

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

SCOTTISH PE EXPLORED

On 10-12 June 2001 ECSSS explored the topic of "Political Economy and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Culture" at its annual meeting, sponsored jointly by the International Adam Smith Society and hosted by The James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy at George Mason University in Arlington, Virginia. Thanks largely to the generosity of our hosts, it was a splendid meeting. The conference was opened by Nobel Prize winner James M. Buchanan himself. Nicholas Phillipson, the president of ECSSS, then welcomed the participants on behalf of the society and introduced the first plenary speaker, Andrew S. Skinner, Professor Emeritus at the University of Glasgow, who spoke on Adam Smith as a political economist. There followed a full afternoon of conferencing and a reception at the Hilton Arlington & Towers. During the course of the following day, the participants had nine panels to choose from, in addition to the second plenary lecture by Jane Rendall of the University of York, who spoke on Gender, History, and Political Economy in the Work of John Millar and Dugald Stewart. The climax of the conference came at the conference dinner that evening at the Tivoli Restaurant in Rosslyn, Virginia, when Ian Simpson Ross presented Hiroshi Mizuta with ECSSS's Lifetime Achievement Award (see article on p. 12 below). The conference continued the next morning with a third plenary lecture, by Clifford Siskin of the University of Glasgow, on Political Economy and the Genre of System, followed by three concurrent panels. It concluded with a luncheon, after which J.G.A. Pocock and Nicholas Phillipson gave what was, in effect, a fourth plenary presentation, masterfully summarizing highlights of the conference.

One of the distinguishing features of this conference was its unusually international character, even by ECSSS standards. Among those participating from outside the host country were no fewer than twelve scholars from Japan (Keiko Ara, Daisuke Arie, Hiroshi Muzuta, Yoshio Nagai, Shinichi Nagao, Toshiaki Ogose, Shinichi Nagao, Toshiaki Ogose, Chiyoko Shimozaki, Hisashi Shinohara, Ryu Susato, and Shoji Tanaka) and almost the same number from the U.K. (Chiara Baroni, Brian Bonnyman, Adam Bruce,

Michael Fry, Bruce Lenman, Alex Murdoch, Nicholas Phillipson, Peter Smaill, and the three plenary speakers); Michael Brown and Christopher Finlay from Ireland; Roger Emerson, Ian Simpson Ross, and A.M.C. Waterman from Canada; Baccar Gherib from Tunisia; Neil Hargraves from the Bahamas; Lisa Hill from Australia; Sandrine Leloup and Emma Tieffenbach from France; Harro Maas from The Netherlands; and Emanuele Levi Mortera and Silvia Sebastiani from Italy. A special panel on "The Japanese Tradition of Scottish Political Economy" provided a look at the way that scholars from Japan have appropriated this aspect of the Scottish Enlightenment as their own.

Another unique feature of this conference was its collaboration with The Liberty Fund, which held a seminar on a similar theme in the same hotel just before the ECSSS conference and provided transportation funding for the three plenary speakers, who participated in both events. ECSSS is particularly grateful to Doug Den Uyl of the Liberty Fund for working out this arrangement, and of course to the Buchanan Center, George Mason University, the International Adam Smith Society, and the conference director, David M. Levy of the Economics Department at GMU, and the conference coordinator, Carol M. Robert, for doing so much to make this conference a success.

AULD REIKIE IN JULY!

At press time in May, the excitement mounts for the society's first-ever Edinburgh conference, co-sponsored by the Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland at the University of Edinburgh, and held at Old College, University of Edinburgh, from 3 to 7 July 2002. The conference director, Alex Murdoch, ably assisted by Brian Bonnyman, has gone all out to make this a grand event. They have received tremendous support from others at the university, including Cairns Craig, Susan Manning, Nicholas Phillipson, Bill Bell of the university's Centre for the History of the Book, and the dean of the Faculty of Arts, Frances Dow. The conference theme, "Union and Cultural Identities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," is a particularly appropriate one, as Scotland completes its third year since the institution of the modern Scottish Parliament.

There will be four plenary lectures, presented with support from the British Academy. Historian Linda Colley of the London School of Economics will open the conference with a talk on Wednesday evening 3 July, followed by a reception. After a full day of conferencing on Thursday the 4th, Robert A. Gross of the College of William and Mary in Virginia will give a plenary lecture in the late afternoon, on book history in America. The next afternoon there will be an excursion to Paxton House in Berwick upon Tweed, an Adam family creation, with talks on the house's art by Stana Nenadic and its library by John Renwick. On the morning of Saturday 6 July, the art historian David Bindman of the University of London will give the third plenary lecture in the beautiful theater at the new Museum of Scotland, another institution that is providing support for the conference. That evening there will be a buffet dinner in St. Cecilia's Hall, followed by a lecture/recital of Burns songs by Kirsteen McCue, with original Thomson settings and violin and cello accompaniment. The conference will conclude on Sunday 7 July with a morning of panels devoted to the theme of transatlantic culture and identity, featuring a fourth plenary lecture, by literary scholar James Chandler of the University of Chicago. There will also be an exhibition of eighteenth-century Scottish books at Edinburgh University Library.

For further information, contact Brian Bonnyman, Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Hope Park Square, Edinburgh EH8 9NW, Scotland, UK; brian@bdbonnyman.freemove.co.uk, or the conference site at www.ed.ac.uk/iash/ecsss.conference.html.

CHARLESTON IN 2003

The Call for Papers and registration materials are now available for next year's conference at the Holiday Inn Historic District in Charleston, South Carolina, from 10 to 12 April 2003, hosted by The Citadel. The three major themes of the conference are Scotland and the American South, The Scottish Military Tradition, and James Beattie: Poet, Philosopher, and Man of Letters, commemorating the bicentennial of Beattie's death on 18 August 1803. Of course, proposals will also be welcome on other topics relating to eighteenth-century Scotland, as well as on topics dealing with related themes in the long eighteenth century.

We are fortunate to have lined up two excellent plenary speakers to address aspects of these themes. The conference will open in the late afternoon on Thursday 10 July with a public lecture by Trevor Royle of Edinburgh on "The Scottish Military Tradition in the Eighteenth Century." Trevor Royle is an author and broadcaster who is best known for his many books on military history and the history of the British Empire, including *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854-1856* (2000) and *Winds of Change: The End of Empire in Africa* (1998), but literary scholars may also know him

from one of his early works, *Precipitous City: The Story of Literary Edinburgh* (1980). The second plenary lecture will be delivered by Calhoun Winton, Professor Emeritus of English Literature at the University of Maryland, on "Scottish Books and the Book Trade in the American South." Highly regarded as a speaker, Cal Winton has published widely on various topics concerning eighteenth-century English and American literature and the book trade, including a chapter on the American South in the first volume of the *History of the Book in America*. In addition to these plenary talks, noted Beattie scholar Roger Robinson has kindly agreed to take charge of organizing the James Beattie panels. We are also looking forward to a walking tour of historic Charleston, a welcome reception at The Citadel, a reception at the College of Charleston, and a conference dinner at The Citadel McCormick Beach House, overlooking the Atlantic Ocean at the Isle of Palms. In addition, an exhibition of Jacobite art from the Drumbuie collection will be on display 90 minutes away at the Telfair Museum in Savannah, Georgia (see story on p. 4).

Anyone interested in giving a paper of 20-22 minutes should e-mail or send a 1-page abstract (with paper title) and a brief c.v. by 15 October 2002 to Richard B. Sher, Executive Secretary-ECSSS, NJIT, University Heights, Newark, NJ 07102-1982, USA; sher@njit.edu. For additional information about conference registration and accommodation, contact the conference organizer, Katherine Haldane Grenier, Dept. of History, The Citadel, Charleston, SC 29409, USA; 803-953-5073; grenierk@citadel.edu. You can also see the ECSSS website at www.angelo.edu/org/ecsss, or go to www.citadel.edu/academics/acad.html.

DERRY IN 2004

At the society's general meeting during the 2002 conference in Arlington, Virginia, the membership unanimously approved a proposal by Michael Brown of Trinity College Dublin to hold our annual meeting jointly with the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society in late May 2004, at Magee College (University of Ulster) in Londonderry, Northern Ireland. The plan calls for a day excursion to Belfast, which will include a visit to the Linen Hall Library. The conference may also include another, more scenic excursion, perhaps to County Donegal. At the Edinburgh conference in July, ECIS will sponsor a special session on eighteenth-century Ireland, organized by ECIS president Graham Gargett, and further details about the Derry conference will be worked out with Graham and other ECIS representatives.

ECSSS AT ASECS

ECSSS sponsored a panel on "Science and Medicine and the Scottish Enlightenment" at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, held in Colorado Springs, Colorado, on 6 April 2002. With Roger Emerson in the chair, two papers were presented: Jeff Loveland of the Romance Languages Department at the University of Cincinnati spoke on "William Smellie's Translation of the *Histoire naturelle*" of Buffon, and Anita Guerrini of the History Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara, spoke on "The Scots Connection: The Douglas Brothers and London Anatomy before Hunter." There was also a small but extremely convivial ECSSS luncheon, presided over by ECSSS vice-president Henry Fulton, who also represented the society at the annual Affiliate Societies Breakfast.

LANDSMAN VOLUME APPEARS

The sixth volume in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series appeared in 2001 under the title *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*. Edited by Ned C. Landsman, who contributes an Introduction on "The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement with the Americas," the collection contains nine essays on various topics concerning commerce and settlement and cultural connections. This is the first volume in the series to be published by Bucknell University Press and Associated University Presses, in association with ECSSS. For more information about this title, see the review later in this issue. Members of ECSSS can obtain this book at a special discount price that is 25% below list when ordering directly from Associated University Presses, 440 Forsgate Drive, Cranbury, NJ 08512, USA, or 16 Barter St., London WC1A 2AH, UK; aup440@aol.com (please remember to identify yourself as a member of ECSSS in order to get the members' discount).

The seventh volume in the series, *France and Scotland in the Enlightenment*, edited by Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère, is now at the press and should appear in 2003. Members with ideas for future volumes in the series should contact the executive secretary.

NEW SCOTTISH HISTORY MAG

A new magazine, *History Scotland*, was launched in October 2001 at the Royal Museum in Edinburgh by Christopher Smout, Historiographer Royal. The objective of the magazine is to present new research and thinking from the entire range of professional disciplines, including archeology, history, architectural history, and environmental studies. The magazine is full color and lavishly illustrated to appeal to the widest possible audience. It is published six times a year, with a print run of 16,000 copies, and is sold through retail outlets in Scotland, the rest of Britain, and North

America (e.g., Barnes & Noble), as well as by subscription.

The May-June issue includes feature articles on the sixteenth-century feud between the earls of Huntly and Moray; the Celtic Revival murals of John Duncan; the Battle of Prestonpans; the Roman Gask frontier; letters of a Scottish skipper in the 1600s; and the importance of environmental history. Contents lists of issues to date can be found on the *History Scotland* website. When asked about eighteenth-century content specifically, the publishing manager, Rod Eley, stated that the relationship between *History Scotland* and organizations like ECSSS is meant to be "reciprocal" rather than "one way." In other words, this beautifully produced magazine represents a marvelous opportunity for scholars to communicate the results of their research on eighteenth-century Scotland in a style that is accessible to the general public. Feature articles, news items, and information about events are all welcome. Potential contributors can obtain guidelines by contacting the managing editor, Richard Oram, at this e-mail address: editorial@historyscotland.com.

Of course, we can also support this new initiative by taking out subscriptions and encouraging our university libraries to subscribe. For additional information and subscription rates, visit the magazine's website at www.historyscotland.com or consult the enclosed brochure. Further information can be obtained by contacting info@historyscotland.com or writing to *History Scotland*, Dept. of History, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen AB24 3FX, Scotland, UK.

SCOTTISH MAPS ON DISPLAY

The DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum at Colonial Williamsburg in Williamsburg, Virginia, is hosting an exhibit entitled "At the Edge of the World: Mapping Scotland." The exhibition features maps, charts, and atlases that illustrate a fascinating blend of art, science, and social history, including some of the earliest efforts at creating maps of Scotland, dating from the sixteenth century. Significantly, this is only the second such display of Scottish maps in the U.S., the first having taken place in 1995 at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, following the ECSSS conference there. Exhibition highlights include The Woolly Mammoth Map, a 1522 interpretation of Ptolemy's second-century world map by Martin Waldseemüller; a 1700 map by Pierre Mortier, depicting Scotland's only overseas colony at Darien; English historian John Speed's 1661 work, *History of Great Britaine*, with its imaginative drawings of the early Scots with painted and tattooed bodies; and Joseph Thomson's milestone Atlas of Scotland. There is also a complete set of early eighteenth-century charts by John Adair, the first Scottish marine cartographer; a set of charts of the west coast of Scotland by Murdoch Mackenzie, who attempted the first scientific mapping of

Scottish waters; and the only Spanish edition of Blaeu's volume on Scotland and Ireland.

"We have tried to show how attitudes toward Scotland have changed over time, from a relatively unknown outpost at the edge of civilization to the most mapped country in Europe," said John Hyman, Colonial Williamsburg guest curator and ECSSS member. "I'm especially interested in the northern islands, which were safe havens and fishing stations for ships trading with North America. They are critical to any study of Scottish migration to America." Hyman currently is writing a monograph on Scottish maps, to be published by Colonial Williamsburg, which will supplement information in the exhibition.

The exhibition opened on St. Andrews Day, 30 November 2001, and will run into the autumn of 2002. Admission to the exhibition is included in any Colonial Williamsburg ticket or by one-day or annual museums ticket. For more information, visit the website at www.colonialwilliamsburg.org.

CHARLIE HITS THE ROAD

"Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Royal House of Stuart, 1688-1788: Works of Art from the Drambuie Collection" will be on display in various North American museums from February 2003 through early May 2005. They include the Society of the Four Arts in Palm Beach, Florida (14 Feb.-16 March 2003); the Telfair Museum in Savannah, Georgia (1 Apr.-1 June 2003); the Headley-Whitney Museum in Lexington, Kentucky (15 June-28 Sept. 2003); the McCord Museum in Montreal (24 Jan.-1 Aug. 2004); the Winterthur Museum in Delaware (Aug. 2004-Jan. 2005); the Marsh Art Gallery, Richmond, Virginia (21 Jan.-8 May 2005); and the Columbia Museum of Art, Columbia, South Carolina (fall 2005). As noted earlier, the exhibition will be at the Telfair Museum in Savannah at the time of the ECSSS conference in Charleston next April, so conference-goers may wish to include it in their travel plans. The exhibition has been organized by ECSSS member Robin Nicholson, the curator of the Drambuie Collection, who has also published a book on representations of Bonnie Prince Charlie, which is reviewed in this issue.

ADAM SMITH REVIEW

David Hume has had one for decades. Thomas Reid has had one for several years. Now Adam Smith has landed his own journal, with the announcement that Routledge will publish *The Adam Smith Review* for the International Adam Smith Society, beginning in 2003. The first editor of the new journal is Vivienne Brown of The Open University, who is best known for her 1994 book *Adam Smith's Discourse: Canonicity, Commerce and Conscience*. Brown hopes the new journal, which will appear annually, will provide "a unique forum for vigorous debate and the highest standards of scholarship on all aspects of Adam Smith's works, his place in his-

tory, and the significance of his writings for the modern world." To assist her in this quest, the journal has named an editorial board that includes most of the leading Adam Smith scholars in the world, among them Knud Haakonssen, Hiroshi Mizuta, D.D. Raphael, Ian Simpson Ross, Andrew S. Skinner, and Donald Winch.

Each issue of *Adam Smith Review* will contain a multidisciplinary symposium, starting with one in the first issue on Contexts of Interpretation?. Submissions to this symposium of up to 3500 words are invited from any perspective. More generally, the editor invites article submissions of up to 10,000 words, and asks that contributors make their arguments accessible to a wide multidisciplinary readership "without sacrificing high standards of argument and scholarship." The journal will be rigorously and blindly refereed by experts from different disciplines. Send all submissions to The Editor, Vivienne Brown (v.w.brown@open.ac.uk), Faculty of Social Sciences, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, UK.

For additional information on the journal or the IASS, see the society's new website at this address: www.adamsmithsociety.org.

REID SOCIETY FOUNDED

The International Reid Society had its founding meeting at the Pacific Division Meeting of the American Philosophical Society in March. Rebecca Copenhaver, Terence Cuneo, Knud Haakonssen, and Paul Wood sent out invitations to the community of Thomas Reid scholars, with the support of the Reid Project based at the University of Aberdeen under Maria Rosa Antognazza and Gordon Graham. To find out more or join the society, go to the website at www.lclark.edu/~reidsoc.

MACCUBBIN HONORED

ECSSS member Robert P. Maccubbin was honored by the journal with which he has been affiliated for such a long time when *Eighteenth-Century Life* published a special issue in spring 2001 entitled "Essays in Honor of Robert P. Maccubbin: The Interdisciplinary Approach." The editor of the special issue was our own Adam Potkay, whose introduction pays tribute to Bob Maccubbin's two-plus decades as the journal's editor. The issue also includes an essay by Adam on Hume's *History of England* and one by Bruce Lenman on the exiled Stuarts (both cited in the Recent Articles section in this issue). ECSSS owes a special debt to Bob Maccubbin for having commissioned John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher to produce a special double issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* in 1991, which was later reprinted in slightly revised form by The Mercat Press of Edinburgh as *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, the third volume in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series. The society commends Adam Potkay and the other participants for paying tribute to someone who has contributed so much to eighteenth-century studies.

EUL ENDS CHARGES

A new policy of charging foreign scholars to use Edinburgh University Library, announced in the last issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, has been changed, and the library is once again free to bona fide researchers from abroad. When informing us of the revised policy, Ian Mowat, the EUL librarian, added that this open policy can only remain in place "so long as the numbers remain relatively small and so long as we receive funding from the government for letting in academics and postgraduates from other UK universities." At present, that is apparently the case, and ECSSS members from outside the UK or the European Union will be able to use the library this summer without additional charges. We are grateful to the librarian and others involved with formulating library policy for this helpful change.

BOOK TRADE INDEX UPGRADED

Brian Hillyard of the National Library of Scotland has announced that a new version of the Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI) has recently become available. It is twice the size of the version placed on the NLS website four years ago. The SBTI is a remarkable resource that we owe to former NLS staffer John Morris, who has continued to work on the project in retirement. The new version of this invaluable resource can be accessed at www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/index.html, where it is also possible to download a PDF version.

SRA NEWS

The Scottish Records Association Newsletter, published every fall and spring, lists newly accessible manuscripts in national and local Scottish archives. Here are some eighteenth-century examples from the autumn 2001 issue:

Natl. Archives of Scotland: St. Cuthbert's Kirk Session, Saltcoats, records of poor alms distribution (1751-72); record of schoolmasters' salaries in the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale (1742-95); additional letters received by Andrew Russell, Rotterdam merchant (1681-92); records including minutes of the Boharm and Dunducas Kirk Session (1679-1948); Boyndie Kirk Session records (1698-1992); miscellaneous records from Elgin Presbytery and Kirk Session (1707-1997).

Natl. Lib. of Scotland: Hay family of Hayfield, Shetland, additional estate papers (1610-c.1853); Sharpe family of Hoddam, additional papers (c.1679-1812); correspondence and papers of Mark and Charles Kerr, King's Printers and Stationers for Scotland (c. 1790-1820).

Edinburgh U. Lib.: John Pitcairn, personal and family papers and papers relating to paper mills in the 18th and 19th centuries.

St. Andrews U. Lib.: Drumeldrie School, 18th- and 19th-century papers.

Dumfries and Galloway Archives, Dumfries: miscellaneous papers of Rev. David Imrie (d. 1783) of St. Mungo.

Highland Council Archive, Inverness: additional minutes, accounts, and journals of the Inverness Methodist Circuit (1777-1999).

Perth and Kinross Council Archive, Perth: legal papers of Graham & Finlayson, solicitors, Crieff (c. 1700-1920).

Scottish Borders Archive, Selkirk: John Robertson MS "Memoirs of the Antient and Illustrious Family of Lauderdale," 1758; minute books of the Social Peeblean Society (1782-1934).

LEVERHULME & SCIENCE OF MAN

A new project to study the Scottish "Science of Man" in an interdisciplinary context has won major funding from the Leverhulme Trust. Susan Manning of the Department of English Literature and Nicholas Philipson of the School of History, University of Edinburgh, have been awarded £97,000 to bring together a group of international scholars from a broad range of disciplines to study an eighteenth-century enterprise particularly associated with Scotland and with the writings of David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, John Millar, William Robertson, and the moral philosophy developed in the Scottish universities and in the salons of Edinburgh.

The project is founded on the belief that the Scottish "science of man" was no less than a comprehensive attempt to analyze the formation of the human personality in its individual and social dimensions, and the progress of civilization. It was "interdisciplinary" in its attempt to show how existing approaches to the pursuit of knowledge and art could be transformed and drawn into a closer, mutually reinforcing relationship by a new approach to the study of human nature and the principles of sociability, and by a belief in its importance as a resource for magistrates and citizens.

The participants in the Leverhulme project will consider the challenges to contemporary conceptions of inquiry that the Scottish project provoked and its implications for the future of modern disciplinaryity. Their findings will contribute in a significant way to our understanding of the Enlightenment, to the history of the Enlightenment in Scotland, and to a transformation of the map of knowledge which marks the transition from the early modern to the modern world.

The three-year project held its first meeting in Edinburgh in May. It employs a full-time post-doctoral researcher, and its findings will be published at the conclusion of the project in 2005. At least two separately funded major colloquia will involve a wider group of scholars with contributions to make to the project.

SCOTLAND IN THE WORLD

A postgraduate conference on "Scotland's World: Perspectives on Scotland's Place in World History" will be held at the University of Glasgow on 28-29 March 2003 and will be open to all current or recently graduated postgraduate students. The conference will encompass a wide chronological range in order to illustrate the Scottish historical dynamic within the context of the world's history. Possible topics include Scotland's position within wider historical movements and trends; trading relationships and rivalries; development and influence of Scottish political institutions at home and abroad; cultural and intellectual contributions at home and abroad; emigration and immigration; gender roles and identities among Scots across the globe; the character and development of Scots law in relation to British and continental traditions; the Scottish church in the medieval period; nationalism.

Papers will run 20-25 minutes and abstracts of no more than 300-350 should be submitted by October 2002 to the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, 9 University Gardens, Glasgow, Scotland G12 8QQ, UK. An edited publication will be produced from both conference papers and developed abstracts from those who wish to participate in the conference but are unable to travel to Scotland. There may be financial assistance available to students traveling from outside the UK and Ireland. For further information, contact Karly Kehoe (9808159k@student.gla.ac.uk), Iain MacPhail (8850591m@student.gla.ac.uk), or Eileen O'Sullivan (9902368o@student.gla.ac.uk).

18TH-CENTURY THOUGHT

Eighteenth-Century Thought, a new international, interdisciplinary annual journal, has been launched, with an editorial board that includes Mark Goldie, David Lieberman, Lisa Rosner, and Gordon Schochet among ECSSS members. For more information, go to the journal's website at www.eighteenthcenturythought.org.

NEW PRIZE FOR SERIALS RESEARCH

The Bibliographical Society of America announces the William L. Mitchell Prize for Bibliography or Documentary Work on Early British Periodicals or Newspapers, to be awarded every three years beginning in January 2003. It brings a cash award of \$1000 and a year's membership in the society. Submissions may concentrate on any periodicals or newspapers printed before 1800 in English-speaking countries, but should involve research into primary sources of historical evidence, such as the analysis of the physical objects, whether for establishing a text or understanding the history of the production, distribution, collecting, or reading of serial publications. Questions regarding the award should be addressed to the Mitchell Prize Coordinator: Dr. James E. May, English Dept., Penn State University-DuBois Campus, College Place, DuBois, PA 15801, USA (Email: jem4@psu.edu). A fuller account

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of the prize, with details on eligibility and the application process, can be viewed on the home page of the BSA's website: www.bibsocamer.org.

BLACKWELL'S BUYS THIN

At press time in May, Blackwell's UK announced the purchase of all twelve academic branches of James Thin, including the 22,000 sq. ft. flagship shop on South Bridge in Edinburgh. Blackwell's also announced a £1.5 million plan to renovate the South Bridge shop, scheduled to begin in spring 2003. Besides the South Bridge shop, the purchase involves eleven other shops in Scotland, located in eight universities and colleges and three Edinburgh schools.

SE COURSE AT U. OF DALLAS.

Charles R. Sullivan, associate professor of history, and John Alvis, professor of English, offered a graduate seminar in the Scottish Enlightenment at the University of Dallas during the spring semester 2002. Extensive readings in the works of major Scottish Enlightenment figures, including David Hume, Adam Ferguson, Sir James Steuart, Adam Smith, and John Millar, allowed students to examine both the economic dynamics (the "rich country-poor country debate") and the moral dynamics ("wealth and virtue") of a commercializing society. The course was supported by a grant from the Atlas Economic Research Foundation's Freedom Project. In addition to providing the underwriting for the team-taught seminar, the grant funded an interdisciplinary series of lectures on aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment. The guest lecturers were Paul Cantor of the University of Virginia, who spoke on images of the market and the idea of spontaneous order in British literature of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; John Zammito of Rice University, who spoke on the late eighteenth-century German reception of the Scottish Enlightenment; and Richard B. Sher of New Jersey Institute of Technology, who spoke on Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Corey Andrews is now assistant professor of English at Northwest Missouri State U. . . Congratulations to **Barbara Benedict** on her promotion to the Charles Dana Professorship of English Literature at Trinity College in Hartford, Ct. . . in September **Fiona Black** began a tenure-track position in library and information studies at Dalhousie U. in Halifax. . . in March a second child was born to **Brian Bonnyman**, graduate student coordinator of this year's conference in Edinburgh. . . **Leslie Ellen Brown** shattered her elbow in a bicycle accident last autumn but made a speedy recovery and soon returned to her position as vice-president and dean of faculty at Ripon College in Wisconsin. . . **Greg Clingham** has published *Johnson, Writing, and Memory* with Cambridge U. Press. . . **Rebecca Copenhaver** of Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon,

successfully defended her Cornell U. Ph.D. dissertation on Reid and Kant. . .

Cecil Courtney presented the opening paper at an international symposium on Isabelle de Charrière (Belle de Zuylen) at Yale University (**Gordon Turnbull** was also on the program). . . **Marlies Danziger** has retired from the English faculty at Hunter College of City College of New York and now concentrates her undivided scholarly attention on the Boswell Editions at Yale. . . **Deidre Dawson** has stepped down as chair of the Romance and Classical Languages Dept. at Michigan State U.; she recently co-edited *Progrès et violence au XVIIIe siècle*. . . in January **Alexander Du Toit** received his Ph.D. from U. of London with a thesis on "Patriotism, Presbyterianism, Liberty, and Empire: An Alternative View of the Historical Writing of William Robertson".

. . . **Roger Emerson** has published a number of poems about his cat, Arch, in *Descant* 33 (2002): 24-29. . .

Jane Bush Fagg has retired from the History Dept. at Lyon College in Batesville, Arkansas, and will now reside at her home in Albertson, North Carolina. . .

Roger Fehner, ECSSS's founding vice-president, was the first recipient of the Ross Newsom Award for Outstanding Teaching and has retired after 32 years on the faculty at Adrian College. . . **Howard Gaskill** was promoted to reader in German at Edinburgh U. but took retirement at the end of September. . .

Charles Griswold's recent book on Adam Smith was the subject of a symposium in the journal *Perspectives on Political Science* 30 (2001), featuring four contributions and a reply by Griswold. . . **Knud Haakonssen** spent the past academic year in Sweden; the *Index of the Works of Adam Smith* that he co-authored with Andrew Skinner was published in 2001 by Clarendon Press, and look for his edition of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in the Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy series in 2002. . .

Ryan Hanley earned his Ph.D. from the Committee on Social Thought at U. of Chicago with a dissertation on "Magnanimity and Modernity: Pride in the Moral and Political Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment"; in Sept. he begins a two-year Mellon postdoctoral fellowship at Yale U., while also serving as secretary of the International Adam Smith Society. . . **Kathleen Holcomb** has ascended to the ranks of administration at Angelo State U. . . **Andrew Hook** spent the 2001-2 academic year as a visiting professor at The College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio. . . **Heimer Klemme** has edited two multi-volume series for Thoemmes Press on the reception of the Scottish Enlightenment and (with Manfred Kuehn) British aesthetics in 18th-century Germany. . .

Gauti Kristmannsson of Iceland completed his Ph.D. at Johannes Gutenberg U., Mainz, with a thesis entitled "Literary Diplomacy: The Role of Translation in the Construction of National Literatures in Britain and Germany 1750-1830". . .

Beth Lambert has been promoted to professor of English at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania; her forthcoming biography of Edmund Burke will contain much material on Gilbert Elliot of

Minto. . . **Ned Landsman** has been chairing the History Dept. at State U. of New York at Stony Brook.

. . . **Bob Maccubbin** spent a portion of the past academic year in Scotland, lecturing on the novels of Alan Warner at the U. of Aberdeen, doing research at the Scottish Film Institute in Glasgow, and recording the last of the Stewart family traveler singers (from whom he hopes to learn how to make the piano sound like bagpipes). . .

Emma Macleod gave birth to a son, Tom, on 4 April. . . **Vincenzo Merolle** writes that his edition of Adam Ferguson's *Essays* will be published by Pickering & Chatto. . .

Terrence Moore has become principal of a start-up charter school in Fort Collins, Colorado. . . last July **Mary Catherine Moran** gave birth to baby James, who is doing fine after kidney surgery in March; Mary Catherine will be a Golieb Fellow in legal history at NYU School of Law next year. . .

David Fate Norton, editor with Mary J. Norton of the important new edition of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* published by Oxford U. Press in 2000, organized the 28th annual Hume Conference in the U. of Victoria, B.C., in July 2001 (with help from **Paul Wood**).

. . . **Fania Oz-Salzberger**'s travel essay book on Israelis in Berlin spent several months on the Israeli best-seller list and was published in Germany in October; Fania also has three Scottish-related papers in the pipeline. . .

Adam Potkay was visiting professor of English at Columbia U. in fall 2001. . . **Jean Ranallo** and her husband have given up the New England cold for the warmth of Englewood, Florida. . . last October **Lisa Rosner** and **Geoffrey Sill** chaired the meeting of the East-Central American Society for 18th-Century Studies in Cape May, N.J. . .

G. Ross Roy will be awarded an honorary doctor of letters from the U. of Edinburgh in July, in recognition of his enormous service to the field of Scottish literature. . . **Paul Henderson Scott**'s autobiography, *A 20th-Century Life*, which includes discussion of his interests in 18th-century Scotland, was published in April. . .

Geoffrey Sill's new book from Cambridge U. Press, *The Cure of the Passions and the Origins of the English Novel*, contains a chapter on Dr. Alexander Monro *primus*. . .

Judith Bailey Slagle has followed up her edition of Joanna Baillie's correspondence with a biography entitled *Joanna Baillie: A Literary Life*. . .

Mark Spencer spent the past year as a research fellow in the Beutham Institute at Huron University College in London, Ontario, and has accepted a postdoctoral research fellowship in the Celtic Studies program at the U. of Toronto for 2002-3, while preparing his Ph.D. dissertation for publication. . .

Paul Wood has been promoted to professor of history at U. of Victoria. . . **John Wright** has stepped down from the Executive Committee of the Hume Society after six years of service.

THE LITERARY CLUB AS IMAGINED NATIONAL COMMUNITY: ALLAN RAMSAY AND THE EASY CLUB (1712-1715)

Corey Andrews, Northwest Missouri State University

In his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983, 1991), Benedict Anderson defines the "nation" as an "imagined political community...imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or ever hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). When adapted to investigate questions of nationalism in eighteenth-century Scotland, Anderson's theory of the imagined relationship between members of a community serves as a useful conceptual model for addressing unsettled issues. The dilemma of Scottish national identity in the eighteenth century can be productively explored by looking at the imagined national community created in the wake of Scotland's Union with England in 1707; specifically, I will be examining the function of the Scottish literary club as a site of national community.

Focusing on the club activity of Scottish poet Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), I will discuss his involvement from 1712 to 1715 with the Easy Club; the poetry he produced for this club served to unify the group by representing its members as part of an imagined Scottish national community. The struggle over national representation occurring in the Easy Club and mirrored in its contemporary culture lay between Scottish imitation of present English culture and of its own national past. Ramsay resolved this conflict in his club verse by unifying club members through the construction of an imagined national community that extended from past Scottish heroes and authors into the lives of their present-day imitators in the club.

The crucial component of Ramsay's national representation was its lack of party affiliation, which allowed him to promote a theory of nationalism without party in his club verse, which unified the national sentiment of politically diverse members. The notion of nationalism without party is also a key element of Anderson's theory of the national community, where he argues that "[the nation] is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). Ramsay's desire for a unified nation without the divisiveness of parties hinged on the idea of the "deep, horizontal comradeship" linking its citizens; his advancement of the concept of nationalism without party became increasingly associated in his poetry with the necessity of imitating Scotland's former heroes and authors, national figures who had been able to repel English invaders by force or verse. In this way, Ramsay's club poetry served to unify the club through explicitly imaginary means by creating a representation of a past national community that had cut through lines of class and party and could be recreated through conscientious imitation in the present.

However, the disturbing tendency of eighteenth-century Scottish cultural figures like Ramsay to imitate English models, from literary styles, fashions, tastes, to politics, has been the cornerstone for all critics attempting to resolve the dilemma of the "lack" of Scottish nationalism in the eighteenth century. In fact, Ramsay's status as a Scots nationalist poet has routinely been criticized when set against the body of his verse, much of which is written in an English imitative style. As a result, Ramsay has been represented as an embodiment of "cultural schizophrenia" in his poetic practice and cultural activity. One of the most influential treatments of Ramsay's literary and cultural significance appears in David Daiches's lectures collected in *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience* (London, 1964), which argues that Scottish "cultural schizophrenia" is "first found so conspicuously in the poetry and activities of Allan Ramsay" (p. 66). Daiches's "paradox theory" of Scottish culture holds that when eighteenth-century Scots emulated English tastes, at the same time that they attempted to preserve "native" Scottish culture, a cultural "schizophrenia" was created which split their consciousness in opposing directions, forming a cultural deadlock.

Allan Ramsay, who in Daiches's words "had his eyes on the Queen Anne wits in London, and tried, not very successfully, to become a Scottish equivalent," was at the same time "a violently patriotic Scot who aimed at both reviving interest in older Scottish literature and in producing Scots poetry of his own" (p. 23). Ramsay's membership in the Easy Club is also regarded as evidence of "schizophrenic" cultural consciousness; Daiches refers to the club's goal stated on the first page of their *Journal* (a goal borrowed from the example of the English *Spectator*)—"by a Mutual improvement in Conversation [club members] may become more adapted for fellowship with the politer part of mankind and Learn also from one another's happy Observations" (in Ramsay's *Works*, ed. Alexander Kinghorn et al., 6 vols. [Edinburgh, 1945-74], 5:5; all subsequent parenthetical references in this format are drawn from this edition)—and contrasts it with the members' later adoption of pseudonymous Scottish "patron names" over their initial English choices.

Daiches interprets these contrary elements of the club's directives as dual, symptomatic functions of a Scottish literary consciousness struggling to define itself after the Union of 1707. He writes that "as well as providing encouragement to behave like English gentlemen the Easy Club also provided a background of Scottish national sentiment" (p. 24). Given this undeniable tension in the Easy Club's perception of itself, it is little wonder that the club's skirting of direct political involvement in the years leading up to and during the 1715 Rebellion has fostered the critical charge that the members were merely "sentimental Jacobites," and that the club's demise had largely to do with the preservation of their own "easiness" in the face of the Jacobite uprising. In this light, the Easy Club has served as an integral case study of Scottish national "cultural schizophrenia," providing evidence of a lack of national cohesion and direction that cultural figures like Ramsay had when faced with critical moments of potential political change such as the 'Fifteen.

However, despite Ramsay's somewhat dubious engagement in national politics, his contribution toward creating an imagined Scottish national community cannot be discounted. Ramsay was a genuinely popular poet throughout the eighteenth century in Scotland, Ireland, and England; his poetry as well as his single dramatic work (the extremely successful play, "The Gentle Shepherd") brought Scottish characters and the Scots language to a wide British audience and prompted a "Scots revival" that would influence the future work of Robert Ferguson and Robert Burns. The importance of the Easy Club for Ramsay's future development also cannot be overstated; the club not only acted as a largely congenial literary environment where Ramsay, at the time a newly apprenticed wigmaker, could share his first verses with a sympathetic audience but also promoted a revival of interest in medieval Scottish poets like Robert Henryson and William Dunbar, whose work Ramsay reprinted in his 1724 anthology, *The Evergreen*.

It is also significant that the Easy Club's imitation of Scottish heroes and authors not only invoked a national past worthy of contemporary respect but also created a community of Scottish writers, of which Ramsay became the best known. The club's literary production is its least examined element, yet it served not only to launch Ramsay's career but also to define the club's most valuable cultural function: rewriting the present with its nationalist past, and shaping a new imagined community in the process.

When the Easy Club had its first meeting on 12 May 1712, its six founding members chose English pseudonyms (which they called "patron names") like Isaac Bickerstaff, Isaac Newton, Lord Rochester, and Sir Roger L'estrage, which would serve as models for their imitation. The "Spectator Club" that was being created in the pages of that periodical was the organizational and moral model that the Easy Club unreservedly fashioned itself after at its inception. The practice of reading an issue of the *Spectator* aloud at each meeting was voted into place on 8 August 1712, and at a meeting on 6 June 1712 Ramsay read aloud a letter he had written to the *Spectator*. Ramsay's letter expresses the Easy Club's "profound Respect for [the Spectator] and your incomparable writings" (5:8). The letter informs the Spectator that he and his fellow club members "Compose a Civil society which goes under ye Name of ye Easy Club The Main Reason of our Assuming this Name is because none of ane empty conceited quarralling temper can have ye privelage of being a member" (5:7). After some good-natured flattery, Ramsay requests that the Spectator "lay down ye best methods and Rules to be observ'd in a Society of our Constitution and to sayd Something in Vindication of Societies in generall and this in particular from the implacable hatred of enemies to us and all who attempt ye forsaking of Vice and Aiming at Virtue" (5:8).

As with the Spectator Club, the Easy Club considered itself to have a moral directive, believing its activities could be a source of edification to members and admirers alike. At least, this is what the club professed as its motivation at the beginning. A year and a half after its founding, the club would radically change from a group of young Scottish men bent on "improving" themselves by imitating the English models of the Spectator and their patron names. Though no less imitative, the Easy Club would adopt a Scottish patron model that derived its moral directive from the standards and ideals of an imagined Scottish national community. Ironically, the creation of this sense of national community within the club would initially come through its experiments in the English mode.

It was not until 5 November 1713 that the anomaly of choosing English patron names was felt by club members; at that meeting, the club's secretary, John Fergus, a member since June 1712 who had originally chosen the Scottish patron name of George Bucbannan [sic], the Scottish historian, announced to the club that "what Scotland has Suffered we now in a More inglorious manner...are like to Suffer[:] the Perfidy, pride, and hatred of England and how great an affront was put upon ye Scots Nation by Condeinning our own Country and Choosing English men for our Patrons" (5:27). The club's *Journal* records that Fergus continued his harangue by saying that "if they Continued in this he had Reason to fear their easiness would dwindle iuto Stupidity and [he] Concluded (by) Declaring he thought it would be an honourable article in the Constitution of a Club of Scots men (who have Resolv'd to be called other Names than their own) To pay a dutifull Respect to the heroes and Authors of their own Nation by Choosing them for their Patrons" (5:27-28).

Directly after voicing these sentiments, Fergus must have been satisfied with the result of his nationalist proposal: "All took ye hint and it was Unanimously Resolv'd in warm expressions by each that none of this Club

shall have english but Scots Patrons" (5:28). The members immediately chose new patron names, with Ramsay becoming Gavin Douglas (the "sometime bishop of Dunkeld and a famous old Scots poet for which he is chosen by that member"), "Tom Brown" opting for "Samuel Colvill, a Scots poet," Sir Richard Blackmore taking the name of Blind Harry, and George Buchannan remaining the same (5:28). At their next meeting, the Easy Club produced a formal declaration of laws entitled "The Fundamental Laws of the Famous Modern Society Called The Easy Club," which established Fergus's proposal as its first statute: "each member shall choose some Eminent Scots Author or Heroe (who is dead) for his patron by whose Name he shall be called in ye club" (5:29).

Within the first two months of the club's existence in 1712, they had begun to regularly receive unsolicited letters and poems from outsiders who requested various kinds of replies; this club activity followed the Spectator model but also initiated the first series of poems written by Easy Club members. The *Journal* records numerous poems written by club members in response to insulting letters, complimentary verses, requests for advice from unhappy lovers, and so on, that regularly arrived at the club's door. Ramsay's poetic production in the club's first year had begun to distinguish him as a considerable talent; in that time, he wrote and showed the club his first two significant poems, the "Elegy on Maggy Johnston" and the "Poem to the Late Memory of Dr. Archibald Pitcairn." The "Elegy on Maggy Johnston" displays his early interest in the "Habbie stanza" that his poems in the 1720s would popularize, and his commemorative poem for the famous patriot and atheist, Dr. Pitcairn, reveals his early nationalist sentiment about the indignity brought upon Scotland by the Union. However, it would not be until his self-appointment as the Easy Club's "poet laureate" that Ramsay would begin to write poems that created an imagined national community where club members stood in an unbroken continuum alongside the heroes and authors who had written and fought for the Declaration of Arbroath.

Ramsay officially became "poet laureate" of the Easy Club on 2 February 1715, and his assumption of the title actually came at his own instigation: the *Journal* records that "Gavin Douglas demanded his Patent as Poet Laureat to ye Club who being all acquaint with his Naturall abilities for poetry and some of his performances it was unanimously agreed he should be hounoured with ye Character of poet Laureat" (5:48). The meeting's praeses, or "Master Easy" as he was called, "Desired of [Ramsay] that a poem upon Ease might be his first performance" (5:48); in a good show of readiness, Ramsay had the poem written for the next week's meeting. This poem, called simply "Poem upon Ease," clearly articulates Ramsay's conception of the meaning of the "ease" that gave the club its name; as his first "official" club poem, written to fulfill his duties as poet laureate, it also gives us an important look at Ramsay's understanding of the role of the "club bard," a post he would serve in another notable club, the Royal Company of Archers, ten years after the Easy Club disbanded.

The "Poem upon Ease" opens by describing the ancient celebration and desire for ease:

The greatest blessings Gods for Men design'd
 Were health of Body and ane Upright Mind
 These in times [of] youth the Ancient Sages Sang
 from these soft ease with Charming Beauty Sprang. (5:49, 1-4)

These lines present the conventional sentiment that health and an "upright," virtuous mind give birth to ease. Ramsay quickly turns to the dimension of national politics in the next lines, however, as he expands his definition of ease:

Such Beauties as doth every Mortall please
 for who's so dull that's not in Love with Ease
 for her a monarch oft wou'd qnit his Crown
 and all bis Regall Powerfull sway lay down
 for her even Loyall Subjects just and True
 To their Right sovereign often times do Bow
 To ane Usurper. (5-11)

This passage refers unmistakably to the contemporary politics of post-Union Scotland, but it does so in an ambiguous way. For example, does Ramsay intend the "Usurper" to mean James Stuart or George I? One could read these verses in both ways; if James Stuart is the referent, the passage seems to imply that Jacobitism is a treasonous pursuit of ease, promised as the reward for supporting a (potential) usurper of the "Right sovereign," George I. If George I is the usurper, then the "Loyall Subjects just and True" are treasonous to James Stuart, the "Right sovereign" in this scenario, by bowing to the English king who offers them the promise of ease. Presumably, the ease in this case comes as a result of the Union's material benefits to the Scottish lords who "sold" their nationhood for "English gold." Given the national sentiment in much of Ramsay's poetry (particularly his "Poem to Pitcairn") at this time, the latter scenario (where the Hanover Elect is represented as the usurper) is the more likely of the two, but Ramsay's purposeful ambiguity here allows him to evoke Scottish nationalism without endorsing either Hanoverian or Jacobite party politics.

At this point, the poem continues with a catalogue listing the international, occupational pursuit of ease:

for her the Merchant ploughs the Briny flood
for her the Souldier wades through lakes of Blood
for her the Spaniard digs the golden Ore
and from peru brings't to the European Shore. (16-19)

After a few more lines in this fashion, Ramsay finally delivers the shades of meaning surrounding "ease" by relating it to "laziness":

Some Search for her in Courts but in her Shape
They only find dull laziness her Ape
her Real Self though hy Born Rather dwells
in Humble Cotes and pious culdee's cells
They quite mistake who think ye Virgin Can
Despise forsake or hate the active man
Its only he's her darling and her Care
While lumpish lazy Drones dye in Despair. (26-33)

To be "easy" then is to be an "active man," who dwells in "Humble Cotes" but is perhaps "hy Born" like personified Ease herself. The "ape" of ease is indulgence, and this ape mimics the active man's pursuit of ease by copying the behavior of other apes like himself; he becomes a "lazy Drone" whose search for ease and pleasure can only result in death and despair. Only the active man, the true "darling" and "Care" of ease, can coax her back to the earth she fled after the "Black crimes" of "our first parents in fair Edens Bowers" (40, 37).

These active men form a "Select Club" (i.e., the Easy Club) who take her name and ask her blessing:

Because thou daigns so Seldom to Return
Thy Select Club fair Maid be pleas'd to grace
and Chear us with thy glad Contented face
Be with us always and our happy Race
That Unborn sons of ours May blaze the fame
Each of his Easy predecessors Name. (46-51)

The distinction and difference of the "Easy Club" is identified here through the purposive solicitation of ease by a select group of active men capable of distinguishing ease from indulgence. Unlike the apish drones of the court, this club of mimics fit into a national history of imitation designed to preserve the fame of the original heroes. In this sense, the meaning of ease has less to do with gaining personal comfort (through aping the Court or bowing to a usurper) than with working to create ease through the successful imitation of national models.

Ramsay's concept of ease in this poem clearly indicates his awareness of the need for a unifying focus for his audience of club members; his lines on the "select" character of the club provided a cohesive means for the group to identify with the specific national and individual qualities that bound it together. Ramsay uses this technique of cultural and national differentiation to unify the club most pronouncedly when the poem concludes by enumerating the particular national characteristics of individual Easy Club members:

May conquest still attend on Wallace's arm
...[and] Support Blind Harry that his worthy Pen
May praise the hero and such God-like men
Who Stand's their Countrey's friend in tme of Need
and Cannot See brave Caledonia Bleed. (55, 57-60)

The poem's earlier ambiguity has been eschewed in favor of lines which represent club members proudly bearing the responsibilities of their heroic patronyms by acting them out through conquest and chronicle. Unlike the lazy apes and drones of the court, these active men discover real ease only through action directed by an awareness of the national past. In fact, preserving this awareness through the writing of Scottish history is the work of other club members who are exhorted to write "Their histories true Contemning party spite" (67-68). Lord Belhaven is asked by the poet to

...still plead his Nations cause
and firmly stand by her just Rights and Laws. (69-70)

Ramsay, satisfied with his own contribution to his "Nations cause," admonishes his fellow members to

Cherish old Gavin yet while his lungs do breath
his Temples may deserve the Laurell Wreath. (71-72)

The nationalist elements of "A Poem upon Ease" not only serve to differentiate the "easy" members of the club from those who "ruined" Scotland by bowing to the "usurper" George I but also elaborate the nationalism without party stance adopted by the club throughout its existence. This political outlook, which Ramsay adhered to in his poetry, has been interpreted as evidence of either "sentimental Jacobitism," "cultural schizophrenia," or both. However, if considered in view of Ramsay's poetic representations of an imagined Scottish national community, his avoidance of party politics can be interpreted as an understandable and perhaps unavoidable element of producing nationalist verse in a club setting. His role as "poet laureate" of the Easy Club necessitated that he write verse for and about a very specific group of persons (a "select club") who wanted to feel distinct from outsiders yet unified among themselves. To do this, Ramsay turned to the club's common ground of the nation, where their easiness could be explained as part of their national destiny. Ramsay's use of the Scottish past of heroes and authors like Wallace, Douglas, and Blind Harry in his definition of ease allowed for the unifying focus of the nation to be enlisted without reference to party. The question, for example, of Wallace's "party" seems fairly ridiculous when looking at his iconic value in Scottish history.

Ramsay's descriptions of the members' patron names in the "Poem upon Ease" reminded its audience of their own duty to follow the example of their patrons, with no regard to the divisiveness of party. In this way, Ramsay's work as poet laureate of the Easy Club sought to ensure that the project of the club—to be "easy" through action, in service of the nation—would result in the creation of an imagined Scottish national community.

Editor's Note: This article is drawn from Corey Andrews's Ph.D. dissertation, "Paradox and Improvement: Literary Nationalism and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Club Poetry" (Ohio State U., 2000) which also examines the nationalist elements of the club verse of Robert Fergusson and Robert Burns. The author would welcome comments, which may be e-mailed to candrew@mail.nwmissouri.edu or sent to him at the Department of English, Northwest Missouri State University, Maryville, MO 64468, USA.

HIROSHI MIZUTA: A TRIBUTE TO THE MAN AND HIS WORK

**Ian Simpson Ross
Professor Emeritus, University of British Columbia**

Editor's Note: On 11 June 2001 Hiroshi Mizuta honored the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society by accepting our Lifetime Achievement Award at a dinner near Washington, D.C., as a highpoint of the joint conference with the International Adam Smith Society devoted to the subject of Political Economy and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Culture. In doing so, Professor Mizuta joined the distinguished company of Daiches Daiches, Thomas Crawford, and Ian Simpson Ross to become the fourth scholar to receive this award. What follows is an expanded and revised version of Ian Ross's presentation speech.

Our colleague Hiroshi Mizuta is a many-talented man of vivid personality, whose career of translating and introducing to his fellow countrymen classics of western social thought and fostering democracy in Japan has already made him an institution. Professor Mizuta is eighty years or so young and astonishes all who meet him with his "genki" spirit, which may be roughly translated as indomitable strength of will operating in a well-exercised body. I have heard that this spirit triumphs in him because he was an active member of a mountaineering club as a student at Tokyo University of Commerce (now Hitotsubashi University) before the Second World War. His early training in climbing mountains and keeping fit, then subsequent attention to living a disciplined life, means that even much younger scholars have difficulty in keeping up with him in more ways than one. To be sure, he has been known to overestimate his powers and, on one occasion, when visiting a colleague on leave in Glasgow, he was asked by the colleague's wife after an agreeable dinner how he liked his tea. His reply was: "As strong as possible." But next morning, when the colleague inquired how he had slept, the rueful reply came, *sotto voce*: "Not a wink!" But this was an extremely rare lapse, and the memories most of us have are of his bravura displays of the most amazing energy as an indefatigable global traveler. On my two last visits to Japan I failed completely to catch up with him: in 1996 he was off to China to lecture on Marxism, and in 2000 he was in Africa discussing scholarly programs with faculty members and students. I probably have a better chance of catching up with him in Kirkcaldy, Adam Smith's birthplace, which he has been visiting for almost fifty years, or in Edinburgh or Glasgow, as he pursues his lifelong quest to find the books of his favorite moral philosopher and economic sage, which has already given us two editions of Smith's library catalogue (the first in 1967, the second in 2000) and will probably give us additional gleanings.

He began climbing the intellectual peaks of the range of western social philosophers in the late 1930s, at a time highly dangerous for progressive thinkers in his country. He belongs to the last generation of the left-wing movement of that era, which sought to keep hope for democracy alive in Japan in the face of violent repression of their opponents by the extreme nationalists. Hiroshi Mizuta remembers first reading Hobbes at this time, and then going on to study Adam Smith. Two courageous professors inspired him particularly in 1941: Kazuo Okochi (1905-1984) of Tokyo Imperial University, who began in that year to write articles that sought to make clear the inseparable union of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *The Wealth of Nations*, and his own "never to be forgotten" teacher, Zenya Takashima (1904-1990) of Tokyo University of Commerce, who published a book on Smith's "social science" embracing *TMS*, *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1766), and *WN*. Both writers used Friedrich List as a kind of stalking horse in their publications, explicitly criticizing his formulation of National Political Economy as a deformation of Smith's political economy, and thereby implicitly criticizing the prevailing Japanese trend of social thought, combining nationalistic politics and the economics of imperialist control of raw materials and markets.

As our colleague in his early student period was keenly following this debate, war broke out in December 1941, and he was driven out of his university. Fortunately for him, he was made a civilian research worker with NCO status in Java, rather than being sent to the front lines of the Japanese invasion forces, where so many of his outstanding progressive contemporaries were killed. When the war ended, he was put in an Australian POW camp, and a captain there who befriended him said that he had discovered the real reason for the Japanese defeat, namely, reducing Mizuta to the lowly status of an NCO. Nevertheless, Hiroshi was able to practice his English in the camp, and when an Indian Army brigade took over from the Aussies, he presented a petition to a British officer, requesting books for the re-education of the Japanese soldiers. Needless to say, the list included *WN* and *Das Capital*. The petition was signed by Hiroshi's general, and when the British captain read it, he asked Hiroshi if this general knew what was being requested. However, before *WN* arrived to prepare the Japanese prisoners for the post-war world, American evacuation ships arrived to take them home.

Back in war-torn Japan, Hiroshi completed his graduate studies in the history of social thought and joined the faculty of Nagoya University, where he had a long and distinguished teaching career, and indeed still retains a connection. He began his publishing record in 1947, so I understand, with a translation of the 1766 *Lectures on Jurisprudence*. A turning point in his research direction came in 1954-56, when he was a British Council scholar at Glasgow University, and profited greatly from the insights of Alec Macfie and Ronald Meek. Hiroshi remembers the former stressing the importance of Smith's analysis of individuals maintaining their rights and assuming their duties and responsibilities in a market society, and the latter insisting on the paradigmatic shift in economics resulting from Smith's assimilation of the teaching of Quesnay and Turgot regarding marcoeconomic dynamism and the creation of capital.

At this time, too, Hiroshi Mizuta read, at the suggestion of Ronald Meek, an article in *Modern Quarterly* (1938) by the English Communist, Roy Pascal, entitled, "Property and Society: The Scottish Historical School of the Eighteenth Century." He found Pascal's approach similar to that of Okuchi and Takashima in its materialist analysis of Smith's thinking, but new and striking was the examination of Smith, Hume, Robertson, and Ferguson, as sharing a historical and philosophical methodology fashioned to reveal the nature of social organizations and institutions. Professor Mizuta believes that through introducing this article to Japanese colleagues, also initiating discussion of it and the eighteenth-century texts to which it referred, scholars in his country were inspired to focus their studies on the Scottish Enlightenment. He notes that they came to believe that here lay a key to the forces of modernity—chiefly secularization and commercialization—so powerfully at work in transforming their country and, indeed, our earth, a discovery which is now having some popular success in Arthur Herman's book, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* [reviewed in this issue].

On from the 1950s, Hiroshi Mizuta intensified his publication activities, continuing the translation of classics of social science, invaluable to Japanese colleagues and students wishing to delve into the history of ideas associated with the tradition of British inquiry into the nature of civil society: Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1954-93), Mill's *On Liberty* (1967), Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1969), and Smith's *TMS* (1973) and *WN* (1974). Moreover, he launched an outstanding series of his own articles, books, and editions, appearing mostly in Japanese and English, with a few in Italian, testifying to the wide range of his scholarly interests, not only in the principal Scottish Enlightenment figures and Hobbes, Burke, and J.S. Mill, but also in European thinkers such as Benjamin Constant and Marx.

To be sure, Marxism had been very attractive to Japanese social scientists from the 1920s and 1930s into the 1950s, partly for domestic and partly for international reasons, as offering an antidote to economic and political evils, or what were deemed evils, at home and abroad. Professor Mizuta developed his own critique of the combination of socio-economic illusion and insight in Marxism, and redoubled his efforts to find an alternative to the injustice and cruel repression attendant on the so-called proletarian dictatorship of communism, in the moral and

political thought of the Scottish Enlightenment. Thus he focused especially on *TMS*, judging that there Adam Smith pointed to the goal of establishing what the Japanese call *Shimin-Shakai*, often misleadingly translated as civil society, but which Professor Mizuta prefers to call a civilized or citizens' society at the commercial stage, comprised by equal, tolerant, peaceful, and just citizens, living under truly democratic government. While pursuing this line of thought, our colleague widened the scope of his researches to include study of the entry of western political economy into Japan, and with Professor Chuhei Suguyama he edited a collection of essays of great interest to all who are fascinated by Japanese thought, dealing with the intellectual movements of the late Tokugawa and Meiji periods arising from contact with the West: *Enlightenment and Beyond: Political Economy Comes to Japan* (1988).

Some of Professor Mizuta's articles and books originated as communications to the series of Enlightenment Congresses of the 1970s to the 1990s, where a number of us first enjoyed his company, and recognized in him a tireless and astonishingly well-organized world traveler, cool and poised, watching us struggle in railway stations or arriving at airports laden with many heavy bags, while he trundled one elegant, light, wheeled suitcase, which matched in color his dapper blue raincoat. In connection with his travels overseas, Professor Mizuta takes on the role of an enlightened intermediary, bringing back to Japanese colleagues ideas and suggestions for research topics and methods of study in his favorite fields, and he is equally forthcoming in communicating with colleagues abroad, corresponding promptly about sources now in Japanese collections that relate to their inquiries. I believe that he is a true inspirer in others of a drive for research on the Scottish Enlightenment, and one instance of this is provided by a younger Japanese scholar who remembers hearing Professor Mizuta report on the Glasgow *Wealth of Nations* Bicentenary Conference in 1976, and immediately changing his field of study to Adam Smith and his fellow-literati. Hiroshi-san has successes of this kind because of his own commitment to the highest standards of research, and his passionate belief in a democratic future for his country, which he connects with the need to alert colleagues to the difference between Smith's notion of a civilized commercial society of tolerant, justice-upholding equals, and what politicians have actually delivered in today's Japan.

He has found an international home in ECSSS, to which he has given solid support ever since its foundation, or re-foundation, in 1986. Also, he has encouraged many Japanese scholars to join the society, to participate in its meetings, and to contribute ably to its work. At this conference alone, Professor Mizuta is at the head of a contingent of more than twenty Japanese scholars, many of whom including himself gave papers, which reflected the deep interest in the authors studied and the unique insights found in the Japanese tradition of Scottish Enlightenment scholarship.

Beyond this contribution to our general field, we are all greatly indebted to Professor Mizuta for his specialized contributions to Adam Smith studies. In 1967 he gave us a most useful *Supplement to James Bonar's Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith*, and he complemented this in 2000 with the beautifully-produced **Adam Smith's Library: A Catalogue**, published in Oxford by Clarendon Press, which incorporate his devoted labors identifying Smith's books, tracking them to their globally-dispersed shelves, examining and measuring them, and linking them wherever possible to Smith's writings and intellectual preoccupations, to reveal the sources of what he judiciously calls Smith's "multidimensional thought." More than this, the catalogue he has established represents, as he states in the Introduction, a "map of the intellectual world" of the Scottish Enlightenment, and is worthy therefore of close study by all who aspire to understand that movement's orientation.

Professor Mizuta chooses to begin his story of the formation of Smith's library with Smith's request to his London publisher Thomas Cadell on 25 March 1767 to send to Edinburgh four boxes of books he had collected in France (possibly also in Geneva) and London. But his father, who died in January 1723, before he was born, collected books, and some of those subsequently inventoried are likely to have survived and been added to through Smith's bookish disposition in the households his mother, Margaret Douglas, managed for him at different times in Kirkcaldy and Glasgow before his return from the Continental tour with the duke of Buccleuch. That source apart, Hiroshi meticulously records all the books known to have been acquired by Adam Smith. I am sure he would wish me to acknowledge here the extensive help he has received in his endeavors, especially from R. D. Collison Black of Belfast, where he has access to 150 of Smith's books presented to Queen's University Library, and Kenneth E. Carpenter of Harvard University Library, who drew on the resources of the Vanderblue Collection of Smithiana in the Kress Library, itself part of the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School.

An additional area of Professor Mizuta's research work is collecting for his own library, or institutional libraries in Japan, then editing for reprint series, works that document the global dissemination and reception of Adam Smith's thought. Thus, for Thoemmes Press of Bristol he prepared a set of four volumes published in 1998, which were devoted to two notable early German responses to Smith: August Ferdinand Lueder's principal economic work, *Ueber Nationalindustrie und Staatswirthschaft* (1800-1804), offering a recension of Smith's system in *WN*, illustrated by reference to geography and travel literature, and Georg Sartorius's *Handbuch der Staatswirthschaft* (1796), which seeks to give a balanced overview of Smith's system and help overcome German

resistance to the principles of *WN*. Hiroshi-san's valuable though necessarily brief Introduction explains how the University of Göttingen, where Sartorius and Lueder taught, became the first center of Smith scholarship in Germany, and how these writers struggled to understand and consider the application of the principles of *WN* in the face of a German reality, whose stage of social development differed markedly from that of Britain which in certain ways was Smith's social laboratory.

For Routledge, Professor Mizuta prepared a set of six volumes published in 2000, entitled **Adam Smith: Critical Responses**. This astounding compilation presents a whole library of "comments, reviews, and introductions to all the works of Adam Smith, published and unpublished," extending in coverage from a few remarks salvaged by Dugald Stewart offering Smith's own views on his Edinburgh lectures of 1748-51 to Augusto Graziani's Introduction to his Italian translation of *WN*, published in 1945. Somewhat outside this framework are three articles by British Marxists that illustrate one strand of the development of Smith scholarship, which we may presume had a particular importance to the compiler in his search for an understanding of Smith's social science and its methodology, since they include the piece by Roy Pascal which put him on the track of studying the "Scottish Historical School." Volume 1 covers principally letters, reviews, pamphlets, comments, and some biographical material, all written by the first decade of the nineteenth century. Volume 2 offers material from the *WN* editions of William Playfair and David Buchanan, also criticism of *TMS* by Thomas Brown, and essays on Smith by Henry Brougham and Walter Bagehot, including Bagehot's "Adam Smith as a Person," with its nonchalant remark that *WN* is a "very amusing book about old times." Volume 3 is the bulkiest of all, with extensive segments from writings of the major nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Smith scholars in the English-speaking world: J. R. McCulloch, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, J. E. Thorold Rogers, J. Shield Nicholson, E. B. Bax, Edwin Cannan, E.R.A. Seligman, W. R. Scott, and Max Lerner. Volume 4 includes "overseas responses" to Smith from the non-English-speaking world, represented by France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, while volume 5 extends this coverage to Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, India, China, and Japan. Volume 6 brings up the rear of the project with illustrations of the Marxist response from Karl himself and Engels, and the British Marxists, Ronald Meek and his Cambridge mentor Maurice Dobb, besides the already-mentioned Roy Pascal.

Professor Mizuta's Introduction to his vast undertaking is immensely learned, and is no doubt the golden yield of his world travels and contact with scholars in many lands. It records principally the story of the immense interest *WN* has generated since its publication and first translations into German and French. In recent decades, scholars like Richard F. Teichgraber III and Salim Rashid have questioned the nature and depth of the appreciation and understanding of Smith's thought on political economy, even of its claim to offer a real contribution to its subject, in the course of the republication and translation of *WN*, but the massive evidence Professor Mizuta assembles, together with the information and analysis that Rick Sher will shortly publish about the early history of *WN* as a book, suggests that over time many readers have had it in their hands and, we may presume, in their minds for good or ill in relation to the human activities of getting and spending to advance human welfare. In its way, a counterpart to the six volumes of this collection is a book edited by Hiroshi Mizuta and Chuhei Sugiyama, *Adam Smith: International Perspectives* (1993), which includes the papers presented at the 1990 Nagoya Smith Symposium, presided over by Professor Mizuta, which represent a distillation of current commentary on Smith by scholars from Japan, Russia, Scotland, France, Canada, the USA, Italy, India, China, England, and Germany.

Hiroshi Mizuta's own work makes him a peer of Uchida Yoshihiko, Kobayashi Noboru, and Tanaka Shoji, among the foremost Japanese Smith scholars of our time. We recall, also, that he is also a creative writer, notable for his mastery of the Tanka, one of the most difficult of Japanese forms, and we salute him for this ability, too, as well for his uniqueness as a historian of social thought, and all the other achievements that make him an outstanding citizen of the republic of letters.

In handing over your Lifetime Achievement Award Plaque, I also wish to give you a white rose, and to quote a haiku that I composed for the occasion:

Accept this award
As a rose for your bouquet
Of many honors.

Professor Mizuta later responded in Japanese with another haiku:

Shohai ni [to the plaque]
Teiko no shirobara [white rose of resistance]
Soerarete [accompanied by].



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

In his review in the Book Review Supplement in the spring 2001 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (no. 15, pp. 40-41), Eric Wehrli says some kind things about my book, *The Boasted Advantages*, but then goes on to attribute to me a number of opinions which I do not hold and which I do not express in this book or elsewhere. For instance, I do not believe that bribery was the sole reason for the Scottish Parliament's acceptance of the Union, although it certainly was a factor. I think that Clerk of Penicuik was probably right in his explanation that it was because the alternative was an English invasion and the imposition of worse terms. Wehrli says that "my appeal to history has no validity." The fact is that I dispute the traditional view of these events because it rests on the suppression of evidence and has in the past been little better than unionist propaganda.

On the other hand, like David Hume, I do not believe that there is such a thing as national character, even if it is difficult to explain or define and is subject to frequent exceptions and constant change. Also, like R. L. Stevenson, I believe that both Highland and Lowland Scots, in spite of their differences at times in the past, now and for at least the last two hundred years or so share a feeling of a common Scottish identity.

As for "the perfidious other" (Wehrli's phrase, not mine), I do not think that there can be any doubt that Scotland suffered for centuries from the ambitions of a powerful and expansive neighbor. I agree, of course, that this is not a reason why we should not seek to maintain the best possible relationship between the two countries. As I say in the book under discussion, that is one of the reasons why Scotland should be independent, because subordination creates frustration and resentment.

Paul Henderson Scott, Edinburgh

Eric Wehrli replies:

In *The Boasted Advantages*, P. H. Scott does not give Clerk of Penicuik nearly as much credence as he does in his letter. "As we have seen, Clerk's explanation was a belief that the only alternative to the Treaty was invasion and the imposition of worse terms, *but he was looking for a respectable excuse*" (p. 17, italics mine). Again, Clerk "was too anxious to find a *plausible* explanation to *justify* his own part in the transaction" (p. 29). In other words, Scott does not believe Clerk. On the other hand, I must apologize for misstating Scott's position, for he does go on to say that "some members of the Scottish Parliament, perhaps a sufficient number to make up a majority, decided Union was preferable to the risks of invasion and the imposition of worse terms" (a decision Scott describes on p. 29 as "abject surrender"). Also, in a summary statement in the book's conclusion, Scott gives equal weight to both explanations—bribery and fear of invasion.

In the end, however, it is all the same: a failure of character on the part of the Scottish elite and an unrelenting English desire for dominance. There is, however, in Scott's book no honest consideration of the choices faced by the elites of both nations. Under the circumstances, both were faced with an agonizing dilemma, and arguably both made choices that were rational and patriotic. More serious, however, than the one-sided approach to historical interpretation is the danger of appealing to history—to 300-year-old wrongs—to justify a particular course of action today. Encouraging resentment about what happened in the distant past can never be right, and it can never lead to wise policy. It cannot serve the interests of Scotland or any country.

Regarding the attempt by historians to sweep bribery under the rug, I would like to know which historians Scott means. In the last one hundred years, is there a single Scottish historian of the Union events who has failed to address the issue of bribery? Most have downplayed its role, because they have not considered it decisive or, admittedly in some cases, because of their belief in the Union.

As for a shared identity on both sides of the Highland line during the last two hundred years, let us remember that we are talking about the period when the substance of Highland culture had been nearly destroyed, when it

was a shadow of its former self and well on the way to full assimilation to Lowland culture. That Lowland Scots of the nineteenth century embraced Highland garb and other paraphernalia as symbols of Scotland is no different from Anglo-Americans using Native American cultural artifacts to stand for America. It is only after the minority cultures are subdued and no longer a threat that this kind of adoption can take place.

Eric G. Wehrli, Jr., Canterbury School, Fort Wayne, Indiana

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 2001, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous issues.

Allan BEVERIDGE, "'Teetering on the Verge of Complete Sanity': Boswell's Life of Boswell," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 93 (2000): 434-37.

Brian BONNYMAN, "The 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, Adam Smith and the Entail Act of 1770," *Scottish Archives* 6 (2000): 101-9.

Alexander BROADIE, "Scottish Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2001). [online]

Leslie Ellen BROWN, "'An Essay Suggesting an Important Applicatoin of the Highland Music': Moral Sentiment and the Oeconomic Ode," *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era* 6 (2001): 317-32.

Leslie Ellen BROWN, "The Common Sense School and the Science of Music in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: A Look at John Holden's *Essay Towards a Rational System of Music*," in *Essays in Honor of J. F. Ohl: A Compendium of American Musicology* (Evanston, Ill., 2001).

Michael BROWN, "Creating a Canon: Dugald Stewart's Construction of the Scottish Enlightenment," *History of Universities* 16 (2000): 135-54.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "'The Procedure of Life': Carswell's Biography of Burns," in *Opening the Doors: The Achievement of Catherine Carswell*, ed. Carol Anderson (Edinburgh, 2001), 165-78.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "A Manuscript Fragment of an Unsigned and Undated Draft Letter by David Hume on the Ossian Controversy," *Notes and Queries* 48 (2001): 419.

Rebecca COPENHAVER, "Thomas Reid's Direct Realism," *Reid Studies* 4 (2000): 17-34.

Alexander DU TOIT, "'A Species of False Religion': William Robertson, Catholic Relief and the Myth of Moderate Tolerance," *The Innes Review* 52 (2001): 167-88.

Roger L. EMERSON, "The Scottish Literati and America, 1680-1800," in *NPFBE*, 183-220.

Christopher J. FINLAY, "Enlightenment and the University: Philosophy, Communication, and Education in the Early Writings of David Hume," *History of Universities* 16 (2000): 103-34.

Howard GASKILL, "'Aus der Dritten Hand': Herder and His Annotators," *German Life and Letters* 54 (2001): 210-18.

Howard GASKILL, "Tieck's Juvenilia: Ossianic Attributions," *Modern Language Review* 96 (2001): 747-61.

Baccar GHERIB, "David Hume et *L'Histoire de la société civile*: Étude sur la généalogie d'une problématique," *Storia della Storiografia* 36 (1999): 27-53.

Evan GOTTLIEB, "The Astonished Eye: The British Sublime and Thomson's 'Winter'," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 42 (2001): 43-58.

Charles L. GRISWOLD, "Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment: A Discussion with Charles Griswold," *Ethical Perspectives* 7 (2000): 53-72.

David HANCOCK, "Scots in the Slave Trade," in *NPFBE*, 60-93.

Andrew HOOK, "'The First American Intellectual History': Samuel Miller's *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* and Its Scottish Context," in *NPFBE*, 265-79.

Colin KIDD, "Constructing a Civil Religion: Scots Presbyterians and the Eighteenth-Century British State," in *The Scottish Churches and the Union Parliament 1707-1999*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 2001).

Colin KIDD, "Scotland's Invisible Enlightenment: Subscription and Heterodoxy in the Eighteenth-Century Kirk," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 30 (2000): 28-59.

László KONTLER, "William Robertson and his German Audience on European and non-European Civilisations," *Scottish Historical Review* 80 (2001): 63-89.

Gauti KRISTMANSSON, "The Subversive Loyalty of Ossian: Politics, Poetry and Translation in the Eighteenth Century," *Scotlands* 4 (1997): 71-85.

- Ned C. LANDSMAN, "Introduction: The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement with the Americas," in *NPFBE*, 15-35.
- Ned C. LANDSMAN, "The Foundations of Cosmopolitan Culture: Scottish Involvement Abroad before the American Colonization," in *The European Sun*, ed. Graham Caie et al. (East Linton, 2001), 70-79.
- John Christian LAURSEN et al., "Hume and Berkeley in the Prussian Academy: Louis Frédéric Ancillon's 'Dialogue between Berkeley and Hume' of 1796," *Hume Studies* 27 (2001): 85-127.
- Leah LENEMAN, "Smith v. Clark and Clark v. Smith: Eighteenth-Century Scottish Doctors in Dispute," *Medical History* 45 (2001): 93-98.
- Bruce LENMAN, "The Exiled Stuarts and the Precious Symbols of Sovereignty," *William and Mary Quarterly* 25 (2001): 185-200.
- Anthony Richard LEWIS, "Hume's Home Repairs," *TLS*, 23 March 2001.
- David LIEBERMAN, "Economy and Polity in Bentham's Science of Legislation," in *Economy, Polity, and Society*, ed. Stefan Collini et al. (Cambridge, 2000). [contains discussion of Bentham's debt to Adam Smith]
- Susan MANNING, "Scottish Style and American Romantic Idiom," in *Culture, Style & Language in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Susan Fitzmaurice: special number of *Language Sciences* 22 (2000): 265-83.
- Susan MANNING, "Julia de Roubigné: Last Gasp or First Fruits?," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24 (2001): 161-73.
- Susan MANNING, "Whatever Happened to Pleasure?," *The Cambridge Quarterly* 30 (2001): 215-32. [inaugural lecture as Grierson Professor of English Literature at the U. of Edinburgh, December 2000]
- Richard MAXWELL, "Inundations of Time: A Definition of Scott's Originality," *ELH* 68 (2001): 419-68.
- Annette MEYER, "Das Projekt Einer 'Natural History of Man' in der Schottischen Aufklärung," *Storia della Storiografia* 39 (2001): 93-102.
- Cynthia L. MILLER, "William Small and the Making of Thomas Jefferson's Mind," *Journal of Colonial Williamsburg* 22 (2000): 30-33.
- Emanuele Levi MORTERA, "Linguaggio Conoscenza e Progresso in Dugald Stewart," *Filosofia e cultura nel Settecento britannico*, vol. 2: Hume e Hutcheson Reid e la scuola del senso commune, ed. Antonio Santucci.
- David Fate NORTON, "From John Locke to Dugald Stewart," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62 (2001): 359-65. [review essay on *The Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers*]
- David Fate NORTON (with Mary J. Norton), "Substantive Differences between Two Texts of Hume's *Treatise*," *Hume Studies* 26 (2000): 245-78.
- David Fate NORTON, "The Academical or Sceptical Philosophy," in *Reading Hume on Human Understanding*, ed. P. Millican (Oxford, 2001).
- Fania OZ-SALZBERGER, "New Approaches towards a History of the Enlightenment: Can Disparate Perspectives Make a General Picture?," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 29 (2000): 171-82.
- Fania OZ-SALZBERGER, "Adam Ferguson's Histories in Germany: English Liberty, Scottish Vigour, and German Rigour," in *British and German Historiography 1750-1950*, ed. Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende (Oxford, 2000).
- Adam POTKAY, "Hume's 'Supplement to *Gulliver*': The Medieval Volumes of *The History of England*," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25 (2001): 32-46.
- Adam POTKAY, "History after Virtue," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (2001): 997-1006. [review essay of J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*]
- John G. REID, "The Conquest of 'Nova Scotia': Cartographic Imperialism and the Echoes of a Scottish Past," in *NPFBE*, 39-59.
- John ROBERTSON, "The Idea of Sovereignty and the Act of Union," in *The Challenge to Westminster: Sovereignty, Devolution and Independence*, ed. H. T. Dickinson and Michael Lynch (East Linton, 2000), 33-41.
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- Ian Simpson ROSS, "John Ramsay McCulloch, 1789-1864: Scholar Classical Economicist," *Journal of Economics of Kwansai Gakuin University* 55 (2001): 73-93.
- Richard B. SHER (with Hugh Amory), "From Scotland to the Strand: The Genesis of Andrew Millar's Book-selling Career," in *The Moving Market: Continuity and Change in the Book Trade*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (New Castle, Del., 2001), 51-70.
- Judith Bailey SLAGLE, "A Note on Joanna Baillie's Addresses: Corrections to Published Historical Records," *Notes and Queries* 48 (2001): 131-32.
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Mark G. SPENCER, "The *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*: Hume's Response to the Dogmatic and Intolerant," *The Western Journal of Graduate Research* 9 (2000): 1-19.

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NPFBE = Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800, ed. Ned C. Landsman (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2001).

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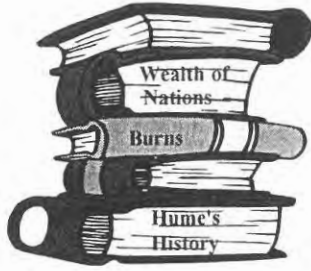
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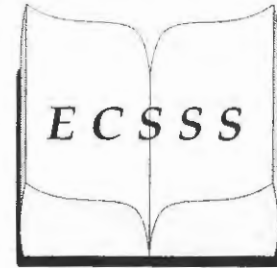
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**EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
SCOTLAND, Spring 2002**

BOOKS in REVIEW



**BOOK REVIEW
SUPPLEMENT**

Janet Sorensen, **The Grammar of Empire: Language and Cultural Identities in Eighteenth-Century Britain.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. x + 318.

The Grammar of Empire is a substantial addition to current discussion of the generative role of Scottish writing in the production of British national identity. It is an ambitious book, both in methodology and scope, which aims to re-orientate the inquiries of post-colonial and cultural studies toward a detailed study in historical linguistics. The particular originality of Janet Sorensen's approach lies in her unification of cultural analysis of eighteenth-century British formations of Empire and nation with the period's obsession with the origin, structure, and literary representation of language. One of the most powerful contentions of *The Grammar of Empire* is that eighteenth-century language use and language theory supply a kind of microcosm for the tensions between imperial and national ideologies, tensions which at once constitute and threaten to undermine the rhetoric of both nation and empire.

In the detailed analysis, Sorensen also breaks new ground in several respects. For one thing, she pays close attention to the contested fate of Gaelic language and culture as her primary example of "British" linguistic imperialism, a process which she argues to have been largely initiated by Scottish writers. Analyzing the politics of the S.S.P.C.K.'s linguistic endeavors, she reads its project for the literacy of the Highlands as the first example of the British Empire's "writing itself" in English language and literacy instruction; though the argument here necessarily draws heavily on the work of Derick Thomson and Ronald Black, Sorensen's development of the double-edged endeavors of Alexander MacDonald (the S.S.P.C.K. glossary-compiler who was also a militant Gaelic poet, and therefore a kind of linguistic double-agent) is adroit and suggestive. In a later chapter on "Multi-Cultural Britain?," she reconsiders Scots Gaelic, wisely moving aside from the quagmires of Ossianic "authenticity" arguments to show through the related writings of William Shaw and John Clark how philologists hijacked the universalizing claims made for English to argue that Gaelic was in fact the originary language. The implications of this argument bear, as she shows, on recurrent patterns of internal contestation common to all language communities. Here, as elsewhere, Sorensen is adroit at drawing out the larger, more general and structural possibilities of the local case she has argued in detail.

The book's argument turns on a structural ambivalence which Sorensen locates at the heart of Scots language debate in the eighteenth century: whether Scotland and its language and culture are ontologically "other," a disorganized, polyvocal world in need of cultural conversion, or whether they represent the fast-disappearing remnant of an earlier, less corrupt England. Her analysis, carefully worked through a range of theoretical models, reveals both versions to be politically motivated constructions intimately bound up with the foundations of empire and nation. Sorensen recasts the two main eighteenth-century theories of language (the historical, developmental, etymologically-based version and the universal version) in terms of the divergent ideologies of the British Empire and nation: first, the chronologically derived cultural-nationalist model; and secondly, the spatially derived model of the British Empire. Going on from here, she argues for the replacement of a core-periphery model of British internal colonialism by a transnational model which allows for a plurality of possibilities within cultures. A corollary of this is her demonstration of how Anglo-British writers like Smollett did not simply assimilate "English" linguistic identity but helped to construct it in opposition to a peripheral Celtic culture and its feminized corporeal dialect. Through the example of Smollett, she posits a re-writing of the spatial core-periphery paradigm in gendered and classed linguistic terms, as the dichotomy between those speakers or writers able to adopt a constructed standard English and those disrupting that standard (and thereby helping to define it). Sorensen's analysis of *Humphry Clinker* along these lines is one of the most illuminating and enjoyable sections of *The Grammar of Empire*. She also gives excellent accounts of Smollett's capacity to estrange language and to generate active plays of meaning between English, Scots, and European forms of words.

It is essential to this case that the work of even such core writers of the "center" as Samuel Johnson and Jane Austen can be shown to bear the traces of a "doubled" attitude to language origin and use which she sees as constitutive of the British linguistic nationalism developed by the Anglo-Scots. Sorensen argues that Johnson's *Dictionary* may be read as another equally ambivalent version of national literacy instruction, one which undertook a different but analogous "conversion" to that of the S.S.P.C.K.'s translating activities: of variant "Englises" to a standard, authoritative form. The result, she argues, was a work which became for subsequent generations the material symbol of legitimated English nationhood. One might quibble with this assessment: to contemporaries, Johnson's achievement seemed neither as monolithic nor as unquestionable as this conclusion suggests. However, the larger point is that the ambivalence of linguistic prescription in the *Dictionary* was a function of its pivotal role in the shift to a cultural nationalist view of language. Johnson, on this reading, becomes "a core figure who is himself divided" (p. 21).

Even where the book covers well-traveled critical ground, as in its account of Scottish attempts in the 1760s and 1770s through lectures and textbooks to "naturalize" Standard English diction, Sorensen has something new to say. "Peripheral" writing repositioned itself at the center not only of developing English language practice and institutions of cultural transmission but of the very (self-contradictory) terms of national linguistic self-description. Her distinction between a "consciously performative" and a "corporeally naturalized" sense of national identity, as for example in Adam Smith's writing, is a useful and a telling one. This, however, needs to be set in the context of emerging information that grammar books and writing guides were produced not only in "peripheral" Scotland but all over the British Isles throughout the century, indicating a widespread awareness of the urgency of establishing common standards of communicability and intelligibility as an essential precursor to successful trade and the spread of wealth. In this context (though it is not particularly part of Sorensen's business here), the relationship between Smith's lectures on rhetoric and *The Wealth of Nations* would repay close investigation. As often, Sorensen's points are so well made and so intelligently informed that one finds oneself coming back and back to argue with their detail and tease out their implications in further directions.

An Epilogue returns to the "center" to offer a revisionary understanding of the language-use of Jane Austen, that most "central" and "pure" of English-language writers. It is a bold move, but also an essential one for her argument, because it confronts the logic of a naturalized English idiom against which a contested and troubled Scottish diction of divided impulses defined itself. Refuting this model, Sorensen asserts that central and marginal language theories worked in tandem both to define and to de-center the rhetoric of authenticity and spuriousness. She re-positions the Anglo-Scottish contentions in class and gendered terms to claim that the "doubledness" evident in peripheral writers is also in action at the center (an argument that is well in tune with prevailing trends in Austen criticism), and to give a theoretically precise version of the observation that the novels "expose the strangeness of the most familiar and private linguistic exchanges as they unpack the layers of meaning embedded within them" (p. 211). Even allowing for the translation from provincial to class and gendered self-consciousness, I remain a little skeptical that Austen's ironic and verbally self-aware idiom represents the same case—or even, quite, an analogous one—as Smollett's deconstructing linguistic materialism or the language-fixing activities of the S.S.P.C.K. But her case against the verbal version of the "Caledonian Antisyzygy"—the argument that the private, domestic "authentic" Scots self has since the Union been perennially at odds with the public, "inauthentic" writing of that self in official Standard English—is, I think, conclusive. It is not the least of this book's achievements to have laid an old critical chestnut to rest once and for all.

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Murray Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. Pp. 187 + xii.

Murray Pittock's *Scottish Nationality* is a new offering in Palgrave's "British History in Perspective" series. As Pittock explains, the book focuses on "Scottish nationality," defined as "the external, objectifiable ways in which ideas or feelings of Scottish difference are and have been articulated or displayed" (p. 1). It takes into account Scotland's relationship with the other nations that make up what Norman Davies calls "the Isles," and it also attempts to shed light on Scotland's historic relationships with other European countries. Pittock faces a formidable task in selecting from and explicating nearly two thousand years of events which can be considered on some level conducive to national feeling—from the utterance of what he considers "the first Scottish patriotic sentiments" by the Roman patrician Calgacus to the recent reconvening and operation of the Scottish Parliament.

Pittock uses his Introduction to critique the theories in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and Ernst Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* for limiting the definition of nation to the post-eighteenth-century eras. In addition, according to Pittock, ideas regarding the "imagining of the nation" place "too much power in the hands of creative writers and the impact of created narratives...and too little on the lived experience and shared traditions of national communities" (p. 3). Pittock prefers a more fluid notion of the nation, one, it would seem, which is

flexible enough to apply to Scotland from at least the thirteenth century to the present day, as well as to fifth-century Greece and the Jewish nation of Judas Maccabeus. This is a tall order for any concept. Pittock also indicates his discomfort with what he reads as the relativism inherent in certain concepts of national identity since the 1970s. According to Pittock, the “stress on choosing national identities” is a symptom of the modern world, which includes, among other things, “electronic media” and a loss of “political radicalism” (p. 4). He suggests that “the Victorians and Edwardians knew themselves better than we” (p. 4). *Scottish Nationality*, then, seems colored in part by a nostalgic desire to find an authentic Scottish national identity in an era of multinational capitalism, to paraphrase Fredric Jameson.

Having set out his preconceptions, Pittock does an admirable job of outlining key debates and reconsidering myths regarding Scottish national identity, drawing on a range of select secondary sources. Chapter 1, “Freedom Is A Noble Thing: Scottish Nationhood to 1707,” examines the ethnic and geographic differences between the Highlands and the Lowlands; Scotland’s continental connections before 1603; the “fragmentation of Scottish national identity along clerical lines” which resulted from the Reformation; and the prelude to Union. Chapter 2, “Scotland’s Ruin?” tackles the question of the impact of the Union on Scotland by examining the discourse at the time and discusses how the Jacobite cause became “a focus for dissatisfaction with the Union” (p. 62). In addition, in this chapter’s discussion of Scottish Enlightenment thought, Pittock points out just how much of the “bifurcated vision of the Scottish eighteenth century” is a “product of the Enlightenment thinkers themselves” (p. 74). Historians like Hume and Robertson, for example, decried the barbarian origins of the Highland populations while aligning Lowland Scotland with the civilization which they saw epitomized by England. In chapter 3, “A Scottish Empire,” Pittock begins by focusing on what he calls Scotland’s “imperial localism”: Scottish identity that was acceptable to the rest of Britain. The Victorian myth of the romantic Highlands is one such example. He moves then to examine to what extent considerations of nationalism can be identified in radical movements in Scotland from 1790 to 1830. Chapter 3 ends with the formation of the Scottish Home Rule Association in 1886. Chapter 4 takes up the story with the outbreak of World War One and the convoluted evolution of the Scottish National Party. The final chapter, “A Nation of Two Halves,” addresses the impact on Scottish national feeling of football, the media, population changes, the elections of 1999, conceptions of history, and the heritage industry.

The last section of the book veers between optimism and condemnation. Pittock suggests that contemporary events offer the chance for positive changes not just in Scotland but in all of Britain: “The changes of the post-1970 period represent an opportunity for Britain to develop a series of more equitable internal dialogues between its peoples” (p. 144). In order to forward this process, he calls for new, “broad-based assessments of the significance of the past” (p. 145). But he also lays the blame for failure to take up the cause of Scottish identity on the shoulders of the Scots themselves. Since the 1980s, he argues, Scottish historians have participated in a process of “demythologizing” which “damages Scottish history just as much as mythologizing did” (p. 145). Contemporary educational practices in Scotland exacerbate the situation by excluding Scottish culture from the curriculum. And the “managerial and corporatist culture” of Scotland’s “social and political leadership” have failed to apprehend the “strong focus of interest [in Scottish culture and history] among a segment of the population at large” (p. 146).

Pittock considers a wide range of political and social practices throughout his book. As if to make up for Anderson’s privileging of literary activity, however, *Scottish Nationality* is slim on references to works of literature (or, more recently and popularly, film) in articulating national identity. This is particularly the case in the later chapters. A consideration of the phenomena of *Trainspotting* or *Braveheart*, for example, would also raise productive questions regarding the relationship between globalization, diaspora, and Scottish nationality. Pittock concludes with the hope that his book is able to “inform enough to allow a settled discussion of the nature of Scotland’s presence in today’s United Kingdom, and its dialogue with that larger entity” (p. 147). It is certainly informative on a number of levels, and while it is difficult to say what a “settled discussion” might involve in the case of perceptions of Scottish history (or whether such a “settlement” would be beneficial), Pittock’s book succeeds in “unsettling” unproductive conceptions about the Scottish past and contributing to an ongoing conversation regarding Scotland and nationality.

Leith Davis, Simon Fraser University

Franklin E. Court, *The Scottish Connection: The Rise of English Literary Study in Early America*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001. Pp. x + 199.

The cover of *The Scottish Connection* includes portraits of Francis Hutcheson, Edward T. Channing, Benjamin Rush, Charles Nisbet, and Robert Hamilton Bishop—all key players in the book’s account of the rise of English literary study in early America—set beside an equally relevant black-and-white drawing of an early American col-

lege campus. How strange, then, that Syracuse University Press should have chosen a typeface for the book's cover and title page in the voguish style of Charles Rennie MacIntosh. But be reassured: there is nothing in the book's content reflecting such apparent ahistoricism. In fact, *The Scottish Connection* is a most welcome addition to the growing body of work on the origins of English studies in Great Britain, the USA, and elsewhere in the western-influenced world.

Court begins by acknowledging that his book grew out of the essay "The Early Impact of Scottish Literary Teaching in North America" that he contributed to Robert Crawford's 1998 collection, *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*. Composed of four chapters, *The Scottish Connection* begins with "Scotland and the Rise of Literary Criticism," which covers ground that will be largely familiar to those interested in recent eighteenth-century Scottish cultural studies. In chapter 2, "Criticism and the Oratorical Tradition: English at Brown, South Carolina, Yale, and Harvard," Court argues that the "oratorical tradition" is "a late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century cultural phenomenon that has received surprisingly little scholarly attention over the years from literary and cultural historians" (p. 36). But insofar as the teaching of oratory retained a link to the study of moral philosophy and the illustrative use of literary texts, the move from courses in rhetoric to courses in oratory does not appear to have involved any major shift in emphasis. What the chapter demonstrates is that literary critical studies in English emerged from both the American rhetorical and oratorical traditions, with their common emphasis on the value of literary texts as a source of moral improvement. In chapter 3, "Scottish Education and Literary Study on the American Frontier," Court unquestionably moves into new territory. Looking at a range of mostly small colleges, from Dickinson in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to Transylvania in Lexington, Kentucky, Miami University in Ohio, Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, Lafayette College, also in Pennsylvania, and the University of North Carolina—many of them linked in some way to John Witherspoon's College of New Jersey—Court makes an excellent case for the major contribution of the Scots or Ulster-Scots to the development of English Studies in each location. Robert Hamilton Bishop emerges as a particularly interesting figure. Born in 1777, Bishop studied at the University of Edinburgh, where his classes included moral philosophy under Dugald Stewart, and emigrated to America in 1802 after being licensed by the Church of Scotland. Late in 1804 he became professor of moral philosophy, logic, criticism, and belles lettres at Transylvania University, where he remained for the next twenty years. Leaving Lexington in 1824, he was soon appointed the first president of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. Among his faculty at Miami was William McGuffey, soon to start producing the Readers, with their selections from major English and American authors, which would remain key textbooks for most of the nineteenth century. Bishop's career is a perfect illustration of how the Scottish connection in American literary studies continued to flourish well into the nineteenth century.

The final chapter is called "Marketing Literary Study, 1820 to 1870." The focus here is rather different—less on colleges' course construction and curriculum development than on the growing marketplace for books involving English and American literature: anthologies, textbooks, selections (specimens), literary biographies, and histories. Publishing statistics make it clear that the demand for such books increased steadily in the first half of the nineteenth century, while Court analyzes the phenomenon by focusing on the way in which a series of individuals, including John Seely Hart, W. E. Channing, Rufus Griswold, and William Spalding, contributed to its satisfaction. The precise Scottish connection begins to weaken somewhat here, but the chapter as a whole is a valuable addition to the cultural history of nineteenth-century America. Today's students of Scottish literature will surely be both surprised and pleased to learn that Hart's *A Short Course in Literature, English and American* (1873) devotes a whole chapter to "Early Scotch Poets" in which reference is made to Barbour, James I, Andrew Wynthoun, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, and Sir David Lindsay. The same students will probably be less pleased with Court's comment that Henryson is "the Scottish poet remembered mainly as Chaucer's imitator" (p. 121). Nonetheless, *The Scottish Connection* should certainly be added to all their reading lists.

Andrew Hook, The College of Wooster (visiting)

Adam Sisman, *Boswell's Presumptuous Task*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 2000; New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001 (American edition subtitled *The Making of the Life of Dr. Johnson*). Pp. 351.

It is tempting to apply Adam Sisman's title, taken from Boswell's self-deprecating opening sentence of *The Life of Johnson*, to his own book. For Sisman has set himself the task of compressing into a single volume the story of Boswell's friendship with Samuel Johnson and the more complex story of Boswell's long-drawn-out efforts in writing his massive biography. Whether one considers Sisman's project ambitious or, rather, presumptuous in the more basic sense of the word depends on how much knowledge one brings to the subject.

Sisman has divided his narrative into three parts. "Life Lived" deals with Boswell's experiences in Scotland and London, concentrating primarily on his meetings with Johnson. "Life Written" focuses on Boswell's work on the *Tour to the Hebrides*, chiefly the revision of his journal of 1773, and describes Boswell's much more extensive

work on his full-scale biography of Johnson. "Life Published" deals with the reception of the biography by Boswell's friends and contemporaries, discusses its reputation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and summarizes the discovery of Boswell manuscripts in modern times. Within this framework, Sisman proceeds chronologically—and at a brisk canter.

The well-known stories are all here: Johnson's anti-Scottish remarks to Boswell at their first meetings, rightly interpreted as "joshing" rather than hostile prejudice; Johnson's declining the patronage of Lord Chesterfield, extended to Boswell's finding the very letter Johnson wrote, which had been temporarily lost; and Johnson's interview with the king, shown to have been given shape by Boswell by omitting the presence of others at the scene. Also here is Boswell's subsequent interview with George III to ascertain what title for Charles Edward Stuart would be acceptable to the Hanoverian monarch, a subject of keen interest to the monarchical Boswell. These are only the most obvious of the countless personalities introduced by Sisman. Also included are, of course, Edmond Malone, who helped to revise, prune, and tone down Boswell's prose; Frances Burney, who indignantly refused to show Boswell her Johnson letters; Sir Joshua Reynolds and General Paoli, supportive old friends who offered hospitality and kept up Boswell's spirits. Sisman traces the process of getting the book through the press, thanks to the bookseller Charles Dilly as well as the printer Henry Baldwin and his compositor. Complications such as Bishop Percy's request for last-minute cuts of Johnson's harsh comments so as not to offend surviving acquaintances are duly noted. Sisman continues his narrative with Boswell's work on the second edition, as new material came in, and with his trip to Cornwall with his daughters, basking in the glow of being recognized as "the great biographer." Interspersed are accounts of Boswell's "distractions" such as witnessing a public execution, visiting the tempting but dangerous Mrs. Rudd, seeking companionship at various London clubs, and drinking heavily. Boswell's family affairs, including financial problems, the death of his wife, and his responsibilities for his five children are not forgotten.

In tracing such events, Sisman branches out when interesting material offers. For instance, Mrs. Piozzi's disapproval, in her *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson*, of Boswell's recording Johnson's words as they were uttered leads Sisman to deal with the allegation that Boswell was a mere stenographer, and beyond that to consider Boswell's method of composition in general. Nor does Sisman omit such choice tidbits as Johnson's "amorous inclinations," his fondling Mrs. Desmoulins in the lifetime of his wife, an episode known to the other rival biographer, Hawkins, as well as to Boswell but tactfully omitted by both in print, though preserved by the latter in a separate file. Sisman acknowledges that Boswell must have been charming and attractive to gain the friendship of Johnson as well as the attention of Rousseau, Paoli, and other notable contemporaries. He also writes sympathetically about Boswell's later frustrations in trying to secure a "place" in politics, his humiliations at the hands of the powerful Lord Lonsdale, and his guilt feelings for not progressing with the *Life*. Sisman admits, however, to finding Boswell irritating in his relentless pursuit of Johnson material and his insistence on being a descendant of the royal houses of Scotland as well as a Scottish baron (as in fact he was).

Perhaps inevitably, given the great number of details he presents, Sisman sometimes misses or oversimplifies a point. For example, in retelling the anecdote of how Johnson tried to disprove Bishop Berkeley's idealism (his theory that things exist only in the mind), Sisman omits Boswell's amusing crux: that when Johnson declared "I refute him thus," he supposedly "rebounded" from the stone he was kicking. To explain the presence of John Wilkes in Italy, Sisman refers only to the publication of his *Essay on Women*, which "had made London too hot for him," but leaves vague Wilkes's real motive: to escape from imprisonment for seditious libel. In describing Boswell's journal writing, Sisman refers to the "occasional" memoranda, quite an understatement for the thousands of preliminary notes jotted down by Boswell! And oddly enough, in recounting the amazing discovery and publication of the Boswell papers in the twentieth century, Sisman makes no mention of McGraw-Hill, which shared the risks, profits, and later losses as publisher of the thirteen-volume "trade edition" of the journals. Did Sisman overlook these details, one wonders, or did he simply wish to maintain his brisk pace by avoiding complicated explanations?

More troubling is the impression given by Sisman that he is offering fresh new material when he is really presenting an abbreviated version of well-known sources, notably F. A. Pottle's *James Boswell: The Earlier Years* (1966), Frank Brady's *James Boswell: The Later Years* (1984), and Marshall Waingrow's *Correspondence and Other Papers of James Boswell Relating to the Making of the Life of Johnson* (1969). Granted that he praises these works in his Acknowledgements and alludes to Waingrow's work in his subtitle, Sisman does little else to credit their contributions. In particular, his innocuous references to "Corresp. 4" in his notes minimize Waingrow's remarkable work in gathering and annotating the vast correspondence inspired by the *Life*.

To general readers who do not know much about Boswell and Johnson, Sisman offers a very full and lively story. Most of us in the field, however, will find little that is unfamiliar in his book. It cannot compete with the more substantial works on Boswell and his *Life of Johnson* that have been published in the last few years.

Marlies K. Danziger, Scarsdale, N.Y.

Walter Scott, **The Monastery**. Edited by Penny Fielding. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, volume 9. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 509.

Walter Scott, **The Pirate**. Edited by Mark Weinstein and Alison Lumsden. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, volume 12. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 608.

Walter Scott, **Chronicles of the Canongate**. Edited by Claire Lamont. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, volume 20. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 516.

These latest volumes in the Edinburgh Edition afford fascinating insights into Scott's career as a novelist in the 1820s. All three novels revisit some of the geographical, historical, and literary material used by Scott in his earlier work; at the same time, each text may be seen to mark a distinctive shift in his writing career. The Edinburgh Edition is always alert to Scott's working practices and the circumstances of the author and his publishers at the time of the genesis, composition, and production of the individual novels. These volumes are no exception. The editors describe with lucidity and eloquence the significance of these works within Scott's career, the processes of their composition and production, and the historical context of the novels.

Scott claims in the Introduction to the Magnum edition of *The Monastery* that he has no recollection of the "reason, or caprice" which dictated his "change of system" from the "English" experiment of *Ivanhoe* to the Border setting of *The Monastery*. However, evidence presented in Penny Fielding's "Essay on the Text" reveals significant connections between the two novels stemming from compositional chronological relationship and in-fighting in the publishing world. *The Monastery*, as Fielding describes, represents a development of Scott's interest in Border history and culture (central, of course, to such earlier works as his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and his poem *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*). It also marks an important shift in his writing career: he made changes to the partnership of publishers which had held for the publication of most of the previous Waverley Novels. Crucially, Scott asked the London firm of Longman and Co. to act as managing publishers for *The Monastery* rather than the Edinburgh firm of Constable. Fielding's account of the financial negotiations surrounding this change, her discussion of Scott's likely motivation, and Archibald Constable's fears that *The Monastery* would damage sales of *Ivanhoe* is full of interest. Intriguingly, she shows the way in which "the material circumstances of the novel's inception . . . become inseparable from its themes, not only in the Introductory Epistles' allusions to rival claims for the ownership of the text, but also in the body of the novel itself, dealing as it does with the struggle for possession of a book" (p. 359). Fielding's historical and explanatory notes are invaluable, and this edition will undoubtedly generate renewed interest in Scott's narratives of the sixteenth century.

The Pirate has particular significance within Scott's career as a "Scotch" novel that insists on the difference of Shetland and Orkney from mainland Scotland. The novel brings into unusual focus Scott's compositional processes because it required that he engage in specific research into island geography, customs, and superstitions. A key source for *The Pirate* is the diary that Scott compiled during a six-week cruise that he took with the Northern Lighthouse Commissioners in the summer of 1814. Mark Weinstein and Alison Lumsden analyze with meticulous attention to detail the importance of this source in the "Historical Note"; they also comment astutely on pirate literature, character prototypes, general sources, and the intellectual context of the novel. Their study of the manuscript has revealed many interesting details, notably that Scott played with, and rejected, the possibility of incest between the pirate Cleveland and one of his heroines, Minna Troil. At times, however, reflections on editorial policy within the "Essay on the Text" are intrusive and veer toward rhetorical excess (e.g., p. 432, regarding the need for a textual editor to "scrutinise the manuscript": "Don't we owe the Wizard of the North something for the pleasure he has bestowed upon us and for the honour he has done to our literature?").

Chronicles of the Canongate is Scott's only collection of shorter fiction, and comprises three tales ("The Highland Widow," "The Two Drovers," and "The Surgeon's Daughter") and a framing narrative of Chrystal Croftangry, the last and most autobiographical of the numerous authorial personae that Scott used in the Waverley Novels. The three tales are linked, as Claire Lamont describes in the Edinburgh Edition, "by the theme of exports from Scotland, be they cattle to England or young men to America or India" (p. 444). "The Surgeon's Daughter" was separated from the other tales and the frame in the Magnum; the republication of this wonderful collection in its original form is extremely welcome. Lamont's "Essay on the Text" and historical and explanatory notes are excellent. I look forward to the appearance of this edition of *Chronicles of the Canongate* in paperback: the collection has immediate appeal for teaching, and is particularly suitable for courses on Scotland and America (the Scott-Hawthorne connection) as well as on Scotland and Romanticism.

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Natural Rights on the Threshold of the Scottish Enlightenment: The Writings of Gershom Carmichael. Edited by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne. Texts translated from the Latin by Michael Silverthorne. Foreword by James Moore. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002. Pp. xvi + 405.

The work of James Moore and Michael Silverthorne has already done much to inspire interest in an important but previously neglected figure of the early Enlightenment and to help reinvigorate scholarship on the significance of natural jurisprudence for the development of the "science of man and society" that is the distinctive achievement of the Enlightenment in Scotland. With this publication, Moore and Silverthorne make Gershom Carmichael's major texts available, for the first time in English translation, in a volume that is at once scholarly and accessible. A welcome addition to a growing body of eighteenth-century Scottish reprints, this impressive work will be of interest not only to Enlightenment scholars but also to scholars working in the areas of moral philosophy, the history of political thought, and the history of education and of the Scottish universities.

For many readers, the main attraction will be the first of the book's five sections, "Natural Rights," which reprints the second, 1724 edition of Carmichael's *Supplements and Observations upon Samuel Pufendorf's On the Duty of Man and Citizen according to the Law of Nature, composed for the Use of Students in the Universities* (1718). In this extended commentary, which Hutcheson considered "of much more value" than Pufendorf's own text, Carmichael paid homage to the importance of Pufendorf's "elegant treatise" even as he sought to correct what he took to be its errors and deficiencies. Though "nothing could be more suitable for prelections in moral philosophy than this treatise of the famous Pufendorf," he explained in the Preface, as he lectured on the text he "came across many things which needed comment or supplementation" (p. 16). As Moore explains in his Foreword, Carmichael's understanding of natural law differed significantly from that of Pufendorf on a number of important points, including a Lockean belief in the right of self-defense and "an insistence, against Pufendorf, that individuals and peoples have a right to resist governments which invade their rights and liberties" (pp. xii-xiii). Given his concern to make more evident "the manifest connection between *moral science* and *natural theology*" and to "elevate moral science from the human forum to which it has been too much reduced by Pufendorf to the loftier forum of God" (p. 17), Carmichael's theological writings are also of interest. Section II, "Natural Theology," reprints the *Synopsis of Natural Theology* (1729) that Carmichael described as "this small and unpolished textbook on the most difficult and sublime of subjects" (p. 227). The last three sections shed further light both on Carmichael's philosophy and on his methods of pedagogy. Section III, "Logic," reprints the *Short Introduction to Logic* (1720) that Carmichael wrote as an elementary textbook for first-year students, while Section IV, "Early Writings," provides two different versions (from 1699 and 1707) of his more advanced *Philosophical Theses*, which were, as the editors explain, "presented to students as a graduation exercise to be defended (in Latin) in the presence of distinguished guests, other professors, and students" (p. 319). In Section V, Gershom Carmichael's detailed "Account of His Teaching Method," written in 1712, is published for the first time. Taken as a whole, these writings present an important chapter in the intellectual history of the Scottish Enlightenment and provide fresh insight into the teaching of moral philosophy in early eighteenth-century Scotland.

Scholars are indebted to Moore and Silverthorne not only for the Carmichael texts themselves but also for textual apparatus to aid in the interpretation of Carmichael's writing and teaching. In his Foreword, Moore offers a brief but informative account of the author's life and writings, placing Carmichael within the context of an "academic world" of Protestant Europe, in which the writings of Pufendorf were "required reading for university students" and which "included moral philosophers and natural jurists beyond the boundaries of Scotland and Great Britain" (pp. xiii-xiv). If his work is notable for having "reconciled the natural rights theories of Grotius, Pufendorf, and Locke with Roman law" (p. x), Carmichael also made frequent reference to the work of other natural jurists, including Gottlieb Gerhard Titius (1661-1714), professor of Roman law at the University of Leipzig and author of a commentary on Pufendorf, and the erudite Jean Barbeyrac (1672-1744), with whom he corresponded. The footnotes are excellent. Throughout the book, explanatory notes translate and elaborate upon terms taken from Roman law, indicate Carmichael's debts to a variety of thinkers both ancient and modern, and highlight points of agreement and disagreement with such natural law theorists as Grotius, Titius and Barbeyrac. Thus, for example, when Carmichael writes that anger is a "violent passion" which the Stoics "called...a *short insanity*" (p. 65), the editors provide the relevant reference to Horace's *Epistles*; when Carmichael writes, to cite another instance, that in treating of the rights of parents and children "we may ignore the nonsense of Hobbes about the origin of the mother's right in occupation" (p. 135), a footnote refers the reader to the pertinent passages in Hobbes's *On the Citizen* and *Leviathan*. These notes function as a kind of commentary upon a commentary and constitute an intellectual history in themselves. The bibliography of "works referred to in the texts and notes" is also very useful.

Those interested in the relevance of Carmichael's natural law framework for later developments in Scottish moral, social and historical theory can look forward to other reprints in the Natural Law and Enlightenment Clas-

sics series. Forthcoming volumes include the works and correspondence of Francis Hutcheson, the major works of Henry Home, Lord Kames, and the collected works of John Millar.

Mary Catherine Moran, NYU School of Law

Anne Skoczylas, **Mr. Simson's Knotty Case: Divinity, Politics, and Due Process in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland**. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. Pp. 414.

On two occasions in early eighteenth-century Scotland, John Simson, professor of divinity at Glasgow University, was prosecuted by his colleagues in the Church of Scotland for "unsound teaching." On the first occasion, 1717, Simson got off with a slap on the wrist for supposedly "venting" opinions thought to be Socinian or Arminian; on the second occasion, 1729, a compromise was worked out between a committee of the General Assembly and the university whereby Simson was suspended permanently from teaching but was allowed to draw his salary, keep his housing, and participate in academic governance. Anne Skoczylas's book is a highly readable and illuminating study of those two processes and their theological and political contexts. Such a study has been long needed by scholars of both the kirk in the eighteenth century and the Scottish Enlightenment, and we are deeply in her debt.

At the time of the first process, Scottish orthodoxy had come to be rigidly defined in the terms of the Westminster Confession (1643) and the Catechisms, rather than biblical texts, and was more stridently defended as Scottish culture became receptive to new ideas in philosophy, theology, and the natural sciences. Simson seems an unlikely candidate for suspicion among his peers. He published no theological treatise, and his most systematic presentation of his positions is embodied in letters he wrote to a former fellow student in 1709 (which the latter allowed to be published against him). Skoczylas states that Simson tried to "modernize" his syllabus and pedagogy, inviting students outside of lecture to question tenets of the Confession and innovative ideas of continental theologians. But we know that his predecessor, James Wodrow, allowed for that as well. Unlike other radical apologists, Simson never claimed to be anything but orthodox himself. Yet his chief antagonist, John Webster of the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh got it into his head that Simson was teaching unorthodox views to his students, and nothing Simson said could change his mind. Webster was almost hysterical in his unsuccessful attempts to make the Glasgow Presbytery see the problem as he did. Throughout the first process, one is conscious of an obvious bias against Simson, a desire to find him guilty by any means.

Skoczylas suggests that not only were Simson's accusers troubled by what they suspected were theological "innovations" but that serious political differences drove the process. Simson belonged to the Squadrone, then in power, while Webster et al. were Argathelians, the political remnant of the ninth earl of Argyll, a staunch defender of the kirk in the preceding age. This is one aspect of Skoczylas's excellent study that I take some issue with. While it is true that Simson favored the Oath of Abjuration of 1711 and his opponents did not, it is questionable that charges against him were equally political in origin. This may be only a question of emphasis, but the paranoia in the first process was genuinely theological.

The second process was different, primarily because Webster was dead. This time the charges against Simson developed from a suspicion that his teaching of the Trinity was Arian—that he was teaching his students a "qualified" understanding of the necessary and eternal nature of Christ. These charges seem without merit; nevertheless, Simson was branded as a troublemaker, and his opponents vowed to get him. At one time he refused to answer the queries posed to him in presbytery because the hearing did not follow the Form of Process. Moreover, Simson was not permitted to ask a student whether he had ever heard his professor refute Arianism, "since the object of questioning was to obtain evidence of his heresy, not to conduct a disinterested inquiry or to find proof of his orthodoxy" (p. 275). He was already presumed guilty.

Simson was suspended from further teaching, far less than his detractors wished, but Skoczylas shows that London wanted him dealt with leniently. This raised another question that kirk and university were unfamiliar with: to whom was Simson ultimately answerable? Though he was responsible to the kirk for religious instruction, his professorship was a crown appointment, and the university insisted on its right to deal with Simson as it wished. So while the suspension of Simson can be seen as an early Argathelian setback, his retention can be seen as a victory for academic freedom.

One of the more intriguing points is Skoczylas's suggestion that Simson was interested in the "pastoral" responsibilities of his students. By this she means counseling not so much in troubled domestic situations or familiar periods of grief but in regard to more profound questions about faith and personal salvation. How does a minister relate to his congregation when the prevailing orthodoxy obliges him to assume that their future life with God has already been predestined? Simson's sympathy with this dilemma can only be inferred from his testimonies, but Skoczylas's point opens up a whole new area of inquiry for those interested in the earlier period of the kirk.

Although Skoczylas focuses on Simson's processes, her book constitutes the fullest scholarly treatment of the affairs of the Scottish church from 1710 to 1735 and is, in my view, a "must" for everyone interested in the intellectual life of Scotland in the eighteenth century. I would not go so far as to claim with her that "Simson led the way in helping to make Scotland a more hospitable environment for new ideas and wider philosophical deliberations" (p. 351). Simson left no formal written legacy beyond his private letters, and the "hospitable environment" to which Skoczylas refers was the work of many of his generation besides himself, including James Stirling, William Hamilton, Gershom Carmicheal, Robert Riccaltoun, Robert Simson, and Francis Hutcheson, to name a few.

Special commendation should be given for Skoczylas's discussion of the theological background, federal theology, and the differences among the influential continental theologians of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Despite its legalistic and theological preoccupations, this book is wonderfully organized and written. It is also well printed, with footnotes rather than endnotes. Scholars will find the lists of manuscripts consulted and the bibliography of printed materials helpful.

Henry L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

Isabel Rivers, **Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780. Volume II: Shaftesbury to Hume.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. xiv + 386.

Describing the unusual method that informed his account of *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), John Locke explained that he began by setting aside "the opinions and orthodoxies of sects and systems, whatever they may be," as he wrote to the Dutch Remonstrant Philipp van Limborch, dedicating himself instead to the "sole reading of Scripture." Something of this approach informs Isabel Rivers's second volume of *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, devoted to ethical and religious thought from Shaftesbury to Hume. She too eschews debate with "modern interpreters," in part from a dispirited conclusion that such controversies "then or now, do not on the whole advance the pursuit of truth...writers nearly always distort their opponents' views" (p. 5). The irony, of course, is that Rivers concentrates on the historical controversies themselves, treating them in Locke's manner by bracketing prior approaches and discovering the literary and linguistic texture of the debates on their own terms and in their own time. The result is an important contribution to our understanding of the period, both because of its scope and detailed exploration of braided histories of discourse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the outcome is not without its curiosities and omissions, precisely because of the method she adopts.

The landscape in question is vast, and few have read the contributions to theology and ethics in the period with such energy and care, or with the same level of attention to differences of vocabulary, religious alignment, historical and personal development, and bibliographical complexity. Rivers's narrative integrates a group of central figures—the earl of Shaftesbury, Francis Hutcheson, Bishop Butler, David Hume, Adam Smith, and Richard Price—with an exploration of less familiar but intriguing contributions from such disparate individuals as James Harris, Philip Skelton, David Fordyce, Philip Doddridge, John Balguy, Edmund Law, John Maxwell, Henry Grove, Thomas Johnson, William Wishart, and a host of others too numerous to mention. There is a remarkable even-handedness in the treatment of these figures which results from the method of taking them on their own terms, paying attention to the way attacks and replies resulted in changes of position and vocabulary over time. Rivers is especially acute on institutional differences (dissenting academies vs. universities), audience, literary forms (dialogue in particular), and the educational function of leading contributions.

The picture that emerges has several differences of emphasis that demand consideration by scholars. In general, Hutcheson seems to have been downgraded; his philosophy contains few surprises once justice has been done to Shaftesbury's position, and he is subsumed within the Scottish response to Shaftesbury in which he is given more or less equal weighting intellectually with George Turnbull and Fordyce. Butler makes the greater claim to originality and insight. While honoring Butler, this conclusion seems to underplay the significance of Hutcheson's moral sense. Whatever one makes of Hutcheson's formulation of it, the term itself became a permanent part of the century's vexed philosophical vocabulary, as her evidence amply testifies, and on this basis alone he deserves greater credit. Rivers asserts the "triumph" of the English interpretation of Shaftesbury, represented by Butler in particular, demonstrating his hold over Lord Kames and Smith (an argument that depends, it must be said, on keeping Hutcheson's political writing and his influence in the American colonies out of the equation). At the same time, Locke's moral philosophy, especially the abandonment of innateness, which so antagonized Shaftesbury, continued to hold sway in Cambridge through the offices of Law and others. Hume, meanwhile, appears appropriately as the most intriguing character study. The account is consistent with David Fate Norton's skeptical metaphysician and common-sense moralist but we gain a renewed sense of his capacity to delight and outrage at the same time, using irony and disingenuousness as well as philosophical argument. Into the weave, Rivers deftly

introduces the story of Hume's *History of England* and the divided responses to ancient philosophy, especially the struggle to claim Cicero's inheritance, either as a skeptic or Stoic.

No book of this kind, however detailed, can be exhaustive, and there are questions that remain and absences that should be noted. Rivers traces Locke's impact on Toland and Collins but does not investigate what might be called the Cambridge response to him in the writings of James Lowde, Thomas Burnet, and Henry Lee, among others. These writers not only set the scene for Shaftesbury's reaction, but they form a significant chronological bridge between the Cambridge Platonists and the unexpected Cambridge embrace of Locke later in the eighteenth century in the person of Law. In general, epistemology receives little detailed attention, which obscures the resourcefulness, for example, of Locke's philosophy both for Toland on the one hand and Hutcheson on the other. But the major absence is any extended consideration of natural law (aside, perhaps, from Pufendorf). Richard Tuck, for example, has described natural law theory, beginning with Grotius, as a response to moral skepticism. In Locke's case, his critique of innateness owed much to skeptical topoi, but this feature of his ethics should not be separated from his account of the law of nature, which many of his critics (including Shaftesbury) otherwise accepted. Most tellingly, however, Hutcheson integrated natural law theory into his moral philosophy from the beginning. His goal was to establish it as part of human nature, therefore making rights inalienable, while resisting the rationalist account that made observation of natural law prudential. Hutcheson's impact in the century cannot be understood without admitting his politics into the discussion, as Knud Haakonssen has shown.

There are larger issues raised by Rivers's method of reading. The commitment to read texts on their own terms means we sometimes have no way out of their vocabularies. At times one wonders whether recourse to later developments in Kant, utilitarian thought, or even phenomenology (relevant to Butler's sense of conscience as a "governing thing") would provide an added perspective, clarifying the implications of the positions outlined by the author. This approach potentially introduces distortion, and Rivers therefore rejects it. But the close scrutiny of texts does not always reveal the political implications or incentive behind them, which is not to reduce them to expressions of political aspiration. Toland's radicalism, the "senatorial" Whig tradition of Shaftesbury, the need for a democratic moral sense in Hutcheson's case to defend the interests of dissenters in Ireland, the conservatism of Hume—these color our sense of their purpose in important ways, but in general they form little or no part of the narrative.

The final point is perhaps more significant. Ostensibly, Rivers sidelines "modern interpreters." Of course, this is misleading, since the notes are full of references to valuable scholarship, nor could Locke really have read scripture uninfluenced by his contemporaries. But by concentrating so heavily on the texts themselves, we lose sight of how Rivers's immense scholarship alters the historiography. It would be valuable to have her reading of Justin Champion, Knud Haakonssen, Alasdair MacIntyre, Stephen Darwall, J. B. Schneewind, or Charles Taylor. That work will have to wait, and in the interim there is much to learn and consider in this conclusion to her exceptional two-volume study.

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Jeffrey M. Suderman, *Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: George Campbell in the Eighteenth Century*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. Pp. xiv + 293.

Jeffrey Suderman's book presents the first full-length study of George Campbell's work and marks an important stage in scholarship on Campbell and the Scottish Enlightenment. Because the book analyzes all of Campbell's published works within the context of religious and philosophical trends, because it argues a number of interesting claims about Campbell's work, and because it calls for a rethinking of the Enlightenment in general, it should shape and direct a good bit, if not all, subsequent scholarship on Campbell.

Happily for his readers, Suderman resists the temptation to write separate chapters on Campbell's "rhetoric, treatment of miracles, history, biblical criticism and theology" (p. xiii). In doing so, he avoids the common view that separates the religious Campbell and the secular Campbell, and sets the stage for a new and much-needed view of Campbell's work. Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, writes Suderman, "was never meant to stand in isolation from its more obviously pious siblings" (p. 5). In his Conclusion, Suderman states that "the saving truths of the Christian religion are blended almost seamlessly with the kinds of natural and historical evidences that formed Campbell's philosophy" (p. 256), and he adds that "Campbell was not a divided person" (p. 257). To advance these claims, he grounds his analysis of Campbell's intellectual work in Campbell's duties as an Aberdeen minister and professor at Marischal College. "Campbell's literary career," writes Suderman, "was clearly dominated by pedagogical and pastoral concerns" (p. 67). Suderman initially makes this case at the end of Part I, "George Campbell: Life and Works." His hunch is that "Campbell's divinity lectures provide the key to mapping out his intellectual system and to understanding the greater purposes of his body of work" (p. 62). From this perspective, he provides a diagram (p. 64) that unifies all of Campbell's works, published and unpublished. This is a fascinat-

ing and original view, for everything Campbell wrote can be understood in terms of his classroom lecturing and his practical concern for the effective religious education of his students.

With this unifying structure in place, Suderman proceeds in Part II, "Natural Knowledge: The Enlightened Campbell," to address a number of questions about Campbell's thought that have long interested Campbell scholars—specifically his science of human nature, faculties of mind, theory of evidence, common sense philosophy, and natural religion. Along the way, he shows the complexity of Campbell's relationship to David Hume, finding that Campbell's ideas about persuasion and evidence "constituted an important bridge between Common Sense philosophy and the philosophy of the Wise Club's friendly adversary, David Hume" (p. 112). In the second chapter in Part II, "Philosophy in Practice," Suderman delves into the particular questions that occupied Campbell, concerning the believability of miracles and the uses of historical evidence. He intends to redirect the focus of Enlightenment studies, and of scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment in particular, who have focused on anti-religious, "unrepresentative" *philosophes* such as Hume (p. 258), to the exclusion of more representative figures. The book begins with this sentence: "Who belonged to the Enlightenment, and to whom did the Enlightenment belong?" Suderman returns to this question in the last chapter of Part II, "The Limits of the Enlightenment." In demonstrating that Campbell (and his cohorts in the moderate stream of Scottish religious thought) harmonized natural with revealed knowledge, Suderman makes his case for rethinking the nature and the breadth of the term "Enlightenment," noting in the Conclusion that "eighteenth-century Scots, with the exception of Hume, will not bear to be called philosophes" (p. 258) in Peter Gay's sense of that term.

Part III, "Revealed Knowledge: The Religious Campbell," follows the pattern in Part II: a chapter devoted to theory, a chapter devoted to the practical concerns and problems, and a chapter that contextualizes the entire discussion. The initial chapter in Part III outlines Campbell's theological positions. This is not a particularly easy task, given Campbell's preference for theological method over systematic theology, which Suderman attributes to a "Calvinistic spirit of enquiry and striving that Campbell wished to implant in the minds of his students" (p. 184). He finds that the central quest for Campbell was for an epistemology that would harmonize his enlightenment views with the need for genuine and available Christian revelation, always motivated by a practical concern for personal reformation of life and character. Thus, in chapter 8, Suderman finds that Campbell sought to solve the hotly debated issues of miracles, religious toleration, and church history through a combination of natural and revealed sources of knowledge, and he investigates the ways in which Campbell sought to navigate between Catholics, extreme Calvinists, and evangelicals. The concluding chapter of Part III seeks to reclaim Campbell's moderatism from interpretations that overlook Campbell's desire for Christian truth and living. Suderman asserts that Campbell's thought was a unified system of natural and revealed knowledge, and that Campbell was in this respect representative of an Enlightenment that existed in Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Suderman's case is convincing, built as it is upon a range of sources. The important figures—Butler, Chillingworth, Locke, Stillingfleet—are included at appropriate points to indicate the broad traditions of theological and philosophical thought in which Campbell developed his own views. While some scholarship has explored the influence of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* through the nineteenth century, Suderman is the first to explore in depth the precise reasons for the coincident decline in Campbell's approach. He argues broadly that changes in critical scholarship of the Bible, a more complicated and flexible view of human motivation, and a shift in historiography contributed to an inevitable breach between natural and supernatural knowledge.

Suderman's work with Campbell's published works and unpublished manuscripts is by far the best to date, and any serious student of Campbell will find the bibliography and appendices very helpful. The value of this research extends both to Suderman's project of reconstituting the structure of Campbell's thought and to a better historical understanding of Campbell's life as a teacher and pastor in Aberdeen. Other than two mistyped chapter headers ("Modernism" for "Moderatism" and "Biographical" for "Bibliographical"), the book appears to be in good shape. In short, those of us who have in recent years focused somewhat narrowly and ahistorically on Campbell's rhetorical theory now can—and must—analyze Campbell's work with a much better grasp of its contexts and purposes.

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George Campbell, *Lectures, Sermons and Dissertations*. 3 volumes. Edited and Introduced by Doug Sonheim. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001. Pp. xxii + 281, 381, 534.

Modern rhetoricians have long been convinced of the importance of George Campbell (1719-1796) to the development of their discipline, and since the 1960s they have had easy access to Lloyd Bitzer's editions of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776). But the rest of Campbell's works have been difficult to lay hands on, all the more regrettable considering that in the eighteenth century he was known as a Christian apologist and biblical scholar, rather than as a rhetorical philosopher. It is therefore not difficult to argue the need for a new collec-

tion of his other writings. Thoemmes Press has obliged with a three-volume set offering photo-reproductions of many of Campbell's long-out-of-print religious works. Doug Sonheim, who has done some important work on Campbell's pulpit rhetoric, has chosen the texts and written the introduction.

The selections offered here are well chosen, and give an appropriate sense of the breadth of Campbell's career. Volume 1 reproduces *A Dissertation on Miracles*, certainly Campbell's best-known contemporary work, which was written against David Hume. The text offered here, based on the third edition (containing minor corrections and additions), includes two letters from Hume to Campbell and to Hugh Blair concerning the original edition of 1762. Volume 2 reproduces Campbell's three most important and controversial sermons: the 1771 "Spirit of the Gospel," written against papists and enthusiasts; "The Duty of Allegiance," written against ungodly American republicanism; and the "Address to the People of Scotland," written against the intolerant members of his own church. The last offers one of the most compelling and comprehensive apologies for religious toleration made in the age of Enlightenment. Volume 3 reproduces Campbell's *Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence* in its entirety—certainly a boon for rhetoricians—and selections from the *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, which shows Campbell engaged in one of the fiercest debates of his time, that concerning the nature of the historical church. Also included are contemporary reviews, as well as selections from Campbell's antagonists.

Thoemmes Press should be commended for getting serious about making available many eighteenth-century Scottish texts that have previously been hard to find. The selections offered here are taken from generally reliable base texts, and are clearly reproduced on quality paper and with good bindings. But this is not a scholarly edition. Thoemmes has a tendency to rush projects through the press without adequate editorial preparation; several errors in the Introduction could have been caught with a little more time and care. Sonheim's Introduction—obviously intended for students of rhetoric—usefully points out potential avenues of Campbell-related research, but it mostly compiles the opinions of other scholars. More seriously, this edition lacks any editorial apparatus beyond the sixteen-page introduction. I don't mind photo-reproduced texts, but it would have been useful to see brief introductions or notes attached to the various pieces, setting each in its immediate context and explaining the choice of editions and complementary texts. Readers will have to go elsewhere to fill in many of these basic details. Some of the "anonymous" reviewers included here have in fact been identified; William Rose, who wrote two of the reviews, was not only a well-known critic and author in his own right, but also a friend of Campbell who helped him find London publishers for some of his works. Finally, potential buyers of this set cannot overlook the price of £250 or \$375, which is not as high as some of Thoemmes' prices, but seems sufficient to discourage all but library purchasers and the most devoted Campbell students, who will in any case have to look elsewhere for the scholarly material that might have justified such a large outlay of funds.

Jeff Suderman, University of Calgary

Paul Wood, ed. *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2000. Pp. xii + 399.

Citation is the second best compliment to an academic book. Thievery, or more accurately extended borrowing, is the greatest compliment. My review copy of this collection was pinched in record time. The speed of the loss reflects the merits of this unusually useful volume. I am now on a second copy, furnished by the scholar who "borrowed" my first.

The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation is dedicated to Roger Emerson, and most of the essays in the volume are inspired by or develop themes from the work of this distinguished historian of the Scotland Enlightenment. A central theme throughout this collection, and a theme in the work of Emerson, is the meaning of Scottish Enlightenment itself. Paul Wood's introductory essay uses Dugald Stewart's *Dissertation and éloges* to consider the "invention" of the idea of the Scottish Enlightenment and to demonstrate how Stewart's work has been developed and responded to by Emerson and the contributors to this volume. Wood's way of introducing the essays in the volume is ingenious, he provides a real contribution to the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment while at the same time sketching the essays to follow. Wood's essay is complemented by John Robertson's very different analysis of Scottish Enlightenment historiography. Robertson places far greater emphasis on the European context and argues for the comparative studies of European Enlightenments. Furthermore, as opposed to Wood's emphasis on natural history, science, and medicine, Robertson stresses the traditional Scottish Enlightenment built around the intellectual core of moral philosophy, history, and political economy. That Robertson's essay coexists with Wood's in a volume edited by Wood is a good indicator of the cosmopolitanism of the collection.

As I remarked above, this volume is useful. Richard B. Sher's "Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment" provides a comprehensive list of 111 scientific and medical works published between the Jacobite uprising of 1745 and 1800. Sher analyzes the list and shows how the "history of the book" illuminates the interrelat-

tions between publishers, patrons, institutions, clubs, booksellers, and authors as well as our understanding of the social character of scientific and medical knowledge in the Scottish Enlightenment. The list is a valuable resource and the analysis uses it to great effect. M. A. Stewart's contribution, "The Dating of Hume's Manuscripts," gives readers who have not worked with the original manuscripts a nuts-and-bolts access to the many issues that go into providing a chronology for Hume's undated manuscripts: from handwriting, water marks, and paper stock to ephemeral issues of content. Stewart brings the weight of this scholarship to bear above all on the question of when and to what extent Hume revised the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. In addition to understanding crucial issues in the dating of this work, readers who are unacquainted with what goes into dating manuscripts and take for granted the dates set by scholars are given a crash course in the material and intellectual issues in chronology arguments.

Sher's discussion of medicine and science introduces one of the main themes of the volume. Anita Guerrini, Fiona MacDonald, and John Wright all provide studies of medical culture and medical ideas. Guerrini offers a case study of an enterprising medical man, Alexander Stuart, illustrating the career of the Scots physician in Britain. MacDonald analyzes the infirmary of the Glasgow Town Hospital, providing a complementary case study of an Enlightenment medical institution. Wright shows the impact of the Enlightenment controversies over the materiality of the soul on Scots intellectuals, particularly Robert Whytt and William Cullen, providing an adroit study of the interaction between Continental ideas and medical theory as understood by Scottish physicians. Each study is valuable and complementary.

A number of essays consider, like Stewart, the importance of religion for Scots intellectuals. James Moore and Ian Simpson Ross provide studies of religious ideas in two of the major figures of the Scottish Enlightenment: Hutcheson and Kames. Moore's essay is a major contribution to our understanding of Hutcheson's theodicy, a theodicy that influenced many of the post-1745 generation. Moore emphasizes how much Hutcheson drew on the major figures of the established church in Ireland and England in developing his religious ideas, particularly William King. In doing so he highlights the cosmopolitan character of leading Scottish ideas. Ross explores Kames's early necessitarian theodicy, and subsequent alterations to this "harsh" doctrine in the context of Kames's natural theology and his attempts to provide continuity between science and religion. Christopher Berry provides a synoptic discussion of the psychology of polytheism—a main theme of Hume's "Natural History of Religion"—as taken up in the anthropologies and religious psychologies of Millar, Kames, Robertson and Smith. As with Sher's essay and the medical discussions, Berry provides a synoptic counterpoint to the case studies of Stewart, Moore, and Ross.

The remaining two essays are each *sui generis*. Charles Withers considers the importance of geography for Scottish Enlightenment intellectuals. His essay is a wide-ranging speculative analysis of the ways that geographical distinctions and geographical issues were interconnected with what we take as the more ordinary enlightenment discourse. Alexander Broadie considers a major Enlightenment theme, universal grammar, as taken up by George Campbell and Thomas Reid. The study is an excellent contribution to the role of the philosophy of language in the Scottish Enlightenment.

As university presses clamp down more and more stringently on thematic collections of essays, volumes of superb quality continue to appear. *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation* is a splendid collection, an appropriate testament to the richness of Emerson's scholarship. It offers a set of essays that each stands on its own but when taken together provide a superb exposition of leading themes in the study of the Scottish Enlightenment over the past few decades.

Aaron Garrett, Boston University

Richard Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. xxi + 336.

Encyclopaedic Visions examines the evolution and cultural meanings of scientific dictionaries in the Enlightenment. Mostly organized by themes rather than chronology or titles, the book treats among other topics early modern worries about the explosion of knowledge and books, the importance of copyrights for encyclopedists, and the abandonment, in alphabetical encyclopedias, of diagrams displaying the unity of knowledge. In passing, Yeo explains the relevance of his subject to current debates about the public sphere, modes of reading, intellectual patronage, the nature of Enlightenment, authorship, and commercialism in the republic of letters. A last chapter deals with the rise of expert knowledge and disciplinary autonomy in encyclopedias toward 1800 and after. Otherwise, despite regular references to previous encyclopedic works, especially in the Introduction, *Encyclopaedic Visions* focuses on a standard Enlightenment from 1690 to the late eighteenth century. Likewise, the book invokes French and German encyclopedias for comparison, but the overwhelming emphasis is on British encyclopedias. Within

Britain, the leading role goes to Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*, which Yeo attempts to rescue from behind the more famous *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert to which it gave rise.

Scientific dictionaries began in the late seventeenth century with Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (1690). These dictionaries of the arts and sciences, as they were called through the early eighteenth century, differed from earlier works of reference in stressing the arts and sciences and following alphabetical rather than thematic order. Unlike their successors in the second half of the eighteenth century, they were short, typically just two or three volumes in length, so short that Harris, for example, advertised his *Lexicon technicum* (1704-10) as a "book useful to be read carefully over" (p. 122). One of the strongest features of Yeo's account is the care he takes to compare the scientific dictionary to other genres, not only to obviously related ones (e.g., lexical dictionaries, other encyclopedias, and specialized scientific dictionaries) but also to less familiar and less obviously related ones (e.g., periodicals, dictionaries of "hard words," and commonplace books). These latter, notably, were notebooks in which early modern scholars recorded the memorable fruits of their reading under such headings as "Beauty" and "Death." Yeo musters evidence to show that dictionary-makers cast their works in the tradition of commonplaces, partly to justify their borrowing from other books, partly to guide readers in consuming their compilations.

Scotland enters *Encyclopaedic Visions* secondarily, through allusions to Scottish booksellers and intellectuals but primarily in the extended treatment of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The *Britannica* constitutes the subject of a whole chapter—an honor it shares with the *Cyclopaedia* alone—and it also receives prominent coverage in the chapter on encyclopedias' fragmentation of scientific knowledge. As Yeo sees it, the *Britannica* attracted controversy for the same reasons it appears to anticipate modern developments—because it brought nationality into its title, because it incorporated biography as of the second edition, thus merging the scientific with the historical dictionary, and because it neglected to supply the chart of knowledge expected from encyclopedias since the *Cyclopaedia* and the *Encyclopédie*. According to Yeo, the omission of such a chart in the original *Britannica* (1768-71) represented "a conscious rejection of Chambers's model" (p. 179), but it is not clear whether he sees the rejection as coming from Scotland, the 1760s, or William Smellie, the editor of the first *Britannica*, who was involved with the *Scots Magazine* in 1762 when it dismissed Chambers's scheme (though this remains unstated in Yeo's account). In place of such a chart, the *Britannica* provided treatises, or "systems," on the principal sciences, which Yeo relates tentatively to a Scottish preference for "systematic," deductive thinking and to Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith's thoughts on the future of knowledge (pp. 174-76). He might also have mentioned the prominence of universities and thus pedagogical systems in the Scottish Enlightenment. As he observes, the treatises of the *Britannica* were often reprinted as textbooks from the third edition onward, while the first edition copied many of its treatises from textbooks. On the other hand, since de Coetlogon's apparently non-Scottish *Universal History of Arts and Sciences* (1745) preceded the *Britannica* in offering treatises, Yeo is right not to overstate the Scottish character of the *Britannica*'s layout.

Overall, *Encyclopaedic Visions* constitutes a stimulating and well-researched study. What it lacks relative to studies taking a narrower perspective, it makes up for in readability and openness to the generalist.

Jeff Loveland, University of Cincinnati

George Davie, *The Scotch Metaphysics: A Century of Enlightenment in Scotland*. London: Routledge, 2001. Pp. 241 + xi.

This book is unusual in having been published almost fifty years after it was written. George Davie, before the appearance of his widely acclaimed work, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (1961), was awarded the degree of D.Litt. by the University of Edinburgh in 1953 for a thesis on "The Scotch Metaphysics." This new book, with some slight revision, is that thesis. Why should it take so long? No doubt there are personal reasons, but an important part of the answer lies in the fact that most of the authors whom Davie discusses at length were then almost wholly neglected and largely unknown. Now, fifty years on, they are sufficiently better known for a publisher to expect a readership. And it is to be emphasized that this changed state of affairs is in no small measure due to Davie himself, and those he has taught.

What makes this book highly unusual is that, though it begins with the familiar Scottish Enlightenment figure of Hume, the bulk of it is devoted to *other* Scottish philosophers, notably Thomas Reid, and a full half to the nineteenth-century figures of Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, Sir William Hamilton and J. F. Ferrier. Davie shows that the philosophical hares started by Hume were pursued far longer than is customarily assumed, and that two themes in particular—the nature of knowledge and belief and the existence of an external world—were the subject matter of Scottish philosophy for nearly one hundred years. His book is structured around these themes, in fact. After an opening chapter on Hume and the Rankenian Club, the longest chapters are two on Reid's treatment

of these two topics, followed by two on Brown, Hamilton, and Ferrier's philosophical reflections on the same themes, with a short interlude on Dugald Stewart in between.

At points, it must be admitted, the density of the detail is more suited to a thesis than a book. Yet there emerges a clear and engaging picture of not merely a continuing philosophical enterprise but an intellectual community and a philosophical tradition. This was made possible, perhaps, by the unusual fact that in Scotland, unlike England and other parts of Europe, the philosophers were almost entirely occupants of university chairs (Hume being a notable exception, of course), and frequently related as teacher to pupil.

It is possible to exaggerate the importance of these circumstances, in my view, but Davie's book provides a welcome corrective to the almost obsessive confinement of Scottish philosophy to the period of the Enlightenment, and the study of Hume and Smith in particular, in the period during which Davie has been swimming against the tide. His discussion of Reid shows this confinement to be a foolish mistake, though this is now much more widely acknowledged than before. (There is the journal *Reid Studies*, for instance, and a *Cambridge Companion to Reid* is in preparation.) It also suggests, at any rate to me, that the neglect of Stewart, Brown, and Hamilton has not been so serious. No doubt a return to their work would bring benefits, but perhaps not very large ones. A more striking outcome is the strong impression that Ferrier, in his own time a philosopher of European repute, would repay far more attention, and there is reason here to think that Davie will himself stimulate it.

No one would seriously contend, I think, that this book is the last word on the subject. But it is the first, and that is its importance. There are better books to be written on these themes and authors, no doubt, but they will owe their existence to Davie's truly pioneering endeavors.

Gordon Graham, University of Aberdeen

Rupert Read and Kenneth A. Richman, eds., *The New Hume Debate*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. Pp. xi + 210.

Discussions about the meaning and scope of Hume's skepticism have puzzled more than one generation of scholars and students of his *Treatise of Human Nature* and first *Enquiry*. To develop a more integrated picture of the arguments and to see more clearly through some of the conundrums of Humean epistemology will surely remain a challenge for many a generation to come. Rupert Read and Kenneth A. Richman have assembled some outstanding articles (some of which appeared already elsewhere) focusing on the interpretation of Hume as a *skeptical realist*. This interpretation was pointed out in well known studies by, among others, Galen Strawson, John P. Wright, and Edward Craig, but remains problematic according to others. This study presents itself as a direct confrontation with what even is called a "new" Hume debate. The authors just mentioned are put in opposition to unconvinced opponents, such as Anne Jaap Jacobson, Kenneth Winkler, Simon Blackburn, Martin Bell, and Daniel Flage. The editors open and close the discussion with an insightful overview of the debate and an accurate attempt to actualize Humean epistemology by mirroring it to the philosophy of Wittgenstein and Nelson Goodman.

But what exactly does it mean to interpret Hume as a skeptical realist? How does this interpretation mark a decisive break with the more "classical" readings of Hume's epistemology? Richman characterizes the classical view of Hume's epistemology by referring to Norman Kemp Smith's well-known 1905 article "The Naturalism of Hume." According to Kemp Smith, the so-called natural beliefs in causality and (the existence of) external objects are in the Humean epistemology nothing but instinctively held devices "of a biological character." No doubt the Kemp Smith interpretation has been found attractive to many scholars in its general scope and fits well Hume's Newtonianism. It is even compatible, as far as I can see, with a projectivist *cum* quasi-realist account of the belief in causality and external existence, as pointed out in a rather condensed, but charming chapter by Blackburn entitled "Hume and Thick Connexions." Humean skepticism in this Kemp Smith-Blackburn line implies that the understanding is incapable to give any doxastic warrant of the way in which our belief in causality and the existence of the world "fits" whatever *tertium quid*. There is, in other words, no room left for any form of classical ontological realism (as Blackburn calls it). Skepticism is just overcome by human nature: general rules, custom, scientific "practice" are all internal to our human condition, and that is the last word we have in epistemological affairs. Sure, within the bounds of the Kemp Smith-Blackburn line, room is left for discussions of the exact type of "internal realism" that one accepts as the official view defended in the *Treatise* and the first *Enquiry*. But there are no reasons for the revision of Hume's epistemological doctrines along the lines of the "New Humeans," so Kenneth Winkler also concludes in his contribution.

For these skeptical realist readers of Hume, however, there is another and better "last word." Craig characterizes this position nicely when he voices the grounding intuition of the skeptical realist concerning the natural belief in causality and external existence as follows: "the regularities are real so there must be something equally real that keeps them regular" (p. 117). Starting from this intuition, Wright and Strawson ascribe to Hume a posi-

tion in which Humean skepticism and an orthodox ontological realism are kept in balance. No doubt, so admits the New Humean, Hume defends the need for a radical revision of the "all too human" belief in causality and an objective world, a belief so spontaneously held in daily life by "the vulgar," but also by the philosopher, whenever he leaves his room for a play of backgammon. Hume also points out why we should in science and philosophy learn to "limit our enquiries to such subjects as are best adapted to the narrow capacity of human understanding." However, so warns the New Humean, "skeptical" as this position may be, it should not make the Hume student blind to the following. According to Wright, Hume *did* speculate on the ultimate power of nature and the first principles of the universe, i.e. of the "world out there" as it exists objectively, independent of the human. Hume even found himself "in opposition to many contemporaries who claimed that the only active force in the universe was that which could be found in the mind." Wright and Strawson thus read Hume as a thoroughgoing materialist and anti-metaphysician who holds a view in which causal powers and external existence are inherent aspects and qualities of the objective order of the universe. It cannot be denied that this order is somehow impenetrable for the narrow understanding of humankind: but the mere *supposition of its existence* makes all the difference for the way we conceive of causal regularity and lawfulness in our philosophical and scientific explorations.

It remains an open question whether this plea for a more correct and historically adequate understanding of Hume forms a convincing answer to the more "classical" naturalist-projectivist interpretation. For it is one thing to figure out whether Hume sincerely did (or did not) consider his naturalistic account of the human mind and understanding compatible with an almost "blind" trust in the existence of an objective, material world. It is another thing to try to make sense of the skeptical impasses his epistemological explorations unavoidably lead to. But that may be exactly what Read and Richman wanted to make clear with this book. The different contributions, each in its way of high quality, will without doubt unfold for students of Hume these "immense depths" lying before anyone who takes to sea with Hume in his "leaky weather-beaten vessel."

For the specialist, the relation between the different contributions will be obvious. To the reader less familiar with Hume scholarship, I would advise to read first the Introduction by Kenneth Richman, and then skip to the articles by Wright, Craig, and Strawson (in this order). After one has formed an idea of the skeptical realist position, the rich article by Kenneth Winkler, next to Martin Bell's skeptical notes on "Hume's causal realism," will be a good preparation for understanding the positions of both Barry Stroud and Blackburn and, in addition, the analysis of Hume's concept of relative ideas by Flage. The last two articles, by Jacobson and Read, depart from the strict Hume scholarship. They offer interesting perspectives to read Hume's epistemology in a new, more postmodern or Wittgensteinian manner.

Willem Lemmens, UFSIA-University of Antwerp

Antonio Santucci, ed., *Filosofia e cultura nel Settecento britannico*. Bologna : Il Mulino, 2000. Vol. I: *Fonti e connessioni continentali. John Toland e il deismo*. Pp. xxxviii + 474; Vol. II: *Hume e Hutcheson. Reid e la scuola del senso commune*. Pp. xxxviii + 526.

A brief note cannot do justice to these two companion volumes, which are the result of an ambitious project, aimed at bringing together various lines of research on the British philosophical culture of the "long" eighteenth century. They comprise four occasionally overlapping parts: the connections between British and Continental philosophy; the work of John Toland and English deism more generally; some of the moral and political themes in the philosophies of Hume and Hutcheson (including therefore other authors, such as Mandeville); and Thomas Reid and the Scottish common sense school.

As noted in Antonio Santucci's Introduction, it is impossible to construct a unitary narrative that weaves together the forty-one essays comprising these two volumes. Each of the four parts originated in separate seminars focusing on their respective themes. The themes themselves indicate a field of research more than a line of thought and inquiry, so that individual essays vary in scope and approach, offering either middle- and short-range philosophical interpretations or erudite commentaries and historical reconstruction. The effect that such a diversity offers is not, however, one of confusion, but rather of intriguing variety. There is method in this, for one of the aims of the collection is to offer a state-of-the-art view of Italian studies on the British Enlightenment. Admittedly, not all contributors are either Italians or affiliated with Italian academic culture, but the collection as a whole broadly reflects the interests currently underlying Italian scholarship. The presence of a number of foreign scholars testifies to the cosmopolitan background against which national specialized literatures develop their own character. Traditionally, the study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British authors and movements has been a strong field within Italian historiography of philosophy, at least since the 1930s. This collection carries on in that tradition, whose temper successfully combines a strong historical sensitivity with a certain gusto for philological erudi-

tion, but also with attention to the more abstract nature of philosophical argumentation. It is a pity that, in spite of the occasional translations, and the increasingly frequent contacts through academic congresses, some of the results of Italian scholarship remain mainly confined within national boundaries because of the obvious linguistic problems.

The other underlying aim of the collection is to update our conception of the "British Enlightenment," mainly as a cultural phenomenon. The same message of variety rather than unity seems at work here. The Introduction makes the point that, as our historical knowledge of the Enlightenment and of the literary and philosophical production of the "long" eighteenth century has grown, our idea of the Enlightenment has been transformed into a multiplicity of Enlightenments. This is true when one looks at the different national contexts, but also when observing the whole period through different cultural indicators, or when shifting focus from "high" to "low" philosophical production.

Regarding the substance of the contributions, and taking a very selective view cutting across the four parts, some of the dominant themes appear to be the intersection between scientific and philosophical reflection, the relevance of French writings on the passions and the imagination as part of the intellectual context of eighteenth-century British philosophy, the challenge that, particularly for the Scots, skepticism and the problem of personal identity provided for the development of a philosophy of mind based on experience. These are only a few examples, but specialized readers will enjoy finding their own connections through this rich, scholarly collection.

Dario Castiglione, University of Exeter

Sergio Bucchi, **James Mill filosofo radicale. Analisi della mente e scienza politica nell'Inghilterra del primo Ottocento.** Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2001. Pp. 246.

Several studies have shown the role played by James Mill (1770-1836) in the philosophical and political debates of the early nineteenth century. They have focused on Mill's re-elaboration of the theory of the association of ideas, his collaboration with Jeremy Bentham in the diffusion of Utilitarianism, and his efforts in giving to Radicalism a philosophical foundation and a political dignity. Yet scholars have seldom investigated Mill's thought from the viewpoint of its historical shaping. In his broad and skillful survey of Mill's intellectual development, Sergio Bucchi gives special attention to this topic. He emphasizes particularly Mill's debt to the Scottish common sense tradition and to Dugald Stewart's teaching and philosophical ideas, through which he became acquainted with the leading issues related to the science of mind: the fundamentals of the experimental-inductive method, the analogy between mental and chemical analysis, the idea of language as an instrument of thought, the importance of the principle of the association of ideas. It could be said that, even in its later development, Mill's philosophy was a painful restatement of the common sense tradition rather than a reaction to it.

Mill's dogmatic assumption of the experimental method led him to take to an extreme Stewart's nominalistic conclusions in point of truth and language. Aided in this by his reading of the English philologist John Horne Tooke, he considered mind as a *fiction* denoted by a name and formed by a sequence of *states or feelings* to be analyzed by observation, reflection, and experiment, as they were chemical elements. Mill's anti-metaphysical spirit emerged finally in his 1815 review of Stewart's second volume of the *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, where Mill expressed an "unfeigned respect" for Stewart's advocacy of inductive logic, but "unsparing criticisms" for his defense of the a-priori nature of the common sense principles, considered by Mill tantamount to "occult qualities." According to Bucchi, this review was Mill's parting from his Scottish philosophical framework. Later, "re-discovering" David Hartley and Thomas Hobbes—but influenced also by another of Stewart's pupils, Thomas Brown—he focused on "the great law of association," which formed the core of his 1829 philosophical *maius opus*, *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*.

As Bucchi points out, Mill's effort was to give to his political program a philosophical and psychological foundation. He owed to Jeremy Bentham his adhesion to Utilitarianism, but he acquired his ideas on education and civilization from Stewart. For Stewart, civilization is the gradual explication of certain implanted intellectual and moral powers, aided by education. For Mill, whose idea of the improvement of mind stems from the Scottish paradigm of the uniformity of human nature, civilization is the historical realization of the Utilitarian principle, while the task of education is to mold people's minds to the principles of Radicalism by the action of long sequences of indissoluble associations. Thus, Mill was able to merge philosophy and politics into a single whole.

Finally, Bucchi puts forward interesting analyses of Mill's strategic relationship with the economist David Ricardo, his political confrontation with Scottish Philosophic Whigs, and many other topics, which throw some new light on this too-often neglected philosopher.

Emanuele Levi Mortera, University of Rome "La Sapienza"

Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire*. East Linton and Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press and Birlinn, 2001. Pp. xxvi + 580.

Martha McLaren, *British India and British Scotland 1780-1830*. Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2001. Pp. vii + 306.

Superficially, it would be difficult to imagine two books within the field of Scottish contributions to the history of the British Empire with less in common than this pair. To compound the problems, the very concept of the British Empire raises problems which Martha McLaren does not have to answer, but which should have featured larger in Michael Fry's bigger book. It may be doubted if there ever was a continuous British imperial entity, and a future Founding Father of the United States was delighted to establish before the American Revolution that the British Empire was not a legal entity known to Common Law. Before 1800 there was only a British monarchy with spectacularly little capacity to rule a large proportion of its transatlantic nominal subjects. That by the early nineteenth century there was indeed a real British empire in India is not open to question.

Michael Fry's book reads like a conversation with the author, which means it is a huge roller coaster of a book, showing more courage than most academics would by tackling an inherently difficult, if not impossible topic. The last survey of note was by an academic lawyer, A. Dewar Gibb, who published *Scottish Empire* in London in 1937. In 1931 he had published in the same city *Scotland in Eclipse*, and in 1950 he published *Scotland Resurgent* in Stirling. He was a Tory who led a group of disgruntled Conservatives into the SNP before the Second World War. Michael Fry is a Tory, but the day he enters the SNP many of us will have to eat our hats. Few of us are even looking for small, palatable hats. With typical bravado, Fry's title not only assumes there was an empire but also that it was Scots. Is this true?

Well, it depends where you start. Fry has a gesture to the Roman Empire on the northern frontier of whose province of Britannia the Caledonians lived. He then moves hastily to the early modern era, arguing convincingly that the Scots like other smaller European peoples could only participate in the oceanic expansion of Europe by trying to penetrate or co-operate with other peoples' empires. He briefly mentions the disaster of the attempt to establish a Scots emporium on the Isthmus of Panama at Darien, but his heart and erudition are not in the pre-1700 era. Indeed, when he talks of Ulster as a Scottish colony with Scotland as the "mother country," historians of Northern Ireland, like myself, wince, because there are so many other crucial components in the identity of that complex province. They range from the native Gaels, who never moved much, to immigrant Roman Catholic Highland Gaels who had invaded Antrim, to the hugely important Church of Ireland community which is of mixed English and to some extent Gaelic stock. Before papal decrees on mixed marriage established virtually total sectarian apartheid in Ulster around 1900, intermarriage across sectarian boundaries had been common, with boys taking their father's religion and girls their mother's.

Still, it is refreshing to read a work free of the urge to generate guilt (as distinct from sympathy) in its readers, an exercise all the more absurd in that nobody is usually responsible for the behavior of their parents, let alone that of their great grandparents. Fry is free from the wilder extremes of political correctness, which he rightly despises. But does he have a framework of analysis? Yes he has, though it is achieved by selectivity. It must be said that Highlanders and Orcadians do get their due in this book, especially in connection with the Hudson's Bay Company, but what really excites Fry is the way the experience of globalization through empire made Scots conscious of the variety of manners in the world. That insight became the basis of the ethical relativism (Fry, less happily, says skepticism), which was a distinguishing feature of their Enlightenment. So Fry's empire is enlightened, Lowland, and Presbyterian. In a way this is a welcome change from an over-emphasis on fashionable minorities by historians devoted to the British equivalent to the American Holy Trinity of class, race, and gender. The mainstream should never be entirely neglected, even by historians. On the other hand, you would not think from Fry's text that Highland Roman Catholics sat close to the core of Canadian Toryism, or grasp the very important role of Scots Episcopalians in colonial North America—from the formidable Commissary Blair who ran Virginia intermittently around 1700, to the awesome Archdeacon Strachan who led the young men of the Family Compact out to crush the 1837 Canadian rising headed by a decidedly unstable Dundonian radical Presbyterian, William Lyon Mackenzie.

The protean nature of British global expansion rather defies any attempt to impose coherency on it. There was a nineteenth- and twentieth-century British Indian Empire in which Scots were disproportionately prominent at the top, but then so were Irishmen, very much including Roman Catholic Irishmen, right down to the old Punjab hand Micky O'Dwyer, who backed General Dyer's drastic action at Amritsar with a firmness only matched much later in the same place by Mrs. Gandhi. By the time the crown assumed direct rule in India after 1858, the oxymoronic self-governing colonies of white settlement were effectively independent countries. They developed, as Fry shows, a sense of separate identity, often under the leadership of immigrant Scots, and were by 1900 far less subservient to the United Kingdom than many of America's thinly veiled colonies in the Caribbean were to the United States

By looking at large themes such as commerce and Christianity (where the pervasive Presbyterian missions help him do justice to Africa), Fry does manage to achieve an overview, as he does in the section on decolonization, though there he defers too much to the absurdities of post-colonial theory. There is little rejection of colonialism in the Indian Union, where "nations struggling rightly to be free" get a quarter of a million troops and rifle-butts on skulls. Nor is Robert Mugabe a "freedom fighter" gone wrong. He always was a murderous autocrat, and his regional empire in Zimbabwe is a genocidal (to the Matabele) compound of tyranny and plunder. The United States, like its ally China, has always been an imperial state moaning about an experience of imperialism, both cast off the better to develop their own.

Martha McLaren has an unequivocal case of empire on her hands, which means hers can be a more focused book. What links her with Fry is the Scots Enlightenment. She is a pupil of Martin Ingram, a global Brit who has had fun mocking the disingenuous, politically correct attempt to invent a totally non-British history for the not very coherent, but rich groups who sit on the empire of resources which was British North America and is now Canada. McLaren deals with three men; Thomas Munro, John Malcom, and Mountstewart Elphinstone, who played key roles in India in the era between 1780 and 1830. It was a time when a series of political governors general bankrupted the East India Company and made a British sub-continental empire by using the company armies in aggressive wars of conquest. All three were essentially civil servants who relished the challenges of military command. They needed careers because they had little money, though Elphinstone was well connected. Munro was a Glaswegian. The others owed much to the Edinburgh Moderate literati. All were well educated in Scottish Enlightenment principles. Malcolm, who had the least formal education of them all, worked to rectify this, attending classes in the University of Edinburgh when on furlough in 1794-95. All read Adam Smith.

They became the dominant group setting the tone for the formation of Indian policy in the early nineteenth century. All grasped the need to learn Indian languages. They shared the governorships of Bombay and Madras between them. Opinion is still divided as to how far Indian informants shaped Munro's "ryotwari" land settlement in Madras Presidency. Their pragmatic conservatism owed more to the philosophic history of their own Enlightenment than to the gorgeous rhetoric of Edmund Burke. It might have been better just to ignore Edward Said, for he is no historian, but it is clear that McLaren is right to say her men cannot be crammed into the confines of his strange construction called Orientalism. Their deism made them sympathetic to other religions, and they worried about the narrowing racial base of British rule. Their stadial view of human progress made them see enlightened absolutism as a necessary interim regime to accelerate economic and social progress, in which they were clear that India lagged behind Europe. Despite this, their non-patronizing pragmatism wholly lacked the self-righteousness of the later utilitarians and evangelicals. As McLaren says, they were the product "not of Victorian England but of Enlightenment Scotland" (p. 254).

One can hail McLaren's work as a model monograph. Fry, author of a flawed but heroic effort can only be hailed one way by a male reviewer wholly devoid of his literary courage: "'you're a better man than I am, Gunga Din!'"

Bruce Lenman, University of St. Andrews

Ned Landsman, ed., **Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800**. Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2001. Published in Association with the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society. Pp. 292.

The essays in this collection fall broadly into two types: the case study and the overview. J. M. Bumsted's review of Scots in the territories that later became the Dominion of Canada and Roger Emerson's discussion of the varied concerns with North America shown by the Scots literati from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century are perhaps the only extensive overviews *per se*. It is worth stressing, however, that the individual case studies offered in the other pieces all work outward to suggest much broader conclusions (and themes for further exploration) that will be of genuine interest to scholars of both early modern Scotland and the Americas.

The first essay by John Reid details the marginal impact of the original Scottish colonial scheme in "Nova Scotia"; the main significance of the early Scottish involvement was its post-Union value as a symbolic justification of later claims by Great Britain to legitimate possession of Acadia. The following two essays by David Hancock and Douglas Hamilton fit well together and constitute an important contribution to study of the economy of Atlantic slavery. Both Hancock, in his account of the slave trade from West Africa to the Caribbean and mainland North America, and Hamilton, on the major Glasgow Caribbean merchants Houston & Co., highlight the crucial role and extent of *linkages*. These Scots networks built upon personal and kinship relationships to employ a very complex and extended pattern of credit that paralleled the better-known Clyde-Chesapeake tobacco trade. The extent and complexity of these economic enterprises produced significant pressures, however, and

Hamilton rightly notes "the inherent tension between those in the metropole and those in the colony" (p. 98) that increased over time.

Bumsted's survey of Scottish movement to, and impact upon, British North America from the end of the Seven Years' War to the end of the War of 1812 is an excellent starting point for anyone seeking to understand this crucial relationship for Scotland and Canada. Bumsted describes the pattern of emigration itself, noting the even proportions of Highlanders and Lowlanders, and the major economic, social, cultural, and political activity of these Scots immigrants. Michael Vance's piece on the meaning of independence for Lowland immigrants to Upper Canada analyzes how ordinary working people sought to claim the mantle of "improvement" from gentlemen farmers like Lord Kames and Sir John Sinclair. Scots from humble backgrounds drew on a complex set of intellectual traditions, including Scottish Enlightenment moral philosophy, to produce a striking democratization of independence as a moral value.

Roger Emerson's contribution employs his detailed knowledge of the societies and clubs of Enlightened Scotland. He argues that Scots came fairly late to an interest in the Americas, in large part because this involved a partial reorientation from the longstanding traditional links with Continental Europe. He notes that personal ties shaped Scottish interest in America and that it had become fairly deep by the mid to late eighteenth century. The essays by Joyce Goodfriend and Nina Reid-Maroney demonstrate the complexity of Scottish influences in early America by stressing the importance of adaptation to the local environments. We see not simple transference or replication of institutions but a much more involved and diverse impact of Scottish values and patterns of behavior; thus Goodfriend's case study of conflict in the New York City Presbyterian community is explicated in terms social and theological rather than "ethnic." Andrew Hook's essay on Samuel Miller's *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* is in fact a much broader discussion of the impact on early national America of the intellectual tradition of Scottish Common Sense, by a scholar whose work has been, and continues to be, of seminal importance for those interested in the relationship between Scotland and North America.

Ned Landsman's editorial contribution adds considerably to the value of the book. He seeks to set these essays in the larger context of an increasingly sophisticated historiography and is aware of problems of definition, particularly of concepts such as ethnicity and nationality, but contends that we can identify distinctiveness in the Scottish involvement with the Americas in this era. It is interesting that Landsman offers in some respects a refinement of the provincial thesis that he has himself employed, noting that the relationships between Scotland and America are "not easily explained by such broad phenomena as the supposed development of parallel provincial cultures in Scotland and in Britain's American colonies, the explanation invoked most often for the proliferation of those connections" (p. 17). This is important, not least because the American Revolution constituted for many Americans, and a significant number of Scots (although this is an area that we still know too little about), a painful realization that prominent Scots in administration represented the metropole, and indeed perhaps a particularly authoritarian stratum of the metropole at that. Scotland was a member of the eighteenth-century metropolitan Union-Empire state in a constitutional and political sense that was simply not true of the American colonies, a fact that resulted in Scots representing metropolitan authority in administrative and governmental positions in a manner that was often deeply hostile to the local autonomy enjoyed in practice by these colonial polities.

Paul Tonks, Johns Hopkins University

Nina Reid-Maroney, **Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740-1800: Kingdom of Christ, Empire of Reason.** Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 2001. Pp. xv + 199.

In this study of intellectual culture in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, Nina Reid-Maroney sets on its head the old story of the rise of science as steadily pushing Christianity into Deism and finally into unbelief. Reid-Maroney thus contributes to a wide body of literature in the history of science that documents the strength of theological Anglo-Atlantic investigations into the natural world in the eighteenth century. But hers is a subtler project. Reid-Maroney argues that the specific experiences of New Side religious conversion and Scottish natural philosophy, particularly Scottish chemistry and medicine, shaped a distinctive and innovative mode of thought among Philadelphians, one that was as Christian as it was Enlightened. In contrast to histories that place developments in science within contexts of social, political, or material experience, for Reid-Maroney the relevant experience is spiritual.

Reid-Maroney begins by documenting the interest in natural history and philosophy among Philadelphians in the middle of the eighteenth century. Although several of those most prominently engaged in such investigations, like John Bartram and Ebenezer Kinnersley, opposed the Great Awakening, nevertheless both New Sides and Old Sides believed in the importance of education in preparing individuals to receive grace. Consequently, New Side academies incorporated the study of the new science into their curriculum. Importantly, whether New Side or not, the roots of most Philadelphians in Calvinism shaped a common orientation toward the knowledge of nature. Even while embracing the study of Newton, Boyle, et al., as promising progress in understanding, Philadelphians sus-

tained a steady skepticism toward the possibility of secure and final knowledge without the aid of grace. Interestingly, Reid-Maroney argues that, because these Philadelphians were theologically committed to the contingency of knowledge, their skepticism freed them to embrace, rather than guard against, speculative thinking in science.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia became, in many ways, an outpost of the Scottish Enlightenment. A number of Pennsylvanians studied at the University of Edinburgh and returned to teach and practice what they had learned. Physicians were particularly prominent among Edinburgh graduates who returned to Philadelphia, and through them a generation of Philadelphians learned the theories and methods of Edinburgh professors like Charles Alston, William Cullen, and John Gregory. Indeed, Reid-Maroney argues that these Philadelphians were particularly drawn to the anti-mechanistic speculations of the Edinburgh faculty because of their religious convictions that divine mystery pervaded the material world.

For Reid-Maroney, Benjamin Rush epitomizes the mind of Philadelphia's Christian Enlightenment. Like other New Sides, he thought of the physician's calling as sanctified, and as one whose efforts were for naught if unaided by grace. Drawn to the chemistry of Cullen, Rush saw deep affinities between Cullen's speculations on material affinities and powers and the action of God's grace. Unlike most biographers of Rush, Reid-Maroney pays only modest attention to the depletive therapies and political commitments for which he was famous in favor of attention to the complexities of his thought. In Rush, enlightened medicine offered simultaneous routes toward physical, moral, and civic health. Ultimately, however, Reid-Maroney recognizes how small a world it was in which Rush's vision could be sustained. In the early nineteenth century, both science and religion took diverging developmental paths in the larger republic, and Philadelphians followed.

This is a graceful and persuasive study. Those interested in the dissemination of the Scottish Enlightenment, in the history of medicine, in early Philadelphia, and in the history of religious thought will find much to please them.

Sara Stidstone Gronim, LIU, C.W. Post Campus

Arthur Herman, **How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World & Everything in It**. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001; marketed in the U.K. as **The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World**. London: Fourth Estate, 2002. Pp. ix + 392.

This book is an excellent popularization. Scholarly readers may therefore approach it with some skepticism, especially because of its awful title (much worse in North America than in the UK). But they would be wrong to scorn it. Different specialists will no doubt quibble over this detail or that, yet by and large Herman's accounts of his themes are accurate and his judgments sound. And he makes out of the whole a coherent story, except for some loss of focus as he advances into the nineteenth century (but the enlightened were themselves then losing their focus too). It is no small achievement to fit between two covers such a crisp introduction to the Scottish Enlightenment.

We have been in pressing need of something like this. The German Enlightenment has its Ernst Cassirer, a bit heavily Kantian for the man in the street but still monumentally there as an interpretation of the entire business. The French Enlightenment has its Peter Gay, to name only the best-known of its recent interpreters, conjuring up the glittering but brittle world of the salon and the skeptic. For Scotland there has been no equivalent. Yet the stories to tell, of David Hume and Adam Smith, not to speak of Lord Kames or James Boswell, are just as interesting to the intelligent reader, and the ideas just as exciting. Alexander Broadie has done sterling service in bringing out a recent volume which concentrates on the philosophical side. But nobody else in the present generation of distinguished scholars has dared or deigned to set his hand to producing a history of the whole Scottish Enlightenment. Apart from anything else, it is then left vulnerable to misrepresentations such as those in Roy Porter's latest book, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*, with his claim that it was merely some provincial variant of an English Enlightenment. Some of our scholars of Scotland fear criticism, which is not a good excuse. Some may be too conscious of the sheer disparity of the material, from geology to epistemology. In that case, Herman puts them to shame. And the literati of, say, the Poker Club would surely have sided with him, since they too were men who valued generalism, unlike the academics of today.

Herman achieves his popularizing purpose by two main means: by relating the Scottish Enlightenment to contemporary events his readers will likely be familiar with, whether Jacobite rebellion or American Revolution; and then by relating it to modernity, the sort of problems that can be read about in this morning's newspapers, from feminism to globalization. And in bringing such a range of material together with such a sure touch, Herman may also be doing scholars a service, too.

Because of the narrowness of modern specialism, there is too much of a tendency to conceive of Scottish thinkers as so many disembodied minds, more concerned about their relationship to Aristotle than about the next

harvest or how to get a job off the government. A fine general account, such as Herman has written, helps us to place them in their world and bring them to life—something essential if interest in the Scottish Enlightenment is to spread beyond scholarly circles.

Michael Fry, Edinburgh

David Stevenson, *The Beggar's Benison: Sex Clubs of Enlightenment Scotland and Their Rituals*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001. Pp. xi + 265.

David Stevenson's book is the first historical study of eighteenth-century Scottish club life to seriously examine and assess the significance of one of Scotland's most notorious clubs, the Beggar's Benison. Active from the early 1730s until its dissolution in 1836, the Beggar's Benison literally was a "sex club" formed in Anstruther, with later branches in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and interestingly, St. Petersburg. The club derived its name from a "king in disguise" myth common to Scottish folk poetry; in the club's folklore, James V received a "beggar's benison" from a poor young woman who carried the king across the Dreel Burn on her shoulders. After receiving a gold coin from the king, the young woman delivered a benison that is laced with sexual innuendo:

May your purse naer be toom
And your horn aye in bloom. (p. 12)

Stevenson remarks of the benison that "the implication is clearly that the beggar lass had granted the king more than aquatic transport: she was rewarded with gold for sexual favors" (p. 12). The club's unifying focus on sexuality links it with other eighteenth-century British "sex clubs" such as Sir Francis Dashwood's Medenham Monks, yet the form of sexual expression favored by the members of the Beggar's Benison was much different. Whereas the Monks preferred the accompaniment of mistresses or prostitutes for the performance of their sexual rites, the Beggar's Benison engaged in group masturbation. As Stevenson notes, "it was the Benison's speciality, and that is why the taboo about studying the club has lasted so long" (p. xii).

Unlike the few previous scholars such as Louis Jones who studied the Beggar's Benison despite its taboo sexuality, Stevenson had greater access to surviving records and relics to aid him in writing the club's history. Surprisingly, the existing relics (very thoroughly documented in the book's appendices) are fairly numerous for a club with such an overt and shocking legacy; it is indeed a wonder that the group's seals, platter, and wine glasses (all engraved with phalluses) stayed intact throughout the nineteenth century. The club's written remains were not so fortunate, and Stevenson notes the destruction in the 1820s of the group's minutes, sederunt book, and journal, as well as its songs, toasts, and even the "renowned Wig worn by the Sovereign composed of the Privy-hairs of Royal courtesans" (p. 24). Although the loss of the last item may not be quite as lamentable, the lack of roughly eighty years' worth of club documents represents a serious scholarly obstacle. However, through careful analysis of the club's extant *Records and Supplement* (first published in 1892 and reprinted in 1982) and over thirty initiation diplomas, Stevenson is able to construct a compelling history of the Beggar's Benison.

At the heart of Stevenson's account is his contention that the Beggar's Benison was an "Enlightenment institution" like other clubs of the period; where mid-century Scottish clubs such as the Select Society promoted cultural "improvement" in the interest of enlightenment, the Beggar's Benison offered that "sexual activity should be embraced as pleasure and not simply as procreative duty" (p. 2). In this respect, the club's avocation of masturbation makes perfect sense: as a sexual practice, it signifies non-procreative pleasure. In his chapter on "Enlightened and Unenlightened Sex," Stevenson describes the varying cultural attitudes toward masturbation since the Reformation, noting that in the early eighteenth century masturbation was becoming increasingly viewed as a morally and medically unsound practice due to the influence of quasi-medical texts like *Onania* (1715). Stevenson poses the idea that the club members, whom he calls "malcontents," practiced group masturbation in reaction to the public panic about masturbation occurring at the time of the club's founding in 1732. "On masturbation the Beggars showed their contempt for new opinions emerging from their own age," he writes, and "it has to be allowed that from a modern perspective their judgement on the matter seems much more 'enlightened' than that of their contemporaries who conformed to the irrational panic about onanism" (p. 82).

Stevenson links the group's sexual activity to the history of libertinism, particularly its equating of freedom with male sexual freedom—described by Stevenson as "a predatory ideal" (p. 82). Throughout the book, Stevenson describes and critiques the group's calculated exploitation of women as the means for their "enlightened" masturbatory practices. The chapter "The Benison Class of '39" offers a striking portrait of the middle-aged merchants and craftsmen who then made up the membership rolls, and Stevenson quite pithily remarks that the "club members were ageing men recalling the good old days when they had been (or liked to think of themselves having been) young studs...masturbating in frustration for the lack of the varied willing partners their

libertine ideas led them to believe they were entitled to" (p. 145). Some sense of the club's guilty conscience may be discerned in the improbable yet true story of the dispersal of the dissolved club's funds, which financed the education of two young women; Stevenson dryly states, "thus the funds of the Benison, partly used in the past to pay young girls to display themselves naked to members, were distributed to schoolgirls. Unintended and ironic compensation for past exploitation" (pp. 25-26). In detailing and interpreting the rise and fall of this unusual Scottish club, this book is a much-needed and valuable contribution to scholarship on club life in eighteenth-century Britain.

Corey Andrews, Northwest Missouri State University

Robin Nicholson, **Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Making of a Myth: A Study in Portraiture, 1720-1892**. Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2001. Pp. 156.

This beautifully illustrated book is an important contribution to Jacobite studies and to Scottish art history. As curator of the Drambuie Liqueur Company's collection of Scottish and Jacobite art, Robin Nicholson is well placed to write a book about the diverse works of art representing Prince Charles Edward Stuart that were produced from his birth in 1720 until the end of the nineteenth century, during the period which Nicholson characterizes as the "Victorian Reinvention" of the myth of Bonnie Prince Charlie. ECSSS members who participated in the 1995 meeting in Aberdeen will recall the impressive exhibit of Jacobite glassware, medals, engravings, paintings, and sculptures from the Drambuie Collection, curated by Robin Nicholson.

Nicholson sets out to demonstrate how two separate images of Charles Edward Stuart were created, "the court image, drawing on the established traditions of European portraiture, and the more enduring popular image, self-projected, sustained, copied, manipulated, and constantly subjected to revision and revival" (p. 9). He purposefully departs from "the connoisseurial high ground that has dominated studies of eighteenth-century art" (p. 12) by asserting that artifacts of material cultural, such as snuffboxes and glassware, have as much cultural relevance as traditional portraits by leading European artists. At the same time, writing as an art historian, Nicholson defines three distinct types of portraits of Charles Edward Stuart: "contemporary portraits from life and their immediate copies, contemporary copies or reworkings made at a distance chronologically or geographically (but within the life of the sitter), and later reworkings with little or no reference to any primary source" (p. 11). The results of Nicholson's meticulous research and analysis of this portraiture are summarized in three appendices, which will without a doubt become an essential reference tool for scholars working on eighteenth-century Scottish portraiture and Jacobite art: Appendix I: A Checklist of Portraits of Prince Charles Edward Stuart; Appendix II: A List of Significant Misattributed or Misidentified Portraits; and Appendix 3: Nineteenth-Century Painting of Jacobite Subjects.

Always great patrons of the arts, the exiled Stuarts took full advantage of the artistic resources that were available to them in France, in particular the court painters who had helped create the quasi-mythical figure of Louis XIV. Like his more powerful protector, James II understood the importance of visual representation in asserting the divine right of kings. By commissioning portraits of his family from Pierre Mignard, Alexis-Simon Belle, François de Troy and Nicolas de Largillière, all of whom had painted the Bourbons, James II hoped to reassert his role as the only legitimate ruler of Scotland and Great Britain. Nicholson highlights the importance of studio copies and prints of Stuart portraits to the propagation of the Jacobite cause. He takes issue with art historians, such as Michael Levey, who downplay the significance of copies of official portraits, and stresses the practice of copying as "a central element of the aesthetic of late Stuart portraiture" (p. 28). Building on previous studies of Jacobite prints such as Richard Sharp's *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (1996), Nicholson makes the case that the printing and copying of portraits of the Stuart family were in fact essential to the promotion of the Jacobite cause.

In the case of the portraits of Charles Edward, Nicholson notes that up until 1745, he is portrayed "only by established practitioners operating within accepted parameters" (p. 38). In other words, like any other royal, he is painted by various European court painters. There is nothing unusual about this, except perhaps that the most exceptional portraits of Charles Edward were painted by the least exceptional painters, and vice versa. Nicholson draws our attention to this curious paradox, by noting that Antonio David, the artist who painted some of the most influential and enduring portraits of Prince Charles Edward and his brother Henry Benedict, was in fact an artist of little distinction, while artists of much greater and lasting reputation such as Maurice Quentin de la Tour and Rosalba Carriera produced formulaic portraits that offer little insight to the character of the sitter. Other painters who are considered minor in comparison to La Tour and Carriera, in particular Domenico Duprà and Louis-Gabriel Blanchet, were also patronized by the later Stuarts, and produced several striking portraits of Charles Edward that were widely reproduced. To the charges from art historian John Kerslake and Michael Levey that the Stuarts were "uninspired patrons" (p. 47) because they did not employ artists like Pompeo Batoni, for example,

Nicholson replies that the Stuarts knew exactly what they were about. Fully aware of the power of portraiture as a "vehicle for political ambition" (p. 61), they preferred artists who were capable of rendering a good likeness of Charles Stuart which would be readily recognizable when reproduced to artists who were popular with British nobility on the grand tour.

After 1745, official portraits of Charles Edward continued to be produced, but a parallel phenomenon occurs that constitutes a major shift in the Stuart portraiture, according to Nicholson: the transformation of Charles Edward into a symbol, an icon, a myth, "a metaphorical representation of something greater, in which the symbolic accoutrements—tartan, bonnet, cockade—are used as more powerful visual identifiers than facial portraiture" (p. 38). Tartan was an easily recognizable Scottish symbol as early as the 1730s, and the young Charles Edward frequently wore tartan plaid at the Stuart court in Rome. During the campaigns of 1745-46, the prince wore tartan on as many occasions as possible, and encouraged his army to do so as well, thus assuring that the tartan would become part of his iconography. But while Charles Edward was donning the tartan in order to associate himself with the "Highland virtue" celebrated in song and poetry, his detractors were using tartan to satirize the bonnie prince as a "savage Highlander" capable of wreaking havoc and seducing gullible young women. Nicholson notes the irony in the fact that anti-Jacobite artists of this period always depicted Charles Edward in tartan, while the only known portrait by a supporter, Robert Strange, depicts the prince in court dress. This mezzotint from 1745 was reproduced on Jacobite snuffboxes, glasses, and ceramics, sometimes with the addition of the tartan. Glassware played a particularly important role in the propagation of symbols of rejuvenation such as thistles and oak leaves, borrowed from Highland poetry, that were increasingly appropriated by Charles Edward for his cause. Although Charles Edward was never painted from life wearing tartan or adorned with oak leaves, he made every effort to present himself as a "Highland Laddie" striving to reclaim his native land.

Once back in France, however, Charles Edward cast aside the persona of the Highlander and resumed the lifestyle and rich attire of a continental prince, sporting velvet waistcoats with gold brocade and diamonds. He galavanted from from château to salon, and commissioned portraits from three major European artists, Maurice Quentin de La Tour, Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, and Louis Tocqué, to meet the growing demand for his portrait. The Lemoyne bust was acclaimed as an excellent likeness of the prince, and along with the Tocqué painting, which was promptly engraved by Wille, it is one of the last portraits to capture something of the charisma and spirit of the "bonnie prince" who had roused so many soldiers to action on the occasion of the '45. Charles Edward also commissioned many medals bearing his likeness during this period, and Nicholson gives these their proper due as an important aspect of "a well conceived policy of self promotion" (p. 87).

As Charles Edward's ambition and confidence waned, and as he sank further into a dissolute lifestyle, he commissioned fewer portraits. Indeed, between 1750 and 1770 there were no new portraits of Charles Edward at all. Nicholson marks the contrast between this total absence of portraits from life and the "recycling and reworking of existing images that continued unabated by his supporters, at least until 1760" (p. 89). In the last two chapters, Nicholson treats the phenomenon of "sentimental Jacobitism," which lasted nearly a century, until it spilled over into the reign of Victoria, whose enthusiasm for her "Stuart ancestors" served her own political ends. In Nicholson's analysis, it was the defeat of Charles Edward and the Jacobite cause that ultimately assured their survival as a symbol of Scottish identity. In the aftermath of Culloden and the Highland Clearances, the need for a sense of Scottish nationhood was stronger than ever, and the "tartan-clad prince" represented on wine glasses and in prints came to epitomize the Scottish nation and Scottishness itself. The production of pro-Jacobite works of art by Scottish craftsmen and artists spread as any hope for reclaiming the Scottish nation waned. James Macpherson and Robert Burns both contributed to the creation of a mythical Scottish past, so that by the time Burns wrote his Jacobite songs, "Jacobitism was made safe and unthreatening and was finally absorbed as a vehicle for nationalist sentiment" (p. 102). Walter Scott completed this revision of the Jacobite threat by elevating the heroism and nobility of its protagonists while simultaneously depicting them as doomed to failure. The transformation of Jacobite leaders and Stuart monarchs into romantic, tragic, and noble figures divorced from any specific political context found its culmination in works such as *Bonnie Prince Charlie Entering Holyrood*, painted by John Pettie in 1892. As Nicholson reminds us, this painting, far from being a Jacobite work, a history painting, or even a purported portrait of Charles Edward Stuart, is really the depiction of "the Victorian ideal of the Highland chieftain" (p. 127). But whereas some art historians view this work, and other reworkings of Jacobite themes, as a denigration of the legacy of the Stuarts, Nicholson sees in such images, inaccurate or invented as they may be, the ultimate triumph of the Stuart iconography over their political rivals. The image of Bonnie Prince Charlie is easily recognized by thousand of people today—albeit more often than not thanks to Drambuie Liqueur or Scottish shortbread—but how many people have a portrait of a Hanoverian monarch sitting on their kitchen counter or in their pantry?

Deidre Dawson, Michigan State University

Charles E. Peterson, with Constance M. Greiff and Maria M. Thompson, **Robert Smith: Architect, Builder, Patriot, 1722-1777**. Philadelphia: The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 2000. Pp. x + 164.

Charles E. Peterson tells us straight off that "this book is the culmination of fifty years of interest and research into the life and work of America's foremost colonial architect-builder, Robert Smith" (p. ix). It has been an astonishing life-quest (or rather, half-life-quest) by an astonishing man, whose own architectural accomplishments (including a large part of the restoration of what is now known as Historic Philadelphia) will also be the subject of reverential biography someday.

The Introduction manages to bring together what little is known of Smith's life. Smith was a Scot from Dalkeith, and thus part of that remarkable group of Scottish emigrants who were crucially important for the cultural development of Philadelphia and environs. He arrived in Philadelphia around 1748 and died in 1777, leaving him three decades to practice his trade. No one would call his thoroughly neo-classical approach brilliant or innovative, but at its best it conveys a sense of aesthetic proportion that is not only attractive but clearly representative of the ordered principles of the Enlightenment. "Perhaps the most significant lesson we can learn for today from the example of Robert Smith," writes Robert Venturi in the Foreword, "is that an architect and his architecture can be great but not original" (p. vii). That remark goes to the core of Smith's achievement.

After the biographical Introduction, this book is essentially a chronologically arranged catalogue of Smith's known works, which number fifty-three. They include not only famous public buildings such as Nassau Hall at the College of New Jersey (Princeton), Carpenters' Hall and Christ Church Steeple in Philadelphia, and the lunatic asylum in Williamsburg, Virginia, but also private homes and, at the very end of Smith's career, the Delaware River barracks and underwater defenses that were designed to keep out British troops during the American Revolution. Many of these projects were designed by Smith, others built by him from designs not his own, and still others merely measured or repaired by him. Often it is impossible to know exactly what Smith's contributions were, but Peterson and his associates have managed to consult every known source, from early financial records and architectural plans to old photographs of structures no longer with us. The wealth of illustrations and narrative text makes for a rewarding experience, which shows how one enterprising architect from Scotland helped to shape the look of colonial America.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

Georges Louis Leclerc, Count de Buffon, **Natural History: General and Particular**. 9 vols. Translated with Notes and Observations by William Smellie. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2000. Introduction by Aaron V. Garrett.

William Smellie, **The Philosophy of Natural History**. 2 vols. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001. Introduction by Paul Wood. Pp. 1100.

While William Smellie is now most commonly remembered as the editor of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the printer of the Edinburgh edition of Robert Burns's poetry, he was, well into the nineteenth century, a recognizable influence in the thinking of writers as diverse as Bartram, Nuttall, Emerson, Thoreau, and William James in America, and Paley, Brougham, and Carlyle in Britain. Yet Smellie's major works have become hard to find, and he is little acknowledged in modern discussions of the eighteenth century. In recent years, Thoemmes Press has made Smellie more available to scholars, with a 1998 reprint of his most important periodical accomplishment, *The Edinburgh Magazine and Review* (1773-76) and a 1997 reprint of the posthumous collection of his selected prose works, *Literary and Characteristical Lives* (1800). The reprinting of Smellie's seminal translation of Buffon's *Natural History: General and Particular* and of Smellie's own *Philosophy of Natural History*, his principal scientific work, provides an opportunity to reconsider Smellie's intellectual career and in so doing revive an important voice in the conversation of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Aaron V. Garrett and Paul Wood have written incisive, complementary introductions to these works, offering biographical contexts for Smellie's achievements in the natural sciences and identifying those areas where Smellie's approaches to the discipline were most innovative. As Garrett observes, Smellie's method in translating Buffon was unique: he would read several pages of Buffon's highly rhetorical French, then reconceive them in a succinct and cogent English style. Smellie's is a critical translation, interlaced with footnotes, commentary, and debate so that "the work sometimes reads like dialogue" (p. vii). Smellie put accessibility first in all his writing, demanding clarity and eschewing theorizing, believing that the text should be open to any intelligent reader and not just the academic specialist. That attitude is especially apparent in *The Philosophy of Natural History* (1790-99), where Smellie has, according to Wood, the "socially inclusive" aim of "reaching a broad readership" (p. x). As Wood notes, Smellie anticipated women and even adolescents among his readership, and he thought of himself foremost as a teacher. The desire to disseminate knowledge as widely as possible was an expression of his lifelong fascination with journalism and public education. Smellie came to disdain institutional authority, embroil-

ing himself in a series of controversies that kept him outside the intellectual mainstream. Both Garrett and Wood acknowledge this aspect of Smellie's career in tracing his relationship with the establishment. Wood is right to find John Gregory and Thomas Reid at the core of Smellie's thought, and to see Smellie's upbringing among the Cameronians, an outlawed Presbyterian sect, as fueling his bent for natural theology. Still, as both Garrett and Wood observe, Smellie resists confronting Buffon's supposed atheism and is surprisingly pantheistic in his own nascent sense that the natural world is imbued with a capacity for thought, feeling, and spiritual transcendence.

The publication history of Smellie's writing is vexed, and these works are no exceptions. Smellie's translation of Buffon first appeared in Edinburgh in 1780, but Garrett's choice of the 1791, third edition is a sound one. Wood does well in providing some discussion of the long delays in publishing each volume of the *Philosophy of Natural History*. He effectively summarizes the debate over whether or not Smellie had finished volume two before his death in 1795, and while accepting that he probably had done so, leaves open the possibility that the second volume may not fully realize Smellie's plans. Smellie earned his living and supported his large family as Edinburgh's most reliable learned printer; he was unique among his contemporaries in having the expertise to print his own works. But his trade regularly interrupted his intellectual vocation, and he was often years late in meeting his publisher's deadlines. Smellie delayed work on his Buffon translation for the better part of a decade and took almost twenty-five years to fulfill his promise to write a philosophy of natural history. And even when the first volumes of these works came to press, Smellie dallied over subsequent editions and volumes, breaking contracts and wasting financial opportunities in the process. There is still a great deal to be uncovered about the publication history of Smellie's chief works, but Garrett and Wood have established reliable starting points. Their introductions make important contributions to the scholarship of the Scottish Enlightenment.

With these reprints, Thoemmes makes it possible for scholars to reconsider the extent of William Smellie's influence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Buffon translation remained in print through the 1860s, and *The Philosophy of Natural History*, abridged and edited by John Ware, became a crucial text in the Harvard syllabus and was reissued as late as 1872 in Boston. William Bartram's copy was passed reverentially through the family for generations. At a time when America was developing its own philosophy of a transcendent nature, Smellie was widely read. Now that his work is again available to us in Thoemmes reprints, perhaps we can begin to understand more clearly Smellie's place in intellectual history.

Stephen W. Brown, Trent University

David Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*. 2 vols. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2002. Introduction by James Fieser. Pp. xviii + 571, 527.

Readers of my contribution to the volume of essays that Paul Wood put together to accompany ECSSS's exhibition at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in Toronto in 2000, *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment*, will know that I am on my hobby horse, but it is my firm conviction that scholarly neglect of Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* in favor of its separately published component parts—the essays (which can themselves be broken down into several separately published components) and the two enquiries—is most unfortunate for the study of Hume in his eighteenth-century context. Although it is common knowledge that Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* was a commercial failure, it is less often remembered that the same was true of virtually all Hume's other philosophical and miscellaneous publications. What saved the day for Hume as a philosophical author was a marketing ploy: the decision in the early 1750s, presumably made by Hume and his publishers, to bracket Hume's writings under a single title, and thereby provide a sense of coherence to the Humean *oeuvre*. The resulting collection, originally issued as a fragmented series of four duodecimo volumes in 1753, was subsequently reprinted in more tightly organized four-volume duodecimo editions as well as in one-volume and two-volume quarto editions and in two-volume and four-volume octavo editions. It became a huge international best seller and was the main way in which Hume's philosophical writings were encountered throughout his lifetime and for a long while afterwards. Modern readers cannot help but gain insight into Hume's world by holding a copy of the *Essays and Treatises* in their hands and reliving this experience.

To say all this, of course, is to beg further questions. Since *Essays and Treatises* appeared in so many different formats, and was continually revised by the author, no reprint edition can represent the book in its ideal form. In electing to issue a facsimile reprint of the posthumous two-volume octavo edition of 1777, James Fieser and Thoemmes Press have made a good choice according to prevailing editorial standards, because this edition (which was one of three owned by Adam Smith) was the first to incorporate the last revisions that Hume made before his death in August 1776. It was also the first edition to include an Advertisement in which Hume calls the *Treatise* a "juvenile work" and declares his desire that from now on "the following Pieces may alone be regarded as containing his philosophical sentiments and principles." All Humeans know this declaration, but I submit that it is a very different experience to see the Advertisement in its entirety, taking up an entire page at the beginning of the

second volume of *Essays and Treatises*, which contained the two enquiries, than to encounter selections from it in a biography of Hume or some other place. The trade-off is that one will not find here items that were not included in this particular edition, such as the portrait of Hume that appeared in the 1768 quarto edition, or various essays that Hume excluded from earlier editions, or the long discussion of examples of the principle of association in epic poetry and works of history that Hume cut out of the 1777 edition of *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* for the first time. Fortunately, James Fieser's Introduction does a fine job of laying out the differences from edition to edition, and he provides a detailed account of the contents of the 1777 edition in a manner that shows the reader where and when every item in it first appeared, as well as which items were left out of it. In addition to demonstrating how *Essays and Treatises* evolved up to this time, he also incorporates material from Hume's correspondence that relates to the revisions. There is an occasional typo and an error of fact on p. xi, where John Donaldson is credited with engraving the frontispiece portrait of Hume in the 1768 edition, which was actually engraved by Ravenet after a drawing by Donaldson. But in general this is a valuable Introduction in a crucially important reprint edition.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

David Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century: Union and Enlightenment*. Harlow, U.K.: Longman, 2002. Pp. 220.

Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001. Pp. xii + 240.

Organized in five thematic chapters (Nation, Belief, Lives, Ideas, and Empire), David Allan's book provides something we have not previously had: a brief, readable, inexpensive, globally accessible, and generally competent one-volume introduction to eighteenth-century Scotland. It covers a tremendous amount of ground and contains many good bits, including an unusual section on popular superstition in the chapter on belief, a subtle discussion of economic development, social inequality and mobility, and social institutions in the chapter on lives, and a concluding chapter on empire that cleverly mixes Scottish writing about empire with imperial service and overseas settlement. An up-to-date bibliographical essay and several maps add to the value of the text, though other visuals would also have been helpful.

There are a few questionable statements, e.g., did Sir James Mackintosh really have "a highly successful career in India" (p. 30)?; did "Several of the Moderates, including [Hugh] Blair, even became active freemasons" (p. 67)?; were certain sermons and pamphlets on the American war by John Witherspoon and John Erskine really "much re-printed" and "many times re-issued" in Britain (pp. 69-70)?; and were the Moderates really in such sad shape at the end of the eighteenth century, as opposed to later? (p. 189). There are also some awkward phrases, such as "widespread non-presbyterianism" (p. 119), and a number of minor errors, e.g., Hutcheson returned to Glasgow in 1730 not 1729 (p. 137); Adam Ferguson was not "unable to deliver the lectures" on natural philosophy at Edinburgh University (p. 146); Gilbert Stuart's book on the English constitution was published in 1768 not 1764 (p. 147). More seriously, Allan presents a confusing account of the Scottish Enlightenment, first emphatically denying that it constituted "an intellectual revolution," on the grounds that Scottish literati did not suddenly recast intellectual fields like social science "into a recognizably modern form" (pp. 142-43), but then asserting a few pages later that "the contribution of Smith and Ferguson to what later became fully fledged social science disciplines was nothing less than to attempt for the first time to trace the history of the economy and society" (p. 147)—which sounds like an intellectual revolution to me.

Like Allan's book, Alexander Broadie's helps to fill a void. With all the scholarship that has been produced on the Scottish Enlightenment over the past thirty years, there had not been a decent, readable, and (equally important) affordable one-volume overview of the topic until 2001. In that year, however, we got two quite good ones: Arthur Herman's absurdly titled work, reviewed elsewhere in this issue, which is still available only in hardback at this time but will almost surely appear as an inexpensive trade paperback before very long, and Broadie's. Both are excellent reads, so completely different that they complement each other rather well. Their main point of similarity is that they are both unapologetically boastful about the Scottish achievement of the eighteenth century. In this sense, they contrast with Roy Porter's *Enlightenment* (2000), which is curtly dismissive of the Scottish Enlightenment as a distinct entity.

In his Introduction, Broadie declares that "the Scottish Enlightenment was one of the greatest moments in the history of European culture" (p. 5), and in the Epilogue he refers to "that remarkable group of Scottish geniuses who dominated the European intellectual scene across the eighteenth century" (p. 221). In between these bold pronouncements, Broadie provides a finely crafted treatment of key aspects of the movement. As we would expect from an author who is a philosopher, the focus is on the history of ideas, but the topical coverage is surprisingly

broad. After the Introduction and a chapter on social context, there are five chapters on specific areas of thought and culture in which the Scots made important contributions: history, morality and civil society, religion, the arts, and science. The philosophical perspective is never absent: much of the chapters on art and science is actually about approaches to aesthetics and the philosophy of science, for example. But Broadie demonstrates a rare ability to integrate philosophical and non-philosophical material, as well as to summarize difficult philosophical material succinctly. He understands the ethos of the Scottish Enlightenment very well and is happy to descend from the heights of metaphysics and epistemology to discuss ideas about the militia, slavery, and other topics that were of real concern to contemporaries. Contrast Broadie's sensitive, perceptive discussion of Hugh Blair's *Sermons* (pp. 146-50) with Allan's facile comment that "to read the once-popular sermons of Hugh Blair . . . is indeed to feel that no moral sentiment is insurmountable, no sentiment too bland to go unuttered" (p. 66). Broadie has read and thought carefully about the material he discusses, and the result is a very useful introduction to Scottish Enlightenment thought and culture. The presence of eleven illustrations, while not enough for most purposes, is helpful for the discussion of painting (especially Raeburn) in the chapter on art.

A final thought about accessibility and expense. Although I wish that review copies of these titles had been sent to me, they were not. So with press time approaching, I ordered them from bn.com and had them both in hand within a few days, for a total cost of \$US36. At a list price of just \$13.50, Broadie's book is a particularly attractive option for courses requiring an introductory text on the Scottish Enlightenment.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

Briefly Noted

George Fairfull-Smith, **The Foulis Press and the Foulis Academy: Glasgow's Eighteenth-Century School of Art and Design**. Glasgow: The Glasgow Art Index in association with The Friends of Glasgow University Library, 2001. Pp. 95.

The exhibition on the Foulis Academy that was reviewed in last year's issue is now an attractive little book by George Fairfull-Smith, who was responsible for the exhibition as well. Only one chapter is on the Foulis Press. The rest is on the academy, which made a huge impact on Scottish arts and design during its brief period of existence in the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s. With 64 illustrations and a concise, informative text, this book is now the best introduction to its subject. There are ten chapters on aspects of the academy, including its patrons, its art collection, its pupils' representations of Scottish scenes, its most famous pupils, and its legacy. The book may be ordered for just £9.99 plus postage from amazon.com.co.uk or directly from the publisher at 342 Kilmarnock Road, Glasgow G43 2DQ, Scotland, UK (contact georgefairfullsmith@glasgowartindex.fsnet.co.uk).

Donald B. McIntyre and Alan McKirdy, **James Hutton: The Founder of Modern Geology**. Revised edition. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing, 2001. Pp. xii + 51.

Although short on biography, this slick, well-illustrated little pamphlet is an excellent introduction to Hutton's contributions to the geological sciences.

Charles W. J. Withers, **Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland since 1520**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. xvi + 308.

Scotland's foremost historian of geography has given us another valuable tome, which contains a particularly useful chapter on "Geography, Enlightenment and the Public Sphere, 1707-c.1830."

Christopher A. Whatley, **Bought and Sold for English Gold? Explaining the Union of 1707**. 2nd edition. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001. Pp. 127.

The first edition of this essay was a 59-page pamphlet [reviewed in the Spring 1995 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*]. It has now been expanded into a longer and more readable paperback book in the Scottish History Matters series, ideally suited for classroom use. The contrast with the modern Scottish Parliament with which the new edition opens and closes is a nice touch.

David L. Cowen, **Pharmacopoeias and Related Literature in Britain and America, 1618-1847**. Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2001. Pp. ix + 296.

This volume of thirteen previously published articles by one of the leading historians of British pharmacology includes several of special interest to historians of eighteenth-century Scottish science and medicine, including two different papers on "The Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia" (1957 and 1976), "The Edinburgh Dispensatories" (1951), and "The Influence of the Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia and the Edinburgh Dispensatories" (1982).