

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

TORONTO CONFERENCE SHINES

ECSSS joined forces with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies for a joint conference on "Memory and Identity: Past and Present," held in Toronto 19-21 October 2000. John Baird of CSECS was the principal conference organizer, and the great success of the conference was thanks chiefly to his efforts. Paul Wood served as ECSSS liaison. There were 57 panels and 3 plenary lectures, delivered by Réal Ouellet of Université Laval, Margaret Anne Doody of the University of Notre Dame, and Mark Phillips of the University of British Columbia. The conference made use of the facilities of Victoria College at the University of Toronto (which hosted the conference), as well as those of the Colony Hotel, where a banquet concluded the event.

Although ECSSS was the junior partner in this conference, its contribution was considerable. Panels with specifically Scottish themes included "Scottish Women: Poetry, Nationalism, and Politics"; "Scottish Historians and Europe"; "Scottish Philosophers on Identity, Memory and Our Knowledge of the Past" (parts 1 and 2); "History, Slavery, and Science in the Third Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*"; "Forging Scottish Identities in the Eighteenth Century" (devoted to the work of four graduate students—Ford Stanley, Alexander Vance Campbell, Marion Ralls, and Corey Andrews—and organized by another, Mark Spencer); "Scotland and the Dutch: Borrowings and Change"; "Scots Abroad in London and North America"; "Science, Philosophy, and the Scottish Enlightenment"; and "'Britishness' in Colonial America and the Scottish Highlands."

ECSSS's biggest contribution to the conference came on the second day, when, immediately after Mark Phillips's plenary talk on "A Short History of Distance: Enlightenment Historiography and Its Aftermath," the conference-goers attended an ECSSS reception at the University of Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. There they were able to view an exhibition on "The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment," which had been organized by Paul Wood and the library's excellent staff, under the direction of Richard Landon and Gayle Garlock. Every guest re-

ceived a complimentary copy of the handsomely produced conference catalogue of the same name which, in addition to listing all the books that were on display in the exhibit, contains four new essays: Roger Emerson, "*Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A.*, or, The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)"; Richard B. Sher, "The Book in the Scottish Enlightenment"; Stephen Brown, "William Smellie and the Culture of the Edinburgh Book Trade, 1752-1795"; and Paul Wood, "Marginalia on the Mind: John Robison and Thomas Reid." The volume was edited by Paul Wood, with help from Philip Oldfield and other members of the library staff (too numerous to mention here, but thanked in Paul's Preface), as well as the other contributors. (*The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment* is reviewed in this issue and is available to members of ECSSS at the special price of \$12 or £8, postpaid.)

The ECSSS reception was in honor of the society's second president, Roger Emerson, who recently retired as professor of history at the University of Western Ontario. Roger knew he was going to be honored, but he did not know that he would be presented with a new book of essays that was dedicated to him. Subsequently published by the University of Rochester Press in North America and by Boydell & Brewer in the UK, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation* was conceived and edited by Roger's longtime friend and collaborator, Paul Wood. It includes twelve new essays by ECSSS members, including four of the society's past presidents: James Moore, John Robertson, Ian Simpson Ross, and M. A. Stewart. The book will be reviewed in the next issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*.

PHILLIPSON, FULTON TO LEAD ECSSS

At its business meeting in Toronto—president M. A. Stewart presiding—the society elected as its new president Nicholas Phillipson, well-known Scottish Enlightenment scholar and reader in history at the University of Edinburgh. Henry Fulton, recently retired professor of English literature at Central Michigan University, was elected vice-president. Also elected to office were Michael Kugler (Northwestern College) and Silvia

Sebastiani (European University Institute, Florence), as members-at-large.

In other business, the members discussed the society's upcoming conferences and publications, the healthy state of the society's finances, and the possibility of becoming an affiliate society of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, in addition to the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies with which ECSSS has been affiliated since its foundation. Thanks were also expressed to John Baird and Paul Wood for their work on the conference, and to the outgoing president, M. A. Stewart, and vice-president, Carol McGuirk, for their excellent contributions on behalf of the society.

ARLINGTON BECKONS

This year's ECSSS conference on "Political Economy and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Culture" should coincide closely with publication of this issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, and at press time in May excitement was mounting. The conference, jointly sponsored by the International Adam Smith Society, is being held at George Mason University in Arlington, Virginia (just outside Washington, D. C.), from 10 to 12 June 2001, and hosted by the university's James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy—named for the Nobel Prize winning economist who will also be participating in the conference. Thanks to an innovative arrangement with the Liberty Fund, plenary lectures will be delivered by Jane Rendall, Director of the Centre for 18th-Century Studies at the University of York; Clifford Siskin, Bradley Professor of English Literature at the University of Glasgow; and Andrew S. Skinner, Professor of Political Economy Emeritus at the University of Glasgow. There will be seventeen concurrent panels with fifty-one speakers. Many of the panels will involve Adam Smith, of course, but the range of topics will be far greater, and two of the panels will focus on national traditions of Scottish political economy: one in America, the other in Japan. There will be a conference dinner and a concluding conference luncheon, followed by a conference summary discussion that will be jointly moderated by J.G.A. Pocock, Emeritus Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University, and ECSSS President Nicholas Phillipson of Edinburgh University.

This will be an unusually international conference, even by ECSSS standards. Among the countries represented by the paper-givers are Japan (8 papers!), Scotland, England, Ireland, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Australia, Tunisia, the Bahamas, Canada, and the United States. David Levy of the Economics Department at George Mason University is the conference director; Richard Sher is the program director; and Carol Robert of George Mason is the conference administrator.

EDINBURGH CONFERENCE IN 2002

The planning for ECSSS's first-ever Edinburgh conference is now far advanced. Entitled "Union and Cultural Identities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," the conference will be held in the magnificent Old College of the University of Edinburgh (designed by Robert Adam and William Playfair), 4-7 July 2002. It will be jointly sponsored by ECSSS and the University of Edinburgh's Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland (headed by Cairns Craig of the English Department), in association with the university's Centre for the History of the Book. With strong support from ECSSS members in various Edinburgh University departments, conference director Alexander Murdoch (Scottish History Department) is organizing a fine show. Among the highlights will be an excursion to Paxton House, a National Galleries of Scotland property in Berwickshire. There the conference-goers will enjoy lectures on the Paxton House library, by John Renwick of the French Department, and on the house's art collection, by Stana Nenadic of the History Department. Another highlight will be the buffet dinner at St. Cecilia's Hall in the Cowgate on the last evening of the conference, followed by a lecture/recital of Burns songs by Kirsteen McCue, with original Thomson settings and violin and cello accompaniment. Several plenary speakers will be on the program, including Linda Colley, Leverhulme Research Professor of History at the European Institute, London School of Economics.

Members are directed to the enclosed Call for Papers for details about proposing a paper. We expect a large turnout for this conference, from ECSSS members as well as others (including members of the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society, whose participation is particularly encouraged, even though early plans for a formal involvement by ECIS did not come to pass). Early proposals are encouraged. As always, panel chairs will also be needed, and those interested in performing that function should also make their wishes known to the conference director as soon as possible.

CHARLESTON AND BEYOND

The society will hold its conference in 2003 at The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina. At press time Kathy Haldane Grenier, the conference director, was closing in on a firm hotel commitment for 10-13 April. That's peak season in Charleston, one of North America's loveliest (and most historical) cities, but the costs will not be unreasonable, thanks largely to support from the host university. The College of Charleston, where longtime member Frank Cossa is professor of art history, has also expressed an interest in participating.

At the Toronto meeting, the membership expressed interest in a multi-theme conference. At least three major themes were approved: Scotland and the American South; The Scottish Military Tradition (The Citadel is a military school, with cadets in uniform); and a celebration of the bicentennial of the death of

James Beattie on 18 August 1803 (Humeans will be asked not to celebrate excessively, however!). The James Beattie panels will be organized by eminent Beattie scholar Roger Robinson, and will fulfill a long-overdue need to devote some scholarly attention to Beattie's multifaceted contributions as a poet, philosopher, professor, and commentator on language, music, religion, and many other topics.

After Charleston, the society plans to meet in Northern Ireland in July 2004, hopefully with the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society, and in summer 2005 at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.

ECSSS SEMINARS AT ASECS

New Orleans in 2001. ECSSS continued its tradition of sponsoring a late morning panel on the Friday of the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, followed immediately afterward by a luncheon. This year's panel, "Scottish Writings on the Passions," was jointly organized by Adam Potkay (William & Mary) and Judith Slagle (East Tennessee State U.). It featured talks by Oscar Kenshur (Indiana U.) on "Moral Passions and Social Hierarchy in Hume and Smith"; David Marshall (U. of California, Santa Barbara) on "Emotions Caused by Fiction: Kames's Revision of *Ut Pictura Poesis*"; David Radcliffe (Virginia Tech) on "Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue"; and Thomas Crochunis (Brown U.), "Impassioned Simulations: Baillie's Closet and Psychology." At the same time as the ECSSS panel, another ECSSS member, J.G.A. Pocock (emeritus at Johns Hopkins U.) was being honored at a special panel devoted to his work. The ECSSS luncheon was attended by twenty-three people, including John Pocock and most of the participants in the ECSSS panel.

Colorado Springs in 2002. At the ASECS meeting in Colorado Springs, Colorado, 3-7 April 2002, ECSSS will sponsor a panel on "Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment." The panel organizers are Roger Emerson (U. of Western Ontario, Emeritus) and Anita Guerrini (U. of California, Santa Barbara). Anyone wishing to contribute a 20-minute on this topic should send a title, brief abstract, and c.v. as soon as possible (and not later than 1 August) to either Roger Emerson (emerson@sscl.uwo.ca) or Anita Guerrini (guerrini@humanitas.ucsb.edu).

It has become a tradition in the society that the vice-president serves as ASECS liaison. Accordingly, Henry Fulton represented ECSSS at the Affiliates Society Breakfast in New Orleans, and in Colorado Springs he will again perform that function as well as host the ECSSS luncheon in the absence of the executive secretary.

ECSSS PUBLICATIONS

As reported last year, ECSSS has moved its Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series to Bucknell University Press, which has recently emerged as an aggressive publisher in eighteenth-century studies under the direction of the well-known Samuel Johnson scholar Greg Clingham, a longtime ECSSS member. The first book to appear under Bucknell's imprint, *Nation and Province in the First British Empire*, edited by Ned C. Landsman, will appear in late spring or summer 2001, and will be made available to ECSSS members at a reasonable discount price (see the enclosed circular). The next volume in the series will be *France and Scotland in the Enlightenment*, co-edited by Deirdre Dawson and Pierre Morère, which is slated for publication in 2002. It is likely that the third volume to be published by Bucknell will emerge from this year's political economy conference. Visit the BUP website at www.departments.bucknell.edu/univ_press/scottish.html.

Contrary to what was reported last year, these volumes will not be co-published in Scotland by Tuckwell Press, which has gone off multi-volume books. Instead, they will be marketed in the UK and Europe by Associated University Presses, which handles Bucknell's publishing and maintains a London office.

SAKAMOTO HONORED

ECSSS member scholar Tatsuya Sakamoto will be receiving the prestigious Japan Academy Award for his scholarship on David Hume, published in Japanese. Several years ago Adam Smith scholar Hiroshi Mizuta was the first scholar ever to receive this award in this area of scholarship. The award is presented in the presence of the emperor and empress at the Japan Academy Hall in Tokyo, this year on 11 June. This happens to coincide with the ECSSS/IASS political economy conference in Arlington, Virginia, where Professor Sakamoto was supposed to deliver a paper. Normally, Professor Mizuta, who nominated Professor Sakamoto for this award, would naturally be present at the award ceremony in Tokyo, but because he is receiving a Lifetime Achievement Award from ECSSS on 12 June, he will be in Virginia. It is a remarkable coincidence that Hiroshi and Tatsuya are being honored for their outstanding work in Scottish Enlightenment studies on almost exactly the same day on opposite ends of the world!

PRETENDER AT SNPG

From April until October 2001, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery is showing an exhibition on the life of Prince James Francis Edward Stuart. Entitled "The King over the Water," it includes outstanding pieces from the U.K., Europe, and the U.S.A. Among the highlights is the newly acquired and restored view of Palazzo Muti Pappazuri of 1747, with Prince James welcoming Henry Benedict on his becoming Cardinal York. There is also a near life-size replica of the

Canova monument in St. Peters. The curator of the exhibit is Edward Corp.

In other news, the SNPG has purchased Gavin Hamilton's portrait of Douglas, eighth duke of Hamilton on the grand tour, with Dr. John Moore and Moore's young son, the future military hero, Sir John Moore.

FOULIS ACADEMY AT THE MITCHELL

As many of our members will know, Glasgow University was home to a pioneering eighteenth-century school of art and design. It was opened in 1753 by Robert Foulis who, with his brother Andrew, printed and published books of very high quality, which earned them an international reputation. Popularly known as the Foulis Academy, the school predated the Royal Academy in London by fifteen years. Its pupils, many of whom were only young boys, were taught to copy Old Master paintings and other works of art owned by the institution. Among the most famous students were David Allan, the "Scottish Hogarth," and James Tassie, the modeler who subsequently enjoyed the patronage of Catherine the Great.

Glasgow's Mitchell Library owns a fine collection of Foulis books as well as the largest collection of prints produced by the Foulis Academy's pupils, including engravings after Old Master paintings and other works of art and an important series of views of Glasgow and other Scottish towns. Now the library has mounted the first major exhibition devoted to the history of this pioneering institution. "The Foulis Academy: Glasgow's Eighteenth-Century School of Art and Design" opened on 25 April in the Level 3 Gallery, and will run through 15 September 2001. It includes a large selection of the prints owned by the library, some of the books that the Foulis brothers produced, and works from a private collection and various Glasgow museums, including the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow University. For further information, contact Edna Ryan, Senior Librarian, History and Glasgow Department, The Mitchell Library, North Street, Glasgow, G3; tel. 0141 287 2937.

To coincide with the exhibition at the Mitchell, a "virtual exhibition" of a selection of Foulis Press publications and ephemera has been mounted on the website of Glasgow University Library's Special Collections Department, accessible at the following url: <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/index.html>. Entitled "Robert & Andrew Foulis, the Foulis Press, and Their Legacy," the exhibit features forty-six representative pages from Foulis publications as well as examples of art by pupils of the Foulis Academy.

Both the physical and virtual exhibitions were organized mainly by ECSSS member George Fairfull Smith.

PHILOSOPHY AT GLASGOW

An international conference on "The Scottish Enlightenment in its European Context" was held between 3 and 6 April 2001 in the Philosophy Department of the University of Glasgow, under the auspices of the British Society for the History of Philosophy, with funding from the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Scots Philosophical Club, and the Glasgow University Faculty of Arts. Organized by Susan Stuart, Richard Stalley, and Alexander Broadie, the conference was the philosophy department's contribution to the 550th anniversary celebration of Glasgow University. The plenary talks were given by Manfred Kuehn (on Kant in relation to Reid), David Raphael (on Adam Smith on justice), Daniel Schulthess (on Scottish ideas about mapping cognitive performance), M. A. Stewart (on Scottish philosophy in an Irish context), and Udo Thiel (on Hume and his Scottish critics on personal identity). There were in addition some thirty papers delivered at parallel sessions. Numerous philosophical topics were aired, relating Scotland to a great many countries, including Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Russia and Spain. So the title of the conference proved to be an accurate description of the papers as a whole. The standard of the papers was very high and the conference was held in a notably warm and cordial atmosphere.

SCOTTISH LIT AT THE MLA

The newly formed MLA Scottish Literature Discussion Group held its inaugural meeting at the Modern Language Association Convention in Washington, D.C., on 29 December 2000. The session, called "Currents of Scottish Studies: Old Paradigms, New Horizons," was chaired by Charles Snodgrass, and featured papers by Cairns Craig, Joanne Norman, Catherine Kerrigan, and Murray Pittock.

The session topic for the next MLA conference, at New Orleans in December 2001, will be "Rethinking Enlightenment: Languages, Literacies, Media." The format will consist of four or five 5-10 minute position papers, addressing a particular topic or argument, intended to open up the session for general discussion. Anyone interested in further details should contact Ian Duncan, at the English Dept., University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, USA, or Charles Snodgrass at charles-s@xu.edu.

NEW EUL RESEARCH CHARGES

Last year Edinburgh University Library introduced a new policy, requiring anyone unaffiliated with the university (except for faculty and postgraduate students at other UK universities) to pay substantial fees in order to use the library. The current fee schedule for non-borrowing usage, which applies to all university libraries, including Special Collections, is £5 per day, £15 per week, £30 for three months, and £55 for six months. The policy was started with so little publicity

that most people learned of it only when they were asked to pay up while they were conducting their research.

The new policy may represent a serious hardship for many ECSSS members. Graduate students and scholars who are in the early part of their careers are likely to suffer more than more established scholars, who generally earn larger salaries and have easier access to fellowships and other affiliations with Edinburgh University academic departments and centers. More generally, by discouraging foreign students and scholars from using the library, the new policy may have a harmful effect on Scottish studies.

One senior member of ECSSS from North America told us recently of learning of the policy when he was approached by a librarian at New College Library, who asked for £5 for examining two titles during the course of an hour's research last July. Because he was then a fellow at one of the university's academic centers, the request was withdrawn. But other scholars who did not have such affiliations could not elude the fee, including some who were just starting out and others who have been using the library almost every summer for decades. "This policy is tragic," the scholar stated. "The university has said that it is doing no more than Oxford University has been doing for years, but that's exactly the point. The warmth and hospitality of the Scottish universities has always been one of their distinguishing features, setting them apart from Oxford and Cambridge. If Aberdeen, Glasgow, and St. Andrews follow Edinburgh's lead in this matter, conducting research in Scottish studies will become an exceedingly expensive undertaking for scholars from abroad, especially younger ones." He added that "the real losers will be Scottish studies and the support for Scotland and its universities that has grown up among many foreign scholars over the years." After several years as a member of Friends of Edinburgh University Library, he said he was considering resigning from that organization in protest.

In a positive development, an arrangement has been negotiated that will enable those registered for next summer's ECSSS conference in Edinburgh to have non-borrowing privileges at the university library for a period extending from one week before the conference to one week after it.

MEROLLE LAUNCHES JOURNAL

Vincenzo Merolle and a number European colleagues, including fellow ECSSS members Norbert Waszek, P. G. Boucé, and Horst Drescher, have launched a new periodical, entitled *2000: The European Journal*. The work is self-consciously multi-lingual, and is dedicated to the principle that European culture (including America, which is viewed as an extension of Europe) is essentially a unified entity. Although the first two issues contained little or nothing on Scottish studies, the editor encourages submissions in that area, which can be sent

to him at Viale Grande Muraglia, 301-00144 Rome, Italy; e-mail: 065291553@iol.it.

NEW PROGRAMS AT DUNDEE

Tony Parker of the University of Dundee has brought to our attention the University of Dundee Program Diploma Course for American Students, designed for third-year students at American universities who wish to have a semester abroad experience. Co-directed by Tony Parker and Alan Dobson of the Politics Department, the program consists of four courses that are offered in two twelve-week semesters each year, from September to December and from January to mid-March. Each course is worth four American credits. Two of the courses, directed by Alan Dobson, deal with post-1945 developments, but the other two, directed by Tony Parker, focus on the eighteenth century. One is "Scotland in Transformation, 1707-1850," the other "Scotland, America, and the Transatlantic World in the Eighteenth Century." The program combines lectures, seminars, and tutorials with field trips to sites of historical importance (including trips to Brussels, London, and the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh), as well as social events.

For more information, contact Tony Parker (a.w.parker@dundee.ac.uk) or go to the university's website at www.dundee.ac.uk.

THOMAS REID ESSAY PRIZE

The Philosophical Quarterly will offer a prize of £1000 or £1500 for the best essay on the topic "Thomas Reid, Scottish Philosophy and the Common Sense Tradition." Two copies of the essays, typed double-spaced, and not longer than eight thousand words, with author's name and address in covering letter but not in the essay itself, should be submitted by 1 November 2001 to: Reid, Scottish Philosophy and Common Sense Prize Essay Competition, The Editor (Essay Prize), *The Philosophical Quarterly*, University of St. Andrews, Scotland KY16 9AL, U.K.

NEGLECTED FIGURES AT ABERDEEN

The Reid Project (reidproject@abdn.ac.uk), the Aberdeen University Philosophy Department, and the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies co-sponsored an unusual workshop on "Neglected Figures in Scottish Philosophy," held on 25-26 May 2001. The timing of this event between press time and publication prevents us from providing an account of the workshop, but participants were to include several ECSSS members, such as Alexander Broadie, Knud Haakonssen, James Moore, Shinichi Nagao, M. A. Stewart, and Paul Wood.

In other news, the Reid Project reports that a catalogue of Thomas Reid's papers has been completed and is now being corrected by leading Reid scholars, after which it will be made available on the web for free

consultation by scholars. The Reid Project is directed by Maria Rosa Antognazza.

NEW IRISH-SCOTTISH CENTER

T. M. Devine, Research Director of Aberdeen University's Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, has spearheaded a successful application to establish a major Research Centre in Irish-Scottish Studies, with funding of close to two million pounds over a five-year period (2000-2005), roughly half of it (almost £900,000) from the U.K.'s Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB). The new Centre involves three cooperating universities which have worked together since 1995 as partners in the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative: the University of Aberdeen, Trinity College Dublin, and Queen's University in Belfast. The centre's research projects involve three broad areas of research: the diaspora, languages, literatures.

A number of the funded projects will have a direct bearing on Scottish studies in the long eighteenth century. The Diaspora Programme, for example, includes projects on "Migration and Mobility within the British Isles 1603-1707" (S. Murdoch); "American Colonies, Scottish Entrepreneurs and British State Formation in the 17th Century" (A. I. Macinnes); "Provincialism and Professional-Imperial Networks: Scottish and Irish Medical Specialisation in the East India Company, 1700-1815" (A. Mackillop); and "Scots and Irish in the Caribbean, 1750-1815" (D. A. Hamilton). In The Languages of Scotland and Ireland Programme, Donald Meek heads a project investigating "Gaelic Bibles: Impact and Influence." The Literatures of Ireland and Scotland Programme includes projects on "Radical Verse in Scotland and Ulster, 1790-1830" (L. McIlvanney and C. Graham); "The Ideology of Celticism in Scotland and Ireland 1760-1914" (G. Watson); and "Ireland and Empire: Post-Colonial Writing" (G. Hooper and C. Graham). It is hoped that these projects will result in publications that will greatly enhance our understanding of the topics under study.

WEBSITES OF INTEREST

The following websites have been recommended:

<http://edina.ac.uk/StatAcc> (free access to the First and Second Statistical Accounts of Scotland, with search capabilities). A marvelous research tool!

<http://www.mailbase.ac.uk/lists/highlands> (contains information about Highland history and culture)

<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/bsuva/gm> (attributions of authorship in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731-1868)

<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/bsuva/euomag> (attributions of authorship in the *European Magazine*, 1782-1826)

<http://www.drawn-evidence.dundee.ac.uk> (fascinating project on the architectural history of Scotland, entitled *The Drawn Evidence*)

SRA NEWS

The Scottish Records Association Newsletter, published every fall and spring, lists newly accessible manuscripts at national and local Scottish archives. Here are some eighteenth-century examples from the 2000 issues:

Natl. Archives of Scotland: kirk session records from Coupar Angus (1771-1989), Logierat (1754-1950), and Tarbolton United Presbyterian Church (1778-1943); estate papers and account book of Grizel, Countess of Marchmont (1694-1819).

Natl. Lib. of Scotland: notebook of Rev. John Willison, including poems (1748); papers of Lt.-Gen. Sir John Cope (1741-49); correspondence of Henry Dundas (1794-1809); papers relating to Thomas Telford's work on Greenock harbor.

Aberdeen University Library: papers of the Murray families of Banffshire (1753-1859); account book of the Duff family of Hatton (1787-94).

Edinburgh City Archives: plans of the Edinburgh City Architect (1766-1923).

Scottish Borders Archive, St. Mary's Mill, Selkirk: Hawick Farmers Club records (1776-1868); papers relating to Berwickshire (1764-c.1840)

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Corey Andrews has completed his Ph.D. at Ohio State and in September will take up a position as assistant professor of English at Northwest Missouri State U. . .

David Armitage and **Joyce Chaplain** have tied the matrimonial knot, and it was quite a year for them in other respects, too; David was promoted to associate professor of history at Columbia U. and his book, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (reviewed in this issue) won the 2001 Longman/*History Today* Book of the Year Award for the best first or second history book, while Joyce was hired by Harvard U. as a full professor of history . . . **Barbara Benedict** has produced a new book on curiosity, published by U. of Chicago Press . . . **Chris Berry** continues his labors as head of the Politics Dept. at Glasgow U. . . **Fiona Black** continues to spend part of the year teaching in the library school at the U. of South Florida, but she has also received a five-year appointment as an adjunct professor of English at the U. of Regina, providing her with institutional support for her labors on the History of the Book in Canada project . . . **Elaine Breslaw** has published a large reader on witchcraft in the Atlantic world . . . **Alexander Broadie's** *Why Scottish Philosophy Matters* was published by the Saltire Society in Edinburgh in 2000 . . . **Vivienne Brown** has announced the formation *The Adam Smith Review*, which she will edit for the International Adam Smith Society . . . in October 2000 **John Cairns** became professor of legal history at the U. of Edinburgh, where he also

serves as director of the graduate school of law, associate dean for postgraduates, and director of the Centre for Legal History . . . **Pierre Carboni** has been promoted to assistant professor of English at U. of Nantes, France . . . **Gerard Carruthers** has assumed a new post as a lecturer in the Dept. of Scottish Literature at the U. of Glasgow, with responsibilities as co-organizer of an ongoing seminar series called Beyond Scotland: New Contexts for Scottish Literature . . . **Linda Colley** is now the Leverhulme research professor of history at the European Institute, London School of Economics . . . last summer **Deidre Dawson** became chair of the Romance and Classical Languages Dept. at Michigan State U. . . . **Peter Diamond** is now associate professor in the General Studies Program at New York University . . . **Ian Duncan** spent the fall 2000 term teaching in Siena, Italy; in July 2001 he takes up a new position as professor of English at the U. of California, Berkeley . . . **George Fairfull-Smith** has organized an exhibition on the Foulis Academy at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow . . . **Michael Fry**'s book *The Scottish Empire* has been announced for publication in spring 2001 by Tuckwell Press . . . **Henry Fulton** has retired as professor of English at Central Michigan U. and looks forward to devoting more time to his biography of John Moore, to be followed by an edition of Daniel Defoe's *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland* (1717) . . . **Howard Gaskill** has announced his retirement from the German Dept. at Edinburgh U. . . . the good news from Charleston, South Carolina, is that **Kathy Haldane Grenier** gave birth to baby Michael on 13 August 2000 . . . **Knud Haakonssen** was on a lecture tour of Japan in the summer of 2000 on a fellowship from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science; he spent part of spring 2001 in Aberdeen as the Centenary Fellow of the Scots Philosophical Club, and in the fall he will be a fellow of the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences in Uppsala . . . **Timothy Hanson** has been teaching history at Towson U. in Maryland . . . **Maureen Harkin** is editing a new critical edition of Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* for Broadview Press . . . **Lisa Hill** has given birth to a healthy baby boy, affectionately known by his parents as Junior Rabbit . . . **Lore Hisky** organized an exhibition of Masterpieces from the National Library of Scotland at the Brooks Museum of Art in Memphis, Tennessee, from March to May 2001; in April she delivered a lecture at the Brooks on Sir Henry Raeburn . . . **James Holloway** has the new title of director of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery . . . **Andrew Hook** has been appointed the Gillespie Visiting Professor of English at the College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio, for 2001-2 . . . **Alice Jacoby** has completed the manuscript of her book on Scottish conjectural histories, which we hope will soon see its way into print . . . **Michael Kugler** is now a tenured associate professor of history at Northwestern College in Iowa . . . **Colin Kidd** has been promoted to reader in history at Glasgow U. . . . **Bruce Lenman** has come back from a knee injury suffered while climb-

ing . . . **Anthony Lewis** has discovered more than twenty plans for New Town Edinburgh houses from the 18th century . . . **Jeff Loveland**'s book *Rhetoric and Natural History: Buffon in Polemical and Literary Context* has been published as a volume in *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century* . . . **Susan Manning** delivered a plenary address on "Hume's Fragments of Union and Scottish Enlightenment Fiction" at the 27th Annual Hume Conference in Williamsburg, Virginia, 24-29 July 2000 . . . **John Patrick Montañó** has been promoted to associate professor of history at the U. of Delaware . . . **Tony Parker** has been appointed director of the School of American Studies at the U. of Dundee and convener of the Scottish Confederation of University and Research Libraries, North American Study Group . . . **Outi Pickering** has taken a position as assistant librarian in a psychiatric hospital in Oxford, while studying to be a chartered librarian . . . **Murray Pittock** spent part of the 2000-2001 academic year as a fellow at the Boswell Office at Yale U. . . . **John Pocock** delivered a lecture to a conference in Belfast in 1999 (see article list), where he argues (as he puts it informally) "that eighteenth-century Ulster is to be thought of as Scotland without the Moderates" . . . **Adam Potkay** has been promoted to full professor at College of William and Mary and will be visiting professor at Columbia U. in fall 2001 . . . **Lisa Rosner** and **Geoffrey Sill** are co-organizers of the annual meeting of East-Central ASEC, to be held in Cape May, NJ, 18-21 October 2001; Geoffrey's book on the passions and the origins of the English novel (including a chapter on Dr. Alexander Monro of Edinburgh) will be published in 2001 by Cambridge U.P. . . . a German translation of **Ian Ross**'s *Life of Adam Smith* was recently published, and Japanese and Portuguese translations are now under way . . . **Silvia Sebastiani** has been awarded a one-month Barra Foundation International Fellowship for study at the Library Company of Philadelphia . . . **Richard Sher** has been appointed distinguished professor of history at New Jersey Institute of Technology . . . **Sarah Sloane** is now associate professor of English at Colorado State U. . . . **David Spadafora** has stepped down as president of Lake Forest College in Illinois and will return to research as a fellow at the Newberry Library in Chicago in 2001-2, followed by a well-deserved sabbatical leave in 2002-3 . . . **Mark Spencer** has successfully defended his U. of Western Ontario Ph.D. thesis on the reception of David Hume in eighteenth-century America . . . **Paul Tonks** has been awarded a three-month research fellowship at the Huntington Library . . . **Frits Van Holthoorn** retired from the U. of Groningen in 1999 and is now emeritus . . . **Craig Walton** will teach philosophy and ethics as a Fulbright Scholar in Germany . . . **John Wright** is now professor of philosophy at Central Michigan U.

The Glasite-Sandemanian Movement in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World

by J. Ford Stanley

John Glas (1695-1773) founded the religious movement that bore his name: the Glasites. He began his career as a minister in the Church of Scotland, serving a congregation at Tealing near Dundee. He was deposed in 1730, however, because of a treatise he had published in the previous year, *The Testimony of the King of Martyrs*, which argued in part that the sanction for an established church was a misinterpretation of the Bible. Glas contended that Christ's Kingdom was spiritual in nature, and thus that there was no basis for the national kirk or for covenanting, a popular form of religious and political allegiance by which members of the church swore allegiance to both the established church and the state.

After leaving the Church of Scotland, Glas led a body of worshippers initially known as the Tealing Society but, in recognition of their founder, pejoratively dubbed by outsiders Glasites, a name that eventually became their accepted term of self-identification. Although Glas is rightfully considered the founder of this religious body, Robert Sandeman (1718-71), the son of a merchant in Perth, can justifiably be labeled its co-founder. In fact, outside Scotland, adherents to their churches were known as Sandemanians in recognition of his efforts. By the end of the eighteenth century, the movement comprised roughly forty churches in Scotland, England, and Wales, situated as far north as Aberdeen and as far south as Trowbridge, Wiltshire. In America, the movement peaked in the early 1770s, when it could boast seven New England congregations with an aggregate membership of around 150, and at least twice that number of hearers.

Although the main features of the movement have been studied in a number of doctoral dissertations, articles, and books that are listed below, the literature on the Sandemanians has generally not taken into account recent approaches to the historiography of the British Atlantic world by leading scholars such as Ned Landsman, J.G.A. Pocock, and David Armitage (see the forum on this subject in the *American Historical Review* 104 [1999], 426-89), or recent work on transatlantic religious culture such as Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (1989); Michael J. Crawford *Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England's Revival Tradition in its British Context* (1991); and Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 811-32, and "Eighteenth-Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Transatlantic Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, ed. Mark Noll et al. (Oxford, 1994), pp. 38-57. These writings illustrate the connections of the Atlantic world during this period, and in particular Scottish-American relations. In addition, O'Brien's work calls attention to the connections between transatlantic print and evangelical religious culture. As Warren McDougall has shown in "Scottish Books for America in the Mid-18th Century," in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester and New Castle, Del., 1998), 21-46, religious works predominated in the extensive transatlantic print networks that developed between Scotland and America during the eighteenth century.

The Glasite-Sandemanian movement operated within the world of these transatlantic connections, and it must be understood in that context. Robert Sandeman himself traveled to New England in 1764, and his experiences there, as well as the fate of his religious group, illustrate the connective tissues that linked people and ideas via a transatlantic print culture and communication network. This approach will also provide insight into the reasons behind the failure to establish Sandemanianism securely in New England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Sandeman's debate with men such as James Hervey and John Wesley spread throughout the British Atlantic via the circulation of their writings, as well as through an oral network of communication between members of the clergy that can be traced through existing journals and letters.

The years 1755-1757 constituted Sandeman's most fruitful writing period, culminating in the publication in Edinburgh, at the author's expense, of his most widely read and influential work, *Letters on Theron and Aspasio* (1757). Without the publication of this book, it is unlikely that the movement would ever have expanded beyond its Scottish origins. Sandeman penned this piece in response to *Theron and Aspasio: or, A Series of Dialogues and Letters, upon the Most Important and Interesting Subjects* (1755), a three-volume work by the English evangelical divine, James Hervey (1714-58). An earlier book that was frequently reprinted and widely read throughout the Atlantic world and continental Europe, *Meditations and Contemplations* (1748), had already established Hervey's reputation as a prominent religious writer. Upon the publication of *Theron and Aspasio*, however, Hervey began to encounter stiff opposition from those who had endorsed *Meditations and Contemplations*, and the Glasite-Sandemanian movement was the chief beneficiary of this international controversy.

Theron and Aspasio focuses on faith and justification, which Hervey understood in a manner very different from Sandeman. Sandeman's strong rebuttal of Hervey's notion of "imputed righteousness"—assigning Christ's righteousness to the sinner for the benefit of salvation—brought much attention to the followers of Glas and Sandeman. Wesley assailed Hervey's latest production for its support of predestination, which was no mischarac-

terization, despite Hervey's claims that "this doctrine" dared not raise its head in this piece. Although Sandeman supported Hervey's predestinarian tendencies, he ardently opposed *Theron and Aspasio* on three other grounds: first, he accused Hervey of adding works to the salvific process; secondly, he attacked him for not following what he viewed as the model of the Apostles; and thirdly, he assaulted Hervey's moderate Calvinist position.

Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio* attacks not only Hervey but also other evangelical British ministers whose writings were well known in America, including Isaac Watts (1674-1748), Philip Doddridge (1702-51), and Ebenezer Erskine (1680-1754), for giving "various motives and directions" and "commonly enforcing [their followers] with this earnest and pressing call, 'Up therefore and be doing'" (1838 ed., p. 21). In Noll et al.'s previously cited collection on *Evangelicalism*, John Walsh notes that by the 1720s men like Watts and the Scottish seceders Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine had formed what Michael Crawford has described in *Seasons of Grace* as a "transatlantic consensus" that was pro-revival and directed by a homiletic that sought to "rouse the affections and bring conversions" (p. 21). By impressing upon their congregants a call to some form of action, Sandeman suggests, these clergymen were implying a connection between one's actions and faith and were adding works to the salvific process. Faith, according to Sandeman, was nothing more than "simple belief" in the biblical account of Christ's death on the cross; no addition was acceptable.

Furthermore, Sandeman asserts, "every doctrine, then, which teaches us to do or endeavor any thing toward our acceptance with God, stands opposed to the doctrine of the Apostles" (p. 10). This message not only resonated with some Christian believers in Britain but also found an important constituency in New England, leaving an indelible impression upon the young Irishman Alexander Campbell, for example. Campbell had first been exposed to the works of Glas and Sandeman while spending a year at Glasgow University before emigrating to America. Along with his father, Thomas Campbell, he helped to shape the restorationist-minded Campbellites, known today as the Disciples of Christ. Lastly, Sandeman vigorously attacked the moderate Calvinism of Hervey and his co-religionists, particularly focusing his ire on their notion of the "gospel offer." Sandeman was theologically predisposed toward a limited atonement, which dictated that the gospel could not be offered to everyone because all people are not predestined to share it. This position placed him in direct opposition to fellow Calvinists who were decidedly more evangelical and led him to attack the "gospel offer" for lacking apostolic authority.

Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio* was the precursor to the expansion of the movement because his treatise entered an ever-widening circle of inquirers on both sides of the Atlantic. The Hervey-Sandeman controversy of the mid-1750s attracted a large readership that was intrigued and perplexed by the disagreement between Hervey and Wesley, two long-time friends who now opposed one another in letters and published pieces. Now this transatlantic audience was exposed to a Scottish theologian who did not challenge Hervey's belief in predestination but instead turned the debate into one of theological semantics. Sandeman's book was concerned with how Christians understood salvation. He suggested that salvation was a belief in the testimony of the Apostles, nothing more. Many accepted this theological position, while many others did not and attacked its proponent.

Pamphlets, books, letters, diaries, and newspaper accounts written in the context of this eighteenth-century Atlantic world provide valuable insights into the reception of Sandemanianism in New England. Sandeman traveled to Boston in 1764 after having received two letters of inquiry from interested parties there, which convinced him that New England was ripe for true "apostolic" Christianity. One letter was from David Judson (1715-76), a Yale-trained theologian and a pastor in Newtown, Connecticut, the other from Ebenezer White (1709-79), another Yale-trained theologian serving the Congregational church at Danbury, Connecticut. White's letter was also signed by his two sons, Joseph Moss White and Ebenezer Russell White. All four men had read Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio* and were so impressed with the contents that they were compelled to write the Scotsman and express their approval.

Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio* found its way to Boston in the spring of 1761 at the request of a local bookseller, who had received "several sets" (Stiles MSS, Beinecke Library, Yale University, fols. 5-6). Ezra Stiles (1727-95), later president of Yale, believed that Rev. Cumming of Boston was the first resident of New England to read Sandeman, and he had done so as early as 1758 or 1759 while living at Brunswick in New Jersey. According to Stiles (fol. 64), Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio* had been recommended to Cumming by his correspondent Samuel Pike (1717-73), a well-known Dissenting minister in London who had converted to Sandemanianism. Six leading New England clergymen—Ezra Stiles, Samuel Langdon, Charles Chauncy, Joseph Bellamy, Isaac Backus, and Thomas Clap—opposed Sandemanianism, and this opposition would contribute to the movement's inability to establish itself firmly in America.

As an important member of the New England literati, Ezra Stiles in particular influenced the public reception of Sandemanianism. It was at Yale, after all, that many of New England's leading clergy were educated, and Yale's institutional bias against Sandemanianism would later reveal itself in the expulsion of tutors sympathetic to the movement. Stiles's approach to Sandeman was similar to the way in which he dealt with John Murray, co-founder of the Universalist Church in America. Stiles was deeply disturbed by Murray's theology, but instead of vehemently opposing Murray, he adopted a self-consciously cautious approach. Commenting on his methodology to a friend, Stiles observed: "But if I had gone to preaching against him as an Imposter, or bruited about the Evidence and stories against him, it would have been pouring Oil on the flame and rendering it inextinguishable"

(quoted in Edmund Sears Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795* [New Haven: 1962], 208).

An Impartial Examination of Mr. Robert Sandeman's Letters on Theron and Aspasio (1765), by Samuel Langdon (1723-97), was one of the most important tracts written against Sandeman. Langdon was a prominent New England clergyman whose publications circulated widely, as evidenced by eighteenth-century newspaper accounts such as those in the *New Hampshire Gazette*. Langdon, later a president of Harvard, formulated his dialectic against Sandeman around three points, all shared by earlier opponents of Sandemanianism: the uncharitable nature of Sandeman's attacks upon leading clergymen, Sandeman's faulty definition of Christian faith, and Sandeman's antinomianism. Langdon asserted that Sandeman consciously attacked leading ministers of the day in order to grab the attention of his reading and listening public, shocking them with his bold remarks and causing them to question why a fellow clergyman would attack such respected figures. Langdon attacked Sandeman's definition of faith as a "bare persuasion of the bare truth" for reducing faith to a purely intellectual act in which the individual plays no part. He attacked the authenticity of the notion that the believer can exist in "a state of absolute inactivity of body and mind" (p. 52), suggesting that such a failed piece of exegesis can only lead to antinomianism.

Another leading critic of Sandeman in New England was Charles Chauncy (1705-87). Chauncy was known, first and foremost, as the chief critic of the "Great Awakening" and of Jonathan Edwards, and secondly, as the main opponent, in words and tracts, of the establishment of Anglican episcopacy in Massachusetts. Prior to the publication of his *Twelve Sermons* (1765), where he attacks Sandeman, his debates in print with Edwards over the revivals had brought Chauncy to the attention of the reading public. One might suspect that Sandeman's presence in Boston in 1765 would not have rankled a fellow rationalist theologian like Chauncy who, after all, had spent the years prior to the Scotsman's arrival championing the cause of the Old Lights against the New Lights and their "religious affections." Despite their shared opposition to revivalism, however, Chauncy and Sandeman proved incompatible, and Sandeman's success in establishing a Sandemanian church in Boston in 1765, shortly after his arrival in New England, provoked his chief Boston critic. Chauncy was well aware of Sandeman even before he arrived in New England, for Stiles's manuscripts indicate that prior to that time Chauncy had "preached about a dozen sermons occasioned by having read the *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*," which he published after Sandeman's arrival. Many of Chauncy's criticisms echoed those of earlier opponents of Sandeman. He attacked Sandeman's misdefinition of faith as "a meer 'passive reception of the truth'" (p. 121) that can only lead to antinomianism and "lasciviousness" (p. 45). The majority of Chauncy's critique, however, is dedicated to illustrating what he saw as the sophistry of the Sandemanian system in its definition of faith. In the end, Chauncy rebuts Sandeman's definition of faith with his own, suggesting that "there can't be faith, where there is no assent of the mind: and wherever this assent is, there is faith also."

Connecticut Congregationalist clergyman Joseph Bellamy (1719-90) also attacked Sandemanianism in a pamphlet entitled *A Careful and Strict Examination of the External Covenant* (1760). This work addresses some of the alleged errors of the Sandemanian system that Bellamy considered relevant to his discussion of Moses Mather (1719-1806), a descendant of the famous Mather family who had, in his opinion, adopted Sandeman's mistakes in his 1759 work, *The Visible Church, in Covenant with God*. Bellamy believed that Sandemanianism led to antinomianism by misdefining true Christian faith. He was concerned by what he interpreted as a lack of repentance in the Sandemanian system, in which "nothing is to be done by the sinner" (2nd ed., 1770, pp. 58-59).

Isaac Backus (1724-1806) provides yet another critical perspective on Sandemanism by a leading New-England clergyman. Backus began his ministerial vocation as a New Light Congregationalist minister before joining the ranks of the Baptists in 1751. He was not only a prominent New England minister but also a leading American intellectual and a careful chronicler of New England Baptist history. His *Church History of New-England* (1777-96) states that "the Sandemians made a great noise in New-England, from 1764 to 1775" (3:107-108). During the 1760s and 1770s, Sandeman, along with lesser-known independent religious leaders in New England such as Jemima Wilkinson and Shadrach Ireland, raised concerns among Baptist leaders like Backus. While Backus dismissed all these men, it is significant that Robert Sandeman was the only one he attacked in print. In *New England Dissent, 1630-1833* (Cambridge, 1971), 2:741, William G. McLoughlin notes that Backus's concern was prompted by the inroads that Sandemanianism had begun to make into the Baptist churches in New England.

Backus's concern was prompted by other factors as well, such as the wide circulation of Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, which passed through three British editions in five years (plus a fourth in 1768) and enjoyed a healthy reading constituency not just among the general public but also, and perhaps more importantly, among New England's clergy, among whom the book had become fashionable. Backus's attack, *True Faith Will Produce Good Works* (1767), quotes not only from Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio* but also from Samuel Pike's *An Epistolary Correspondence between S.P. [Samuel Pike] and R.S. [Robert Sandeman] relating to the Letters on Theron and Aspasio* (1759) and Pike's *A Plain and Full Account of the Christian Practices observed by the Church in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London* (i.e., the church that Sandeman had founded in London during the early 1760s), which was published in 1766 on both sides of the Atlantic.

The ever-increasing presence in New England of Sandemanian pamphlets and books and reactions to them, both pro and con, spread the faith even further, a fact that did not escape Backus's notice. McLoughlin's *New England Dissent* notes the spread of Sandemanianism to Baptist congregations at Stratfield and Chelmsford. *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901) is one of several sources that provides additional evidence of other Baptist congregations and clergy adopting "Mr. Sandiman's System" (1:67). Backus centered his anti-Sandemanian comments around themes similar to those developed by other detractors of the movement: Sandeman's assaults on the leading lights of the faith, Sandeman's alleged promotion of antinomianism and intellectual dishonesty, and Sandeman's insistence upon unanimity within the church membership on all matters of theology and ecclesiology—a true Achilles heel of the movement that encouraged numerous schisms and exclusions and ultimately became a theological cause of its decline.

Another New England clergyman and educator who took action against the Sandemanians was Thomas Stephen Clap (1703-67), the first president of Yale College. Despite his success as Yale's rector (1740-45) and president (1745-66), Clap was eventually forced to resign because of student unrest, which in large part he himself had provoked through his efforts to purge the college of unorthodoxy. Clap's intense supervision of the theology of the students extended to the faculty, who were expected to adhere firmly to Clap's brand of orthodoxy both inside and outside the lecture halls. Clap fired two Yale tutors, Richard Woodhull and Ebenezer White, Jr., for "heresy" stemming from their support of Sandemanianism. He also brought about the resignation of another tutor sympathetic to Sandemanian theology, one Mr. Lyman. A letter from Sandeman to Nathaniel Barrel dated 18 July 1766 refers to the "discouraging terms proposed" by Clap to Lyman "for his next years service which he could not accept, so resigned" (Massachusetts Historical Society).

There are many reasons for the inability of the Sandemanian movement to establish itself in North America, ranging from their loyalist leanings to their failure to actively engage the feminization of their movement. But their lack of effective use of the printed word must be given prominence. Effective use of the printed word, or evangelization through print, had enabled the movement to grow. Yet despite the direct relationship between the growth of the movement and the dissemination of Sandemanian texts, especially Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, the Sandemanians ultimately could not sustain this process for their continued success.

Leading members of the New England literati, along with lesser-known clerical intellectuals, opposed Sandemanianism in print and through an oral network of communication that, in terms of its sheer volume, overwhelmed the paucity of pro-Sandemanian literature. Pro-Sandemanian works in print, directed in response to the New England literati's anti-Sandemanian pieces, were very scarce; in fact, there were only a printed letter in reply to a detractor in a New England newspaper and Shippie Townsend's defense of Sandeman against Samuel Mather. The anti-Sandemanian forces were far more numerous and constituted not only minor provincial clergy like Mather, Andrew Crosswell, and Joseph Huntington, but also, as we have seen, men of prominent reputation. Samuel Langdon, Charles Chauncy, Isaac Backus, and Joseph Bellamy, all very influential figures in New England, published anti-Sandemanian pieces that sought not only to thwart the influence of Sandemanianism in New England but also to keep the movement from establishing churches. Two other important figures, Ezra Stiles and Thomas Clap, both later presidents of Yale, also opposed Sandeman's efforts in New England through both an oral network of communication and bureaucratic intimidation, as represented by the dismissal of Yale faculty sympathetic to Sandemanian theology.

The Glasite-Sandemanian movement illustrates the strong Scottish-American connections in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, while highlighting their complexities. Churchmen in Scotland and New England were often engaged in similar disputes, and the revivals left an indelible impression in both places. Evangelicals like George Whitefield were crafting a message honed through market-type techniques, while Sandeman, seemingly unaware of the importance of print (a fact not lost on Whitefield and his fellow evangelicals) drowned amidst the flood of anti-Sandemanian publications. While Sandemanianism initially found its Atlantic admirers, the failure to actively engage its detractors in print, along with the continued opposition of a clerical elite, hobbled the movement and prevented it from establishing itself in New England.

Sources on the Glasite-Sandemanian Movement. Geoffrey Cantor, *Michael Faraday: Sandemanian and Scientist* (London, 1993); Jean Hankins, "A Different Kind of Loyalist: The Sandemanians of New England during the Revolutionary War," *The New England Quarterly* (June 1987): 223-49, and "Connecticut's Sandemanians: Loyalism as a Religious Test," in *Loyalists and Community in North America*, ed. Robert Calhoon, Timothy Barnes, and George Rawlyk (London, 1994), pp. 31-44; John Thomas Hornsby, "A Study of the Origins, Development and Influence of the Glasite Movement" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1936); Lynn McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church: A Study of Scottish Origins of American Restorationism" (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1972); Derek Boyd Murray, "The Social and Religious Origins of Scottish Non-Presbyterian Protestant Dissent from 1730-1880" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 1976); Williston Walker, "The Sandemanians of New England," *American Historical Review* 1 (1907): 133-62.

J. Ford Stanley is writing a D.Phil. thesis at Oxford University on the Sandemanian movement in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world.

The Puzzle of Adam Ferguson's Political Conservatism

by Lisa Hill

The decline of civilizations and the concomitant onset of political corruption is virtually the major theme of Adam Ferguson's social and political science. His published purpose in setting out his thoughts on the subject, not only in the *Essay on Civil Society* (1767) but in almost all his assorted publications and pamphlets, was "to describe that remissness of spirit, that weakness of soul, that state of national debility, which is likely to end in political slavery." Ferguson believed that civic virtue was the cost of modernity and its loss via increased specialization, over-extension, and hedonism inevitably led to national ruin wherever the signs of moral decay were not detected early enough. "Nations cease to be eminent," he declared, when the citizens' active nature is deprived of "objects which served to excite their spirit" (*Essay*, 200). Accordingly, governments must do more than administer and secure material prosperity; they must also seek actively to enlist the participation of citizens in public affairs, since history has shown that nations characterized by high levels of political apathy are extremely susceptible to corruption and despotic rule (*Principles*, 2:509). Yet Ferguson's failure to provide any practical clues as to how corruption should be prevented is completely out of step with the general tone of his writing; indeed, it has led to charges of inconsistency and moral dereliction. This article seeks to explain Ferguson's omission and defend him, in part at least, against his critics by aligning his conservatism with key aspects of his social thought, namely his prior commitments to spontaneous generation and Stoic-Christianity.

Though a cautious progressivist, Ferguson perceived in the march toward modernity many threats to civic life and the overall stability of the polity. For example, specialization in task functions is a key source of corruption. Not only do rank distinctions and class and property inequalities flow directly from specialization; as manual work becomes increasingly uninteresting and mind-numbing, the intellectual and moral faculties of laborers become stunted (*Essay*, 175-91). Eventually, those who work become individuated, isolated, politically withdrawn, and indifferent to all aspects of public life. But by far the worst consequence of specialization is that it inevitably extends to martial functions. The national interest tends to become obscured wherever there is over-reliance on mercenaries, since a populace accustomed to reliance upon professionals for their defense is always ineffectual, timid, and "effeminate" (*Essay*, 216-18). Industrialization also brings with it increased prosperity, which in turn generates an ever-widening gap between rich and poor. The community becomes polarized; at one extreme, a class of prodigal rich, at the other a "supine" class of alienated poor, removed from public life by specialization and centralized rule and infected with the political "servility" of those who rule them. Finally, prosperous nations are susceptible to the errors of imperialism and over-extension, with politically enervating effects. In proportion as nations become larger and increase their territories, people become more and more alienated, both physically and psychologically, from the affairs of government. Government itself becomes ever more centralized, bureaucratized, and therefore less "democratic." Imperial expansionism is particularly disastrous. Empires inevitably collapse because colonies tend to be ruined by the rule of the despots who ordinarily govern them (*Essay*, 257-59). In such cases, decay, unrest, and "revolution" are now not only unavoidable but "necessary" (*History*, 5).

Ferguson tells us that in order to avoid these trends, governors must devise the appropriate political arrangements by which inactive and apathetic citizens will be distracted from their narrow, self-regarding concerns and encouraged to redirect their attention to the public sphere and more socially constructive forms of activity (McDowell, 546-47). But what is most curious about Ferguson's thinking here is an almost complete lack of recommended reforms to effect this process. Despite his emphasis on popular participation in municipal affairs, there are no calls for a universal franchise or for any other significant institutional changes which might offset the problems of apathy, civic demobilization, and political corruption. This has led to accusations of fecklessness and irresponsibility. For example, David Kettler has interpreted Ferguson's conservatism as a kind of willful neglect of his duty as a moralist; namely, to challenge an unjust political order. He writes that Ferguson was "completely unable and largely unwilling to challenge the prevailing distribution of power," and that "in his capacity as ally and supporter of the status quo, he could rest content with applying a rationalizing gloss over the problems of his time" (Kettler, 179, 211). William Lehmann also notes that there is "no revolutionary activism" in Ferguson and, like Kettler, perceives Ferguson's lack of suggested reforms as symptomatic of either some kind of philosophical disability or a moral unwillingness to follow his analysis through to its logical conclusion. "Why," he asks rhetorically, "was Ferguson unable or unwilling to follow through the logic of his intellectual analysis and of his moral feelings by demanding more than merely a moral appeal to right the more flagrant wrongs incident to the existing system?" (Lehmann, 170).

Some explanations for Ferguson's apparent willingness to gloss over what was, effectively, the problematic centerpiece of his corpus will be given presently, but for the moment it may be worthwhile to note that Ferguson was not completely neglectful of his "responsibilities" here; he does in fact suggest a few constitutional and social reforms to address the problems which absorbed him so much. Granted, his presentation of these was extremely vague and disjointed and has to be culled out by the reader; nevertheless, the pattern which does finally emerge is

in the classic mold of civic humanism, to the extent that Ferguson recommends greater popular participation in public life, the introduction of a citizen militia, the insertion of a civics education program into the existing school curriculum, and the maintenance of constitutionally limited government.

Activism and Pluralism. It has been noted that Ferguson held to the view that civic moral character (and therefore political freedom) is preserved by an active, informed, and highly factious citizenry. Where a citizenry is vigilant, degeneration may be side-stepped; therefore the best way to avoid impending political slavery is to enhance civic competence, awareness, and mobility. Mass participation also guards against the fatal weakness of simple forms of rule: "the error that results from the freedom of one person is best corrected by the wisdom that results from the concurring freedom of many" (*Principles*, 2:510). Institutions that "engage the minds of citizens in public duties . . . tend to preserve and cultivate virtue." Conversely, corrupt institutions "tend to beget tyranny and insolence in the sovereign, servility and vileness in the subject . . . and to fill every heart with jealousy or dejection" (*Institutes*, 293-94). The relationship between civic temper and the political order is intimately symbiotic; civic virtue will lead to the just political order, and the pursuit of the just political order will in turn preserve and enhance civic virtue (*Principles*, 1:261, 2:36). The edifice of a just political order itself represents both the matrix *for* and the object *of* creative civic exertions. The main goal of these efforts is "to guard against the abuses of power, and procure to individuals equal security in their respective stations" (*Principles*, 2:329). Regardless even of the existence of sound "political establishments," the integrity of a constitution lies ultimately in the hands of the public and in its "firm and resolute spirit" (*Essay*, 251).

Far from being a sign of stability, political quiescence hides a sinister truth: "The turbulence of free states is contrasted with the seeming tranquillity of a despotical government" (*Principles*, 2:510). The appearance of disturbance and conflict indicates the *existence*, rather than lack, of rule of law and the protection of such rights as free speech and right of protest. Contrary to Hume's view that faction is pernicious, Ferguson regards the conflicts generated by party factions as both beneficial and virtuous. For this reason, John Robertson suggests that Ferguson favored the institutionalization of "a permanent party system" as a means of entrenching factional conflict within the political culture (Robertson, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 205).

The ideal political order is characterized by the protection of such civil and political rights as political "redress," right of "resistance" and "freedom of speech as well as thought"; Ferguson judges their existence as symptomatic "of just as well as of vigorous government" (*Principles*, 2:510-11). But typically he fails to stipulate just how extensive these rights should be or how they would be achieved and protected.

Militia Scheme. While Ferguson is a perfectibilist committed to progress, he is also a kind of nostalgic moralist, alarmed at the damage done to the moral personality by that same, presumably natural, progress. His practical solution to the wealth/virtue problem lay in recommending the institution of a citizen militia, which would be the best chance of restoring civic virtue while in no way impairing productivity. The beacon of this model was the Swiss system, which Ferguson praised enthusiastically in a letter to William Eden on 2 January 1780: "the only People in Europe who are regularly Armed are the most Industrious & the most Peaceable Citizens" (*Correspondence*, 1:228; Sher, "National Defense"). The Swiss example demonstrated that, contrary to the claims of critics, an armed citizenry does not threaten internal security. He is thus committed, simultaneously, to wealth and virtue, apparently believing that it is possible, after all, to accommodate the two primary goals of a state: security and prosperity.

Soldiering should be singled out and exempted from the normal course of task specialization. Deploring the separation of political, civil, and military "departments," which render practitioners mere "tradesmen," Ferguson recommends instead a "union of departments" to avoid the "ruinous ignorance" that always leads to corruption ("Separation of Departments," 141-51). But his resolve seems weak here: significantly, he stresses that the military must be dominated by the upper classes in order to prevent rebellion against the established social order. People of high rank are "best Educated" and therefore "have the greatest interest in [the state's] Preservation," he states in his unpublished lecture notes of 9 April 1776 (quoted in Sher, "National Defense," 253). Ferguson conveys the impression throughout his corpus that, ideally, it is preferable that the population of able men are "familiar with arms," but in these lecture notes he makes the important qualification that this ideal is impossible in a modern, large-scale, differentiated nation like Britain, where citizens are not "nearly upon a footing of equality" that would otherwise prevent rebellion and threats to the existing order (quoted in Sher, "National Defense," 252).

Educational Program. Ferguson also suggests that governments could justifiably insert some kind of remedial educational program into the existing school curriculum. Acutely aware of this intrusion into the system of "natural liberty" (as Smith referred to it), Ferguson explicitly cites the argument used by Smith in the *Wealth of Nations* that though education is a strictly private concern we may except from "this general rule . . . every case in which defence or publick safety is at stake." Therefore, Ferguson takes the unprecedented step of recommending that "a committee of parliament or other publick authority might no doubt with great advantage be interposed to report from age to age what regulations might be required in publick schools to prepare the rising generation for that part which necessity might impose on every individual for the safety of his country." He implies that this might be some kind of citizenship training with an emphasis on martial skills, for the passage which follows states

that a person "who cannot defend himself is not a man and he who cannot take part in the defence of his country is not a citizen" ("Separation of Departments," 150).

Apart from this and the limited militia scheme, there are no positive recommendations whatsoever for institutional or constitutional reforms to accommodate the high levels of civic interest and participation Ferguson seems to be demanding. And there are certainly no remedial suggestions for the problem of elite rule and mass exclusion. His preferred constitution is always the existing one (except, of course, in the case of despotism) since, to his mind, it has evolved naturally via the various processes and operations of spontaneous order (to be discussed below). This approach leads him to recommend the retention of Britain's existing constitutional monarchy. Contrary to the opinions of some scholars, Ferguson distrusts, *in practice*, "popular or republican" governments, regarding them as little more than "mob rule" and as practically inferior to his preferred model, the "mixed monarchy" (*Remarks*, 9; *History*, 90, 407). Popular rule is a threat to liberty, says Ferguson. After all: "when all the powers of the Roman Senate were transferred to the popular assemblies, the Liberty of Rome came to an end". Clearly "the power of the people is not the good of the people" (*Remarks*, 14, 52; *History*, 222, 243, 407). Ferguson applauds attempts in Rome "to prevent, as much as possible . . . ill-informed assemblies of people from deliberating on matters of state" and deplors moves to reduce the powers of the aristocracy in favor of the "poor" who "were not qualified . . . to be raised to a state of equality." Their influence, he cautions, would be "ruinous to government" (*History*, 303, 310, 96). Commercial nations characterized by a well-developed system of rank distinctions, even where of "a small extent" are "best fitted to aristocratical government or to mixed republic," though absolute monarchies are resoundingly condemned especially where they are hereditary (*Institutes*, 273-74; *History*, 141, 6, 212). Of course, mixed or constitutional monarchies are not entirely antithetical to the civic tradition which is not, as is commonly thought, reducible to republicanism; they can be accommodated within the tradition so long as they represent regularly constituted government (Robertson, "Scottish Political Economy," 167), which is precisely what Ferguson had in mind.

Mixed monarchies are endorsed because they are at least one way of preventing degeneration. Polybius had argued that single types of politics were instable and doomed to collapse; thus Ferguson endorses a kind of neo-Polybian model, with its system of checks and balances, and division of powers: "In our government, King, Lords and Commons are not one power, but three collateral powers, any one of which may stop the motions of the rest" (*History*, 309). Any attempt to introduce a pure or unitary constitutional form would result in either tyranny or anarchy. Conversely, as Ferguson put it in a letter to Christopher Wyvill in Yorkshire on 2 December 1782, one of the "beauties" of the mixed constitution is that "it can withstand many evils without being overthrown" (*Correspondence*, 2:292).

Discussion. We have seen that despite his sustained and intensive critique of industrialization, political elitism, bureaucratic centralization, and the mercenary spirit of the modern age, there is little or no spirit of revolution or dramatic reform in Ferguson. Despite his persistent rhetorical enthusiasm for mass political mobilization, the absence of calls for reforms such as universal suffrage (or even a modest broadening of the franchise), mass representative institutions, a universal militia scheme, or a devolvement in specialization functions seems at odds with his enlightened critique of British social arrangements. Accordingly, Kettler and Lehmann both seem justified in their condemnation of Ferguson's conservatism and his apparent willingness to pay only lip service to the ideal of mass political participation.

It is fair to say that Ferguson was averse to radical innovation of any kind. He never recommended the devolvement of any of the institutions or developments he identified as destructive agents of civil society because, ultimately, he was a defender of commerce and the status quo. Though he led the campaign to secure a Scottish militia, he rallied to the government side in defence of the union. In addition, Christopher Wyvill failed to secure Ferguson's support for the parliamentary reform movement.

And whereas Ferguson ordinarily condemned imperialism and asserted the right of all nations to self-determination, in the case of the American revolt he defended Britain's right of imperial rule. Indeed, he acted as secretary to a commission to Philadelphia to effect conciliation (only to be thwarted by his refusal of a passport to the capital). Ferguson's opposition to American independence is expressed most vehemently in a pamphlet (for which he was commissioned by the British government) entitled *Remarks on a Pamphlet Lately Published by Dr Price*, where he defends the status quo against what he regards as the Americans' ill-considered attempts at democracy and social equality (*Remarks*, 23-24).

Explanations. Discrepant as it first appears, Ferguson's conservatism can be traced easily to his prior theological and sociological commitments. The most important of these is his loyalty to the spontaneous order arrangement. Reacting against the kind of rationalist and contractarian views of history that flourished up to and around his time, Ferguson posited instead a non-cognitive, irrationalist theory of history and social order, presaging structural-functionalist explanations of the development and maintenance of social institutions, patterns, and mores. His approach is also anti-individualist; the achievement of order and change are social processes that occur over time, reflecting the unconscious wisdom of generations rather than the conscious intentions of planners, legislators, or influential actors. The propagation of the species, the origin and maintenance of the family, the division of labor, language, technological and artistic advances, and the emergence of the modern state are just

some of the unintended consequences of actors pursuing their limited goals. Rationality, explicit contract, and long-term planning are displaced by sub-rational drives as the generators of our complex social structures, historical progress, and the general equilibrium of society.

Ferguson emphasizes the polygenesis of our key institutions and the absence of any long-term human design in their development. The symmetry and complexity of government, the harmonious accommodation of its various components, could not conceivably have been the work of a single legislator, however sagacious. Ferguson shares Burke's view that fit and good constitutions always embody the collective wisdom of generations of actors who have shaped it piecemeal and dialectically through centuries of conflict and compromise. Institutions wrought over time by successive generations ought to be protected from the interventions of both reformists and revolutionaries. Ferguson therefore condemns all forms of rapid change and revolutionary spirit (e.g., *Institutes*, 274; *Principles*, 2:291, 496-97), because they disrupt "Nature," whose *modus operandi* is exclusively sub-rational and evolutionary: "No constitution is formed by concert, no government is copied from a plan." Rather, people "proceed from one form of government to another, by easy transitions" (*Essay*, 120). To expose them to the caprices of intemperate reformers would be nothing short of a recipe for disaster. The Americans, he suggests gloomily, "may not know what they are doing." History has taught us "that there is no time of more danger than those times of . . . enthusiastic expectation, in which mankind are bent on great and hazardous change" (*Remarks*, 59, 23-24)).

In the *Principles*, Ferguson poses the rhetorical question: "To what government we should [sic] have recourse, or under what roof should we lodge?" In reply, he declares emphatically: "The present!" (*Principles*, 2:496-97). Our greatest achievements do not arise overnight; a major purpose of Ferguson's writing was to demonstrate that the incremental nature of developments is precisely what fits them to human needs. Our wisdom and competence grow with and through our institutions, which are simultaneously the product and the matrix of spontaneous order. Revolutions bring rapid institutional changes with which we are ill-equipped to cope because we have not evolved with them: "sudden innovations of any sort precipitate men into situations in which they are not qualified to act" (*Institutes*, 274). Each age must be permitted to make its own contribution to the species' development, and since all innovations are time-bound "no age can with advantage legislate unalterably for the ages that follow" ("Separation of Departments," 150).

Ferguson's support for the existing order and his reluctance to play the role of the "Great Legislator" was based, therefore, not on weakness of resolve but on a genuine commitment to an order he conceived as already scientifically perfect and, moreover, divinely ordained. His investigations as a moral philosopher and historian revealed to him a complex pattern of seemingly irrefutable evidence confirming the existence of a social system that was *designed* to be self-ordering, self-adjusting, and self-perpetuating. Ferguson's faith in a spontaneous order is based on his sincere belief in an omniscient, omnipotent, and benevolent "Creator" whom we must trust to look after our best interests and to whom we should resign our will. Practically, this means that we should attend only to our daily concerns and restrict our efforts to objects within our immediate control. This rule applies especially to those with rationalist, constructivist ambitions and delusions of legislative grandeur.

Ferguson sought to avoid revisionism in any of the causes of corruption he identified because they were the products of our otherwise positive and progressive spontaneous order drives. The study of nature's laws shows us that history has its own rationale; the laws of spontaneous order demonstrate the naturalness and inevitability of gradual progress and the corresponding inadvisability of radical reform. While conceding that in most cases "the present government may have its defects, as the walls or roof of the building in which we lodge may be insufficient," he sternly admonishes revolutionaries to "beware you take not away so much of the supports at once as that the roof may fall in" (*Principles*, 1:4).

But Ferguson was not absolute in his conservatism, admitting that there are instances where, under conditions of tyranny, the people have a right to "reclaim" their sovereignty (*Principles*, 1:292). He was prepared to advocate change and even revolution, but only if it could be shown that the existing regime was a state of political slavery which suppressed civic virtue. Ferguson finds himself on the same problematic ground as Burke in attempting (not very successfully) to reconcile the Whig principle of freedom with Tory notions of order. Despotism may sometimes inspire a kind of revolutionary madness, resulting in justifiable tumults: "When the multitude, whose interests so much it is to have settled government, tear down the power by which themselves are protected, we must suppose that they are either seized by madness, or that by wrongs they are driven to despair" (*Principles*, 1:291).

And yet this was the most extreme scenario. Ferguson's endorsement of Francis Hutcheson's earlier defense of the right to resistance contains the important qualification that the present order, however seemingly intolerable, is almost always preferable to "innovation," which, no matter how minor, brings on unforeseen changes which may not be welcome. Innovation should only be a "last remedy" (*Principles*, 2:498). Kettler argues that the significance of this last remark is that it was written during the French Revolution and published by Ferguson during the era of anti-Jacobin hysteria in Britain (Kettler, 299). But Ferguson's position here had been established long before this period and remained stable regardless of changing events. To his mind, the Americans were attempting to erect a constitution in a cultural vacuum. He did not consider the American case to be analogous to those of Roman provinces like Macedonia or Syria (for which he reserved the right to revolt) because he regarded America

as a kind of *terra nullius*, with no history or traditions (other than those conferred upon it by Britain) to distinguish it as either fit for or deserving of independence. It was not a proper nation, merely a plantation, and Britain could not be expected to forego its enormous investment in settling, "nursing," and "protecting" it without a fight. In addition, aside from his objection to revolution, the whole idea of American democracy alarmed Ferguson, who strongly believed that large-scale republics were unstable (*Remarks*, 10, 16, 23, 28-30, 66).

Aside from the spontaneous order constraint, Ferguson also wrote from the perspective of Whig-Presbyterian conservatism, which conceived its role, philosophically, as one of justifying "support for the existing institutional order" and of equating this support with civic virtue. Though the Moderates were liberal on questions of religious and intellectual freedom, they were generally conservative on social and political issues (Sher, *Church and University*, 180, 189, 262). Similarly, Stoic *apatheia* is harnessed in the service of Fergusonian conservatism: resignation to the established order is equated with wisdom and a dedication to the universal good:

I am in the station which God has assigned me, says Epictetus. With this reflection, a man may be happy in every station; without it he cannot be happy in any. Is not the appointment of God sufficient to outweigh every other consideration? This rendered the condition of a slave agreeable to Epictetus, and that of a monarch to Antoninus. This consideration renders any situation agreeable to a rational nature, which delights not in partial interests, but in universal good. (*Institutes*, 158-59)

Accordingly, Ferguson considered as unsociable any disturbance to the social fabric: "We are ill members of society, or unwilling instruments in the hand of God" when "we do our utmost to counteract our nature, to quit our station, and to undo ourselves" (*Institutes*, 158). Ferguson's conservatism was thus bolstered by the twin supports of a philosophical commitment to spontaneously generated order and his Christian-Stoic beliefs.

Conclusion. Any reader of Ferguson will quite sensibly be puzzled by his failure to suggest any institutional mechanisms for generating the new civic realm he seems so anxious to promulgate. There is little to inspire optimism beyond his relatively modest calls for a selective citizen militia scheme, a single allusion to a civics education program, the protection (by undisclosed means) of such liberties as free speech, right of "resistance," and right of protest, and the maintenance of the existing constitution. The most glaring omission, perhaps, is his abandonment of the principle of political equality which, confusingly, he both defends and repudiates in turn. Though Ferguson was profoundly concerned about existing trends, he did not appear to believe that the system needed a major overhaul. It seems that a little judicious tinkering was more what he had in mind. Like Burke, he thought that a few minor reforms were sometimes permissible in order to prevent a degenerative trend which might in all likelihood otherwise lead to complete revolution or "innovation".

The lack of concrete solutions to address the problems which Ferguson made his life's work are partly symptomatic of a paralyzed philosophical position. As a moralist with both sociological sensibilities and a social conscience, he was alarmed at the state of industrializing Britain, but as a perfectibilist anti-contractarian, committed to defending the laws of spontaneous generation, he could encourage neither radical reform nor a return to primitive conditions. Ferguson seemed to believe that the warning he was delivering to the British public, and especially its statesmen, would be incentive enough to bring about the appropriate modifications: this was his particular contribution to the social problems of his day. The textual warning was, itself, a civic act. Describing himself in a letter to Christopher Wyvill of 2 December 1782 as "a Sincere friend of the Constitution," he reflected that since he was "so little able to serve it in practice" he was at least enabled "to pay it all due respect in my Speculations" (*Correspondence*, 2:292). Notwithstanding the awkward corner into which Ferguson had painted himself, his conservatism, while at times disappointing, should be interpreted not so much as a sign of irresponsibility, insincerity, or even philosophical inconsistency as a logical function of his attachment to a mature set of philosophical and moral precepts, namely his dual commitment to Stoic-Presbyterianism, and perhaps more importantly, the spontaneous order arrangement.

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ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2000 - 31 Dec. 2000

- I. Old Bank of Scotland Checking Account (Chambers St, Edinburgh)
Balance 1 Jan. 2000: £6381.14
Income: +£614.00; Expenses: -£6.00 (bank fee)
Transferred to Savings Account Feb. 2000: £2000.00
Transferred to New Bank of Scotland Checking Account in Aug. 2000 (this account closed): £4989.14
- II. Old Bank of Scotland Savings Account (Chambers St, Edinburgh)
Balance 1 Jan. 1999: £2661.61
Income: +£497.24; Transfer of £2000.00 from old checking account; Interest: +£77.32
Transferred to New Bank of Scotland checking account in Aug. 2000 (this account closed): £5238.17
- III. New Bank of Scotland Checking Account (Chambers St., Edinburgh)
Balance 1 Aug. 2000: £10,227.31 (£4989.14 from old checking account and £5238.17 from old savings account)
Income: +£466.00; Interest: +£121.58
Balance 31 Jan. 2000: £10,814.89
- IV. Summit Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)
Balance 1 Jan. 2000: \$7198.44
Income: +\$5624.26
Expenses: -\$5694.83
(Staples and Office Max for paper, supplies, and copying: \$157.50; NJ annual non-profit org. fee: \$30 [2 yrs.]; bank fees: \$47.48; printing: \$1009.00; Toronto conference—ECSSS reception and conference underwriting: \$1000.00; board meeting/dinner: \$336.87; gifts to organizers [CSECS and ECSSS]: \$150.70; conference pictures: \$25.08; travel: \$241; Edinburgh 2002 conference planning luncheon in Edinburgh: \$121.61; Edinburgh 2002 conference housing deposit: \$1535.03; book publication series: \$100.39; American Scottish Foundation [NY planning event]: \$90; ASECS luncheon in Philadelphia: \$570.00; luncheon refund: \$30.00; 25 copies of Toronto exhibition catalogue [for resale to members]: \$250.17)
Transferred to Certificate of Deposit in May 2000: \$3724.68
Balance 31 Dec. 2000: \$3403.19
- V. Old Summit Bank Savings Account (Maplewood, NJ)
Balance 1 Jan 2000: \$2365.33
Interest: +\$16.74; Bank Fees: -\$9
Transferred to Certificate of Deposit May 2000: \$2275.32
Transferred to new checking account Aug. 2000 (this account closed): \$97.75
- VI. Certificate of Deposit (Summit Bank, Maplewood)
Amount at time of purchase in May 2000: \$6000
Interest: \$193.34
Balance 31 Dec. 2000: \$6193.34
- VII. Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2000 [vs. 31 Dec. 1999]: \$9596.53 [\$9563.77] + £10,814.89 [£9042.75]

Recent Articles by ECSSS Members

The items below have been brought to the attention of the editor by our members, many of whom submitted offprints or photocopies 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 2000, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous issues.

- Christopher J. BERRY, "Rude Religion: The Psychology of Polytheism in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *SE*, 315-34.
- Alexander BROADIE, "George Campbell, Thomas Reid, and Universals of Language," in *SE*, 351-71.
- Daniel CAREY, "Hutcheson's Moral Sense and the Problem of Innateness," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 38 (2000): 103-10.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "James Thomson and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Literary Identity," in *James Thomson: Essays for the Tercentenary*, ed. Richard Terry (Liverpool, 2000), 165-90.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS and Sarah Dunnigan, "Two Tales of Tam o' Shanters," *Southfields* 6 (2000): 36-43.
- Ian DUNCAN, "Walter Scott, James Hogg, and Scottish Gothic," in *A Companion to the Gothic*, ed. David Punter (Oxford, 1999).
- Roger EMERSON, "Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A., or, The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)," in *CBSE*, 13-39.
- George FAIRFULL-SMITH, "Art and Design Education Glasgow in the 18th and 19th Centuries," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 4 (1999): 9-16.
- Anita GUERRINI, "'A Scotsman on the Make': The Career of Alexander Stuart," in *SE*, 157-76.
- Maureen HARKIN, "Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*: Sympathy, Women and Emulation," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 24 (1995): 175-90.
- Maureen HARKIN, "Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*: Embalming Sensibility," *ELH* 61 (1994): 317-40.
- Lisa HILL, "Anticipations of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Social Thought in the Work of Adam Ferguson," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 37 (1996): 203-28.
- Lisa HILL, "Adam Ferguson and the Paradox of Progress and Decline," *History of Political Thought* 18 (1997): 677-706.
- Lisa HILL, "Hume, Smith and Ferguson: Friendship in Commercial Society," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 2 (1999): 33-49.
- Lisa HILL, "Ferguson and Smith on 'Human Nature', 'Interest' and the Role of Beneficence in Market Society," *History of Economic Ideas* 4 (1996): 353-399.
- Lisa HILL, "The Invisible Hand of Adam Ferguson," *The European Legacy* 3 (1998): 42-64.
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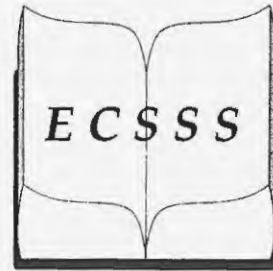
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*EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
SCOTLAND, Spring 2001*

BOOKS *in* REVIEW



*BOOK REVIEW
SUPPLEMENT*

Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialization*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000; distributed in North America by St. Martin's Press (Palgrave). Pp. xi + 354.

This is a very welcome addition to the field. Its remit is economic and social history, as conventionally defined, and although literacy, education, and the role of the kirk get due attention, it does not stray far from the traditional marches of the discipline. It has many virtues. It is comprehensive, current, coherent, and accessible. Unlike some of its predecessors, it does not strive for color, nor is it distressed by the economic or sociological jargon so beloved by some, or overburdened by quantitative data, most of which is of doubtful currency. Some of the study is distinctly original, some covering familiar territory. Where an explanation is made, and made convincingly, then Whatley leaves well enough alone, or as in the rise (say) of the tobacco trade, adds but a short comment; where new ground has been broken, it is underlined; where there is room for further work and thought, a marker is put down, e.g. the need for more research into the improvement of inland transport, or an examination of the experience of the smaller burghs. This approach is ideal for the undergraduate and the general reader alike.

The range of material is impressive: secondary and primary, from the archives of Perth and Dundee, and dealing with life outside Edinburgh and Glasgow. It is significant how often the footnotes cite archival sources, not merely provide a fat list of secondary authorities which buttress so much current scholarship. Much is his own delving, and splendid use is made, for example, of the Convention of Royal Burgh papers in the City of Edinburgh Archives, a magnificent hoard largely untapped hitherto. Postgraduate investigation gets due acknowledgement. Whatley has a broad perspective, and shows awareness of gender issues. The situation of the female coal bearers condemned to the harshest of working conditions underground, victims of gender and serfdom alike, is reappraised. Yet for the awfulness of their work, or so it is argued here, it appears that some were able to demonstrate a degree of independence within the labor market; to receive money wages for their labor from the hewers. Their exploitation has to be qualified: the labor market was more complex than has been allowed.

The Introduction flags two distinct positions, where Whatley breaks with orthodoxy or the majority view. The first is the state of the Scottish economy in the last decades before the Union of 1707. Were the troubles of the 1690s just a "blip" from which there would have been a natural recovery, in which case the Union was less necessary and beneficial than the pro-unionist school has held? Or was the situation much worse? Whatley thinks it was "profoundly serious" and incapable of retrieval without the opportunities and protection that the Union offered. Foreign trade was slipping into deep and long-term recession, manufacturing low in quality, agriculture mostly very backward, and the European context of economic nationalism hard on a poor and peripheral economy without any high cards to play. For eighteenth-century growth, the Union was necessary. The other proposition which comes through with a real force—and is perhaps more original—relates to the nature of Scottish society and government. There is a long-held view that the Scots (in the Lowlands anyway) were an uninflamable people, easily governed, and readily shaped into an industrial nation, thanks to the influence of the landowning elite and the role of the kirk—"the mouthpiece of the lairds." There might be an occasional food riot, or mob disturbance, and even a "levellers' revolt," but mostly, though the economy was changing, the people below were quiet and accepting. Even the French Revolution, and its ideas, only ruffled the surface of the waters, and the Radical War of 1820 was nothing but a pathetic squeak. Whatley shows that the reality was much more complex, and the level of challenge to the existing power structures consistent and serious. Substantial anger and protest did exist, and was difficult to contain, but what may have distinguished it in Scotland was that it mostly looked not to revolution but to restoration of the old moral order. But the events of the period c.1816-1825 were serious in the extreme, and the outcome was as defining a moment as the final defeat of Jacobitism in 1746. That is a provocative statement.

Mannered writing has not always been a characteristic of Scottish historiography, but this study is a model of considered scholarship and composition. The use of language is careful, and tends if anything to understatement. Variant positions and alternative interpretations are treated with respect (e.g., "a perfectly reasonable position"); where they need revision in the light of new evidence, that is done politely. Only occasionally does the courtesy slip; one writer "sneers"; another argues strenuously but (we infer) not so as to convince. This is a study to read, interest, and inform.

Alastair J. Durie, University of Glasgow

T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*. London: Penguin, 2000. Pp. xii + 645.

Tom Devine's new history of modern Scotland, already a bestseller, has been praised for its comprehensive survey of an emergent industrial economy and urban society, especially during the nineteenth century. In his introduction he himself calls this "the core of the book." Despite its large scale, other topics can as a result seem somewhat squeezed. Especially readers interested in the Enlightenment may feel shortchanged.

The Enlightenment was after all one of the few eras, arguably the only one, when what went on in Scotland attained significance for the rest of the world. Many countries have had coal mines or steel works or shipbuilding yards; many have seen the peasantry driven off the land; Scotland alone had David Hume and Adam Smith. Intellectual historians from elsewhere have at times been guilty of ignoring or distorting the national setting for Enlightenment in the Scottish case, but indigenous scholars can equally be blamed for failing to integrate the nation's modest degree of exceptionalism into its history. This has led to a captious and sterile debate about whether the Enlightenment was Scottish at all or an alien importation. Few indeed have done the matter justice, and Devine does not improve things.

Despite having begun his eminent career as a historian of the eighteenth century, with his classic study of the tobacco lords in Glasgow, Devine seems oddly uneasy with the ideas which might have been in the minds of the men who taught Smith all he knew about trade. The account here of the Enlightenment revolves round a definition of it as something inspired by "faith in reason." But the invisible hand is hardly a tool of reason, while Hume had said reason was a slave of the passions. In other words, this starting point is ill-chosen, and if anything misleading for non-specialists. The point is not that enlightened Scots exalted reason above all else, but that they had a view of humanity rounded enough to take in its irrationality too.

After this shaky start, it is no surprise that the story of the Scottish intellect peters out rather quickly, in fact as soon as is decently possible after the death of Sir Walter Scott. By that time Devine's blurred focus on the culture has already veered off toward the identity, especially kilts, tartans and so on. Identity is clearly important, yet not quite the same as culture. Few giants of the Victorian achievement—say, Thomas Chalmers or Thomas Carlyle or Lord Kelvin or William Robertson Smith—ever wore a kilt, so far as I know, while later still Hugh MacDiarmid counseled firmly against it. The reader may get the feeling that something essential is being missed here.

One trouble is that much Scottish historiography remains antiquated in methodology, reliant on a sub-Marxist apparatus of socio-economic analysis regarding culture as derivative, even superficial. More advanced schools of cultural and intellectual history, which seek not to run a juggernaut of universal theory over western societies but to individuate them, are not well represented in the universities of Scotland. Since Devine claims to be summarizing the academic work of others, at least in part, it is easy to understand why his approach remains so relentlessly materialist.

Yet the three hundred years of Union have produced a Scottish society and economy remarkably similar to English society and economy on all conventional measures; looking at these, someone without any other knowledge would have to conclude that here were two countries virtually identical. In real life they have been growing apart, in certain respects at least, during recent decades. How does Devine explain the paradox? The short answer is that he does not. The irruption of nationalism into Scottish politics, dated to the by-election at Hamilton in 1967, appears in his book almost as a bolt from the blue.

So, surprisingly for such a huge volume, it contains few answers to the sort of questions that people who might buy it are asking about Scotland. Scots themselves, nowadays often ashamed of their ignorance of national history, seek to know what Scotland is and what Scotland means, and look back into the past in search of answers. Foreigners arrive asking why this bleak land on the edge of Europe, once apparently happy with full assimilation to Union and Empire, should have begun to re-emerge as a nation and advance into a future which, to say the least, remains open. Devine's response on both counts is to descant on an interesting example of a modern industrial economy, which may not be the thing either group has in mind. It is what makes Scotland different, what makes Scotland Scotland, that is interesting. What name shall we call the difference but a cultural difference?

Michael Fry, Edinburgh

David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Ideas in Context, Volume 59. Pp. xi + 239.

This is the expression in monograph form of work that started as a Cambridge Ph.D. It has already given birth to a series of articles as Armitage has moved from post-doctoral fellowships into a well-deserved associate professorship of history at Columbia University. His articles cover topics like the emporialist (i.e. trying to set up a trading emporium) rather than imperialist ideology behind the Scots attempt to establish a colony at Darien in Panama. However, the most important of his articles is his chapter on literature and empire in the *Oxford History of the British Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (1998). That volume, though full of good material, is really conceptually indefensible, as shrewd reviewers have said. The incoherent global activities described in the volume do not add up to anything that can be described as an empire, and least of all a British one. To his credit, Armitage wrote a chapter that surveyed the multiple ambiguities of the term "empire" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He also stressed the existence of a large vein of skepticism about imperial experience, much of it rooted in a common classical culture. In so doing, he bucked rather than conformed to the standard technique, especially in English departments, of plundering the literature selectively to set up a bogey which it is politically correct to denounce.

He has here to wrestle with the fundamental problem that if there is one thing that cannot possibly be said to have been an engine of empire in the anglophone world before 1700, it was ideology. Starting with the debates surrounding the attempts by Henry VIII and Protector Somerset to pull Scotland forcibly into an "Empire of Great Britain," he shows how the rhetoric of assertion of historic English overlordship, and its denial by Scots theorists who used renaissance humanist scholarship to deconstruct neo-feudal English claims, set a vocabulary in motion but otherwise hardly mattered. Much more important, it is generally thought, were Elizabethan theorists of empire, though the fact has to be faced that there is no sign of interest in empire on the part of the queen, and there was no English empire when she died. The ramblings in print of a distinctly unbalanced Welsh magus, John Dee, with their apparently prophetic vision of an Elizabethan maritime thalassocracy, based on the assertion of a *mare clausum* doctrine on an Atlantic basis, had as much practical impact as his pursuit of the stone that can turn base metals into gold.

Armitage makes an outstanding contribution to Hakluyt studies, another fatal trap for the selective plunderer of printed sources. He shows how little the younger Hakluyt, despite his clerical status, conforms to the stereotype of the fanatical anti-Catholic English identity which scholars have been persuading themselves was becoming dominant in this period. Hakluyt was a scholastic who based his, mainly secular, arguments on the classics, Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. Samuel Purchas, so often treated as continuing Hakluyt, is here shown to be very different. He is much more Protestant, but as the author argues convincingly, must be seen as using an idiom tied to the controversies of the reign in England and Ireland of that congenitally pacific and pro-Spanish Scots monarch James VI and I, who came from another tradition of discourse. The analysis of seventeenth-century thought in the Caroline, Cromwellian, and Restoration periods is impressive in its sophistication. It brings out just how many different meanings and contexts there existed for the word "empire," and the contested relationships between these concepts and other debated but culturally much more important words such as "liberty."

In the eighteenth century there is both a much larger relevant literature and a fascinating interplay between English, Scots, and Irish views. Because of the old argument over the ambiguity of Ireland's relationship with England, where attempts to impose a colonial relationship could be met with the historic assertion of the rights of an equal kingdom, rooted in the fact that the medieval Lordship of Ireland legally was England, it tended to be people like the Ulsterman Governor Samuel Dobbs who produced plans for a coherent British Atlantic community based on equal rights for all subjects. Armitage shows how much more mixed the Scottish response to a messy imperial reality was, even in the case of someone like James Thomson of "Rule Britannia" fame. David Hume, like his friend Adam Smith, lurks here, subverting and undermining anything smacking of popular enthusiasm, such as an imperial identity. Armitage has written a splendid book.

Bruce P. Lenman, University of St. Andrews

Rosalind Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574-1845*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000. Pp. 246.

A reader who expects to find in Scotland's old Poor Law the warm, Christian heart of the established Church of Scotland, or the humane generosity and tolerance of an enlightened eighteenth-century century gentry, or a recognizable imitation of the Jesus of the gospels from the nineteenth-century evangelicals, will be disappointed. Nor do the Scots show up as intrinsically more humane or egalitarian than the English. This book traces the statutory and practical provision for the poor after the Reformation in Scotland, and the part in it required of both church and landowners. The lack of formal legislation during the eighteenth century makes it necessary to examine

case law developments, the kirk sessions records, and other primary sources such as the Old Statistical Account (OSA). Mitchison shows that since both the heritors (landowners, closely enmeshed with the legal fraternity) and the kirk and its ministers had a vested interest in misinformation and misrepresentation, secondary sources emanating from either that proclaim a satisfactory state of affairs should be treated skeptically; primary sources show a different picture. In the early nineteenth century, an unholy alliance between landowners and the evangelicals was so inadequate to the crises of the day that it finally resulted in the Westminster Parliament's Commission. The Great Disruption divided the kirk, and the new Poor Law Act for Scotland was passed in 1845.

Mitchison examines these primary sources with her customary attention to the detail of objective evidence and the human imaginative sympathy which brings it all to life. Her gift for vignettes of individuals and interacting groups, like the parish feuds in Humble, or Archibald McIntyre of Queensferry parish and his family's involvement with New Lanark, stimulates a lively desire to carry out some of the further research she promises is waiting to be done. Will any supporter of the "self-help" advocates and Thomas Chalmers want to defend them against Alison's denunciation of the disastrous consequences for the poor of their opposition to the legal imposition of "poor-rates" taxes?

The "poor" always comprised at least two groups: the helpless poor and the contingent poor. The former were the crippled, the blind, the infirm aged, very young orphans, foundlings, and lunatics, for whom the Church accepted the duty of Christian charitable support at some level, and who were the primary "pensioners," recipients of the Poor Box voluntary collections. The other poor were those who fell into poverty through personal disaster, bad harvests, war, or recession, as agricultural reform removed the whole cottar class and rural interdependence, and industrial and commercial development brought migration and economic vulnerability to the newly urbanized communities. Mitchison covers aspects such as the abolition of the feudal jurisdictions in the Highlands after the '45, and the limited support for the provision of poorhouses between 1740 and 1770, as well as arguments over principles such as whether the poor should receive relief at survival level or just below, in order to ensure that they were not as well off as the working low-paid.

The kirk was recognized as the primary agent for poor relief; it was thus concerned with definitions of eligibility, and arguments about what constituted "settlement" in a particular parish. In practice, especially in unassessed parishes, the provision of help was often limited by the funds available, but was often kinder to the "vagrants" than the law, which, concerned mainly with policing, ordered their arrest and expulsion. In the OSA, ministers express their concern about the social and economic changes, and the effects of the continuing amalgamation of farms and absenteeism of heritors. The dilemma for eighteenth-century ministers was their own dependence on the heritors, who were so keen to avoid "assessment" (i.e., compulsory tax on the landowners and tenants, for the poor), but were often mean and unreliable about voluntary supplementation of the poor box when necessary. Other sources of funds, such as mortcloth hire, seat rents, and mortifications (legacies) are described, but in the end the arguments boiled down to the question of assessment, a struggle for control of the funds between the kirk sessions and the heritors, and disputes between parishes about who was responsible for which of the poor, and whether support should extend to the involuntarily unemployed and very low-paid.

The book is well-printed and comfortable to use, and a full apparatus includes abbreviations, a map of nineteenth-century Scotland, a short glossary of Scots vocabulary and legal terms, a note on Scottish and English currency, and a five-page bibliography, which includes some local history productions as well as official and academic works. The index could be fuller, and I spotted three typos (pp. 58, 111, 214). Sensibly, it is not overloaded with specific references to the kirk sessions records in the National Archives of Scotland (previously the Scottish Record Office), as these are easily identified and found. For the Old Statistical Account, Mitchison uses the more widely available 1983 modern edition, but I had no difficulty cross-checking other references from the original OSA. Altogether this is a very useful basic text on this subject, and a starting point for much further research.

Marion Ralls, University of Edinburgh

R. A. Houston, *Madness and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. xiii + 450.

Rab Houston has written an excellent social history of madness in Scotland that immediately takes its place as an essential part of the history of madness in general. Both iconoclastic and carefully researched in terms of theory as well as archive, *Madness and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* respects both the mentally ill and the society (family, friends, larger institutions, and so on) in which they lived. Houston does not shy away from the very real problems and suffering of the "mad," whether defined as "fatuous" (idiotic, imbecilic) or "furious" (deranged, raving, lunatic), and the problems they created for those around them.

Contrary to popular twentieth-century theories of anti-psychiatry, Houston sees the eighteenth-century mad not as victims of monological oppression by a society that needed to suppress madness, but as part of a more complex process in which more humanity was shown than corresponds to our usual stereotypes of the mad-as-freakshow, as in London's Bedlam. Rarely were the mad seen as bestial or demonic by their contemporaries: one of Houston's useful points is the need to avoid confusing literary and other representations of the mad with the way people regarded them in actual social interactions. The mad were really ill, according to both Houston and their contemporaries, and as such needed help and, if necessary, containment to prevent them from damaging other people.

The aim of the book is to trace how madness and, by implication, sanity were defined in the Scottish long eighteenth century, although the book tends to concentrate on the latter half of this period. This chronology is skewed by Houston's main interest, mostly "manuscript sources generated about mentally incapable people at the local level"; that is, "civil court inquests into the capacities of individuals to manage their own affairs" which were usually brought by relatives before a court (p. 4). The judge and jury assessed the evidence. Another useful source is the insanity defense pleaded in criminal trials. Documentation of these sources appears more fully in the later part of the eighteenth century. Although Houston does use other writings, such as diaries, letters, newspaper comments, and the like, his real interest is in the social and legal process of defining the lunatic. In this he differs from other recent work in the field of madness, such as that of Akihito Suzuki, using the writing of administrators or medics.

Methodologically, Houston is not interested in writing a medical history: the focus falls on the interaction between the mad and the juridical process in which family, friends, and other lay individuals from various social classes would participate in defining the degree of madness, if any, in the person to be "cognosed." Clearly one problem with these sources is their tendency to select the property-owning mad: the poor's management of their affairs not being of comparable significance. One would expect the malice of relatives, the usual bringers of these cases to court, to be a primary motive; in fact Houston shows that the motivations for cognosing individuals were complex, and that, although malice could be a factor, more often the behavior of the person in a certain context would be enough to generate social consensus about the lunacy of the individual. Houston's point is that most lay people were largely untouched by the complexities of medical theory and were clear in their definitions of what was mad and what was normal.

Although no behavior is intrinsically mad or sane, the social context, such as inappropriate actions or speech in church, would be enough to cause people to doubt sanity. Combined with further investigations, a court would be able to decide with relatively little controversy whether or not the subject was mad; medical comments were not the major factor in any investigation, and indeed many doctors would tone down their medical language in deference to these broader definitions of madness, even being reluctant to define the type of madness in medical terms at all. The words of the insane themselves were not particularly the object of investigation, being seen by contemporaries as largely meaningless; lay terminology about madness proves to be surprisingly flexible, however.

The book examines the patterns of madness across Scottish society, dealing with gender, class, age, seasonality, geographical distribution, marital status, religion, and so on. On the thorny issue of female madness, Houston debunks representations of women as victims: in fact they were less likely to be cognosed than men in this period. Finding no specifically female construct of madness in the court cases assessed, Houston argues that the financial and social consequences of men as property owners being mad were more serious than those of relatively powerless and propertyless women, resulting in the more likely "cognition" of men. Clearly this argument, given Houston's particular sources, raises as many questions as it answers, as does much of the rest of the book. However, this is part of the strength of a ground-breaking study that will generate further research and debate for years to come.

Clark Lawlor, University of Northumbria at Newcastle

Peter Clark, **British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World**. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000. Oxford Studies in Social History. Pp. xviii + 516.

At first glance, this book, which devotes small space to Scottish clubs, would seem to be of little interest to those who specialize in Scottish history and related topics. To draw that conclusion would be a mistake, however, because this fine bit of social history says a good deal about Scotland, if only by implication. Clark set out to study "a major new form of social institution" (p. 470), the club, society, and association which took form during the seventeenth century. He has tried to trace the forces which originated, promoted, and changed clubs and to number and locate them in their urban, regional and national settings in Great Britain and throughout the Empire, from Calcutta to Quebec. He has studied their changing recruitment bases, the forms of their management, and their success in promoting their objectives—success which he finds more limited than is often thought.

He sees them as creating spaces for a "public sociability" which still contained elements of the private sphere. Eschewing talk about "the public sphere" (p. 463) and "flatulent theorizing" (p. 490) about the "evolution of civil society" (p. 487), he prefers to concentrate upon the ways in which legal, urban, economic, and political conditions and patterns of sociability involving drink and food worked to create new kinds of "social spaces" which were *sui generis* and constantly changed as the societies in which they were situated also changed.

In the end, this study suggests that the Scots were perhaps a bit slower than the English to create clubs, and that despite having a female club by c.1717 (p. 91), their clubs were more masculine and lacking in women by the end of the eighteenth century than was the case in England. English benefit societies in 1803-4 had five percent women members (p. 198), a figure the Scots probably did not match. Scots also had fewer club members generally. By 1800 more than a third of the men in London belonged to clubs and about a third of the men in England as a whole did so. In Scotland, the number was about half the English rate, with Glasgow having the most club men. In Scotland, clubs were probably less likely to cross the language divide and so would not so easily have related town and country or integrated Highlanders into a single nation. Scottish clubs in London and throughout the Empire did have this function and served to ease the strains of migration. Like most clubs in the period, Scottish ones tended to be dependent upon urban expansion, newspapers, and the development of proper premises for meetings. Few were incorporated and few lasted for long periods or left extensive and well-preserved records. Nevertheless, they did provide many members with quasi-political experiences and helped to popularize notions of progressive change and improvement. They helped to shape "provincial identities" and were "a force for local autonomy" (p. 471). Clark, perhaps, over-emphasizes the degree to which Scottish clubs promoted the assimilation of English ways and ideas in Scotland, but he is surely correct to see British clubs as generally promoting education and modernization, and marginally increasing and forcing the pace of change in agriculture and perhaps even in industry.

In coming to these and other judgments, Clark has surveyed a vast literature which appears in his footnotes, including most but not all the books and articles on Scottish clubs. Though a bibliography would have been helpful, this work will be for a long time the obvious place to begin research on any topics dealing with clubs in Great Britain or the Empire. Most of what Clark says about the clubs he notices in Scotland seems sensible. He is particularly interesting on the Freemasons, whom he sees as a body that "operated closer to the mainstream of British associations" (p. 312) than Margaret Jacob and others have believed. Still, his club men in Scotland and elsewhere promoted the circulation of ideas and, because of their appeal to members from many social levels, they may have made the Enlightenment in Britain more widespread and deeper than it was in other parts of the western world. They too lived an enlightenment, but the institutions which helped to make this possible are presented here as rather uniquely British.

The book has sixteen plates, a few tables, and a serviceable index. It is well produced and has few typographical errors.

Roger L. Emerson, University of Western Ontario

Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Pp. xvii + 369.

This study explores how classic and humanist traditions of historiography were being challenged and transformed during this period—how linear narrative, exemplary and judgmental kinds of distancing and closure were all being mediated and even sometimes effaced by an increasing concern for the "historicization of everyday life" (p. 320). Historiography gradually went from wearing powdered wigs and knee-breeches to going more sans-culottes: "For the most part writers did not directly attack the 'dignity of history', nor did they need to; instead they pressed the claims of common life and inwardness so effectively that history's proverbial dignity comes to look like a mark of pompous weakness, not of strength" (pp. 139-40). Making all of this possible was the inclusion of an expanded "family of related genres" (p. 343) in what constitutes "history": conjectural history, biography, memoirs and diaries, letters, and by the end of the period even edited "histories" (e.g., Croker's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, or a deciphered Pepys)—as a "process of editorial reframing" (p. 309) to rationalize knowing the intimate secrets of a subject's personal life.

To accomplish his goals, Phillips limits his concerns to national, even more Scottish examples, excluding Gibbon and also paying less attention than might have been expected to the other two members of the British triumvirate—Hume and Robertson. Although Hume appears pervasively as a pivotal example and touchstone of shifting practice and expectation, there is very little detailed analysis of his historical writing itself, and Robertson is almost as invisible as Gibbon. Instead, Phillips concentrates on a God's plenty of lesser-known writers, and this is the genuine strength and value of his work. There are too many revealing treatments of these figures to comment on: one of my favorites is the examination of James Mackintosh.

I would recommend that a reader perhaps ignore the Preface and Introduction, which are unduly long and unfocused, and read the Conclusion first. There Phillips clearly and incisively describes what his book has been doing and then closes by engaging theorists like R. G. Collingwood and Hayden White for their strictures on Enlightenment historians for being entirely non-historicist, perhaps not even historians at all. Phillips points out the inconsistencies and contradictions of these arguments: these “critics want to reduce eighteenth-century practice to a single, frozen posture of distanciation, and [they] arrive at this drastic simplification by privileging a romantic desire for identification as foundational for a true understanding of history. . . . Such an assumption, however, is clearly unhistorical and cannot stand up to a more catholic reading of the history of historiography Surely Collingwood’s own philosophical program would require us to look at eighteenth-century historiography, no less than any other practice or institution, as [in Collingwood’s own words] ‘having its own *raison d’être* and coming into existence to serve the needs of the men whose minds have corporately created it.’” (p. 349).

One of my few reservations concerning the book’s argument is that when describing the practice of Hume and others, Phillips always uses the terms “portrait” and “portraiture” for what would have been thought of then (and properly now) as characters (or character-sketches). Thus, in not recognizing the developing tradition of the character from Theophrastus to its adoption and transformation in the seventeenth century into a kind of psychograph of an historical individual, Phillips tends to see what he conceives of as a “portrait” as merely an unfortunate vestige of classical historiography. The term “portrait” would imply a one-dimensional, sometimes perfunctory separation from or adornment of the narrative, whereas a character, with its attempt to understand what lies behind the facade, becomes the fusion and explanation of the whole narrative. They of course could be separate essays, such as Halifax’s celebrated “Character of Charles II” or that series of contemporary characters by Chesterfield or even Hume’s own character of Walpole, but they were innovatively combined with history (as with Hume and Robertson) and biography: in Samuel Johnson’s major lives of poets like Milton, Dryden, or Pope, the character is right in the middle of the piece, suggesting that what precedes it in an individual examination of works and what follows in an account of the life will be accounted for psychologically by the medial character.

It seems to me that this understanding of the character would have played well into Phillips’ whole attempt to see generic innovation in the historiography of the age. His treatment of Hume’s “portrait” of Charles I suggests that Hume now departs from his largely sympathetic treatment in the narrative and ends mainly with blame, but the very passage he cites (p. 71) is clearly a culmination of the sympathetic treatment of a flawed man, exonerating Charles: all the normal rules of human conduct had been suspended by the religious madness of the time, and how could a king even more adaptable than Charles have dealt with it?

Phillips has done his research thoroughly, and his footnotes are a trove of valuable references to his subject. In his treatment of Johnson, he draws on *Rambler* No. 60 (on biography) but seems unaware of *Idler* No. 84 (on autobiography), which would have been invaluable. He says that little attention has been given to literary historians of the age, but he might have consulted Lawrence Lipking’s *Ordering of the Arts* and Adam Potkay’s two recent books.

And, though his primary and secondary sources are listed in a “Selected Bibliography,” the index is unfortunately quite inadequate. This is a shame, because despite Pope’s satirical jab at “index-learning . . . [that] holds the eel of science by the tail,” scholars have to depend on a good index to find or recall specific information. Not all pages on which primary authors appear are listed; secondary authors are rarely indexed; nor are subjects and themes helpfully referenced. I noticed only a few typos or other such problems (Donald Livingston’s name is consistently misspelled). For the audience of this book, there seems little need for the placement of “[sic]” after not-yet-standardized spellings, and this practice is inconsistent, for many such spellings are not so marked.

Overall, then, even if in his major argument Phillips has probably not revealed a development that we might not have already known or suspected, he has thoroughly—as in the case of Fermat’s last theorem—demonstrated its truth. His study is completely authoritative. As a scholar trained in history, he is also commendably informed and perceptive in literary matters. And, despite an occasional lapse into theoretical jargon, he usually writes with force and clarity. Let me end with one example. After citing Croker’s anguished response to Boswell’s unseemly biographical revelations—that Johnson “passed almost unblemished through so terrible an ordeal!”—Phillips continues: “This was meant as homage to Johnson, but it was also an uncomfortable tribute to Boswell and Boswell’s art. To recognize greatness in Boswell’s Johnson was a very different thing than to salute it in one of Plutarch’s heroes. His was not a greatness of public doing, but a greatness in being seen. It was a kind of greatness in little things in reach of us all—and so lost by all” (p. 305). How true, and how well said!

Donald T. Siebert, University of South Carolina, Columbia

Raimund Ottow, **Markt-Republik-Tugend. Probleme gesellschaftlicher Modernisierung im britischen politischen Denken 1670-1790**. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996. Pp. 459.

This study has much more to say about the Scottish philosophy of the eighteenth century than its title might suggest. In fact, it is one of the few comprehensive modern studies of the Scottish Enlightenment in German, and it would have been even more pertinent had Ottow not included his brief discussion of some seventeenth-century English thinkers, including, for example, William Temple and John Locke. His argument about British political thought from 1690 to 1790 is, however, problematic in many ways. He has not, for instance, attempted to strike a balance between the English and the Scottish material he discusses, nor has he really related the different discourses of late seventeenth-century England to the debates of eighteenth-century Scotland.

As the author argues in his introductory chapters (pp. 13-103), the interest of this study lies in the analyses of how intellectual traditions are transformed under the impact of the modernization of society. The older connotation of virtue, he claims, has changed considerably, as has society on the whole. The public and private spheres begin to be much more differentiated as the structure of state and society become more complex. Arguably, "the logic of the market" (p. 44) played an important role in this process of differentiation and change, which led to competition for social prestige and increasing social mobility. This, in turn, allowed for a more exclusive private sphere and personal reasoning and self-determination. In the course of this development, the notion of liberty was further differentiated, too, into a social, negative, liberty of personal freedom on the one hand, and an active political liberty on the other. Ottow argues that this development has to be seen as the driving motive for "the beginning of actual liberal discourse" (p. 52).

For the scholar interested in Scottish intellectual life, the structure of this book unfortunately disguises its merits and the intellectual richness of its treatment of eighteenth-century Scotland. Only in the fourth chapter does Ottow turn to his actual subject, where he builds extensively on earlier studies (notably by Richard B. Sher, Nicholas Phillipson, and John Robertson), which allows him to develop an interesting and stimulating interpretation of the thinkers discussed. He devotes seven sub-chapters to various thinkers such as Andrew Fletcher, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Lord Kames, Sir James Steuart, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson. But what is missing from the overall structure of this study is present in the chapter on Scotland (pp. 147-414); that is to say, although Ottow addresses these thinkers in separate sub-chapters, he ties them together neatly in his underlying argumentation. Thus, he not only provides an interesting comparative account of the main Scottish thinkers of the eighteenth century, but he also tackles the underlying issues of these contemporary discourses. Whether the notion of virtue was possible in the early modern period under the conditions of a commercial society is also seen by Ottow as one of the main concerns and intellectual challenges of the period. He argues against a one-sided interpretation, which might see the "country-position" as inclined to be anti-modern. On the contrary, he contends that, "among all the authors of the eighteenth century discussed in this study there are positive references to be found in favor of the 'country-position'. . . . This demonstrates that the 'country' ideology could adapt to modern politics, which in turn proves that a one-sided interpretation of the 'country' camp as anti-modern can be seen as refuted" (p. 420). The main concern which occupied all Scottish thinkers, he argues convincingly throughout his study, was the accelerated modernization of society, which had the driving force of the market society at its heart. Thus, an unreflected reference to ancient models of virtue and society was no longer sufficient to address these problems. Ottow discusses the various theories offered by the Scottish thinkers to come to terms with these problems in a meticulous and insightful way. Furthermore, he presents a wide range of material and different arguments in a stimulating manner, which will not only be of interest to specialists in the Scottish Enlightenment but will also be appreciated by all students of intellectual history.

Peter Schröder, University College London

August Benz, **Die Moralphilosophie von Thomas Reid zwischen Tradition und Innovation**. Bern, Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt, 2000. St. Galler Studien zur Politikwissenschaft, Band 23. Pp. ix + 276.

Despite the title, this book concentrates not only on Reid's moral philosophy *strictu sensu* but on his political philosophy as well. The focus of this book is the presentation of Reid as a "practical" thinker, interested in concrete political affairs from a neo-stoical point of view, combined with a common sense "realism" (in the practical sense). During the past two hundred years, Reid has not been very notorious as a political philosopher, and Benz asks whether this is legitimate. In fact, he seeks a dialogue with the recent reappraisal of Reid's writings on politics and political philosophy by scholars such as Knud Haakonssen, Peter Diamond, and Kurtis G. Kitawaga. According to Benz, their studies contain serious flaws in their global interpretation of Reid's reflections on natural law, "political jurisprudence" and the more concrete political affairs of his days. In particular, they fail to take into account the significance of Reid's tract "Some thoughts on the Utopian System," partially published late in his life. Benz argues in his Foreword that the "problem" to be solved is twofold: (i) to show how Reid's text on

utopianism forms the clue to a reappraisal of him as a political philosopher; (ii) to correct the interpretation given of Reid's political philosophy by the aforementioned scholars. Benz's main thesis is that Reid at the end of his life became less a defender of a conservative *status quo* but took a more voluntaristic, reformatory stance towards political affairs. In this sense, his tract on utopianism reflects a shift from a purely theoretical interest in politics—where Reid is not at all original in recycling ideas of major forerunners such as Harrington, Montesquieu, and modern natural law philosophers—to a more practical, “innovative” attitude toward politics. In particular, Reid believed (according to Benz) that the moral climate of his “modern” Scottish political society could be improved by strengthening a Stoic public morality, which would at the same time transform the rigid orthodoxy of Presbyterianism.

This book is written with great sympathy for Scottish philosophy in general, and the figure of Reid in particular. I enjoyed very much reading the first two parts, where valuable information is given and a nice global picture sketched of the moral, religious, and political background of Reid's practical philosophy. In Part III, a general estimation is given of Reid's all-too-well-known critique on Hume's “way of ideas,” but I do not see how this part adds anything substantial to the author's major thesis. Moreover, when reading Part III, I started to wonder whether this book adds more than a footnote to our actual understanding of Reid's practical philosophy. This feeling did not change when reaching the final parts of the book. Maybe Benz could have made his task much easier: he could have taken as his main goal to write a well informed, balanced, and intelligent “introduction” to the practical and moral philosophy of Thomas Reid, focusing on his Stoic background. When read from this perspective, the book appears to be a good introduction for German readers to the moral thought of a philosopher whom most of them, under the unhappy influence of Kantianism and Hegelianism, have underestimated all too long.

Willem Lemmens, University of Antwerp/UFSIA, Belgium

Maurizio Maione, *Scienza, linguaggio, mente in Thomas Reid*. Rome: Carocci, 2001. Pp. 183.

This book attests to the current efflorescence of Italian scholarship on the Scottish Enlightenment. It is a highly articulate and innovative interpretation of the philosophy of Thomas Reid based on both his published and unpublished work. According to Maione, changes in Reid's philosophy of mind register the more general shift in eighteenth-century physiology from a mechanistic Cartesian-Newtonian model to a vitalistic understanding of the body. Drawing on Robert Whytt's physiological investigations, Reid fostered a non-dualistic approach to the philosophy of mind, and transformed Whytt's physiology into a theory of our cognitive operations. Whytt's analysis of the activity of both the central nervous system and the vital sentient principle led Reid to emphasise the close relationship between the operations of the mind and the cognitive or pre-cognitive nature of sensory motor activity. Thus, for Maione, Reid's position is close to the modern theory of emergentism, even though Reid did not render it explicit in his published works for both contingent and prudential reasons.

However, in his critique of the “way of ideas,” Reid did challenge the static view of the mind as a receptacle for ideas or images originating in the reproductive imagination of the *sensorium commune* and known according to the Newtonian laws of geometrical optics. Taking William Porterfield's study of vision as his starting point, Reid approached the study of the mind in terms of dynamic processes. His faculty psychology, as Maione points out, is a theory of the relational modalities of our cognitive operations. Knowledge depends on the *intentional* nature of mind mediated by the power of *suggestion*. Sensation, perception, memory, and imagination are related to the *bodily consciousness* which governs, through pre-intentional forms, the proprioceptive qualities of sensory motor activity. Common sense, therefore, seems like a biological device which superintends cognitive activity in its interaction with the external world. For Maione, this activity is very similar to the “modularization processes” described by modern neuroscience. Similarly, in his theory of vision, Reid started from Molyneux's problem in reconsidering the act of seeing, the experience of distance, and the recognition of objects as an effect of the interaction of experience, bodily consciousness, and unconscious cognitive processes. Reid's “geometry of visibles” was the most original and remarkable outcome of his investigations.

Finally, Maione skillfully analyzes Reid's theory of language. Maione argues that Reid did not simply put forward a theory of logical meaning, but also approached the modern theory of speech acts by dwelling on our use of natural signs. For Reid, artificial languages are based on our use of natural signs, which are themselves bound up with the social operations of the mind. Natural signs can thus be seen as being adaptive and domain-specific motor actions, which serve as precognitive or pre-linguistic structures. This naturalistic theory of language was Reid's alternative to the semantic theory associated with the “way of ideas” and, according to Maione, it reflects Reid's own naturalistic theory of the mind, which validated common sense while at the same time reinterpreting it in terms of the close relationship between mind and body.

Emanuele Levi Mortera, University of Rome, “La Sapienza”

James Fieser, ed., *Scottish Common Sense Philosophy: Sources and Origins*. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2000. Vol. 1: James Oswald, *An Appeal to Common Sense in Behalf of Religion (1766-1772)*. Pp. xxx + 315. Vol. 2: James Beattie, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, In Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*. Pp. xl + 289. Vols. 3 and 4: *Early Responses to Reid, Oswald, Beattie and Stewart*. Pp. xii, ix + 796. Vol. 5: *A Bibliography of Scottish Common Sense Philosophy*. Pp. ix + 137.

Although the rise of common sense philosophy is widely recognized as one of the most important intellectual developments in the Scottish Enlightenment, scholars still tend to focus on David Hume and Adam Smith, and to treat Thomas Reid and the other members of the common sense school as minor figures of limited interest. Reid, at least, is beginning to receive his due and will soon be canonized with a *Cambridge Companion* volume, but fellow Aberdonians like Alexander Gerard are little studied except by historians of rhetoric and taste, and much remains to be done on the institutionalization of common sense philosophy within the Scottish universities during the second half of the eighteenth century. James Fieser's *Scottish Common Sense Philosophy: Sources and Origins* is therefore to be welcomed for making available a number of texts that illustrate the early history of the common sense school. In particular, the reset version of James Oswald's *An Appeal to Common Sense* is very useful, as are a number of the reviews, pamphlets, and short pieces collected together in volumes 3 and 4.

Readers of this newsletter will know that another miscellany assembled by Fieser was criticised in the last issue for a variety of editorial failings. At least the texts reproduced here seem more reliable. But the bibliography contained in volume 5 is of questionable value. For even though it contains some nuggets of new information, there are some conspicuous omissions, especially in the listing of theses, where little reference is made to doctoral work completed outside North America. Kurtis Kitagawa's 1994 Edinburgh University thesis on Thomas Reid's politics is not recorded, for instance, nor is my own 1984 Leeds thesis on Reid's natural philosophy and mathematics. The coverage of the secondary literature is likewise patchy.

Questions arise too about Fieser's principles of selection and his view of common sense philosophy more generally. It is unclear, for instance, why he has elected to highlight book reviews, and to ignore other relevant published materials. Good as it is to have the reviews of Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, for example, it would have been even better to have the text of the lengthy letter from the Rev. Samuel Cooper to the editor of the *Monthly Review* criticizing Reid, which appeared in 1765, along with the response to this letter by William Smellie that was first printed in 1811 in Robert Kerr's *Memoirs*. Moreover, the obituaries issued shortly after Reid's death in 1796 contain significant evaluations of his philosophical legacy. Since these less well known items tell us just as much about the reception of common sense philosophy as the more readily accessible reviews Fieser reproduces, there is no obvious reason why they have been omitted. Furthermore, Fieser's conception of the common sense school is somewhat muddled. On the one hand, he adopts the standard view and casts Reid, Beattie, and Oswald as the founders of the school, and Dugald Stewart as their most prominent disciple. He accordingly gives pride of place to the writings of, and responses to, the members of this quartet. On the other hand, his bibliography embodies a more inclusive, and rather idiosyncratic, view of the school. The idiosyncrasies notwithstanding, it is unfortunate that this broader view did not inform some of his choices, for he might then have provided texts of the sermons attacking Hume by Robert Traill and Alexander Gerard, published in 1755 and 1760 respectively, instead of Priestley's *Examination*, which has already been reprinted. Those sermons, along with George Campbell's *A Dissertation on Miracles*, shed invaluable light on the intellectual context for both Reid's *Inquiry* and Beattie's *Essay*, and they would therefore have given more evidence about the origins of common sense philosophy than is otherwise to be found in this collection. Prospective purchasers and readers should be aware, therefore, that while these volumes go some way towards providing an adequate documentary history of the common sense school, they by no means tell the whole story.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Donald W. Livingston, *Philosophical Melancholy and Delirium: Hume's Pathology of Philosophy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. Pp. 434.

This is an impressive book from one of today's leading Hume scholars. Hume, almost alone among philosophers of the last four hundred years, has never been seen just as a philosopher: the spice of danger in his views that made him notorious in his own lifetime has helped preserve for him a special niche, a reputation that lifts him from being only another thinker and establishes his views on a range of issues, political as much as religious, as having something to offer successive ages. One value of this book is that it spells out, precisely and in carefully argued detail, just what it is that Hume can give us. On government, in particular, and on the associated problems, liberty and authority, Hume is compellingly relevant. Livingston's fascinating chapters on the American colonies in relation to Britain, on the War of Independence, and on Hume's support for an independent America

long before the American colonists thought of it themselves, are drawn through to include not only Lincoln's starkly oppressive strategies with regard to the seceding confederate states, but the Allied bombing of Dresden and of Hiroshima.

While the bases of Hume's philosophy are developed across a genuinely wide range of topics, involving his relations with most of the significant figures of his day, and his engagement with most of the pressing issues, nevertheless the organizing principle behind the book, and its principle of coherence, is Hume's distinction between "true" and "false" philosophy and, in terms of living the philosophical life, of the "true" or "false" philosopher. Here is the real detail of the book, and here is Livingston's capacity for clarity in distinctions, minutely examined and substantiated from a comprehensive familiarity with Hume's writing. In the process, Hume emerges confirmed not only as a truly original thinker but as a consistently reflective individual, concerned always to see thought as establishing requirements for life and living.

I took up this book attracted by "Melancholy" and "Delirium." I discovered little about either, and to that extent should argue that its title is misleading. However, having discovered so much else, both about Hume the individual and about his intellectual age and our own inheritance, the objection is hardly worth making.

Allan Ingram, University of Northumbria at Newcastle

Adam Potkay, **The Passion for Happiness: Samuel Johnson and David Hume**. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000. Pp. xv + 241.

Comparison and contrast is a useful heuristic tool. When done with skill and style, it can reach the highest planes of criticism. There are in fact good examples of those planes being reached in the eighteenth century: Pope comparing and contrasting Homer and Vergil; Dryden comparing and contrasting Shakespeare and Ben Jonson; Samuel Johnson himself comparing and contrasting Dryden and Pope. That is why a book title that promises a comparison and contrast of two of the mightiest figures in eighteenth-century letters arouses great expectations. Unfortunately, those expectations are nearly impossible to meet. I'm not sure that any living scholar would be up to the challenge of comparing and contrasting Johnson and Hume in a compelling and engaging way.

Potkay possesses considerable learning and ability. He has certainly done an immense amount of reading, and the range of his references is impressive. He seems especially skillful at finding quotations that illustrate his point but then offer something more. His footnotes contain enormous amounts of information, and his discussions of particular topics and works can be valuable. His discussion of Johnson's *Rasselas* (pp. 196-216), for example, shows a commendable mastery of the criticism and scholarship on this key eighteenth-century text. But Potkay doesn't demonstrate how that discussion carries through his central thesis.

This is not surprising, because that thesis is the Achilles heel of this endeavor. Defying common sense and the nearly universal perception that Johnson and Hume are about as different as two writers could possibly be, Potkay announces early on that what matters most about Johnson and Hume is how much they shared in common, in particular their concern with the passion for happiness. The trouble here is that if one is bound and determined to find similarities, one is going to find them. And yes Potkay surely does find some. We can also be certain, if we want to be, that both men put on clothes every day and blew their noses once in a while. But what do such similarities matter? What about the large and provoking differences between the two? Those differences are what makes the eighteenth century in Britain such an engaging and compelling field of study.

The plain fact is that despite some superficial resemblances in vocabulary and other matters, Johnson did not have much in common with Hume, certainly not the concern with the passion for happiness. Johnson's distinctiveness as a writer is bound up in his deeply felt dismay at the havoc played by the pursuit of happiness in human life. He knew perfectly well that all of us have a poorly understood but nearly overpowering drive for happiness. But, as he saw so clearly, that overpowering drive is the cause, paradoxically, of much of our sorrow and pain. Human life, as he observed, is necessarily "a state where much is to be endured, and little to be enjoyed," and the pursuit of happiness is a large part of the reason why. It is probably worth noting that the English word "happiness" is related etymologically to the Middle English word "hap," meaning luck or chance. Genuine happiness, as far as Johnson was concerned, plays but a small role in our lives for precisely that reason. He knew there are always a few, born to privilege, who seem to have all that could make anyone happy and at the same time have very little to endure. That is why great monuments and massive pyramids get built. But nothing—not even a pyramid—can ever appease the hunger that ceaselessly preys upon life. Whatever chance we may have for true happiness comes, as far as Johnson is concerned, in the next life, not in this one. He makes this clear in the conclusion to *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, his greatest and most famous poem: It is "celestial Wisdom [that] calms the mind, / And makes the happiness she does not find." In other words, genuine happiness is only to be found in religious faith. David Hume would never have had any truck with that point of view.

John J. Burke, Jr., University of Alabama

Peter Martin, *A Life of James Boswell*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000. Pp. vii + 613. (originally published in London by Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999, as *The Life of James Boswell*).

Since the publication of his private papers (1928-34), James Boswell has been a figure of intriguing and sometimes of prurient interest to both academic and non-academic readers, but he has not become the subject of sustained biographical scholarship in the way Johnson or Pope have. This is partly due to his having been perceived until recently as having only the secondary kind of critical interest pertaining to a biographer, and partly due to the abundance of personal knowledge provided by his journals, almost making formal biographical treatment redundant. The scholarly biographies of Boswell, by F. A. Pottle (1966) and Frank Brady (1984), relied heavily on Boswell's private papers, and on the impressive scholarship which has now seen the completion of the trade edition in thirteen volumes, and the publication of the first eight volumes of the research edition of Boswell's correspondence. Peter Martin's new life of Boswell has, likewise, made good use of this accumulated body of work.

The plethora of Boswell's autobiographical reflection, opinion, and sentiment does not, however, necessarily simplify matters for the would-be biographer. Certainly, one would rather have than not have this embarrassment of riches with which to work, but anyone who has read extensively in Boswell's private writings immediately recognizes their ambivalence as biographical material. For the more we know about Boswell's private life—and encounter his self-revelatory discourse—the less we feel we understand him. We now realize that Boswell's is a personality problematically self-involved, and destructively self-divided. In one of the oddest, yet most instructive gestures in modern autobiographical writing, Boswell's inclination to self-fashioning means that, like Diderot's Nephew, the psychological and emotional destructiveness of his relation to self and other is not merely incidental, but essential to his life, taking the form of a spectacle and fictional *display*, and informing the paradoxical authenticity of Boswell's writing. While those writings represent various forms of historical and critical interest, Boswell's self-consciousness is Boswell's ultimate project, not only in his autobiographical, political, and social writings, but even in the historically based biographical writings (on Hume, Burke, Kames, and others, as well as Johnson).

Peter Martin recognizes Boswell as a paradoxical figure, given to extremes and contradictions, and aims to "trace the link between [Boswell's] contradictory and confused self and his hypochondria or melancholia which, from adolescence onwards, set in motion causes and effects that often wrecked his behaviour. His sentiment and motivations, writing, relationships, social and professional conduct, persona as a Scottish laird, and general anxiety, were all tied to this mental disorder in one way and another" (p. 3). These relationships are largely effectively, if a little too simply drawn in this biography. Martin tells an engaging tale of an exciting, troubled, and temperamental life; he brings together historical, social, political, familial, and literary details and perspectives, and gives a good sense of life in eighteenth-century London and Edinburgh. He depicts Boswell's engagements with many different individuals and writes sympathetically of his romantic and sexual exploits, his dreams of greatness, and his eternally adolescent personality, given alternately to fantasy, impulsiveness, and melancholic over-conscientiousness. One of the strengths of this biography is the relatively modest role played by Johnson, who is presented as exemplary in Boswell's life—as well as being one of his truest friends—but only one of many people who made up his world. Considerable recognition of Boswell's relationships with others—Malone, Burke, Dundas, Kames, Wilkes, Margaret Montgomery—gives this elegant and accessible narrative a balance and substance. If nothing else, this is a book the non-academic, historically inclined reader will enjoy.

A problem, however, lies in the biographer's perspective, which (as is common among Boswell scholars) sees Boswell's life too much through Boswell's own eyes. One effect of this perspective is that Martin's account, like others, narrativizes Boswell's life by privileging the ebbs and flows of his desires and momentary satisfactions, culminating in achievements like the publication of the *Life of Johnson*. It so happens that Martin's account (chaps. 26-29) of the difficult composition of the *Life* (and Malone's part in it) is very interesting, yet identifying his account of Boswell's life so clearly with Boswell's *own* perspective means that however sympathetically Boswell's family is portrayed—and Martin's presentation is very humane—Boswell's neglect of them is implicitly justified by the already determined narrative structure of his inner life.

A more serious weakness of the alignment of Martin's perspective with Boswell's own lies in the absence of a theoretical framework within which to understand the performative aspect of Boswell's self-expressiveness. There seems to be no interest in the textuality of Boswell's writing or of his engagement with the world. Martin acknowledges that "to some extent, Johnson was an excuse for celebrating [Boswell's] own nature and psyche" (p. 529), yet he is also certain that "Boswell used himself in interviews and conversations [with Johnson] to uncover truth, not distort it" (p. 531). Yet while the *Life* offers truths of many kinds, we can no longer assume that they are "evident in the rich detail of countless living moments in the journals on which [Boswell] drew exhaustively for his *Life*" (p. 531), as Pottle and Brady did before Martin. But this biography innocently adopts the empiricism of such a statement as a reliable guide to Boswell's actions, and is not tempted to offer any larger

theoretical account of how and why particular vignettes in the journals become the powerful narrative that is the *Life of Johnson*.

Greg Clingham, Bucknell University

Fiona Stafford, *Starting Lines in Scottish, Irish and English Poetry: From Burns to Heaney*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. viii + 357.

This terrific book contains one of the most important chapter-length studies of Burns's poetry written in recent years. An introductory chapter, "What's Past is Prologue," places the work in a critical tradition still anxious about matters of influence, particularly allusions shared between Irish, Scottish, and English texts steeped in the cultural (and high) politics of these nations.

The second chapter, "Scottish Bards and English Epigraphs: Robert Burns's 'A Winter's Night,'" will be of most immediate concern to readers of this newsletter. It concentrates on the relationship between Shakespeare and Burns and ranges across a number of Burns's canonical texts, suggesting how particular close readings can stand as entry points into a reconsideration of Burns's corpus. Attention is given to the relationship between "Address to the Deil" and *Paradise Lost*, "The Vision" and *King Lear*, "Holy Willie's Prayer" and *The Rape of the Lock*, among others. Stafford rightly and fruitfully bears the publishing conditions of the first and second editions of Burns's poetry in mind as she teases out the relationship between Burns and those texts that influenced his writing, and situates particular textual influences and responses in the context of Burns's letter writing and wider reading. The chapter offers an open and exciting reading of Burns's work, grounded in textual detail and alert to current critical discourse. Burns is used to establish the work's preoccupation with the fraught relationship between national identity and literature.

The second chapter reads Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" in the light of its epigraph: four lines from "Sir Patrick Spens." This allows for a sustained foray into what remains a fraught critical area: the anxieties of influence at the heart of Romantic poetry. By reading Coleridge's text in the light of "Sir Patrick Spens," and offering us an interpretation that never lets the cultural politics of the Scottish ballad out of sight, we are given a new and fruitful account of a canonical poem and its creation and reception. The relationship between starting line or epigraph and the poem which follows becomes, in the course of Stafford's text, a metaphor: a way of framing and modelling literary relationships—between Burns and Shakespeare in the second chapter, Coleridge and Wordsworth in the third, James Clarence Mangan and Percy Bysshe Shelley in the fourth, and Felicia Hemans, Walter Scott, and Noel Coward in a wide-ranging fifth chapter entitled "The Stately Homes of England." The larger implications of this approach are addressed in two ambitious and successful concluding chapters. There the book studies contemporary Irish poetry's response to English verse and the English language as it considers Ciaran Carson and Seamus Heaney's verse allusion and political commitment. The accretion of evidence, argument, and allusion bears fruit, as the reading of contemporary Irish verse which Stafford offers is both sympathetic and suggestive. A simple epilogue, George Mackay Brown's powerful poem "All Souls," completes the book and returns us to the thoughtful treatment of Mackay Brown in the opening chapter. That return to origins is what this book seems to be about, a critical, reflective and thoughtful approach to the act of poetic creation and an affirmation of the pleasures of reading.

Hamish Mathison, University of Sheffield

John Gilmore, *The Fruits of Empire: A Study of James Grainger's The Sugar-Cane*. London and New Brunswick, N.J.: Athlone Press, 2000. Pp. x + 342.

This is a very welcome recovery of a key work of eighteenth-century literature; its republication should provoke reassessment of Scottish contributions to the literature of post-Augustan British classicism, to the Caribbean literary tradition, and to the writing of imperial expansion. Considering that he was, for a brief period, a member of mid-eighteenth-century London literary society—more than passingly known to Samuel Johnson, who praised his poetry and reviewed *The Sugar-Cane*, a correspondent and collaborator of Bishop Percy who contributed a ballad to the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*—it is surprising that even a trustworthy biography of James Grainger has been lacking until now. Not the least of the virtues of this book is John Gilmore's thorough review of the contradictory accounts of Grainger's birth date and place, the sequence of his life, and the manner and time of his death, and his creation of a more reliable picture of the shape and mode of existence of this physician, poet, and plantation owner from the Scottish Borders.

It is a life of exemplary events and considerable fascination to anyone interested in post-Union Anglo-Scottish literature and culture. Grainger was born somewhere in the Borders around 1725, matriculated at the University of Edinburgh in the class of John Kerr in 1739, attached himself as a surgeon's mate on the Hanoverian side in 1745

and saw service at Culloden, before embarking with his regiment to the Low Countries. In 1753 he presented his dissertation for the M.D. degree at the University of Edinburgh and became a fully qualified physician; buying himself out of the army, he settled, like George Cheyne before him, to practice in London. He contributed to the *Monthly Review*, and in 1757 was persuaded by fellow-Scot Andrew Millar to complete *The History and Antiquities of Scotland*, left unfinished following the death of William Maitland. Grainger's reviewing activities were supplemented by minor but solid renown as an Anglo-Scots poet: his "Solitude. An Ode" was committed to memory by Johnson, who recited it as "very noble" to Boswell; Grainger engaged in vigorous controversy on linguistic niceties with another Scottish physician, Tobias Smollett, and Bishop Percy became his friend and great champion. In 1759 Grainger accompanied his young pupil and patron, John Bourryau, when the latter took control of his estate in St. Kitts in the Caribbean; he practiced medicine on the island and married into the plantation aristocracy. His literary activities flourished, too: he published a ground-breaking essay on the diseases and treatment of slaves, and gathered material for "a Georgic ... in four books," a draft of which he sent piecemeal to Percy for comment. It was presumably this manuscript that Boswell records being read at Sir Joshua Reynolds's house, which

had made all the assembled wits burst into a laugh, when, after much blank-verse pomp, the poet began a new paragraph thus:-

"Now, Muse, let's sing of rats."

And what increased the ridicule was, that one of the company, who slyly overlooked the reader, perceived that the word had been originally *mice*, and had been altered to *rats*, as more dignified.

Boswell's anecdote illustrates the pitfalls of writing Georgic in a cultural context which was in the process of shedding familiarity with the self-declaring high artifice of this Virgilian exercise, in favor of more "spontaneous" forms of pastoral. Lord Kames, however (whose dual credentials as an authority on the principles of criticism and on agricultural management lent his opinion incontrovertible weight), professed himself pleased with the work, which was finally printed in 1764. Grainger came back to Britain prior to the poem's publication, but returned to the Caribbean, where he died, probably in 1766.

Although Gilmore offers an extensive biographical and critical introduction to Grainger and his work, and an exemplary annotation of his *opus magnum*, this book is misleadingly titled, being more properly an edition of *The Sugar-Cane* than a study of it. This needs to be made clear, in order to establish the volume's (and Grainger's) rightful position on library shelves among major eighteenth-century poetic texts. Despite *The Sugar-Cane's* considerable initial success, and its standing in Caribbean literature and the literature of empire, the last complete edition of the poem was published in 1836. Gilmore (whose own first-hand experience of Caribbean life is extensive) has done an excellent job in producing an accessible and attractive new text; Athlone Press is to be congratulated on bringing out both hardback and paperback editions simultaneously, so that it immediately becomes feasible to use it as a class text.

The Sugar-Cane is a not unproblematic poem to introduce to students: as a poem of labor and cultivation in a long-neglected and much-ridiculed Virgilian tradition, as a panegyric to the profitable production of slave labor, and as an unashamed product of Anglo-Scots imperial activity, it risks becoming available only to be vilified by modern readers unacquainted with the niceties of Georgic form, but highly attuned to the rhetoric of post-colonialism, and the iniquities of the imperial elite. Gilmore is well aware of these dangers; his introduction tackles what may seem unpalatable or even unacceptable facets of Grainger's work by addressing the historical and political context of the poem's appearance. His patient tact, and the sheer density of relevant information with which the editor introduces *The Sugar-Cane*, may not totally deflect critique of the poem on ideological grounds, but it should certainly give pause to knee-jerk dismissal.

Grainger's ambitious Georgic may be seen as initiating a tradition of Caribbean epic that extends forward to Derek Walcott's *Omeros* and beyond, but one of the best sections of Gilmore's introduction supplies a lively cultural context—both in Caribbean writing and the eighteenth-century British milieu—for the initial reception of *The Sugar-Cane*. He makes an impressive case for the poem's nimble textual multiculturalism, and the sophistication of its varied linguistic registers. All of this is an excellent prelude to the dense poetic husbandry of the four books that follow. Despite its celebration of triumphant cultivation and industrious wealth, *The Sugar-Cane* is shot through with the nostalgia of expatriate experience; Grainger's catalogue of Caribbean bounty includes

... The privet too,

Whose white flowers rival the first drifts of snow
On Grampia's piny hills; (O might the muse
Tread, flush'd with health, the Grampian hills again!)

The inset tale of "Theana" and "Junio" tells of a union disrupted by mutual distrust, in an allegorical mode common in eighteenth-century Anglo-Scots writing; the wish for self-sufficiency pulls at the poetic voice in familiar ways, too:

. . . ah, when will fate,
That long hath scowl'd relentless on the bard,
Give him some small plantation to inclose,
Which he may call his own? Not wealth he craves,
But independance . . .

The Sugar-Cane is an accomplished poem, full of richness and interest. We are much indebted to John Gilmore for bringing it back to our attention.

Susan Manning, University of Edinburgh

Walter Scott, *The Abbot*. Edited by Christopher Johnson. *The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, Volume 10. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 555.

Walter Scott, *Anne of Geierstein*. Ed. J. H. Alexander. *The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, Volume 22. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 581.

The Edinburgh Edition proceeds apace—half of the projected thirty volumes have appeared at time of writing. *The Abbot* is one of the best of the post-*Ivanhoe* novels, with its tense and witty narrative of Queen Mary's captivity at Lochleven, while *Anne of Geierstein* blends Radcliffian and 'German' styles of Gothic for two hair-raising volumes before lapsing into military history. Both novels, as it happens, are sequels, although only *The Abbot* formally identifies itself as such, a continuation of Scott's preceding novel, *The Monastery*.

Christopher Johnson's lucid account of the composition and publication of *The Abbot* enlarges the matchlessly detailed view of early-nineteenth-century institutions and processes of literary production that is emerging as one of the Edinburgh Edition's great achievements. Johnson overturns the received account of the novel's genesis, according to which Scott wrote it to save his reputation after the poor reception of *The Monastery*. This turns out to be another fiction, floated in the introduction to the 1830 'Magnum' edition of *The Abbot* and given biographical support by J.G. Lockhart. From the beginning Scott seems to have planned on including Queen Mary in a single narrative set in the aftermath of the Scottish Reformation, before deciding he would divide it into two separate 'branches' because he needed the extra cash. 'We perhaps owe the independent existence of *The Abbot* more to commercial than to aesthetic considerations' (p. 382): Johnson perhaps insists too much on the scandalous charge of this revelation—as though commercial and aesthetic considerations would have been at odds for Scott.

Anne of Geierstein is an indirect sequel to *Quentin Durward*, which it followed after six years—rather a long interval in Scott's astonishingly compressed career as a novelist. (The editor refers to *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Kenilworth* as 'early' and 'mid-period' Waverley novels; they were published eighteen months apart.) It seems, though, that as soon as Scott had finished *Quentin* he contemplated a continuation, featuring the death of Charles of Burgundy. *Anne of Geierstein* is most definitely a late, that is, post-crash, Scott novel—it was the last he completed before the series of strokes that would kill him. The late novels are a somewhat different case, editorially, from those that went before. Until 1827 Scott had his manuscripts copied before they went to the printer, to guard his incognito; now they were used directly as printer's copy. This tended to increase the incidence of textual corruption, since the persons translating manuscript to print were far less familiar with Scott's hand than his old circle of assistants, as Andrew Hook and Donald Mackenzie have explained in an earlier volume of the Edinburgh Edition (*Saint Valentine's Day*). Scott's late holograph is in any case notoriously illegible, and he made plenty of his own mistakes. J. H. Alexander lists 47 pages' worth of emendations to 400 pages of text of *Anne of Geierstein*, which is somewhat although not greatly more than the 41 pages that Johnson records for the 375-page *The Abbot*. A less pressured rate of production in 1829, relative to the mad rush to print of the Ballantyne-Constable years, may have helped to close the gap; Johnson gives a vivid account of the blurring of Scott's text of *The Abbot* in the rush to print. Where the first edition of *Anne* scored over *The Abbot* was in the quality of its misreadings. Alexander records (and amends) some spectacular ones, ranging from individual words (pp. 435-36) to a paragraph of geological description in the opening chapter (pp. 443-44).

While both volumes follow the general policy of the Edinburgh Edition, correcting the first edition against earlier states of the text, here as elsewhere the editors do not scruple to consult later editions, including the 'Magnum', in cases where sense seems lacking and no other authority can be found. This violates, of course, the methodological principle of regarding the Magnum as a later and different version of the text, occupying a different historical stage (see David Hewitt's 'General Introduction', p. xvi). Most readers will probably be inclined to welcome flexibility on this point, for the sake of the gain in clarity; and editorial appeals to later authority are tactful and judicious, as well as infrequent.

More problematic is the policy of correcting Scott's factual errors (mostly of historical dates and names). The editors wisely refrain from altering details that play an integral part in the fiction, such as the date of the Battle of Nancy at the end of *Anne of Geierstein*, where Scott makes symbolic capital of his catastrophe's taking place on New Year's Day. It seems to me, nevertheless, that this is a perilous line to draw, and that on the whole authors had probably better be allowed their errors—even when they might appear trifling inconsistencies. But now I am hunting for holes to pick. Alexander and his colleagues are surely entitled to the claim he makes, apropos of the absence of surviving proofs for *Anne of Geierstein*: 'experience of working with [Waverley] novels for which proofs exist, in whole or in part, enables the present editor to judge with a reasonable degree of assurance and confidence which changes are likely to have been made by Scott himself, or by intermediaries acting in accordance with his standing orders, and which have been introduced without authority or simply as the result of error' (pp. 433-434). Such confidence is borne out in these splendid volumes.

Ian Duncan, University of Oregon

The Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie. 2 volumes. Edited by Judith Bailey Slagle. Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 1999. Pp. xvii + xix + 1252.

The reputation of the Scottish playwright, poet and critic Joanna Baillie (1762-1851) has recently experienced a revival of fortunes. In her own day, Baillie achieved considerable popular success with her three-volume *Plays on the Passions (A Series of Plays: In which It Is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind, 1798-1812)*, and earned the admiration (albeit sometimes grudging) of such contemporaries as William Wordsworth and Lord Byron. Like the writings of so many of the period's female authors, however, Baillie's work subsequently fell into obscurity, with her reputation reaching perhaps its lowest point in the early twentieth century, when Donald Carswell's *Sir Walter: A Four Part Study in Biography (Scott, Hogg, Lockhart, Joanna Baillie)* (1930) declared that, in addition to being unstageable, her plays were "not even readable." Contemporary scholars take a very different view of Baillie's literary achievements. A concern with the contribution of female writers to the development of Romanticism has focused renewed attention on Baillie, as evidenced by a growing body of secondary literature on her literary and social significance as well as by the publication of modern reprints of her major works. Thanks to the impressive efforts of Judith Bailey Slagle, Baillie's copious correspondence is now accessible in a two-volume collection containing more than eight hundred letters written over the course of a productive career. The publication of this correspondence should be of interest to Baillie specialists, to scholars of women and gender, and to literary scholars.

If this work achieves its primary purpose of making Baillie's letters accessible to a new generation of scholars, it also fulfills another purpose: bringing to light the complex network of friendship that sustained Baillie throughout her life and career. In contrast to the stereotype of the lonely female artist who performs her work in secrecy and isolation, Baillie engaged the world with directness and energy. In addition to her well-known friendship with Walter Scott, she was the childhood friend of John Millar's daughter Ann, and belonged to a circle of women writers that included Lucy Aikin, Anna Barbauld, and Anne Grant of Lagan. Rather than adopt a strictly chronological arrangement, Slagle has chosen to organize Baillie's correspondence into chapters of letters to particular correspondents (including a final chapter of hundreds of "miscellaneous" letters), a structure which serves to highlight the extent of Baillie's friendships and acquaintanceships. This goal is furthered by Slagle's decision to make "no editorial changes to Baillie's letters" (xi), which may at times inconvenience the reader but helps to preserve "a rhythm similar to the rhythm of speech in these letters, connecting the writing more closely to speaking" (xii). The reader is thus able to listen in on Baillie's epistolary conversations, and to hear the voice of a woman who emerges from these pages as a confident writer, shrewd businesswoman, and generous friend.

Scholars are indebted to Slagle not only for the letters themselves but also for textual apparatus to aid in the interpretation of Baillie's life and works. In her Introduction to the volumes, Slagle offers a brief but comprehensive biographical account, which relies on Baillie's own "Memoirs Written to please my Nephew William Baillie" as well as letters to family members in order to reconstruct the intellectual development of a playwright who composed her first play, as she herself put it, "while my fingers were employed in sprigging muslin for an apron" (p.8). This account is supplemented by a very useful chronology of Baillie's life and works. Another welcome addition is the 24-page "Circle of Friends and Acquaintances," where Slagle provides brief biographical sketches of a number of friends and correspondents. Throughout the volume, informative footnotes identify names, places, and literary works mentioned in the letters, and thus aid the reader in the reconstruction of the familial, social, and literary contexts within which to consider Joanna Baillie's career.

Mary Catherine Moran, CUNY, Queens College

The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment. An Exhibition with Essays by Roger Emerson, Richard Sher, Stephen Brown, and Paul Wood. Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 2000. Pp. x + 160. (Available from the University of Toronto Library or the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society.)

Four excellent essays and an enticing catalogue of over one hundred exhibition items (many of them illustrated) comprise the two interrelated parts of this handsome volume. *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment* is a rather ambitious title in that old-new scholarly field of book history in eighteenth-century Scotland. I say "old-new" because Scottish bibliographical studies have been pursued for well over one hundred years—perhaps much longer. (See, for example, the *Transactions* of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Bibliographical Societies.) The occasion for the Fisher Library exhibition was a joint conference of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society in October 2000. The exhibition itself celebrates the excellent collection of Scottish books and artifacts in the Fisher Library. (The Royal Ontario Museum also lent items.) All conference participants received a copy of *The Culture of the Book*, a volume well worth reading and owning. The books and objects in the exhibition were largely chosen by the four contributors and on the whole relate to their articles, although the papers themselves were not presented at the conference.

In "The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll," Roger Emerson asserts that Argyll was "responsible as much as anyone for the brilliance of Scotland during the eighteenth century" (p. 13). Emerson's work demonstrates what one can learn about a man and his career merely by an analysis of the books he owned. Argyll's collection was destroyed by fire, and all that now remains is the record of his collection printed in 1758 by the Foulis Press in Glasgow under the title *Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A.* The kind of bio-bibliographical reconstruction in which Emerson engages, while fascinating, is inevitably speculative. But with little known about Argyll, it is most welcome. The collection described in the *Catalogus* comprised only part of the books this aristocratic bibliophile possessed. But of the nearly ten thousand titles recorded, much can be gleaned about the mind of the man and the way he made political decisions.

Richard Sher's article, "The Book in the Scottish Enlightenment," uses case studies on "Constructing David Hume" and "Regarding Robert Henry" in order to analyze the very different publication methods of two authors, both successful in their day, but the one with an enduring reputation, the other almost completely forgotten. "Every work," Sher argues, "has its own tale of generation and reception, involving authors, members of the book trade, and ultimately the book-reading and book-buying public" (p. 42). Hume, being the more important figure and the more complexly published author, makes for a more compelling story. Sher describes how Hume ultimately became "a best-selling philosophical author" (p. 46) despite the commercial failure of the seminal *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) and his modest success when those ideas were reformulated in his separately published *Enquiries and Essays*. This achievement was the result of a clever repackaging of those extant texts in the four-volume *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (1753). This was only the beginning of the story of a Scottish writer who was perhaps the first to live independently, indeed opulently, from his writings alone.

By contrast, William Smellie, the printer and polymath, lived in relative penury. Yet he was, as Stephen Brown remarks in his essay, "William Smellie and the Culture of the Edinburgh Book Trade, 1752-1795," "a crucial player in the emerging knowledge-based economy of Enlightenment Edinburgh" (p. 74). It is a fitting if odd turn of events that Smellie rather than Hume should be the subject of the cover illustration to *The Culture of the Book*. But Smellie (as Brown asserts) did more than most by "employing the press to disseminate learning, and thus to educate the common reader" (p. 68). Brown's article is a reduction of a juicier biographical study that will refocus and broaden our understanding of the period. In the final article in the volume, Paul Wood examines the copies of Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* and *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, annotated by John Robison, which are now in the Fisher Library. Wood outlines the philosophies of the two men (Reid can be regarded as a mentor of Robison) and uncovers a relationship between the annotations and philosophical articles that Robison was preparing for the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In general, Wood concludes that "reading Reid's works for Robison was akin to a conversation or debate about major themes in metaphysics and moral philosophy" (p. 116). Wood himself deserves credit for managing most of the editorial tasks of the volume as a whole, and for planning the exhibition. While there are a handful of small errors, the overall impact is of a volume nicely produced, reasonably priced, and full of useful ideas.

William Zachs, University of Edinburgh

L. Gordon Tait, *The Piety of John Witherspoon: Pew, Pulpit, and Public Forum*. Louisville: Geneva Press, 2001. Pp. xxiii + 256.

This book brings Gordon Tait's long and fruitful work on John Witherspoon to a fitting climax. While his earlier studies featured detailed attention to specific aspects of Witherspoon's trans-Atlantic career (e.g., "John

Witherspoon and the Scottish Loyalists," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 61 [1983]: 299-315), this volume treats the religious and social perspectives maintained by the Scottish minister and American college president throughout his entire life as a preacher. Tait's main sources are the sermons, doctrinal essays, and lectures on divinity contained in the early nineteenth-century editions of Witherspoon's works, but he also uses profitably a wide range of secondary sources, with especially good advantage made of Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (1985) and John R. McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800* (1998).

Tait's most helpful contributions concern Witherspoon's general view of God and the Christian life and his special insights on Witherspoon's conception of providence. Witherspoon's piety, as revealed in the sermons, was relatively conventional for the moderately traditional and moderately evangelical Calvinists among whom Witherspoon is properly numbered. Tait stresses Witherspoon's consistent reliance on Scripture, his fondness for themes like the covenant taken from the Westminster Confession, and his constant return to four basic doctrines: human lostness, divine free grace, the imputation of Christ's righteousness to repentant sinners, and the need for believers to lead holy lives. What distinguishes Witherspoon's preaching on such matters is his direct, forceful rhetoric and his sympathetic human understanding. When a visitor to Witherspoon's home, Tusculum, near Princeton once commented on the absence of flowers in Witherspoon's garden, the reply communicated the character of the minister: "No Madam, no flowers in my garden, nor in my discourses either" (p. 26). Tait can also show, however, that because of Witherspoon's participation in Scottish partisan debate, he probably absorbed more of the commitment to learning and eloquence championed by his Moderate opponents than the New School Presbyterian supporters of the College of New Jersey suspected when they called him to America.

Tait's treatment of Witherspoon on providence makes a signal contribution to a question that has long interested historians—what happened to Witherspoon's faith, ideology, and worldview when he left Scotland for New Jersey in 1768. An entire chapter devoted to Witherspoon's development of providential themes, first in Scotland and then in America, shows that the college president maintained much that he had preached in the old country, but also that he broadened out his view of God in response to the altered circumstances and traumatic events he encountered in the new world. In Tait's phrases, the "metamorphosis" in Witherspoon's thinking meant a shift "from an almost exclusive focus on God as Redeemer to the same God as Creator, Sustainer, and Governor of all things, events, and persons" (p. 143). This explanation is as good as any that has yet been offered to set the context for Witherspoon's memorable sermon of 17 May 1776 on Psalm 76:10, "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men," which not only rallied Scottish immigrants and other Americans to the patriot cause but also served as a kind of biblical apology for the step he would take six weeks later in Philadelphia, when he signed the Declaration of Independence as a New Jersey Delegate to the Continental Congress. Equally sage is consideration of Witherspoon's thanksgiving sermon from Psalm 3:8, which he preached on 19 April 1783, "Salvation Belongeth to the Lord." Careful exegesis of these sermons allows Tait to root Witherspoon's thinking about Providence in themes carried over from Scotland, showing clearly how that thinking expanded in America, and finally explaining how it under-girded Witherspoon's appeal for a non-discriminatory governmental support for all Protestant denominations.

In his last chapter, Tait reflects in an interesting way on how the piety that Witherspoon preached, but also practiced, could be an encouragement to Christian believers today. This useful volume closes by printing a list of approximately two hundred books that Witherspoon recommended to students in 1773, which Tait recently discovered in the New York Historical Society.

Mark A. Noll, Wheaton College

Eric Richards, **The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil**. Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2000. Pp. x + 379.

Eric Richards, **Patrick Sellar and the Highland Clearances**. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999. Pp. vii + 440.

Robert Mathieson, **The Survival of the Unfittest: the Highland Clearances and the End of Isolation**. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 2000. Pp. ix + 267.

There is arguably no more emotive topic in Scottish history than the Highland Clearances, and the debates surrounding the blame and the legacy continue unabated. Into the fray come three works published within the last two years, each taking a different perspective. Two of them come from the prolific pen of Eric Richards. The first, *The Highland Clearances*, is an updated and condensed version of his excellent, well-researched, and balanced two-volume survey published in the mid-1980s as *A History of the Highland Clearances*. In Richards's assessment

of the Clearances, which he places between 1790 and about 1855, all parties—landowners, tenants, and factors—were affected by wide-ranging considerations. The author sets the historical context for the Highland Clearances by asking three central questions: What were the conditions of the Highlands before clearances? What was the impact of population change in the region? And were there viable alternatives to clearance? (p. 12). However, the overriding focus of the text is “what happened during the Clearances?” This question is one that many have attempted to answer before, with varying degrees of success, but Richards takes a methodical approach as he examines the variety, scope, and experience of “removal” with convincing evidence of each type, from the very visible and highly publicized Glencalvie clearance in the 1840s to the silent exoduses that carried away large numbers. He is correct when he states that most removals were not spontaneous events but occurred over a long period of time (p. 30). According to Richards, the growth of population in the Scottish Highlands stands at the center of the story of the clearances, and most historical analysts do not give sufficient credit to this fact. The population of the Highlands was never greater than during the time of the clearances (p. 46) and, simply put, the Highlands, despite well-publicized emigration, could not cope with the population increases. For Richards, the signs of land hunger were clear well before the sheep encroached and made it worse. Corroborating much of the recent work by other historians in the field, the author correctly notes that Highland society and the relationship between clansmen and chiefs had already experienced dramatic change by the time of Culloden in 1746, and that government policy following the '45 accelerated the transformation of the Highlands. The sad truth is that the growth in population and the weak financial position of most landowners left few alternatives for a viable economic and social future in the Highlands.

Richards exhibits a thorough working knowledge of the sources for his research as he traces the path of changing ideology and conditions within the landed elite and the region. He is careful to acknowledge the turmoil suffered by the landowners as they grappled with the dilemma of removal versus emigration for their people living in the interior, and he charts the shift from trying to create an environment that would allow people and sheep to coexist to one where migration was the only viable option. Nevertheless, it is clear from his evidence that the feelings and considerations of the common people were ignored as the landlords, or normally their agents, used whatever means were necessary to carry out their “improving” goals. Richards states that “it is likely that removals operated as a first step on the long road to ultimate emigration” (p. 172).

If we take *The Highland Clearances* as the foundation for understanding the forces at work in the Highlands during the time of the clearances, then Richards’s biography of Patrick Sellar, *Patrick Sellar and the Highland Clearances*, serves as a valuable companion text, clarifying some of the intricacies of the conflicts involved. Patrick Sellar is the name in Highland history that evokes the greatest emotional response. He has traditionally been portrayed as the “poster child” of evil factors who ruthlessly evicted countless Highlanders from their homes and perpetrated the worst abuses during the clearances. Richards offers a controversial reappraisal of Sellar, attempting to portray the multiple facets of Sellar’s life by placing him firmly in the context of his times. He sees Sellar as a “vehicle of change” (p. ix) in a society “on the edge of industrialisation” (p. x). The author begins his study mid-way through his subject’s life, when Sellar was on trial for a series of alleged crimes, including culpable homicide, which took place during some evictions on the Sutherland estate in 1814. Sellar was vindicated and, by the author’s implication, so too were the policies of the Highland clearances in contemporary times.

Richards argues that the reputations of Sellar and the Sutherlands have been misunderstood and founded mainly on second-hand sources rather than the documentary record. His assessment is an attempt to set the record straight. Sellar is portrayed here as an entrepreneur, innovator, and man of business: “He was an exemplar of the widening scope of the expanding economy—as a conduit of the latest technology, as mobiliser of markets, as generator of capital, as a source of new wealth, income and efficiency in one of the least responsive corners of the British economy at the time of its decisive transition to industrialisation” (p. 6). This is a far cry from the popular image of Patrick Sellar. It seems certain that Richards’s apologist appraisal will foster academic debate as well as a response from defenders of the displaced Highlanders’ heritage. However, Richards makes a compelling case. Sellar did become immensely successful and his family well received in British society, but at what price? Richards states that the path of economic transformation commonly entails severe disruption to communities that stand in the way of change (p. 9). Sellar was the vehicle for much of that disruption. He sought to bring order and improvement to what he regarded as the primitive world of the Highlanders. The method was twofold: to convert small tenants into laborers and to reconstruct Highland society by eliminating tacksmen and subtenants. In his enthusiasm, Sellar did not stop to consider the attitudes of the tenants or the neighboring farmers. This was social engineering from the start.

Richards does not stint on showing Sellar’s attitudes or methods when carrying out his vision of improving the Highlands. Based on the evidence he offers, Sellar clearly believed that most of the population had no rights whatsoever to the land, moral or legal, and that landowners could use it as they wished (p. 78). He appeared to have no conscience when preferring sheep to men—profits were the sole object of his actions. In addition, Richards argues

that Sellar was "in a phrase, hell-bent on breaking the back of the old Gaelic society" (p. 203). This is not a flattering picture of a man whom the author is apparently trying to vindicate from popular perceptions. However, Richards justifies this stance by arguing that Sellar's attitude was a reflection of the times, and that he saw himself "doing what was good for society and its commitment to improvement" (p. 357). He argues that "Patrick Sellar became the all-purpose scapegoat for the clearances and for the state of the Highlands" (p. 366). Whether he is correct in his judgment, other historians will decide; however, Eric Richards does make his case based upon very solid evidence.

The third book under review, Robert Mathieson's *The Survival of the Unfittest: The Highland Clearances and the End of Isolation*, takes a novel and very interesting approach when assessing the impact and legacy of the clearances by examining the effects, sociological and physical, on Highland communities. He explores the development of lifestyle as an adaptation to physiological and political expedients of time and place. The heart of Mathieson's thesis is the physical toll the clearances took on the health of the Highland population. The first three chapters of this work set the scene by tracing the development of community through its landscape and style of socialization. Attitudes toward land ownership and usage come to the fore in this process. From this foundation, Mathieson springs into a discussion of health issues, first by defining health as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social wellbeing," and then by positing the idea that health and culture are inseparable (p. 78).

There are excellent, though very broad, discussions of nutrition, ill health, and diseases. Mathieson states that Highland medical practice was more classically based and holistic than most "Establishment medicine," so that improving ideas and methods were detrimental to Highland health and culture (p. 92). He presents a persuasive argument based on interesting evidence. He then turns to nutrition and diet and argues that the Highland subsistence diet of milk and oatmeal had much better nutrients, and was therefore healthier, than the diets of the urban population and of laborers in England (p. 98). The problem for the Highlanders was that the food supply was never consistent enough due to famines, removal, and seasonal migration to find work. He makes a strong case for the detrimental effects of removal to the coast by arguing that the Highlanders, as long as they remained in their native niches, remained relatively healthy. However, their immunity to disease was fatally compromised by the clearances (p. 126). In their isolated pockets of settlement in the interior, they were not exposed to numerous diseases that had passed them by; however, once removed from the protective environment, the Highlander was susceptible to a variety of ailments such as tuberculosis, measles, croup, pneumonia, and even the common cold. Mathieson claims that "Highlanders were condemned by their evictors to disease and death" (p. 111). Mathieson, in a damning indictment of the improvers, states: "Establishmentarians proceeded virtually uninterrupted on a course which they knew endangered the lives of the indigenous people of Scotland" (p. 116). For Mathieson, health issues and land reform led to the calling of the Napier Commission in 1883.

These three books offer varying perspectives on the raging debate over the clearances. Eric Richards offers two superb pieces that address the overarching issues of context and ideology, while Robert Mathieson gives us a different angle from which to assess the costs to the people of the Highlands during the time of removals and emigration. All three books will elicit debate and controversy and are well worth the investment of reading time.

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John Stuart Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth Century Scotland*. London: Palgrave, and New York: St. Martins Press, 1999. Pp. vii + 151.

Paul Henderson Scott, *The Boasted Advantages: The Consequences of the Union of 1707*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1999. Pp. 88.

Before the publication in 1964 of P.W.J. Riley's *The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727*, there was no such field as eighteenth-century Scottish politics. Political histories of Scotland always stopped at 1707. There was not a single monograph devoted to the politics and government of eighteenth century Scotland and only a handful of political biographies. Riley's book was a seminal one. It influenced John Simpson's article, "Who Steered the Gravy Train, 1707-1766?" (published in N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison's 1970 collection, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*), which in turn inspired and guided research for almost a generation. There has been a slow but steady stream of work, both published and in the form of unpublished dissertations, ever since. Now is a good time to have this body of literature surveyed and incorporated in an overview. John Stuart Shaw, head of corporate and private records at the National Archives of Scotland, has written the first book devoted entirely to Scottish politics from 1707 to 1801. He focuses on the political elite, especially the so-called managers, their relationship with English ministers, their motives, and their contributions to Scottish society. The book begins with a chapter on the making of the Union, followed by one on the structure of Scottish politics. There is then a politi-

cal narrative of the entire century, followed by some thematic chapters, including one on Jacobitism and another on radicalism. Though a survey, the book adds substantially to the state of historical knowledge with respect to the pre-1760 era. Drawing on unpublished archival material never before utilized, Shaw brings new evidence to bear on how the court influenced the passage of the Treaty of Union, on the politics of the period 1707 to 1714, and on the private lives of the second and third Dukes of Argyll and their nephew, the third Earl of Bute.

Despite these very real contributions, the book has serious limitations. First, while Shaw does justice to a variety of interpretative views, he equivocates when it comes to taking a position on the issues. Second, the book is too narrow in its scope. The focus on the managers excludes any serious consideration of the Scottish members in the Lords and Commons, their role at Westminster, and the nature of politics in the constituencies. There is virtually nothing on the institutions of local government and how government was conducted at that level. There is no discussion of the role of the courts in the governing of the country or of the different roles played by the government in London. The book does not ask whether the patronage reforms of the younger Pitt affected Scotland and Dundas's management. Nor does it tell whether an emerging radical movement after 1780 had any impact on the management of Parliament or local elections. All of this is relevant to understanding Scotland's politics in the eighteenth century. Admittedly, the secondary literature is thin, and some of the hiatuses are due to the underdeveloped nature of the field. Each of these issues, however, has been addressed sufficiently by other historians to admit of some reflection or at least remark. In short, the opportunity to produce a comprehensive survey of Scottish politics was lost.

Third, Shaw does not adequately contextualize the book. It begins so abruptly as to be disconcerting. A discussion of what constitutes "politics" in the eighteenth century should have appeared in the front matter. Tellingly, there is neither an introduction nor a conclusion. Nor is there an explanation of why the narrative stops at 1801, a date that marks no significant change in the nature of the Scottish political system. Fourth, the audience for which the book was intended is unclear. With respect to undergraduates, too much background knowledge is taken for granted. Specialists in the field will appreciate Shaw's contributions to our knowledge of the pre-1760 era, but will find no significant interpretive departures from the current literature. Perhaps the book is best suited to graduate students, but then it ought to have been accompanied by a bibliographical essay.

While Shaw is generally positive about the Union, Paul Henderson Scott, SNP politician and unequivocal nationalist, is quite the opposite. In *The Boasted Advantages*, Scott surveys the history of the Union from its pre-1707 antecedents to the present. In a style that is vigorous and compelling, he argues that Scotland never needed the Union, that no benefits have come from it, and that Scotland would be better off if the Union were dissolved. Of the eight chapters, the first five will be of interest to students of eighteenth-century Scotland.

Scott spent the bulk of his adult life in the foreign service; since retiring in 1980 he has served the cause of Scottish nationalism. He has read widely in Scottish history and has previously written or edited books on that subject, including five related to the making of the Union. The book under review, however, is a polemical work, not a work of scholarship, and it is open to criticism on several points. His treatment of the events surrounding the passage of the Union is simplistic, and his explanation is reductive. His claim that the Court party simply sold out to the English and persuaded others to do the same is a position taken by no other historian; even P.W.J. Riley, as cynical as he was about the Union, did not believe that it could be explained by bribery. Scott's argument against the economic explanation for the passage of the Treaty of Union depends in part on his misrepresentation of Christopher Whatley's *Bought and Sold for English Gold?* In dismissing the notion that the Union had benefits for Scotland, Scott must ignore the devastating economic and political consequences that would have flowed from rejection of the Union treaty. He makes the specious argument that the eighteenth-century literati would have more openly condemned the Union had they not been afraid of reprisals. More serious than these questionable interpretations are Scott's archaic assumptions about nations and national identity. He believes there is such a thing as a national character, formed not just by a shared culture but by shared instincts. He declares, for example, that democracy is instinctive to the Scots, unlike the English. Furthermore, he makes the demonstrably false assumption that Scots of both the Highlands and Lowlands have taken part in a common brotherhood and have been one nation. Nothing could be further from the truth.

None of this is to say that Scott's arguments for independence are without merit. He raises interesting psychological and international perspectives, worthy of discussion. His appeal to history, however, has no validity. Even if his interpretation of the historical relations between England and Scotland were true, we cannot afford to fix blame for our problems on ancient wrongs by the perfidious "other." This is the logic that makes the world's most serious ethnic conflicts irresolvable.

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Brian D. Osborne, **Braxfield: The Hanging Judge? The Life and Times of Lord Justice-Clerk Robert McQueen of Braxfield**. Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing, 1997. Pp. 240.

Robert McQueen of Braxfield (1722-1799), Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, has become one of Scottish history's colorful but one-dimensional figures, in his case painted in almost unremittingly dark colors of cruelty and crudity, relieved only perhaps by a somewhat regrettable humor in some of his more offensive reported remarks. The popularity of this image of Lord Braxfield is mainly attributable to two sources: the influence of the writings of the opposition whig and evangelical Henry Cockburn as source material for eighteenth-century Scottish history, together with the character of Lord Justice-Clerk Hermiston in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Weir of Hermiston* (1896), which was based on Braxfield. Brian Osborne's book sets out to revise this powerful, popular image of Braxfield as "Scotland's Judge Jeffreys" and to offer a more measured judgment.

By examining family letters and the journals and memoirs of contemporaries (notably those of James Boswell), Osborne is able to show a much more sympathetic, warm, cultured, and sociable character than is usually portrayed; and by investigating McQueen's long legal career in some detail, he demonstrates the esteem in which he was held by the profession and by his clients. He also points out with some justice that Braxfield was not unusual among his judicial contemporaries in his political opinions and judgments during the 1790s (we are reminded that it was Lords Eskgrove and Abercromby, sitting in Perth, who sentenced Thomas Fyssh Palmer to seven years transportation), nor was he alone in the coarseness of some of his famous remarks (some of which were probably not in fact uttered by him, but either fabricated in the embroidery of a good story or spoken by fellow judges such as Lord Kames). He also supports the editors of Boswell's journals in the opinion that Boswell's *Letter to Robert Macqueen, Lord Braxfield, on His Promotion to Be One of the Judges of the High Court of Justice* (1780) was aimed not at Braxfield's indecorous behavior on the bench but at that of Lord Kames, Braxfield's appointment merely providing the pretext for its publication. Osborne has to accept certain of the criticisms leveled at his subject (notably his conduct in the 1793-94 sedition trials in Edinburgh); and, while Cockburn may not be an ideal source (being only fourteen years old at the time of the sedition trials), it is undeniable that contemporaries (and allies), such as Robert Dundas, Lord Advocate, also branded Braxfield "violent and intemperate" (p. 218). One wonders whether all the anecdotes retailed by Osborne in favor of his subject are much more reliable than those which tell against him; but there is such a rich fund of stories that the impression remains of a man rather larger than life.

It is not altogether surprising that Braxfield was a much more rounded human being than his caricature suggests, nor that he was in many ways the product of his age. And Osborne's book is marred by occasional repetitions, irritating infelicities ("even eighteenth-century clerks could err," p. 124), misleading implications (the membership of the London Society of the Friends of the People was elitist and their program was moderate, but those of the Scottish branches were neither), unnecessarily long quotations and summaries of records and opinions, and evidence which might be questioned more than it is. A more sophisticated biography of Robert McQueen probably remains to be written; but he has long deserved a more impartial appraisal, a more modern examination and, indeed, a book-length biography. Brian Osborne's entertaining study is very welcome on all these grounds.

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Robert J. Mayhew, **Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850**. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, and New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Pp. viii + 320.

David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers, eds. **Geography and Enlightenment**. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999. Pp. viii + 455.

In the past several years, British historical geography has taken what might be called an intellectual and cultural turn, in the sense that some of its leading practitioners have moved closer to intellectual and cultural history. In the process, the Enlightenment has emerged as a central issue in a lively new geographical literature that is well represented by these two books.

The Introduction to David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers's stimulating collection of essays, *Geography and Enlightenment*, is a good starting point for understanding the new trend, in which the history of geography is viewed less as "a formal and unified academic discipline" than as "a set of discursive situated practices" (p. 3). "Process" and "context" are now central, and the Enlightenment is increasingly viewed "as being sited, produced, debated, and contested in *local spaces and circumstances* as well as being apparent at national levels" (4). Although the implications of this approach have yet to be worked out fully for the Scottish Enlightenment, a number of recent articles by Charles Withers and others have begun to explore the terrain. In this particular volume, Withers is off exploring Enlightenment concepts of paradise, and that's typical of the unexpected richness

of the enterprise. James Hutton, John and William Playfair, Samuel Stanhope Smith, and others likely to be of interest to members of this society pop up elsewhere in the book, however, and Chris Philo contributes an essay specifically on "geographies of unreason" in the Edinburgh Enlightenment, albeit one that seems to owe more to the thought of Tom Markus than to the new historical geography as such.

A central premise of the approach represented by Livingstone and Withers is that scholars of the Enlightenment must "recognize the profoundly *mythic* nature of geographical knowledge," as Paul Carter puts it in his contribution (p. 298). In *Enlightenment Geography*, Robert J. Mayhew does not dispute this point, but he believes that the history of geography can and should be reconstructed by focusing on geography texts, properly so-called, such as William Guthrie's remarkably popular *New Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar* (1770), which have too often been neglected in favor of historical representations of space and place that strike historians of geography as more exotic, distinctive, or "modern." Despite flaws and rough spots, Mayhew's book represents an interesting approach for understanding Enlightenment geography, one that both complements and challenges that of Livingstone and Withers. When did geography get to be this much fun?

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Biography Database 1680-1830 on CD-ROM. Newcastle upon Tyne: Romulus Press Ltd.; distributed by Averro Publications Ltd., 1995-.

This is a project in progress, but one of great importance for students and scholars of eighteenth-century Britain and America. Between December 1995 and December 2000, three CDs out of a projected five have been issued in this series. When all five are available, users will have at their fingertips, in searchable format, the contents from all British and American directories (national, municipal, and trade-based), all British and American book subscription lists, all birth, marriage, death, promotion, and bankruptcy records from the *Gentleman's Magazine* and other periodicals, and all British and American society membership lists that appeared during the long eighteenth century from 1680 to 1830. This is going to be an extraordinarily useful research tool.

I say "going to be," because in its present form the database is not only incomplete but also rather cumbersome to use. Each of the three published CDs is a database unto itself; each must be separately installed and separately searched. When the project is complete, however, the data on all five CDs will be combined onto one DVD or other technological medium, so that it will be possible to do Boolean searches of all the data mentioned above. When that point is reached, someone doing research on a particular individual will be able to do one rapid search that will turn up every subscription list, directory, or society that ever contained that person's name during this period, as well as information about promotions and death as they appeared in the *GM* and other magazines. Or one will be able to do complex searches for, say, every female member of the book trade who was listed in the Edinburgh directories during the 1780s (there are many search variables, including occupation, location, gender, and time period). Gathering this kind of information the old-fashioned way could take a lifetime.

The book subscription lists are probably the most useful aspect of the project, because that information is the most difficult to discover any other way. Some readers will remember the Newcastle-based Book Subscriptions List Project that issued a series of printed guides to British and American book subscription lists during the 1970s and 1980s. Those guides used a complex system of notation that I suspect nobody fully understood except Peter Wallis and the project's other practitioners. By putting all that book subscription data into a computer, the current project does a world of good. For example, using the first CD in the series, which contains nearly 1500 subscription lists, I did a search for the bookseller Andrew Millar and discovered about eight books to which he subscribed that I had not known about before. One of them, James Foster, *Discourses on all the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue*, is a two-volume quarto that was printed for the author between 1749 and 1752. The English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC), which normally indicates the existence of subscription lists, does not mention one in this case, but the *Biography Database* records that Millar (who was one of the selling agents, according to ESTC) subscribed for one hundred copies, and that Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson, John Home, and other Scottish men of letters also subscribed, in a list located in the second volume. Now, I had never heard of Foster or his book and would never have been able to discover this information without this searching tool, unless I had chanced upon a copy of Foster's book in some rare book room. When the database is complete and searchable all at once, its power to reveal information of this kind is going to be enormous.

Of course, the accuracy of a reference tool of this kind depends upon how accurately the data have been typed or scanned into the database. When comparing the subscription lists in the printed book subscription guides mentioned above to photocopies of the actual lists, I have sometimes noticed discrepancies, such as the omission of two or three names that appeared in the original. If the current project is using the printed guides as its source for book subscription lists, those errors will be repeated and probably also augmented by new ones, as a result of new omissions, misspellings, or other mishaps. Another potential shortcoming is that certain types of information, such as the names of printers and publishers in the imprint of books containing subscription lists, has not been re-

corded and therefore cannot be searched – a blow to book historians. Moreover, there is no easy way to distinguish people with the same name from each other: do a search for Adam Smith, for example, and you will have to spend much time and effort eliminating references to others by that name in order to find any references to the famous guy you want. Finally, this tool is expensive: £7500 or \$11,250 for advance purchase of all five CDs by a library or other large institution (the rate for individuals is lower but still beyond the means of most of us).

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Briefly Noted

David Allan, **Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000. Pp. x + 246.

David Allan's second book demonstrates remarkable intellectual maturity and growth, as he focuses on the way in which Stoic ideas permeated early modern Scottish thought and interacted with politics and ideology. The shrill polemical tone, maddening snippets taken out of context, and countless bibliographical errors that characterized much of Allan's first book, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, are here replaced by self-assured mastery of a wide range of complex texts, an impressive ability to practice the history of ideas, and an extremely sophisticated grasp of the relationship between intellectual and political history.

Alastair J. Mann, **The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland. An Historiographical Survey of the Early Modern Book in Scotland**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000. Pp. 308.

Based on a 1997 University of Stirling Ph.D. thesis, this book fills a huge gap by providing a wealth of detailed information on the early modern Scottish book trade. The research is impressive, if sometimes a little overwhelming, and there is a compelling thesis about the "creation of a 'Scottish way', a recognisable Scottish tradition in book culture" (p. 234). The most important aspect of this argument is the claim that early modern Scotland developed a tradition of (in effect) limited copyright, based on the concept of publication monopolies or patents granted by the state for short periods, without anything like the English (Stationers' Company) idea of perpetual copyright.

Jack Russell Weinstein, **On Adam Smith**. Wadsworth Philosophers Series. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2001. Pp. 97.

This little book has a big agenda: to demonstrate that Adam Smith was "a philosopher first and an economist second" (92). It's a brief, inexpensive, revisionist text for classroom use.

Henry Mackenzie, **Julia de Roubigné**. Edited with an Introduction by Susan Manning. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999. Pp. xxviii + 164.

Editor and publisher alike are to be congratulated for this handsome, affordable paperback edition of Mackenzie's last novel, originally published in 1777. The editor's Introduction and Bibliography are helpful; the text is extremely readable; and the cover portrait of Mrs. William Urquhart by Sir Henry Raeburn is perfect.

Dorothy McMillan, ed. **The Scotswoman at Home and Abroad: Non-Fiction Writing 1700-1900**. Glasgow: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1999. Pp. xiv + 280.

Despite the use of a microscopic font that makes reading difficult, this valuable collection contains a number of useful excerpts from women writers of the eighteenth century, including Alicia Cockburn, Elizabeth Mure (her delightful memoir from the *Mure of Caldwell Papers*), Margaret Calderwood, Mrs. Grant, Elizabeth Hamilton, and Joanna Baillie. Each selection has a brief biographical sketch and a bibliography.

Philip Carter, **Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800**. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2001. Pp. viii + 232.

This delightful book examines the concepts of politeness and masculinity with charm and grace. There's much on the Scots, especially James Boswell. Highly recommended for the classroom.

Emma Vincent Macleod, **A War of Ideas: British Attitudes to the Wars against Revolutionary France, 1792-1802**. Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998. Pp. viii + 240.

Although not specifically Scottish by any means, this book manages to integrate Scottish material into a general account of British attitudes to the French wars of the decade following the establishment of the republic. It's particularly good on women and churchmen, two groups that are often neglected in other accounts.

Review Essay

Gibbon's Enlightenments: From Socinian to Scottish

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

J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*. Volume 1: *The Enlightenment of Edward Gibbon 1737-1764*; Volume 2: *Narratives of Civil Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. xv + 339, xiv + 422.

The publication of these two volumes is unquestionably a major event, both in the study of Gibbon and Enlightenment historiography, and in John Pocock's own intellectual itinerary. Half a century ago, Giuseppe Giarrizzo published what until now has stood as the only full-length study of Gibbon by an intellectual historian: *Edward Gibbon e la cultura europea del settecento* (1954). Reviewing the work which had preceded his, Giarrizzo was contemptuous: in the Anglo-Saxon world and beyond, he remarked, Gibbon has been the pretext for the most banal methodological observations, and the silliest chatter. Since then much has been done to redress the deficiency. There have been good editions of Gibbon's letters, journals, and memoirs, a catalogue of his library, an edition of his English essays (though we still want one which includes his writings in French), and, most recent and most valuable, a new edition of the *Decline and Fall* itself, by David Womersley. Patricia Craddock has put much labor into two volumes of intellectual biography. The historical understanding of Gibbon's achievement has been transformed in a series of essays and articles by Arnaldo Momigliano, Hugh Trevor-Roper, Peter Ghosh, and Pocock himself. But the two volumes Pocock has now given us are an enterprise of an altogether different order: this is historiography on the grand scale.

As it stands, *Barbarism and Religion* is already longer than his previous magnum opus, *The Machiavellian Moment* (1976); when the new work is complete, the earlier one will be dwarfed. But although Pocock has published and initiated much in the intervening years—notably the debate over the scope and character of a properly “British” History—the conception of the present work followed closely upon completion of its predecessor. “It was in the Piazza Paganica at Rome, in the month of January 1976, that the idea of writing a book with the present title first started to my mind” (1:1). So explicit an echo of Gibbon's own moment of inspiration tells us much: self-conscious as well as (justifiably) self-confident, Pocock is as aware of the shaping presence of his own mind and style in these volumes as he is of Gibbon's in the *Decline and Fall*. The result is a work as demanding as it is absorbing. Readers who already know and are sympathetic to Pocock's mind and style will find an enormous amount to enjoy; but newcomers, I fear, may find the going hard. If the adjective most commonly used in reference to *The Machiavellian Moment* is “magisterial,” the corresponding one for *Barbarism and Religion* might be “oracular”: there is a bracing, but some may feel off-putting, impression of the tablets being brought down from the mountain—an impression only reinforced by the striking dust-jacket reproductions of paintings by Sebastiano and Marco Ricci and by Giambattista Tiepolo, in both of which the viewer's gaze is drawn up toward a figure seated amidst symbols and hieroglyphs of learning.

Nevertheless, I shall argue, the key to understanding *Barbarism and Religion* is to read it as a story or series of stories within intellectual history. Far from being limited to *ex cathedra* pronouncements (there are a few), the two volumes possess a structure of argument and develop lines of interpretation which can be identified and opened for discussion. Before I attempt to do this, however, it is important to register what the volumes are not. They do not offer a complete intellectual biography of Gibbon, though volume 1 in particular discusses aspects of his intellectual formation in some detail. Nor do they examine the text of the *Decline and Fall* itself, though incidental references are frequent, and the closing sections of both volumes do address the question of Gibbon's preparation for writing it. (Further volumes, their number prudently not anticipated, will be devoted to the *Decline and Fall*.) In different ways, these two volumes are intended rather to provide contexts for Gibbon's writing of the *Decline and Fall*. But the reconstruction and elaboration of those contexts is itself an act of interpretation, yielding a richly complicated, and seriously debatable, account of “European culture in the eighteenth century” (1.1—the phrase clearly an evocation of Giarrizzo's title).

The two volumes are organized by their dedications, the first to the memory of Franco Venturi, the second to the memory of Arnaldo Momigliano. Venturi provides volume 1 with a respected antagonist: *The Enlightenment of Edward Gibbon* is framed as an argument against Venturi's judgment that England did not participate in the Enlightenment, leaving Gibbon on his own as “the English giant of the Enlightenment.” In England, Venturi said, “the rhythm was different.” Pocock objects, first and fundamentally, to the definite article in “the” Enlightenment: we should speak of “Enlightenment” without the article, and we can, he believes, think in the plural, of a series of Enlightenment. Specifically, it is quite possible to find Enlightenment in England. It was not Enlightenment as the *philosophes* practiced it in France, for such an intellectual class, formed outside the state structure, did not exist in England. Here Enlightenment was “clerical and conservative,” part of a process of Protestant Enligh-

tenment distinct from that which occurred in Catholic countries. Pocock first made this case almost twenty years ago, but now gives it fresh depth and nuance; and it is notable that he no longer seeks to elide the differences between the English and Scottish Enlightenments. (The contrast between Pocock's argument for an English Enlightenment and that recently advanced by Roy Porter in *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* [2000], published in North America as *The Creation of the Modern World: The British Enlightenment*, could hardly be greater: the one is as considered as the other is indiscriminate.)

If Enlightenments are not to be multiplied at will, however, they must have had something in common. Pocock uses the noun "Enlightenment" to denote "a process at work in European culture." It can be characterized, he suggests, in two ways: "first, as the emergence of a system of states, founded in civil and commercial society and culture, which might enable Europe to escape from the wars of religion without falling under the hegemony of a single monarchy; second, as a series of programmes for reducing the power of either churches or congregations to disturb the peace of civil society by challenging its authority" (1:5, 7). In this second aspect, Enlightenment is more specifically characterized as "an indictment of Nicene theology—and ultimately of the central doctrines of the Incarnation, the Atonement and the Trinity—as encouraging the belief that a kingdom not of this world might nevertheless be exercised in it" (1:7-8). In place of such theology, Pocock argues, Enlightenment sought to anchor the life of the mind in the life of civil society.

The second characterization of Enlightenment is developed first, in the chapters concerned with the education and re-education of Gibbon in England and Switzerland. What emerges from these chapters is, in effect, an account of the Socinian origins of Enlightenment; and whatever conviction it ultimately carries, in relation to Gibbon or to Enlightenment in general, it provides the two volumes of *Barbarism and Religion* with an original and arresting point of departure. The story begins with "the inherited predicament" of the Church of England, "caught between the need to reconcile its status as apostolic church and member of Christ's body with its acceptance of the sovereignty of the crown" (1:19-20), and between the claims of Rome, which held the church independent of any ruler, and of the sects, who held the spirit immediately present in the congregation or even the individual. From about 1600, however, efforts were being made to mediate, or at least bypass, such claims by those whom Hugh Trevor-Roper (and indeed Gibbon before him) identified as the English Erasmians. These were the Arminian admirers of Grotius who rejected Calvinism yet sought to keep their distance from the aggressive ritualism of Archbishop Laud—only to lay themselves open to the charge of "Socinianism."

Here Pocock takes the argument a crucial step further than Trevor-Roper. The Socinianism which interested Trevor-Roper was a general philosophy of rational Christianity, cultivated by Falkland and his circle at Great Tew; what Pocock emphasizes is Socinianism's theological and ecclesiological content. In holding Christ divine in mission but not in nature, and in denying his co-substantiality and co-eternity with God, Socinianism broke the connection between Christ's body and his church, and opened the latter to Erastian subordination to the state and civil society. Such was the charge leveled against William Chillingworth by a Jesuit antagonist in the 1630s; and it remained the accepted implication of Socinianism through the Restoration and Glorious Revolution, and into the eighteenth century. At the same time, Socinianism was inherently unstable both as argument and as accusation: often loosely applied, it is best understood as a moving spectrum of heterodoxy, on which any who questioned the central dogmas of the Nicene Creed might find themselves exposed—and unable to fix a position. As Pocock appreciates, it was precisely this conceptual instability which made Socinianism so dangerous to ecclesiastical authority: once embarked on its questions, as Chillingworth discovered, it was not easy to return to the fold of authority, even when as inclusively defined as by the Thirty-Nine Articles.

The particular problem facing Pocock, however, is that of finding evidence for Gibbon's acquaintance, in these early years, with the Anglican Socinian tradition. At home in Putney he was caught between the non-juring, mystical pietism of William Law and the aggressive deism of the Malletts: between these extremes (about which Pocock says relatively little), there is no sign of a mediating Latitudinarian Socinianism. On holiday in Stourhead, the fourteen year-old Gibbon devoured High Anglican historical and oriental scholarship, with potentially far-reaching consequences for the direction his interests were to take in the *Decline and Fall*; but only his Laudian namesake, the Arabist Edward Pococke, supplies a tenuous link to Grotius and a Socinian tradition. At Oxford, of course, Gibbon encountered Middleton, whose argument that no miracles had occurred after those of Christ and his immediate disciples was open to the imputation of Socinianism; but the argument served only to frighten Gibbon into the capaciously Trinitarian arms of Bossuet. Five years later, Pocock has noticed, Thomas Waldegrave wrote to Gibbon to say that had he known of his crisis, he would immediately have recommended "Mr Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants; any one page of which is worth a library of Swiss divinity" (1:48). But Waldegrave was not there when he was needed, and Gibbon had to go to Switzerland.

There, Pocock proceeds to argue, Gibbon was exposed to a second tradition of Socinianism. For the Protestant learning which he was set to read in Lausanne was that of the liberal Huguenot Academy of Saumur and its pupils in the Huguenot diaspora, most notably Jean Le Clerc in Amsterdam. Moving along this continental Arminian axis, Pocock spells out the implications of Socinianism in more theological detail, in passages of considerable complexity but lasting significance for his subsequent argument. Two such passages are to be found on pages 53-54 and 59-61. As the Arminians played down actual contact with Christ in communion, they were led into dis-

cussion of Christ's person, in which the primary duty of the Christian became that of being reasonable about Christ. But—and here Arminianism unavoidably joined the moving spectrum of Socinianism—to open Christ's person to rational discussion was to render Christ as no more than an idea, with no presence in the structure of any visible church. It was a position which expressed the laudable hope of replacing “both persecuting Catholicism and rebellious Protestantism by the operations of states which were tolerant because they no longer saw Christ acting directly or institutionally in the structure of human societies.” But it was also a position which entailed the reduction of the Church of Christ to a series of debating societies, and of theology to the study of the history of its debates.

In developing this account of Huguenot Socinianism, Pocock more than once refers back to Chillingworth's English variety; but he does not, so far as I can see, establish significant links between them. He knows, however, that a liberal, *Saumurois* Calvinism was the culture of Gibbon's first preceptor in Lausanne, Daniel Pavillard, and that under his guidance Gibbon studied works by Le Clerc and his pupils. From this he draws two conclusions, crucial to his understanding of Gibbon's Enlightenments. One is that the Socinian view of theology as the history of debate is the Protestant intellectual basis of erudition, the critical study of sources, and thus that Gibbon's respect for erudition is Socinian in foundation. The other is that Venturi was mistaken to identify the English sources of Enlightenment in deism, and specifically in the radical version of deism articulated by John Toland. For there was a difference between the sober Socinian subordination of religion to the civil order and the deist idea of “natural religion,” and an even greater difference when the latter was represented by Toland as a “religion of nature.” This was a spectrum (distinct from the Socinian) on which deism passed into pantheism and thence to atheism; it was the intellectual territory of Spinoza, and before him of Epicurus and Lucretius. And Spinozist, Epicurean naturalism was, Pocock insists, a metaphysics, a form of philosophical enthusiasm quite different from the methodological skepticism which was the philosophical expression of Socinianism. Pocock insists on the distinction because, I think, it is vital to his understanding of Enlightenment in general and Gibbon in particular. To demonstrate that the roots of Enlightenment are Socinian is to *exclude* Spinozist and Epicurean naturalism from the story; and it is already clear that the Gibbon whom Pocock has still to write about, the immediate author of the *Decline and Fall*, will be presented as a Socinian historian of the early Church and its theological controversies. (It is also strongly suggested, as I shall observe shortly, that Hume belongs in the same Socinian rather than Epicurean camp.) To put the point another way, Pocock's Enlightenment is directly opposed to that with which Jonathan Israel has just presented us (at even greater length) in *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (2001).

Gibbon's return to England in 1758 after his first period in Lausanne enables Pocock to develop the other, more political face of his Enlightenment. This is the subject of the chapter “The Hampshire Militia and the Problems of Modernity” (a strong contender in any competition for the most oracular chapter title). To begin with, Pocock picks up where he left off in *The Machiavellian Moment*: Enlightenment is modern commerce and its values challenged by the ancient ideal of civic virtue. But he now has in mind something more, for which he coins the term “the Utrecht Enlightenment.” By this he means the “system of states” instituted by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714, and designed to secure a “balance of power” in Europe, preventing any recurrence of the threat of Universal Monarchy. The system, Pocock emphasizes, was very much a western European phenomenon, being effectively an Anglo-French consortium; it lasted until the last quarter of the century, when it was fatally undermined by imperial rivalry and extra-European wars. In some respects even more novel than the idea of a Socinian Enlightenment (my term, not Pocock's), the “Utrecht Enlightenment” is clearly related to Gibbon's (and Montesquieu's) idea of Europe as a “great republic” of states; but its broader significance will become clear in the second volume, when Pocock presents “the Enlightened narrative” as composed of the histories of the states which subscribed to the Utrecht system.

Gibbon's service with the Hampshire militia was significant in another, more personal respect. It confirmed that he was, after all, an English gentleman, and that his vocation would be that of the scholar. As a gentleman-scholar, however, Gibbon could not be a *philosophe*, still less a reformer in Venturi's sense of the term *rifformatore*. Socially as well as intellectually, his Enlightenment would be different.

Militia service over, Pocock's Gibbon is ready for Paris and its Enlightenments. These were two, the *érudit* and the *philosophe*. Pocock presents the *érudit* Enlightenment through a study of the *Académie des Inscriptions* and its foremost intellect, Nicolas Freret. Freret, Pocock argues, was the exponent of a skeptical *méthode* for the interpretation of texts, not of a philosophical *système*. His skepticism led him deep into the criticism of Christianity—but not so deep, Pocock assures us, that he should be thought a Spinozist: in identifying Confucianism with Epicureanism, Freret was saying that it too was a metaphysics, a system rather than a method. It is at least implied that Freret's conception of erudition was close to that of the Protestant Socinians.

Against the *érudits* was ranged the Enlightenment of the *philosophes*, represented by D'Alembert's *Discours préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie*, to which Gibbon had responded in the *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature* of 1761. D'Alembert's object in the *Discours préliminaire* was precisely to write a “natural history of the mind,” to demonstrate that it is the human mind, as a part of human nature and thus of nature itself, which produces the sciences, the arts, and the *métiers*. He is emphatic that “philosophical history” must be “natural history” of this

sort; mere chronological history cannot explain the emergence of the arts and sciences. Pocock acknowledges that the lines dividing the protagonists in this debate were not clear-cut. D'Alembert was "irresistibly fair-minded" toward the *érudits*; Gibbon was perhaps unfair to D'Alembert in seizing on his apparent exclusion of the faculties of imagination and judgment from the study of history. But the difference between Gibbon and the *philosophe* was nonetheless fundamental. Gibbon thought that the history of literature and the mind should be written as "civil" not natural history. Texts should be studied as the *érudits* had insisted: in their historical contexts, methodically rather than systematically, with an eye for the ironies of the unexpected. Such a reading of Gibbon's *Essai* leaves Pocock to explain the presence within it of passages which are indubitably a natural history of religion; he is insistent that while they suggest Gibbon was proceeding deeper into skepticism, this was not a manifestation of deism or Spinozistic non-theism.

Volume 2 of *Barbarism and Religion* is devoted to historiography. In this case the dedicatee, Momigliano, is treated as a patron rather than an antagonist. Pocock wishes to develop Momigliano's insight that Gibbon's originality as a historian lay in his combining erudition with philosophy. To this end, he rephrases the question, to ask how erudition and philosophy were combined with eighteenth-century historians' persistent commitment to narrative. In focusing on the construction of narrative, Pocock makes the same point as Mark Phillips in *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (2000), a work of no less interest to readers of this periodical: that narrative was still the "classical" form of historical writing. But Pocock and Phillips are headed in very different directions: what interests Pocock is not genre but the argument and content of what he calls "the Enlightened narrative."

The Enlightened narrative—there is no hesitation in using the definite article—is succinctly defined at the outset of volume 2. Its subject was the Christian millennium in Europe: depending on the specific preoccupations of its historians, it covered the period from Constantine to Charles V, or from Charlemagne to Louis XIV. Its connecting themes were those of barbarism and religion. By "barbarism" was meant the culture of the Germanic and central Asian invaders who overran the Roman Empire, and also the system of feudal social relations which they instituted on the basis of land-holding; by "religion" was indicated the assertion of papal and clerical power within the western Christian Church, and the would-be subordination of temporal and particularly Imperial power to the spiritual. The end—Pocock explicitly calls it the *telos*—of this narrative was the Europe of Enlightenment, of the Socinian and particularly the Utrecht Enlightenments described in volume 1. It is now, in fact, that the Utrecht Enlightenment comes into its own. In this volume it overshadows (without extinguishing) the Socinian, because the Enlightened narrative may be regarded as a response to the need of Europe's post-Utrecht system of states for a new and more ambitious historiography of statecraft. An early attempt to meet the need had been made by Pufendorf and others in their accounts of the "interests" of states. But the histories written by a Giannone or a Voltaire, by a Hume or a Robertson, were far more sophisticated in seeking to construct the narrative of the coming-into-being of the states which Utrecht had brought together.

Identifying the senses in which the new historiography was "philosophical" presents Pocock with more of a challenge. He attempts the task in a Prelude devoted to "the varieties of early modern historiography." With its plain, unornamented title, the chapter is all too likely to attract readers seeking a shortcut to Pocock's main arguments. They should be warned: this is the most difficult chapter of all, comprehensible only in the light of the rest. But the central argument is clear and by now unsurprising: "philosophical history" is not to be confused with "natural history." The conviction that human nature was part of the natural world, and that a philosophical or scientific history was therefore an account of the natural working and products of the mind was, Pocock acknowledges, "enormously reinforced by the practice of organising all information regarding human society, culture and morality under the rubric of 'natural law'" (2:22). But philosophical history, at least as Hume and Gibbon understood it, was written against the grain of such naturalism. Accepting the counter-rational diversity of human behavior, philosophical history focused on the development of states as the best means of organizing its accounts of that behavior. Philosophical history, therefore, was "civil history," recounting the development of states in relation to manners, customs, and the contemporary climate of "opinion," and, most important of all, in relation to the spiritual pretensions of ecclesiastics. Enlightened narratives were civil histories of this kind, and are thus to be thought of as "philosophical," mixing their philosophy with varying degrees of erudition.

Successive sections of volume 2 are then devoted to the histories of Giannone, Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, Smith, and Ferguson. Here I shall concentrate on Pocock's treatment of the Scots, but I do not thereby discount the chapters devoted to Giannone and Voltaire. The extended analysis of Giannone's *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* is particularly welcome, since it has been little discussed in English. Voltaire's histories receive almost as much attention as Hume's, and are treated by Pocock with a perhaps unexpected sympathy. Voltaire's contempt for erudition, he suggests, was a reflection of his interest in the fluid diversities of culture, which were not easily documented and referenced.

But it is undoubtedly David Hume who is of most interest to Pocock in this volume. An introductory (but this time readily intelligible) survey of historiography and intellectual culture in Hanoverian Britain suggests that when Hume made his famous remark about this being the historical age and the historical nation, he was surely speaking of Britain, and not merely Scotland. Separate chapters are then devoted to the *Essays* as contemporary history, and

to the successive installments of what became the *History of England*. Two themes are pursued through these chapters. One concerns Hume's treatment of religion. Hume was, of course, an exponent of the natural history of religion, most notably in the dissertation of that title and in the essay "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm." But his treatment of religion in the *History* proper, Pocock argues, broke with this mold. It became clear that the cultic, naturally superstitious religion of the people posed no serious problem, either before or after the Reformation. The danger arose when clergy began to make truth claims about the nature of the godhead. The arrogant manner of Henry VIII's reformation had given them their cue; and the crisis of the Laudian Church in the mid-seventeenth century had enabled a crowd of priests, Scots and sectaries to use such theology to claim an authority rivaling that of the civil magistrate. Such "enthusiasm," Hume realized, was all the more dangerous for being theologically derived: it was not simply an expression of fanaticism. In other words—though Pocock does not use them explicitly—Hume had moved to a tacitly Socinian position on the dangers inherent in upholding Nicene theology. Having done so, Hume then committed himself, in the volumes on the Tudors, to a thoroughgoing Erastianism. Rejecting the alternative of a free market in religion, he envisaged an established church strictly subordinated to the civil power, presiding over the eventual euthanasia of religion through sheer boredom with its disputes.

A second theme of the chapters on Hume is his increasing respect for the law and constitution of England. Short-circuiting the argument of Colin Kidd, Pocock more or less takes it for granted that Hume's *History of Great Britain*, as it was initially conceived, was firmly Anglo-British in its focus; thereafter, the decision to call it the *History of England* meant exactly what it said. Hume's conclusion to the *History* as he had written it (that is to the medieval volumes)—that it was a lesson in the fluctuations rather than the antiquity of the constitution—is acknowledged. But before reaching that conclusion, Pocock points out, Hume had repeatedly shown that "he could whig it with the best," celebrating Alfred's foundation of the common law, and Magna Carta's enshrining of principles of natural equity. Duncan Forbes was thus mistaken, in *Hume's Philosophical Politics* (1975), to characterize Hume's *History* as a "cosmopolitan" answer to the "vulgar whiggism" of the ancient constitution. Rather, Hume's perspective was that of the Utrecht Enlightenment: philosophical history was best written as the development of statecraft in (what we would term) "national context." The English possessed such a historical national context, as the Scots did not; but an Anglo-Scot such as himself was perhaps uniquely well-placed to appreciate just how enduring, if periodically disrupted, that English context had been.

Turning to William Robertson, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson, the scene changes again. Where Hume has been set in Hanoverian Britain, they are studied in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment. Pocock identifies this Enlightenment squarely with the group of Moderate clergy and professors led by Robertson, and studied by the editor of this periodical (on whose work Pocock in turn bestows the title "magisterial"); he assumes that Smith can be associated with them, at least for the period of his professorship at Glasgow. If a definition of the Scottish Enlightenment which marginalizes Hume seems a little odd, the reason for it soon becomes clear. For these Scots are seen to have bypassed several of the most urgent preoccupations of previous exponents of the Enlightened narrative, Hume as well as Giannone and Voltaire. For one thing, the Moderate historians and Smith barely engaged with the history of religion. Deliberately, it must be supposed, they declined to discuss the rise of clerical pretension; and they showed no interest in the course and consequences of theological debate. Even though his *History of Scotland* covered the early stages of the Reformation, Robertson showed no inclination to follow Hume "in proclaiming that the absolute decrees of grace were a principal source of enthusiasm, or to begin enquiring how far their modification by the heirs of Arminius must necessarily point in an anti-Nicene direction, Socinian or Grotian, deist or sceptic...far better to rely on the incessant practice of politics, on committees, resolutions and temporary coalitions and majorities" to ward off his strict Calvinist opponents (2:297). Whatever their private thoughts on the Westminster Confession, the Moderates were never to be caught questioning the Trinity.

Equally, after Robertson's initial attempt, these Scots eschewed the writing of history in national context. Having discovered that Scottish history was much less susceptible to "philosophic" treatment than Hume had found English, Robertson himself turned to the reign of Charles V, devoting the first volume to "A View of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century," which surveyed the entire European terrain of the Enlightened narrative. Smith and Ferguson, meanwhile, abandoned narrative altogether, and wrote their histories of "the progress of society" and of the progress and corruption of "civil society" as extensions of the natural jurisprudence which they taught their students. In doing so, Pocock suggests, they were able to strengthen the Enlightened narrative by clarifying and fixing one of its fundamental premises, the difference between "savage" and "barbarian" societies. Savage societies were static, confined to hunting and gathering, without stable property and government: they were characteristic of the Americas. Barbarian societies, by contrast, were mobile and dynamic; nomad pastoralists, they recognized property and political authority. Emanating from central Asia and Siberia, these had pushed westwards, first to found the aristocratic city commonwealths of ancient Greece, and then to overrun the Roman Empire. It was barbarian rather than savage peoples, therefore, who initiated the history which was the subject of the Enlightened narrative. This point had two important implications. On the one hand, it excluded savage peoples from "the progress of society"; on the other, it identified the progress of society as a European phenomenon, in which aboriginal America and Africa could not participate, unless they were taken over by Europeans. (Where this left modern Asia

the Scots did not seriously enquire.) Going well beyond Locke, the Scots had turned the history of property and society into an ideology of imperialism.

Significant though the enquiry into savage and barbarian societies might be—and Gibbon would later owe much to the Scots—it could only be an extended preface to the Enlightened narrative itself. Smith did indeed follow the inquiry with an outline of “the history of government in Europe,” from the barbarian invaders’ creation of allodial property, through its evolution into the feudal system, to the rise of cities and commerce under the aegis of stronger monarchies. But since he also insisted that history proper was narrative in the classical manner, he clearly did not regard himself as writing the Enlightened narrative. Ferguson’s treatment of barbarism in the *Essay on the History of Civil Society* may have presupposed the Enlightened narrative as its sequel; but he too did not write it, jumping forward instead to discuss the threats which corruption and despotism still presented to modern society. To these Scottish historians, therefore, it seems that the preoccupations of the Utrecht Enlightenment were of limited and diminishing concern; and there came a point when, like those of the Socinian Enlightenment, they might simply be ignored. In the great intellectual drama of Pocock’s Enlightenments, the Scottish Enlightenment (as he defines it) would appear to be cast as little more than a supporting player.

This is one respect in which, as it works itself out, Pocock’s argument comes to seem puzzling, and even begins to lose conviction. The puzzle derives, I think, from a continuing uncertainty over the relation between the process of “Enlightenment” and the several “Enlightenments” in which Pocock is interested. The singular process, he recognizes, is the necessary condition of its plural manifestations, since it establishes the common characteristics which allow the historian to use the same term in different settings. But if there was “a” process of Enlightenment, what prevents this from being thought of as “the” Enlightenment? The answer seems to be that use of the definite article identifies Enlightenment with a particular set or type of intellectuals, *philosophe* and *reformatore*. Without the definite article in front of Enlightenment, the social and political identity of its adherents can be left open, since Enlightenment is then defined or “characterized” in terms which allow it to be found in very different social and political, or “national,” contexts. But it is not clear why “the” Enlightenment must be associated with a particular type of “intellectual” (Venturi’s anachronistic term). Might it not refer, as evidence permits, to men and women of letters who for a period in the eighteenth century were conscious of participating in a European movement of ideas, and of sharing a certain range of intellectual interests and goals? As it stands, Pocock’s characterization of Enlightenment in terms of two broad ideas or programs is open to the objection that it treats ideas as independent agents in history, with only a contingent relation to the people by whom, and the contexts in which, they were articulated.

To this Pocock might respond that Enlightenment had a necessary not a contingent relation to its national contexts. But he seems reluctant to do this. At one point he denies it outright: “it is an incidental, not an essential effect that some emphasis must fall on ‘Enlightenment in national contexts’” (1:138—a remark which in its context is a rebuke to this reviewer). But national context does play a crucial, even an indispensable role in Pocock’s accounts of both the Socinian and the Utrecht Enlightenments. Right at the start it is admitted that “Enlightenment in England was of course bound up with the special, indeed unique character of the Church of England” (1:8). It was as an established church in a specific national context that the Church of England encouraged Socinian tendencies among its broader-minded adherents. Likewise the Utrecht Enlightenment was the product of an agreement between the major western European nations to form themselves into an orderly system of states; and when historians constructed the Enlightened narrative to explain how this had come about, they found—or at least Giannone, Voltaire, and Hume found—that the best way to do it was to write statecraft histories in national context.

Why, then, do the Scots appear to play such a minor part in Pocock’s Enlightenments? It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that they failed to write Enlightened narratives in the full sense of the term because, having surrendered their statehood in 1603 and 1707, they no longer possessed a proper national context. Without the authority of a state immediately to hand, the Moderates could not openly question Nicene dogma; and Scots could participate in the Utrecht Enlightenment only courtesy of the Anglo-British state. Recognizing this, Hume mentally crossed the border to write the *History of England*, leaving the Scottish Enlightenment to employ the last resources of natural law in the construction of conjectural histories of barbarism. The scope for participation in Pocock’s Enlightenments, it would seem, was proportional to the strength or weakness of the national context, which was in turn determined by statehood.

By the end of these volumes, however, the greatest uncertainty surrounds the relation to Enlightenment of Gibbon himself. As Pocock freely acknowledges, Gibbon did not write the Enlightened narrative as Giannone, Voltaire, Hume, and Robertson understood it. Instead of writing about the Christian millennium, Gibbon devoted himself to late Roman history, and then to the empires, societies, and religions of the Near and Middle East. To him, barbarism and religion had much less to do with feudalism and the papacy than with steppe nomads and desert tribes, the controversies of the eastern church and the rise of Islam. An affinity for Socinian erudition may explain his interest in the long struggle to secure Nicene orthodoxy, while his studies of barbarism owed more than a little to the Scots. But whatever else it was, the *Decline and Fall* was not a history of statecraft in national context, supposedly the paradigm form of the Enlightened narrative. For an account of what it was, and therefore how it stands in relation to Enlightenment, we must, however, wait for Pocock’s next volumes.

Recent Doctoral Dissertations on 18th-Century Scottish Topics

The following list supplements the bibliographies of doctoral theses and dissertations prepared by Paul J. deGatigno for publication in our first two issues. It includes theses and dissertations completed between 1990 and 2001, excluding those known to have been published. The list is by no means complete, and we invite our members to submit bibliographical information on others known to them. The presence of an asterisk (*) signifies a current ECSSS member.

*Corey ANDREWS, "Paradox and Improvement: Literary Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Club Poetry" (Ohio State University, 2000)

*Gioia ANGELETTI, "Scottish Eccentrics: The Tradition of Otherness in Scottish Poetry from Hogg to MacDiarmid" (U. of Glasgow, 1997).

Andrew AUSTEN, "Humean Sentimentalism and Feminist Ethics" (York U., 1993).

Robert Joel BAIRD, "The Invention of Religion: A Study of Hume's 'Natural History of Religion'" (Duke U., 1992).

John Peter BRADWELL, "Sir Walter Scott, the Scottish Enlightenment, and British Romanticism" (U. of Virginia, 1993).

*Michael Philip BROWN, "Francis Hutcheson in Dublin (1719-1730)" (Trinity College, Dublin, 2000).

Deborah BRUNTON, "Pox Britannica: Smallpox Inoculation in Britain, 1721-1830" (U. of Pennsylvania, 1990).

Peter de Haven CALDWELL, "Whiskey-Manure Engines and 'Haut, Fiery Gouts': The Scotch Whiskey Industry and Its Causal Relation to Scotland's Economic Transformation" (U. of Connecticut, 1994)

*B. Barnett COCHRAN, "Grace, Virtue, and Law: Political Discourse and the Search for National Identity in the Early Scottish Enlightenment" (Emory U., 1997) [emphasizes George Turnbull and Robert Wallace].

Camille K. DEAN, "Evangelicals or Restorationists? The Careers of Robert and James Haldane in Cultural and Political Context" (Texas Christian U., 1999).

Barbara Louise DOWNIE, "William McGibbon and Niel Gow: Reflections of Tradition and Taste in Eighteenth-Century Lowland Scotland" (Rice U., 1997).

Kimberley J. DEITZLER, "Introduction to Women Writing in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, 1660-1800: A Biographical Database on CD-Rom" (U. of Missouri, 1998).

*Alexander DU TOIT, "Presbyterianism, Patriotism and Empire: An Alternative View of the Historical Writing of William Robertson" (U. of London, 2000).

Elizabeth EASTMAN, "'Lectures on Jurisprudence': A Key to Understanding Adam Smith's Thought" (Claremont Graduate School, 1993).

Emily FERGUSON, "'None to Judge, Fight or Plead': An Introduction to Sir George Mackenzie's Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal" (U. of Guelph, 1997).

Penelope A. FIELDING, "Walter Scott and Eighteenth-Century Thought" (U. of Oxford, 1990).

David Elton GAY, "Revising Tradition: Folklore and the Making of European Literary Epic, 1760-1904" (Indiana U., 1995) [Macpherson's Ossian].

John GLENDENING, "Northern Exposures: English Literary Tours of Scotland, 1720-1820" (Indiana U., 1992).

*Katherine Jean HALDANE [Grenier], "Imagining Scotland: Tourist Images of Scotland 1770-1914" (U. of Virginia, 1990).

*Neil HARGRAVES, "The Language of Character and the Nature of Events in the Historical Narratives of William Robertson" (U. of Edinburgh, 1999).

Jennifer A. HERDT, "Fatal Divisions: Hume on Religion, Sympathy, and the Peace of Society" (Princeton U., 1994).

Scott Gerald KASSNER, "William Smith and the Empire of Liberty: Adventures and Misadventures on the Civil Religious Landscape of Eighteenth-Century British America" (U. of Minnesota, 1995).

Richard Arlen KLEER, "The 'Author of Nature': Adam Smith and Teleology" (U. of Toronto, 1992).

*Michael KUGLER, "Savagery, Antiquity, and Provincial Identity" (U. of Chicago, 1994) [on Adam Ferguson].

Martin G. LEEVER, "Sympathy in the Scottish Enlightenment" (Loyola U., Chicago, 1999).

Barbara A. LOONEY, "The Suppressed Agenda of Boswell's Tour" (U. of South Florida, 1992).

Alexander Mary LORD, "To Relieve the Distressed Women': Teaching and Establishing the Scientific Art of Man-Midwifery or Gynecology in Edinburgh and London, 1720-1805" (U. of Wisconsin, 1995).

Stuart MACDONALD, "Threats to a Godly Society: The Witch-Hunt in Fife, Scotland, 1560-1710" (U. of Guelph, 1998).

Alexander MCGRATTEN, "The Trumpet in Scotland from 1488 to 1800" (Open U., 1999).

Scott Alan MCLEAN, "Literature to Instruct, Entertain and Amuse: The Cheap Literature Movement in Scotland, 1768-1845" (U. of Guelph, 1998).

David William MARCUS, "Failed Laird, Successful Author: James Boswell of Auchinleck" (U. of South Florida, 1996).

John Lewis MARSHALL, "Natural Law and the Covenant: The Place of Natural Law in the Covenantal Framework of Samuel Rutherford's 'Lex, Rex'" (Westminster Theological Seminary, 1995).

*Hamish MATHISON, "Robert Burns: A Study in the Moral and Material Cultures of Eighteenth-Century Scotland" (U. of Aberdeen, 1998).

*Ingrid MERIKOSKI, "Christian Stoicism and Politeness: The Making of the Social Ethics of the Scottish Enlightenment" (U. of Edinburgh, 1999).

Jeremy Hugh MITCHELL, "Island of Bliss amid the Subject Seas: Anglo-Scottish Conceptions of Britain in the Eighteenth Century" (U. of Southampton, 1996).

*Daffyd MOORE, "James Macpherson: Romancing the Gael: The Literary, Cultural and Historiographical Context of the Poems of Ossian" (U. of Strathclyde, 1999).

*Terrence MOORE, "The Enlightened Curriculum: Liberal Education in Eighteenth-Century British Schools" (U. of Edinburgh, 1999).

*Mary Catherine MORAN, "From Rudeness to Refinement: Gender, Genre and Scottish Enlightenment Discourse, 1740-1810" (Johns Hopkins U., 1999).

Alfred MURRAY, "The Influence of Doctor Alexander Adam, Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, upon Education, Culture and Political Opinion in Scotland and the United Kingdom during the Enlightenment" (Open U., 1991).

Justine NOEL, "Hume's Science of Aesthetics: Human Nature and the Century of Criticism" (Queen's U., Ontario, 1993).

Sean Patrick O'ROURKE, "The Rhetoric of Law in the Scottish Enlightenment" (U. of Oregon, 1992).

*James Roger OTTESON II, "The Unintended Order of Morality: Adam Smith and David Hume on the Development of Moral Standards" (U. of Chicago, 1997).

*Dean James PETERSON, "Political Economy in Transition: From Classical Humanism to Commercial Society: Robert Wallace of Edinburgh" (U. of Illinois, 1994).

Katherine Andrea PHILIPPAKIS, "Society's Evolution: A Study of Adam Smith" (Arizona State U., 1998).

Sharon Lee PRIESTLEY, "The Navigation of the Soul: The Spiritual Autobiography of James Boswell" (U. of Nevada, Reno, 1995).

*Clotilde PRUNIER, "Catholiques, Presbytériens, et enjeux de l'instruction dans les Highlands d'Ecosse au dix-huitième siècle" (U. Stendhal-Grenoble 3, 1996).

Roxanne L. REDDINGTON-WILDE, "The Power of Place: Spatial Analysis and Social Organization of the Campbells in Early Modern Argyll, Scotland" (Harvard U., 1995).

David Stephen REIS, "The Philosophical Foundations of the Political Conservatism of David Hume" (U. of Chicago, 1994).

Cynthia Ellen ROMAN, "Pictures for Private Purses: Robert Bowyer's Historic Gallery and Illustrated Edition of David Hume's *History of England*" (Brown U., 1997).

Ellen Maria RUSSELL, "James Alexander, 1691-1756" (Fordham U., 1995) [Scot who was a prominent figure in early eighteenth-century New York].

Alison M. SCOTT, "'These Notions I Imbibed from Writers': The Reading Life of Mary Ann Wodrow Archibald (1762-1841)" (Boston U., 1995) [Scottish woman in America].

James SHEETS, "Adam Ferguson: The 'Good Preceptor' of Empire" (U. of Rochester, 1993).

*Anne SKOCZYLAS, "Professor John Simson and the Growth of Enlightenment in the Church of Scotland" (U. of Western Ontario, 1996).

Theresa Anne SOREL, "Scottish Cultural Nationalism, 1760-1832: The Highlandization of Scottish National Identity" (U. of Guelph, 1997) [deals with Macpherson, Smollett, Boswell, Scott]

*Mark SPENCER, "The Reception of David Hume's Political Thought in Eighteenth-Century America" (U. of Western Ontario, 2001)

*Robert Scott STEPHENSON, "With Swords and Plowshares: British and American Military Society in the Trans-Allegheny West, 1754-1774" (U. of Virginia, 1998).

*Jeffrey Mark SUDERMAN, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: George Campbell (1719- 1796) and the Aberdeen Enlightenment" (U. of Western Ontario, 1995).

Kathryn Doris TEMPLE, "The Author in Public: Literary Scandals, Legal Regulation, and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain" (U. of Virginia, 1994) [Ossian is one of the scandals treated].

John Daniel WELLS, "The Scottish Literati and the Problem of Scottish National Identity" (U. of Western Ontario, 1997) [deals with Hume, Robertson, Smith, Ferguson, Macpherson].

Edward Howard WINANT, "The Hydraulic Revolution: Science and Technical Design of Urban Water Supply in the Enlightenment" (U. of West Virginia, 1996) [focuses on Edinburgh].