street. With the help of an inheritance of £2,000 from an uncle of his wife in Ireland (d. 1769), he would eventually parlay his initial stake of £1,000 (£700 of it his wife's dowry) into £12,000 at his death. Unlike John Murray II, he had no significant literary properties, but invested strongly in medicine, where his Scottish connection stood him in good stead. It was a career reminiscent of Tobias Smollett's (or rather Roderick Random's), Zachs observes—and of other expatriate Scotsmen, perhaps, like Andrew Millar.

The first John Murray was a bookseller, not a publisher like his son. He published only a third of his titles under his sole imprint; the remainder were co-published with other booksellers in London or Edinburgh, or sold for their London, provincial, Scottish, and Irish proprietors. In as much as this biography is largely based on the firm's cache of some five thousand letters, in and out, it is perhaps even more revealing of Murray's trade with Scotland and Ireland than in London itself, where transactions were often in cash (the first cash book is lost) or by word of mouth.

The Murray archive is especially valuable as a resource for the history of copyright, paralleled only by the Strahan archive in the British Library. Murray supported the Edinburgh booksellers Alexander and John Donaldson in their assault on the doctrine of perpetual literary property, which the London trade had enforced by lawsuits and by sales of shares in the more valuable copyrights to the "topping booksellers." Murray and the Donaldsons had been nominally excluded from these sales before Alexander's victory in the House of Lords (1774), though Murray, like another Scotsman, William Strahan, seems to have evaded the rule by persuading insiders to buy on his behalf, and he continued to invest in shares after the Lords' decision. Zachs presents his conduct as a shift from a "radical" to a conservative view of copyright (p. 61), but in my opinion, he and the Donaldsons consistently honored the statutory terms imposed by the Statute of Anne (1710), and only asserted their right to reprint a work when those terms had expired. Contrary to their frantic protests, moreover, one may doubt that the London trade suffered more than a paper loss from the Lords' decision; at any rate, trading in shares continued to be profitable for Murray (p. 164) and for Strahan's son and successor Andrew. The chief effects of the Lords' decision were to refine the membership of the Stationers' Company into printers and paper-stationers, to shift some of the risk of publication onto authors through "half-profit" contracts, and to accelerate the transformation of the "topping booksellers" into publishers like John Murray II.

Specialists will note some shortcomings in Zachs's generally excellent biography. The background of *Donaldson v. Becket* (1774) is too sketchily presented: Zachs makes no mention of entry in the Stationers' Register, or of earlier litigation in the Court of Session (1739-51) that supported the Scottish view of copyright, and he rather muddles together *Donaldson v. Becket* with *Millar v. Taylor* (1769). *ESTC* records, from which the appended list of Murray's publications is "mainly" (p. 253) extracted, omit booksellers' addresses in imprints, which alone distinguish the John Murray in Fleet Street from his homonym in Princes' Street. Their paginary collations match up awkwardly with the record of sheets in the Murray archive, and it is not clear when Zachs has seen a copy and when he has not. Somewhat disturbingly, too, the figures he provides of press runs repeatedly fail to accord with the figures implied by the size of Murray's shares. If 1200 copies of Shakespeare's *Works* (1790) were printed, for example, and Murray had a total share of 5/120, he should have received 50 copies; yet Zachs reports that this share produced 39 copies of the 10-volume edition and 61 copies of the 7-volume edition, so that their press-runs ought instead to have been of 1000 and 1500 copies, respectively. Though serviceable enough as a rough guide to the archive, and a fuller account of Murray's publications than *ESTC* alone might have provided, the bibliographical uses of the appendix require caution. Nevertheless, this is the most informative work on the eighteenth-century British book trade to have appeared since James E. Tierney's *Correspondence of Robert Dodsley* (1988) and Keith Maslen and John Lancaster's *The Bowyer Ledgers* (1991).

Hugh Amory, Brookline, Mass.

Walter Scott, **Guy Mannering**. Edited by P. D. Garside. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (Editor-in-Chief, David Hewitt), Volume 2. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 599.

Walter Scott, **The Fair Maid of Perth**. Edited by A. D. Hook and Donald Mackenzie. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (Editor-in-Chief, David Hewitt), Volume 21. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 532.

William B. Todd and Ann Bowden, **Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History 1796-1832**. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1998. Pp. xx + 1071.

The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley novels has been noticed before in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*: see especially the review by Susan Manning (no. 12, Spring 1998), and the lively exchange between Manning and David Hewitt (no. 13, spring 1999). The present volumes (both including a new General Introduction) provide a good occasion for further evaluation; correspondingly, the Todd/Bowden bibliography makes another kind of milestone in Scott studies.

Much of the debate surrounding the Edinburgh Edition has centered on the decision not to use the "Magnum Opus" version of the Waverley novels, produced under Scott's supervision in the last years of his life. Hewitt

makes a good case for this choice. The Magnum, as he notes, is riddled with errors accumulated, quite often, over many years; an author's superficial correction of a text thus corrupted might not make the best possible copy-text. At all events, most of the editions of the Waverley novels issued by Oxford's World Classics provide up-to-date corrected Magnum texts for those seeking them. More questionable is the brash editorial second-guessing typical of the Edinburgh Edition, whereby any change attributed to an "intermediary" (sometimes on thin evidence) becomes fair game for editorial emendation. In the original General Introduction to the series, Hewitt was frank about this approach; regarding the extensive influence of James Ballantyne, Scott's printer and confidante, he went so far as to write that Ballantyne's "views were sometimes wrong, and Scott was sometimes wrong to give way to them." Though these lines do not appear in the new General Introduction, they continue to set the tone, justifying, for instance, Peter Garside's restoration of some racy, amusing phrases to *Guy Mannering* (see pp. 425, 428 of Garside's edition). Like Garside, I enjoy those (arguably) censored sentences. However, this preference is as much or more of our own time than of Scott's. When one takes away Ballantyne's influence, the effect is not exactly like that of removing accumulated grime or discolored varnish from the surface of a painting. Instead, we get new intermediaries: Ballantyne's role (real or hypothesized) is now taken by the Edinburgh editors.

This is not such a bad tradeoff; all the same, when using the new Waverley, one needs to be clear about the strength and considerable influence of its late twentieth-, early twenty-first-century sensibility. Hewitt attempts to align the overall project with Jerome McGann's theories of textual editing (new General Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv). However, on the one hand, he does not grasp how fully McGann wanted to break down ideas about "authorial intention" (see McGann's *Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* [1983], chap. 6, especially pp. 73-75). On the other hand, the practice encouraged by the Edinburgh Edition is more radical, after its fashion, than anything in McGann. It might have been a better strategy for Hewitt to argue that the edition would not only correct misinterpretation of the manuscripts (which it does, with almost superhuman thoroughness) but provide a set of Waverley novels accessible in present-day terms: detached from much their of antiquarian apparatus (which implacable connoisseurs, nonetheless, continue to love); leaner in style (the Hook/Mackenzie *Fair Maid of Perth* includes some eye-opening emendations along these lines, returning to Scott's stripped-down, hard-driving, at times almost autistically bare manuscript); and bawdy beyond Ballantyne's arguably over-cautious sense of decorum (sometimes Hewitt and company seem to be Hogging Scott). At any rate, they provide not only an edition but a boldly interventionist reading. The Edinburgh Edition is essential to any Scott scholar; it must be used with care. The wary student will turn first to the superbly specific textual essays that follow the novels; it is here—and in the accompanying apparatus—that the editors of the individual volumes put all their cards on the table. Studying these pieces, one feels extraordinarily close to Scott's process of composition—especially the crucial stage of negotiation with Ballantyne and other mediating figures. It is odd, though, that *Fair Maid* becomes *Saint Valentine's Day* after the cover and the title-page; the novel can claim both names, but decisiveness on this point would have been desirable.

The new *Bibliographical History* from Oak Knoll is huge and expensive; it is also, I would guess, the single most useful volume on Walter Scott. It undertakes, in seven parts, a "history" of Scott's writing-editing career, listing and describing more books—more editions of more books—than anyone but the richest, most mobile collectors can possibly have seen. Such a work is best tested through use. Over a three-month period, while writing an essay about Scott and his illustrators, I constantly referred to the *Bibliographical History*; Bowden and Todd were of invaluable assistance in helping me see the overall logic of this subject—and especially of that elusive but persistent custom, extra-illustration, where plates are published as a supplement to a volume already in print, then, perhaps, bound with it. On a related topic, the *Bibliographical History* works hard to include the elaborative literature surrounding its chosen author during his lifetime (n.b.: where is Paul Lacroix's 1829-31 *Soirées de Walter Scott à Paris?*). This decision is apt; one of the fascinating points about the Scott phenomenon is the way that books by Scott and books about him tend to meet in an indeterminate border zone. Bowden and Todd also attend to the question of law cases tried by their enterprising hero, an underexplored territory given the centrality in the novels of legal issues. There must be mistakes somewhere in this weighty tome (a few years, perhaps, will bring us the errata sheet), but I will have to let others find them. In the meantime, the serious Scottist will want Bowden and Todd.

Richard Maxwell, Valparaiso University

Cary McIntosh, *The Evolution of English Prose 1700-1800: Style, Politeness, and Print Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. 276.

Cary McIntosh chronicles the mid-eighteenth-century "ordering of English," an event most visible in a shift from the colloquialisms and loose syntax of Addison and Defoe to the more refined diction and complex periodicity of Johnson and Godwin. Describing this as a shift from oral to literary paradigms, McIntosh expounds his

subject by means of an array of linguistic and rhetorical concepts and a battery of examples taken from literary texts and the schoolmasters' own prose. The formal transformations are linked to five "sociocultural dimensions": print culture, the concept of standardization, grammatical prescriptivism, feminization, and the New Rhetoric. The range of materials going into the analysis includes grammars, rhetorics, dictionaries, book reviews and philosophical works; McIntosh documents an eighteenth-century interest in the mechanics of writing which by modern standards is quite extraordinary.

The much-maligned grammarians are the heroes of this history. McIntosh documents their excesses and follies, and acknowledges that prescriptivism raised troubles for women, Scots, and non-classically trained writers, but argues from the fact that "about half [of the hundreds of] grammars were written *by* and *for* women, Scots, and 'provincials' . . . that the form of language consciousness dealt with in this book could be as powerful an instrument for liberation as for exclusion" (p. 8). Standardization, McIntosh argues cogently, was a potent force for democracy, inclusiveness, and progress. *The Evolution of English Prose*, as its title implies, is a rather Whig interpretation; it displays the typical Whig virtues, being optimistic, temperate, empirical, and pragmatic.

As McIntosh points out: "The historical perspective of this book is oriented to change. As a result, I probably slight issues and texts that support continuities in the eighteenth century, and linger over those that support a transformation of culture between 1700 and 1800" (p. 10). Chief among the slighted matters is political geography. McIntosh knows the Scottish tradition intimately and discusses Scottish writers not only in the section on the New Rhetoric but throughout the book. But the focus on temporal change comes at the expense of regional continuities, and with them specifically Scottish context for the ordering of English. British nationalism was surely a crucial sociocultural dimension. Since the voices challenging the standardization of English tended to speak in verse, the champions of orality fall outside the purview of this study.

The linear model of change, though it brings clarity to the subject, could probably do with more qualification. Johnson looked back to Elizabethan prose as the standard for his *Dictionary*, and Coleridge, who resembled many a schoolmaster in despising the "epigrammatic unconnected periods" of Queen Anne prose, was hardly alone in modeling himself on "the eloquence of Hooker, Bacon, Milton, and Jeremy Taylor." So the progress could also be a regress, and that to earlier forms of print culture. For all this, McIntosh's synthesis is not to be gainsaid. His argument is based on an impressive collection of primary data and secondary research, and is delivered with a light touch and a delightful selection of illustrations. The bibliography is especially valuable. He calls attention to one of the more important and least recognized legacies of the eighteenth century, for the labors of the grammarians continue to shape social opinion as well as linguistic usage.

David Hill Radcliffe, Virginia Tech

Carol McGuirk, ed., *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*. New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1998. Critical Essays on British Literature Series. Pp. xi + 316.

Carol McGuirk has produced a handsome volume of new and recycled Burns studies. The collection contains five previously unpublished essays and eleven reprinted essays, one from the 1960s, two from the 1970s, two from the 1980s, and six from the 1990s. Perhaps concluding the spate of essay collections prompted by the 1996 bicentenary celebration of Burns's birth, McGuirk's effort, if last, is certainly not least. For sheer breadth and depth of scholarship and topics, *Love and Liberty* (1997), selected essays that Kenneth Simpson edited from papers delivered at the University of Strathclyde's bicentenary conference (reviewed in *ECS* no. 11, 1997, pp. 15-16), remains unchallenged. But McGuirk's collection ranks easily with the papers from the University of South Carolina's bicentenary conference published as a special issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature* (vol. 30, 1998, reviewed in *ECS* no. 13, 1999, p. 21) and well above the bicentenary lectures delivered in various British venues and edited by Robert Crawford as *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority* (1996, reviewed in *ECS* no. 12, 1998, pp. 20-21). Crawford's collection, with the definite exception of the contributions by the editor and by McGuirk herself, suffers from the "generalities" disease that lecture series tend to contract, despite in this case such luminous presences as A. L. Kennedy, Douglas Dunn, and Seamus Heaney, all of whose literary works are eagerly devoured.

McGuirk's five new essays include Jeffrey Skoblow's "Resisting the Powers of Calculation: A Bard's Politics," despite the title, a provocative reading of academic and social politics in the shifting place of Burns in the literary canon; McGuirk's own "Poor Bodies: Robert Burns and the Melancholy of Anatomy," a spirited start to the study of Burns's construction of the human body in his poetry; Andrew Noble's "Wordsworth and Burns: The Anxiety of Being under the Influence," a subtle figuring of Wordsworth's changing interpretation of Burns as transferred self interpretation; Leith Davis's "Re-presenting Scotia: Robert Burns and the Imagined Community of Scotland," a compelling post-colonial reading of Burns that parallels my own argument in "Contrary Scriptings," included in the Simpson collection; and David Hill Radcliffe's "Imitation, Popular Literacy, and 'The Cotter's

Saturday Night','' an insightful excavation of the literary traditions intertextualized in "The Cotter's Saturday Night" and its own inscription in later literature. Reprinted are important essays by Raymond Bentman (1965), Thomas Crawford (1979), John C. Weston (1982), Leo Damrosch (1982), Kenneth Simpson (1991), Robert Crawford (1992), Steve Sweeney-Turner (1995), Nicholas Roe (1996), G. Ross Roy (1996), Patrick Scott Hogg (1997), and John Robothom, whose 1970 list of Burns's cited reading matter serves as an appendix to McQuirk's collection.

Critical Essays on Robert Burns offers splendid additions to Burns scholarship and happily locates in one place a number of recent essays already central to it. A synoptic look at the several collections of essays on Burns riding the crest of the Burns bicentenary immediately uncovers a number of repeated names, initially suggesting a kind of Burns circle piously dedicated to keeping the immortal memory alive. But that look also discovers an even greater number of non-repeated names, indicating, it would seem, a growing revitalization of interest in Burns and, perhaps, his eventual restoration to a prominent place in the literary canon. More importantly, these names also represent interests in diverse aspects of eighteenth-century Scotland and in Scottish studies generally, possibly pre-figuring the latter's eventual fully inclusive status in academic curricula. The bicentenary Burns quair may be the harbinger of a curricular Scots quair.

Thomas R. Preston, University of North Texas

Horst W. Drescher, ed., *Literature and Literati: The Literary Correspondence and Notebooks of Henry Mackenzie, Volume 2: Notebooks 1763-1824*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999. *Scottish Studies International*, vol. 26. Pp. 287.

This volume brings together an assortment of Henry Mackenzie's writings: poetry, criticism, anecdotes, observations, letters, commentaries, and diary entries. Only Mackenzie specialists will be interested in all of this material, but given its range and variety, eighteenth-century Scottish studies scholars of every persuasion will find items of major interest here. Mackenzie's early poetry is largely conventional in language and theme, though it is interesting to see him attempting Scottish ballad "forgeries" in the traditional vernacular style he admired so highly. The Scottish vernacular question comes up again in a long and interesting review of Walter Scott's *Tales of My Landlord*, where Mackenzie notes, like Francis Jeffrey before him, that the use of "the genuine old classical Scotch," while prejudicial to its circulation in England, is a source of the book's power and distinction.

The long account of the German theater, read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1788, is important in the context of Edinburgh's early receptiveness to German writing in the later eighteenth century. But probably the most interesting aspect of Mackenzie's work included here concerns his observations on contemporary society, manners, and individuals. The essay on "The Present Emigration from the Highlands" is important in affording insight into Enlightenment thinking on this issue. The "Diary of a Journey to Paris in 1784," less exciting than it might have been, is nonetheless illuminating. And there are fascinating glimpses in these pages of David Hume, Adam Smith, Benjamin Franklin, and others. The editor's explanatory notes throughout the volume are brief but useful.

A final point. As a reviewer I am bound to report that my copy of this book is marred by a major production fault. The gathering of pages 249-256 is missing; in its place the gathering of pages 217-224 is repeated. The omitted pages concern *The Man of Feeling*.

Andrew Hook, Visiting Fellow, Princeton University

William Donaldson. *The Highland Pipe and Scottish Society 1750-1950*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000. Pp. x + 518.

This well-written, carefully researched volume makes a significant contribution to modern understanding of the culture surrounding the Highland bagpipe. It is aimed primarily at aficionados of that instrument and, indeed, would probably be perplexing at times to readers who are not pipers themselves, or musicians at the least. To a piper, it is fascinating stuff, replete with pithy stories fleshing out the sometimes-elusive personalities of famous past pipers and their families. For the social historian, there is a wealth of material relative to the formation of social organizations such as The Piobaireachd Society and The Highland Societies of London and Scotland. Information on how these societies arose, functioned, and contributed to (and/or detracted from) Scottish culture is presented. Donaldson believes that these societies often stifled rather than preserved tradition. There are also numerous examples of how any group can become embroiled in controversies tantamount to the proverbial question of how many angels can fit on the head of a pin.

Only chapters 1-4 and the first ten pages of chapter 9 deal directly with eighteenth-century material. Donaldson sets his premise concerning the piper's role in the larger culture by linking James Macpherson's *Ossian* and Joseph

MacDonald's *Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe*. The Macpherson paradigm is, in the author's judgment, crucial to understanding how bagpipes were viewed in Scottish society for the next two centuries. Tradition was presented as something that had happened in antiquity rather than as a fluid form. This approach spawned the aforementioned societies, which saw themselves as preservers and protectors of a lost or dying art. Donaldson makes a strong case for his assertion that the classical music of the highland bagpipe (*piobaireachd*) was neither lost nor dying but was still a living tradition being carried on by numerous performers in a great variety of circumstances (as should be expected over the passage of a quarter of a millennium).

Of interest to even the most casual student of eighteenth-century Scottish history is the strong claim that "there is no mention of bagpipes in the Disarming Acts, nor contemporary evidence that they were forbidden or discouraged" (p. 8). Donaldson cites John Gibson's *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping 1745-1945* (1998) for support. Chapter 16 of Donaldson's work is entitled "'Pipers' Challenge': The 'redundant' low A Controversy, 1925-1930." The title alone makes it clear that this is not reading for the uninitiated! However, the chapter muddies the claim that the art of piping was unaffected by the Disarming Act by including a discussion which proffers an opinion (not the author's) that "proscription of the pipes after the '45" (p. 349) had a negative influence on the transmission of the ancient art of piping. The Disarming Act, which received the Royal Assent on 12 August 1746, is not exciting reading but, having perused it once again for this review, I notice specific mention of arms, warlike weapons, and every conceivable article of tartan clothing, but no direct mention of bagpipes. Still, the statement that there is no contemporary evidence that the pipes were discouraged is somewhat misleading. James Reid, on trial at York on 20 October 1746, along with other prisoners captured by the Hanoverian army, pled innocence on the grounds that he was a piper and did not bear arms. The court disagreed, saying that "his bagpipe, in the eye of the law, was an instrument of war," and he was executed on 30 November 1746 (see Francis Colinson, *The Bagpipe*, pp. 170ff.). If the courts, as in this case, saw the pipes as instruments of war, then they are included in the Disarming Act under the phrase "or other warlike weapon." This, however, is an aside, and the more important point in the author's view is that, whether stated or implied, the proscription of things Scottish did not kill the piping tradition.

Overall, this is an excellent book with very helpful footnotes, a user-friendly index, and helpful guides for non-piping readers. It will appeal primarily, as I am sure the author knew, to the ever-growing worldwide piping community. Nevertheless, it is also a significant addition to the on-going discussion of the way in which predominantly print cultures deal with traditions which were originally oral.

John W. Turner, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Leneman, *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland 1660-1780*. Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1998. Pp.viii + 133.

Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison, *Sin in the City: Sexuality and Social Control in Urban Scotland 1660-1780*. Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1998. Pp.vii + 163.

Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland 1660-1780 is the revised edition of Rosalind Mitchison's and Leah Leneman's *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660-1780* (1989). Readers of the first edition will nevertheless recognize substantially the same pioneering study of illegitimacy and the Church of Scotland's battle against sexual promiscuity, though pruned of many of its tables and figures. A paperback edition of this lively investigation, very affordably priced, is welcome in itself; but Leneman and Mitchison have also broadened their original remit, the results of which are now published in a sister volume, *Sin in the City: Sexuality and Social Control in Urban Scotland 1660-1780*.

The subtitles make the nature of their new work clear. In their original study, Mitchison and Leneman not un-naturally assumed that the Church of Scotland would not have been able to enforce its discipline effectively in the growing towns and cities of eighteenth-century Scotland. Their original volume, and its revised edition, therefore limit themselves to examining the records of seventy-eight rural parishes. However, it became clear that rural ministers were able to enlist the help of urban ministers in tracing runaway mothers, assisted by a surprisingly efficient postal system. Moreover, an examination of the kirk session records of urban parishes revealed that church discipline was effective in Scottish cities well into the eighteenth century and, in some cases, well beyond it.

The authors conclude that Scottish illegitimacy rates were much lower in this period than they became in the late nineteenth century, but that they showed similar regional variations to those found in the later period (the southwest, for example, being the only region to show any substantial rise in levels of illegitimacy before 1780). They also argue that social control by the church in this respect was reasonably effective throughout this period, especially in rural areas, and that in fact it was widely accepted. Community attitudes toward extramarital sex

were also severe, and public religious penance was the way to re-establish one's character in the eyes not only of the church authorities but also of society in general. Church discipline, however, was becoming less enforceable in cities by the 1770s because of fast-growing and mobile urban populations that were difficult to keep track of; because of the rise of irregular marriage, which further made record-keeping difficult; because of the growing tendency toward humanitarianism and individualism in social and legal thinking, which opposed lengthy public humiliation as a penalty for extramarital sex; and because of the growing availability of alternative religious denominations, which offered a refuge for those who fell foul of the established church. Interestingly, church discipline appears to have remained effective in Glasgow and Dundee well after 1780, despite the fact that Dissent was fastest growing in these cities.

There is some necessary overlap between the two books, but in general this is kept to a minimum. Comparisons between the two projects are drawn out in the second volume, *Sin in the City*. They are written in a lively and very accessible prose style, and they are attractively presented and concise. Moreover, they convey a high degree of human interest with a large number of fascinating examples and anecdotes. This profusion of anecdotes may have been achieved at the expense of analysis in some places (why, for instance, did Glasgow and Dundee kirk sessions manage to maintain effective discipline longer than those of other cities?). If the rigor of the arguments on illegitimacy is not always as great as might have been wished, however, this is also partly due, as the authors themselves note, to the fact that the old parish registers are an imperfect source for numerical analysis, especially for the cities—though probably the best available. Nor do Alexander Webster's census of 1755 or the Old Statistical Account of the 1790s provide any greater certainty regarding estimates of birth totals. It seems to this reviewer, however, that this weakness is at least partly compensated for by the detail that has been uncovered about church life and parish machinery. As Leneman and Mitchison point out, "Our methodology . . . illuminates the success or otherwise of social control in our cities rather than the number of illegitimate children born within them" (*Sin in the City*, p. 70). These are most valuable studies of the Scottish parish church at work as a social institution, at least as much as they are investigations into Scottish illegitimacy as a social phenomenon.

Emma Vincent Macleod, University of Stirling

Kenneth B. E. Roxburgh, *Thomas Gillespie and the Origins of the Relief Church in 18th Century Scotland*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1999. International Theological Studies: Contributions of Baptist Scholars, vol. 3. Pp. xvi + 272.

Kenneth Roxburgh, principal of the Scottish Baptist College in Glasgow, has written a useful account of the founder (though not necessarily the guiding spirit) of the eighteenth-century Scottish Relief Church. Like the recent volume by John McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800* (1998), Roxburgh's biography sheds considerable light on the amorphous period of the mid-eighteenth century, when a distinctly evangelical form of Presbyterianism began to emerge from the several varieties of establishmentarian Presbyterianism that had guided Scottish religious life to that time.

Thomas Gillespie, founder of the Relief Presbytery, was born near Edinburgh in 1708 and after study at several venues was ordained in 1741 for service at the Church of Scotland parish at Carnock, Fife. Before his ordination, however, Gillespie spent two years at the dissenting academy in Northampton, England, under the tutelage of the notable English Presbyterian, Philip Doddridge. Doddridge's kind of learned, flexible, but still traditional religion marked out the path that Gillespie would also follow throughout his career. When, in the late 1740s, the nearby congregation at Inverkeithing rejected the presentation of a new minister by its patron, Gillespie offered full support to the Inverkeithing session, and then to the Dunfermline Presbytery, as it too sought to resist the exercise of patronage power. Gillespie's defense of the local institutions, even after the General Assembly ruled in favor of the patron, was so persistent that he was singled out for deposition at the May 1752 meeting of the assembly. At this point Gillespie could have joined the seceders, who had departed from the established church several years earlier (but who had only recently passed through a division among themselves in 1747 over differences concerning the Burgess Oath). For Gillespie, the seceders' exclusionary Calvinism as well as their defense of the ideal of a confessionally pure Scottish national church, was too much, and so he ministered as a kind of independent until in 1761 he joined with a few colleagues to form a Presbytery of Relief for others who could not abide the kirk's exercise of authority. By the time of Gillespie's death in 1774, the presbytery had grown to nineteen congregations, but Gillespie was no longer a leader of the Relief movement. In his latter years he quarreled with others in the presbytery who wanted to tighten rules regulating the Lord's Supper and over what he perceived as the dangerous theological liberalism of a licentiate. In his last days Gillespie was exploring the possibility that Relief churches might rejoin the Church of Scotland by being designated "chapels of ease" (and by such designation evade the patronage system).

Roxburgh's account of Gillespie's life is most helpful for showing his subject's wide range of evangelical connections and for outlining the creed of one of the era's most important Enlightenment evangelicals. Gillespie enjoyed a good relationship with George Whitefield (personally) and Jonathan Edwards (through correspondence), as well as also with the later leader of the kirk's evangelical party, John Erskine. He was also one of the ministers who helped William McCulloch edit the accounts of personal religious experience that McCulloch collected after the 1744 revival in Cambuslang. For that editing, Gillespie showed his evangelical allegiance by heightening accounts of divine grace triumphing over a personal sense of sin, but showed his Enlightenment colors by editing out parishioners' reports of dreams, portents, and direct revelations. Gillespie's theology, which Roxburgh explores through careful examination of unpublished sermons, represented a moderate Calvinism aimed at reaching ordinary individuals in straightforward speech. Gillespie's extensive labors during each of the thirteen communion seasons he conducted as a Relief ministry—with at least nine full sermons and nearly as many shorter exhortations each—indicated the things that mattered to him most. On these and other matters, Roxburgh offers not so much path-breaking scholarship as helpful details on a moderately important life. The absence of an index is, however, a regrettable lapse.

While Gillespie by the end of his life had doubts about the Relief Church, his emphases on the spiritual liberty of the church, on the importance of free communion, and on moderate freedom of conscience also characterized the Relief Church through its merger into the United Presbyterian Church (1847) and on into the eventual reunification (after several more intervening mergers) of most of the Relief parishes with the Church of Scotland in 1929.

Mark A. Noll, Wheaton College

John Watts, *Scalan: The Forbidden College, 1716-1799*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999. Pp. xii + 276.

The current upsurge in interest in the eighteenth-century Scottish Catholic community, signalled by Christine Johnson's *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829* (1983), is a most welcome evolution in Scottish studies. Considering the central role usually attributed to the seminary at Scalan in the survival of the Catholic Church in Scotland, the publication of its history could not come too soon.

In the Introduction, John Watts clearly states his three aims: to give a "dispassionate account" of Scalan "based on original documentary sources" which would be "at once comprehensive, detailed and accessible." In a few pages, he succeeds in introducing the general reader to the situation of the Roman Catholic Church at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He points to the penal laws, showing how heavy they lay on the Catholic community, resulting in "poverty, shortage of priests and lack of organisation." It was mainly to remedy the shortage of priests that it was decided in 1716 to establish a seminary in Scotland to try to render the Mission less dependent on Scots colleges abroad, where all potential priests had been trained until then.

Scalan: The Forbidden College covers the period 1716-99, that is to say from the opening of Scalan—"a simple turf house"—to the transfer of the seminary to Aquhorties in a "sandstone building . . . four floors high, . . . with spacious accommodation . . . boasting . . . a purpose-built library, indoor recreation room, and a two-storey chapel." As is plain from the book, the change in buildings is symptomatic of the evolution in the status of the Scottish Catholic Church. Once an outlawed church struggling for survival and hiding its seminary away in a remote corner of Banffshire, it had now been granted relief and a subsidy from the government to finance the new seminary at Aquhorties, conveniently situated a few miles from Aberdeen.

As the narrative unfolds, we get a distinct idea of what life at the seminary was like. However, the emphasis is on Scalan as a community rather than on Scalan as a seat of learning. We are given a detailed account of the day-to-day running of the farm (the various stages in the building of the seminary, the hiring and firing of servants, the agricultural work going on at different periods of the year), which makes sense when we consider that a candidate to the priesthood might spend as long as ten years at Scalan (even though the average stay was shorter), which therefore represented much more than simply a college. Still, it would have been interesting to have more detail on the syllabus and the teaching methods of Scalan masters. This gap is probably owing to the patchy sources available, a predicament with which anyone who has researched the eighteenth-century Scottish Catholic community can sympathize!

As long as the penal laws were in force, Catholics were not allowed to open schools. Thus, from the start, there existed a debate on the role of Scalan: was it meant to be a comprehensive seminary or simply a junior seminary that would serve as a stepping stone to one of the colleges abroad? More seriously, should sons of the Catholic gentry be admitted as fee-paying students, that is to say, should Scalan serve as a Catholic Academy? Watts neatly brings out the dilemma plaguing the bishops: on the one hand, the poverty-stricken Catholic Church could hardly afford to do without the cash; on the other hand the bishops felt that it was a hindrance to the proper training of those students intended for the priesthood.

Watts manages to eschew "the temptation to romance," but one can sometimes be slightly too successful in giving a "dispassionate account" of events. The first twenty chapters are mainly descriptive, and hardly ever does the author provide his own interpretation of the facts. In the last chapter, "the Achievement of Scalán," we are eventually presented with a balance sheet. This is a bit awkward. For instance, all through the book the reader has the impression that the bishops—however unsuccessfully—did their best to cater to the needs of the seminary and to find a master "fit or unfit" (more often than not it turns out to be the latter, except for John Geddes, John Paterson, and George Hay). Then, in the last chapter, Watts points out—quite rightly—that "certainly the seminary did not enjoy the wholehearted support under some bishops that it had received from Bishop Gordon," and that it "could and should have been given higher priority as to resources." Still, this is a minor evil, and the careful reader may read between the lines and draw his own conclusions from the text itself.

However, the book's treatment of the Highlands constitutes a more serious flaw. Of course, from 1732 on, Scalán only served the Lowland Vicariate. But this is precisely the point. The chapter "Wounded from Within" unambiguously states that the boundary between the Highlands and the Lowlands was tampered with to ensure that the Lowland Vicariate should be in charge of Scalán (and this is for all to see in the map he inserts). Furthermore, the author's balance sheet acknowledges that while in the 1720s Bishop Gordon insisted on Gaelic being taught at Scalán, by the end of the century the seminary had apparently been instrumental in the decline of that language in the area. Generally speaking, Highlanders only appear in this book as troublemakers. Not much is said of the callousness of the Lowland bishops to the plight of their Highland counterparts, often forced to do without a seminary for years on end. While this book is about Scalán rather than the Scottish Mission, surely it is important to set the seminary in a wider context, all the more so as it was first meant for the whole Mission, and in 1829 the Highland and Lowland seminaries were to be once again amalgamated to establish a single national seminary at Blairs.

In spite of this weakness, *Scalán* is worth reading. All in all, the author has fulfilled his task by gathering in one easily accessible volume the bulk of what can be known about the seminary.

Clotilde Prunier, University of Montpellier

Bibliotheca Fletcheriana, or, the Extraordinary Library of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. Reconstructed and Systematically Arranged by P.J.M. Willems. Wassenaar: privately published by P.J.M. Willems, 1999. [available directly from Dr. P.J.M. Willems, Deylerweg 34, 2241 AG Wassenaar, The Netherlands]

This is a short-title catalogue of the books in the library of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653-1716), containing all the titles in the two manuscript catalogues of the library in Fletcher's hand in the National Library of Scotland. The titles have been checked by the compiler, in many cases against Fletcher's own copy of the work. A short introduction by P.J.M. Willems outlines the nature of the collection, which contained some 6000 books, describes the two manuscript catalogues, and recounts the story of the collection's sale and dispersal in the 1960s and 1970s. The catalogue is illustrated, and the covers reproduce a page from the main manuscript catalogue in Fletcher's hand. Publication of this catalogue represents a major contribution to our knowledge of both Andrew Fletcher and the intellectual culture of late seventeenth-century Scotland; scholarship is greatly indebted to Willems for the patience and enthusiasm that he has brought to the task of compiling it.

John Robertson, St. Hugh's College, Oxford University

Francis Hutcheson, **A System of Moral Philosophy.** 2 vols. With a New Introduction by Daniel Carey. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2000. Pp. xlviii + 358, 380.

Of the countless reprints of Scottish Enlightenment works that Thoemmes Press has given us during the past decade, none is more welcome than this. The posthumous *System* was not only Francis Hutcheson's own last word on the full range of topics that he included under the rubric "moral philosophy," but also a monumental event in the book history of the Scottish Enlightenment itself. That's because it included a prestigious subscription list and a valuable biographical preface by the author's friend and disciple, William Leechman, which raised Hutcheson to heroic stature. The same effect was reinforced by the book's physical presence as a large, expensive quarto. All these elements except the last are present in this facsimile edition, which has been reduced to the less unwieldy "octavo" size of all Thoemmes reprint editions (those who would like to experience something closer to the original quarto without going to a special collections room are advised to order the Kelley reprint edition from the 1960s on inter-library loan). There is also a brief introduction by Daniel Carey that touches on several important themes in Hutcheson's work and contains an interesting assessment of Hugh Blair's review of the *System* in the original *Edinburgh Review* of 1755-56.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Europe*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999. Pp. xxvi + 594.

The second edition of Jeremy Black's standard work on Europe in the eighteenth-century deals with a number of aspects of Scottish society in the period. Scotland as a separate entity receives nineteen citations, covering population, economic activity, government and patronage. One of the book's arguments is its case for the weakness of a central "state model of allegiance" (449); and this holds interesting possibilities for models of local patronage and control in Scotland, their persistence into the following century, and the results of their eventual breakdown.

Murray G.H. Pittock, University of Strathclyde

Edward G. Gray, *New World Babel: Languages & Nations in Early America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Pp. xiv + 185.

This is a fascinating examination of the ways in which Europeans and European-Americans tried to make sense of indigenous American languages in the early modern period. Students of Scottish studies will be particularly interested in chapter 4, on the issue of savagery, which contains discussions of Smith and Monboddo, but Kames and others turn up in this book, too.

Adam Smith. Edited by Knud Haakonssen. Aldershot: Ashgate/Dartmouth, 1998. Pp. xxi + 544pp.

Knud Haakonssen has brought together twenty-four articles that have been published on Adam Smith over the past three decades. The approach is philosophical rather than economic, with a brief Introduction and division into six major parts: Ethics (including Fleischacker, Griswold, Heath, Raphael, Waszek); Utility, Teleology and Religion (Campbell and Ross, Kleer); Jurisprudence (Haakonssen, MacCormick, Meek, Stein); Politics (Harpham, Robertson, Shearmur, Sher, Winch); Civil Society (Clark, Meek, Salter); and The Nature of Smith's Theory (Dickey, Teichgraber, Winch, Berry). A useful compilation.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

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 1999, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous lists.

David ARMITAGE, "Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 427-45.

David ARMITAGE, "The British Conception of Empire in the Eighteenth Century," in *Imperium/Empire/Reich. Ein Konzept politischer Herrschaft im deutsch-britischen Vergleich*, ed. Franz Bosbach and Mermann Hiery (Munich, 1999), 91-107.

Stephen W. BROWN, "William Smellie and the Printer's Role in the Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh Book Trade," in *HFBT*, 29-44.

John W. CAIRNS, "Advocates' Hats, Roman Law and Admission to the Scots Bar, 1580-1812," *Legal History* 20 (1999): 24-61.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Alexander Geddes and the Burns 'Lost Poems' Controversy," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 31 (1999).

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "The Construction of the Scottish Critical Tradition," in *Odd Alliances*, ed. N. MacMillan (1999).

Gerard CARRUTHERS and Sarah M. DUNNIGAN, "'A Reconfused Chaos Now': Scottish Poetry and Nation from the Medieval Period to the Eighteenth Century," *Edinburgh Review* 100 (1999).

Marlies K. DANZIGER and Hans-Joachim REUTER, "Ein Schotte in Kassel im Jahre 1764: James Boswell bei Landgraf Friedrich II. von Hessen-Kassel," *Quellen und Perspektiven zur Entwicklung Kassels*, vol. 5. [an excerpt from Boswell's journal with commentary, analysis, and illustrations; 96pp.]

Hugh DUNTHORNE, "Beccaria and Britain," in *Crime, Protest, and Price in Modern British Society*, ed. David W. Howell and Kenneth O. Morgan (Cardiff, 1999), 73-96.

Alexander DU TOIT, "Who Are the Barbarians? Scottish Views of Conquest and Indians, and Robertson's *History of America*," *Scottish Literary Journal* 26 (1999): 29-47.

Michael FRY, "A Commercial Empire: Scotland and British Expansion in the Eighteenth Century," in *ECSNP*, 53-69.

Anita GUERRINI, "The Hungry Soul: George Cheyne and the Construction of Femininity," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1999): 279-91.

- Anita GUERRINI, "A Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 23 (1999): 34-41. [includes coverage of George Cheyne]
- Leah LENEMAN, "Seduction in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 78 (1999): 39-59.
- Leah LENEMAN, "Wives and Mistresses in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Women's History Review* 8 (1999): 671-91.
- Leah LENEMAN, "Born Too Soon—The Kinfauns Bastardy Case," *Scottish Local History* 46 (1999): 15-20.
- Bruce LENEMAN, "Spotswood, Alexander (1676-7 June 1740)," in *American National Biography* (Oxford, 1999), 494-96.
- F. Peter LOLE, "A Digest of the Jacobite Clubs," published by the Royal Stuart Society, no. 55, pp. 1-80 [contact the editor, Dr. Eveline Cruickshanks, 46 Goodwood Court, Devonshire Street, London W1N 1LS, UK]
- Warren MCDUGALL, "Charles Elliot and the London Booksellers in the Early Years," in *HFBT*, 81-96.
- Elaine W. MCFARLAND, "Scottish Radicalism in the Later Eighteenth Century: 'The Social Thistle and Shamrock'," *ECSNP*, 275-97.
- Emma Vincent MACLEOD, "The Influence of the French Revolution," in *The Auld Alliance: France and Scotland over 700 Years*, ed. James Laidlaw (Edinburgh, 1999), 125-41.
- Alexander MURDOCH, "Scotland and the Idea of Britain in the Eighteenth Century," *ECSNP*, 106-21.
- Adam POTKAY, "Theorizing Civic Eloquence in the Early Republic: The Road from David Hume to John Quincy Adams," *Early American Literature* 34 (1999): 147-70.
- Adam POTKAY, "Happiness in Johnson and Hume," *The Age of Johnson* 9 (1998): 165-86.
- Jane RENDALL, "Clio, Mars and Minerva: The Scottish Enlightenment and the Writing of Women's History," in *ECSNP*, 134-51.
- G. Ross ROY, "A New Song for the Burns Canon," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 31 (1999): 269-72.
- Paul H. SCOTT, "The Distortions of Unionism," *Scotlands* 5 (1998).
- Richard B. SHER, "William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*: Laying Book History Open," in *HFBT*, 45-64.
- Christopher A. WHATLEY, "The Dark Side of the Enlightenment? Sorting Out Serfdom," *ECSNP*, 259-74.
- John P. WRIGHT, "William Cullen," "William Porterfield," "Robert Whytt," and "George Cheyne" in *Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers*, ed. J. V. Price and J. W. Yolton (Bristol, 1999).

ECSNP = *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, ed. T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1999).

HFBT = *The Human Face of the Book Trade: Print Culture and Its Creators*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, and New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1999).

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