

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

No. 17 Spring 2003

ISSN 1085-4894

The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

CAPITAL TRIUMPH!

It may be hard to believe, but ECSSS had never held a meeting in Edinburgh until last summer! Many would say that we made up for the delay, however, with a spectacular conference held at Old College, University of Edinburgh, from 3 to 7 July 2002. Co-sponsored by the university's Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland, in association with the University of Edinburgh Centre for the History of the Book and the National Museums of Scotland, the conference explored the theme of "Union and Cultural Identities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" from a wide variety of angles.

Thanks to a grant from the British Academy, which supported two plenary speakers, the conference got off to a rousing start on the evening of 3 July with a plenary lecture by Linda Colley of the London School of Economics on "Captivity, Empire and Identities: Understanding Peter Williamson." Speaking in the magnificent Playfair Library, where the conference lunches were also held, Professor Colley dazzled the large audience with a preview of a topic that is touched upon briefly in her subsequently published book *Captives*. The president of ECSSS, Nicholas Phillipson, hosted the event on familiar turf. The evening was capped off by a reception in the Playfair Library Hall, sponsored by the university's Faculty of Arts.

Over the course of the next four days, 27 panels were held, most with three speakers, in addition to three more plenary sessions. It is impossible to summarize all the activity, but a few highlights can be noted. Of course, many panels and papers dealt with the "union and cultural identities" theme, including sessions on Versions of Britishness; Smollett and Scotophobia; Antiquities and National Affiliations; Moral Sense and National Sensibilities; Interpretations of Union I and II; Jacobitism and the National Self; Conflict, Identity and Empire; and Literature and National Identity. In a warm-up for our joint conference in 2004, the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society sponsored a panel on Ireland: Identity and Enlightenment. A half-dozen panels were sponsored by the Centre for the History of the Book, enabling book historians to enjoy a mini-conference on various aspects of eighteenth-century Scottish book history. Under the guidance of its co-

director, Bill Bell, the Centre also sponsored an entertaining plenary lecture in the Playfair Library by R. A. Gross of the College of William and Mary, "Seeing the World in Print," which was followed by yet another reception. A unique session on Portraits of the Literati was held at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, featuring commentary by Alexander Broadie, James Holloway, David Bindman, and the session organizer, Nicholas Phillipson. Another special panel, on Eighteenth-Century Scottish Politics, was held at the National Archives of Scotland in Robert Adam's Register House. An excursion to Paxton House in Berwickshire featured talks by John Renwick on the house's library and Stana Nenadic on the house's art. In the beautiful new lecture theatre of the Royal Museum of Scotland, David Bindman of the University of London delivered a witty, illustrated plenary lecture: "Britannia and her Children: Representing National Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain." On the last evening of the conference, the Saltire Society sponsored a reception in historic St. Cecilia's Hall, followed by a delicious buffet dinner and a lively concert of eighteenth-century music. The final day was kicked off with a plenary lecture by James Chandler of the University of Chicago, "The Power of Sympathy: William Hall Brown and the Sentimental Novel." This was part of a full morning of sessions on the theme of transatlantic culture and identity, organized by Susan Manning under the banner of the STAR (Scotland's Transatlantic Relations) project, with yet more support from the Faculty of Arts at the University of Edinburgh. An exhibition of eighteenth-century Scottish books, organized by Warren McDougall and others, took place at Edinburgh University Library during the conference.

This was the largest, and certainly one of the best, ECSSS conferences ever held. Its success was made possible chiefly by the hard work and planning skill of the conference director, Alex Murdoch, and his hard-working assistant Brian Bonnyman, who also designed the handsome conference poster. Cairns Craig, director of the Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland, provided vital support, including administrative and clerical help at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, where the Centre is housed. Frances Dow,

dean of the now-defunct Faculty of Arts, threw herself behind the conference energetically. ECSSS is grateful to everyone at the University of Edinburgh who did so much for this conference, as well as to those from the external bodies that also contributed.

Thanks Edinburgh!

LANDSMAN HEADS ECSSS

At the annual membership meeting in Edinburgh on 6 July 2002, ECSSS unanimously elected Ned Landsman (History) of the State University of New York, Stony Brook, to become the society's ninth president. He succeeds Nicholas Phillipson, who left office in a blaze of glory while hosting the Edinburgh conference. Other officers elected for two-year terms were Toni Bowers (English), University of Pennsylvania, vice-president, succeeding Henry Fulton; Dan Carey (English), National University of Ireland, Galway, and László Kontler (History), Central European University, Budapest, members-at-large, succeeding Mike Kugler and Silvia Sebastiani. The membership also selected Jane Rendall (History), University of York, and Susan Manning (English), University of Edinburgh, to serve four-year terms on the Board. Retiring from the Board were Kathleen Holcomb, Carol McGuirk, and immediate past-president M. A. Stewart.

GREAT SHOW IN CHARLESTON

The sixteenth annual ECSSS conference took place in Charleston, South Carolina, on 10-12 April 2003. This was the first conference in which the society ever circulated conference evaluation forms, and if the results are anything to go by, this conference ranks among the best that many of the participants ever attended. Hosted by The Citadel and held mainly at the Holiday Inn Historic District during peak tourist season, this conference featured three official themes: 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. A fourth, unofficial theme was the life and work of Robert Burns.

The conference began in style, as the participants were bused from the hotel to the campus of The Citadel, about ten minutes away. There they were treated to the first plenary lecture, by noted Edinburgh military historian and journalist Trevor Royle, "A Blessed Trade: The Scottish Military Tradition in the Eighteenth Century," followed by a gracious reception sponsored by the university. Over the next two days, fourteen panels, each with three or four speakers, were held at the conference hotel. Of the two panels on James Beattie, one, featuring talks by David Radcliffe, Erik Simpson, and Roger Robinson (who organized the Beattie panels) focused narrowly on Beattie's two-part, best-selling poem, *The Minstrel*, while the second, "The Other James Beattie," included talks by James Fieser on Beattie's common sense philosophy, Nigel Aston on Beat-

tie's religious identity, and Iain Whyte and James Basker on the anti-slavery views of Beattie and some other eighteenth-century Scottish poets. The Scottish Military Tradition was well served by a panel on Soldiers, Highlanders, and Empire, with talks by Jochem Miggelbrink on the Scots-Dutch Brigade, Bruce Lenman on the Abercromby Brothers in America, Andrew Mackillop on Scottish military entrepreneurship in India, and Juliet Shields on Adam Smith's "sentimental patriotism" and its effects on views of the martial Highlanders. Other papers scattered through the conference also contributed to this theme, including James Caudle on James Boswell's attempts to make his way through the military patronage network and complementary papers by Leigh Eicke and Theresa Braunschneider on Jenny Cameron and female soldiers in the '45. A number of military buffs also got to see the weekly dress parade (with bagpipe band) by the Corps of Cadets at The Citadel.

The theme of Scotland and the South was covered in a panel consisting of papers by Andrew Hook on some notes and issues relating to this topic and Tim Hanson on violence and Scottish identity in the colonial South; a panel featuring papers by Peter McCandless and Elaine Breslaw on Dr. Alexander Hamilton and other Scottish physicians in the South; and a panel on the Scottish Enlightenment in America that included a paper by L. Kirk McAuley on Thomas Jefferson and James Macpherson's *Ossian*. The culmination of consideration of this topic came when Calhoun Winton, Professor Emeritus of English Literature at the University of Maryland, spoke engagingly on "Scottish Books in the Colonial South" in a plenary session held at the College of Charleston, which also sponsored a lovely reception afterwards.

As for the fourth and unofficial theme, there were two panels devoted to Robert Burns. The first, with papers by Ross Roy, Gerard Carruthers, and Patrick Scott, was focused exclusively on reinterpreting "Tam o' Shanter." To mark the occasion, Patrick Scott brought along two cases of original material from the Ross Roy collection of Burnsiana at the University of South Carolina, including the newly purchased corrected copy of "Tam o' Shanter." The second Burns panel, Sociability and Mythology, had papers by Ken Simpson on Burns and the art of the letter, Corey Andrews on Burns's Masonic poetry, and Carol McGuirk (the organizer of the Burns panels) on Burns and Stephen Foster.

The impetus for the Burns sessions was the awarding of ECSSS's Lifetime Achievement Award to G. Ross Roy, in honor of his extensive contributions to Burns studies and Scottish literature generally. At a splendid buffet dinner at The Citadel's McCormick Beach House on the Isle of Palms, Burns scholar Ken Simpson of the University of Strathclyde spoke warmly of Ross (see pp. 10-11 below) and presented him with a plaque from the society. With this award, Ross joins David Daiches,

Thomas Crawford, Ian Simpson Ross, and Hiroshi Mizuta as the fifth recipient of this honor.

Hoping for some warm, sunny weather, conference-goers were sorry to find little but wind, rain, and wintry conditions at the beginning of the conference. But by the time of the conference dinner at the Isle of Palms on Friday evening, the weather had cleared, and walks along the beach became possible. The next day was warm and sunny, just in time for the walking tours of historic Charleston that took place in the afternoon. For those who stayed on for the Sunday following the conference, the magnificent weather continued.

The great success of the Charleston conference owed much to the institutional support of The Citadel, the College of Charleston, and the South Carolina Humanities Council, which funded the plenary lectures. Above all, however, it was due to the energy of the conference organizer, Katherine Haldane Grenier of the Department of History at The Citadel, who handled all the on-site arrangements. Thanks for all your effort, Kathy!

BELFAST BECKONS!

The seventeenth annual ECSSS conference will be held jointly with the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society in Belfast, Northern Ireland, 27-30 May 2004. The main theme of the conference is "Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century," but as usual some papers having to do with other eighteenth-century Scottish topics will also be accepted. A Call for Papers is included in this mailing. Readers of last year's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* will notice that the conference was formerly slated for Derry, but both societies came to the conclusion that Belfast would be a better venue. We are delighted to be the first conference hosted (in part) by the new Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies at Queen's University. In addition, the Academy of Irish Cultural Heritages of the University of Ulster will be co-sponsoring the event. The plenary speakers will include Ian McBride of King's College London, one of the foremost experts on cultural and religious connections between Scotland and northern Ireland, and famed Swift scholar Joseph McMinn of the University of Ulster. Some memorable local excursions are also planned.

This is certain to be a great conference, and members of ECSSS are encouraged to make application early. To do so, send or e-mail a one-page abstract (with paper title) and a brief (one-page) c.v. by 1 November 2003 to the conference organizer (and current ECIS president) Professor Graham Gargett, Department of French, University of Ulster at Coleraine, Coleraine, County Derry BT52 1SA, Northern Ireland; e-mail: g.gargett@ulster.ac.uk. The conference website will be accessible from the websites of ECSSS or ECIS (www.mic.ul.ie/ecis/ECIS.htm).

BUDAPEST IN 2005

In a daring departure from the usual, ECSSS will hold its 2005 conference in Budapest, Hungary, hosted by Central European University. Provisional conference dates are 30 June to 3 July 2005, and the conference organizer is László Kontler, professor of history at CEU. While papers and panels on topics that have been central to the interests of the constituency of the society will continue to be encouraged, a broadly comparative conference that also attracts interest from others is envisaged under the title "Empire, Philosophy and Religion: Scotland and Central-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth Century." Some thematic concentrations that exploit the comparative framework include the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment and its reception in Central and Eastern Europe; maritime and continental empires; metropolitan versus provincial experience in comparative perspective; accommodating difference; denominational and cultural diversity and coexistence; the politics of religion; national literary cultures in the eighteenth-century peripheries; combating backwardness; contesting modernity (imperatives of reform versus keeping good order; political economy versus *Polizeywissenschaft*); historiographical traditions. The Hungarian and Austrian Societies for Eighteenth-Century Studies have shown an interest in logistic collaboration. An exhibition on the reception of the Scottish Enlightenment in Central and Eastern Europe is planned, as well as an excursion to eighteenth-century aristocratic homes near Budapest.

Now is a good time to start planning for Budapest in 2005! Look for the Call for Papers in next year's newsletter mailing.

BSECS AND CSECS

Since its foundation, ECSSS has been an affiliated society of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS), and we have no intention of diminishing our ties with that fine organization. However, since our meeting in Dublin in 1999, the Board and membership have decided to pursue affiliations with at least two other national eighteenth-century studies organizations with which we should have connections: the British (BSECS) and Canadian (CSECS) societies. This has proved to be a more difficult undertaking than originally imagined, because neither BSECS or CSECS has ever had such a relationship before.

In the case of CSECS (with which ECSSS had an excellent joint conference in Toronto in 2000), the constitution of the society had to be changed to allow for affiliated societies. This has now been done, and we have formally applied for affiliate status under the new rules. In the meantime, ECSSS members might wish to visit the CSECS website at www2.arts.ubc.ca/csecs to learn more about that society's annual conference in Vancouver on 22-25 October 2003, the theme of which is *Indigenes and Exoticism*.

Historically, ECSSS has had fewer ties with BSECS than CSECS. In an effort to break the ice, BSECS has very kindly invited ECSSS to sponsor one or two panels at the annual BSECS conference at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, on 3-5 January 2004. Anyone interested in organizing such a panel should contact the executive secretary of ECSSS as soon as possible. More can be learned about the conference and BSECS generally at the society's website, www.bsecs.org.uk.

And let's not forget about our ties with ASECS either! Although ECSSS will not be participating formally in the ISECS Enlightenment Congress that ASECS will be hosting in Los Angeles this August, many of our members will be actively involved. It is not too early to be thinking about organizing an ECSSS panel for the annual ASECS meeting in Boston, 24-28 March 2004. Anyone interested in doing so should contact the executive secretary of ECSSS before the end of the summer.

HUME'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

At press time in May, many ECSSS members were preparing to participate in a conference on David Hume's Political Economy at Columbia University in New York City, 9-10 May 2003. Co-organized by Carl Wennerlind, who participated in ECSSS's conference on Scottish political economy in Virginia two years ago, the conference included papers by ECSSS members Christopher Berry, Roger Emerson, Christopher Finlay, David Raynor, Ian Simpson Ross, Tatsuya Sakamoto, and Andrew Skinner, among others.

PHILOSOPHY AT ABERDEEN

Under the leadership of Gordon Graham, Regius professor of moral philosophy, the University of Aberdeen is positioning itself at the center of a resurgence in interest in eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy. As director of the Centre for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, which was officially launched on 14 March 2003, Graham has announced a series of exciting activities that will carry Aberdeen beyond its already acknowledged place as the leader in Thomas Reid studies.

In 2003 the CSSP will sponsor two one-day anniversary celebrations. On 19 June, "Beattie in Critical Retrospect," which will include a paper on "Beattie as Poet and Writer" by Catherine Jones, will mark the bicentenary of the death of James Beattie. On 22 November, "Stewart on Art, Economics and Mind" will commemorate the 250th anniversary of the birth of Dugald Stewart, who was born on that very day in 1753. In July 2004 the CSSP will join forces with the British Society for the History of Philosophy to sponsor the Third International Reid Symposium, for which one-page abstracts are requested by 1 December 2003.

Publications are also being aggressively pursued. On the book front, the CSSP will be joining with Imprint Academic to produce a new paperback series of writings by Scottish philosophers. Meanwhile, the journal *Reid*

Studies has been incorporated into the more ambitious *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, which Graham will edit, supported by many leading historians of Scottish philosophy around the world including ECSSS members Alexander Broadie, Knud Haakonssen, Heiner Klemme, and Paul Wood. The first issue of the new journal—which will be published twice a year by Edinburgh University Press—features several book reviews and two articles on Reid, one on Dugald Stewart, one on Hume, and one on Thomas Burnett. The presence of Burnett, a correspondent of Leibniz, is indicative of one of the new journal's chief aims, which is to "stimulate fresh work on relatively neglected Scottish philosophers." The CSSP is also sponsoring an on-line collection of research tools called "The Research Room," which now contains a complete Dugald Stewart bibliography.

Finally, the CSSP has announced that its first Elphinstone Visiting Research Fellow will be the Adam Smith scholar James Otteson of the University of Alabama, who will be in residence from February to May 2004.

For additional information on the CSSP and its activities, visit them on the web at www.abdn.ac.uk/cssp. For the Reid Society: www.lclark.edu/~reidsoc.

SCIENCE OF MAN EXPLORED

As reported in the spring 2002 issue, "The Science of Man in Scotland" is a major interdisciplinary research project, which was launched in April 2002 and is based at the University of Edinburgh. It is run by Susan Manning (English Literature), Nicholas Phillipson (History) and Thomas Ahnert (Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities) and is funded by a Leverhulme Trust Research Interchange Grant. The project has brought together a group of scholars to re-examine the science of man in Scotland in the eighteenth century from a range of disciplinary viewpoints. The aim is to reintegrate these viewpoints in a more coherent interpretation of the science of man as an intellectual enterprise of the Enlightenment in Scotland.

During the last twelve months, groups of scholars from British, European, and American universities have attended two colloquia held in connection with the project at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh. Following an introductory colloquium in May 2002, a colloquium on the "Science of Man and Theories of the Passions" was held in September. The focus was on the relationship of Scottish theorists of the passions to earlier, especially Continental European, thought. The next colloquium, which took place in April 2003, was on "Mind and Body, Manners and Moral Philosophy." Its purpose was to examine medical, philosophical, and theological debates on the relationship between mind and body and their broader implications. A further three colloquia funded by the Leverhulme Trust are planned for the period until April 2005. It is also likely that two

more colloquia, funded from other sources, will be organized. These would be on "Luxury and the Science of Man" and "Sociability and the Science of Man."

In addition, several shorter workshops and seminars have been held on various aspects of the topic. Neil Hargraves (University of Edinburgh) discussed the notion of character in William Robertson's historical writings. Richard Sher (New Jersey Institute of Technology) presented a paper on Sir John Sinclair and the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. Geoff Grundy (University of Edinburgh) gave a talk on William Robertson, juridical history, and the eighteenth-century debate on Europe. Two half-day workshops, one on "Rhetoric and the Science of Man," the other on "Medicine and the Science of Man," also took place. The speakers at the first event were Neil Rhodes (University of St. Andrews) and Paddy Bullard (Oxford University), at the second Johanna Geyer-Kordesch (University of Glasgow) and Thomas Ahnert (University of Edinburgh). For further information on the project, including the program of events, see the website at www.scienceofman.ed.ac.uk.

SCOTIA

Scotia is an interdisciplinary journal for scholars doing research in Scottish studies. Now in its twenty-sixth year, *Scotia* appears annually and incorporates articles on Scottish history, literature, thought, society, and the arts as well as book reviews. Formerly associated with the (now defunct) Institute of Scottish Studies at Old Dominion University, the journal is currently edited by William Radner. Bill would welcome article submissions on eighteenth-century Scotland. Two copies of each manuscript should be sent to: The Editor, *Scotia*, Department of History, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA 23529; fax: 757-683-5644.

FONDLY REMEMBERED

Eighteenth-century Scottish studies lost one of its giants when **Rosalind Mitchison** passed away last year. A member of ECSSS since its inception, "Rowy" taught for many years at the University of Edinburgh, retiring in 1987 with a personal chair. When she began her career in the 1950s, there were few women in the upper ranks of the history profession. Her first major publication was *Agricultural Sir John: The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster 1754-1835* (1962). In 1970 she co-edited with Nicholas Phillipson an important collection of essays for students of eighteenth-century Scotland, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, and also published a popular survey, *The History of Scotland*. Her retirement in 1987 was commemorated by a festschrift, *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in Honour of Rosalind Mitchison*, edited by Leah Leneman, with whom Rowy later collaborated on a series of books on sexuality and social control in the eighteenth century, and whose obituary Rowy contributed to the spring 2000 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Her last

major book, published that same year, was *The Old Poor Law in Scotland*. Rosalind Mitchison will be greatly missed by all students and scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland.

Although not members of ECSSS, two other friends of eighteenth-century studies who passed away in 2002 were **Roy Porter** and **Ian Mowat**. Roy's last book, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (published in North America as *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment*), presents a challenge to the very existence of the Scottish Enlightenment, but it is also—like everything Roy ever wrote—witty, intelligent, and filled with love for the eighteenth century. Ian Mowat, librarian of Edinburgh University Library, died tragically in a hill-walking accident at Glencoe last September. Earlier in the summer he had chaired a session at the ECSSS conference in Edinburgh, and he had also worked successfully to lift the charges that had been placed on foreign scholars using the university library.

MACKIE NOTES DONATED

In memory of Ian Mowat, Bill Zachs has donated to Edinburgh University Library a valuable set of lecture notes by Charles Mackie, Edinburgh professor of civil history from 1719 to 1765 (for more on Mackie, see Esther Mijers's article on pp. 7-10 below). The donated volumes cover Mackie's lectures on Roman antiquities (which may actually have been composed by Pieter Burmann of Leiden) and Mackie's *Prælectiones on History*, commenting on the *Epitome of Tusselline*. The lectures appear to have been used by Mackie's successors in the chair, some of whom have left annotations on the manuscript.

NEW CENTRE AT QUEENS

A Research Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies is being set up at Queen's University Belfast. It will draw on the research expertise of staff in English, French, Geography, German, History, History of Art, Irish, Music, and Spanish. Projects under discussion include the cataloguing of archives, research databases, electronic publishing, and the place of Ireland in the globalized world of the eighteenth-century. Associate membership will be open to those working in local institutions, archives, and libraries as well as visiting scholars exploiting research materials in Northern Ireland (e.g., Queen's University Library's holding of part of Adam Smith's library—see www.rascal.ac.uk for other holdings). More details should be available at the joint conference of ECSSS and the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society in Belfast in May 2004, which will be co-hosted by the centre.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Corey Andrews has taken over the editorship of the Midwest ASECS newsletter . . . **Nigel Aston** has just published *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, c. 1750-1830* with Cambridge U. Press . . . Yale U. Press recently published **James Basker's** 700-page volume *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery 1660-1810* . . . **Barbara Benedict**, recipient of a fellowship from the Bibliographical Society of America, was inaugurated as the Charles A. Dana Professor of English Literature at Trinity College, Hartford, on 3 October 2002 . . . **Fiona Black** has stepped down as the editor of *SHARP News* . . . **Greg Clingham** published *Johnson, Memory, and Writing* in 2002 and was a Pottle Fellow at the Beinecke Library at Yale in spring 2003 . . . in September 2003 **Linda Colley** will move to Princeton U. as the Shelby M. C. Davis Professor of History . . . **David Carrithers** has been publishing extensively on Montesquieu, including a co-edited volume being published by the Voltaire Foundation, *Montesquieu and the Spirit of Modernity* . . . when **David Daiches**, the first holder of ECSSS's Lifetime Achievement Award, celebrated his ninetieth birthday in Edinburgh last year, the occasion was marked by an original poem by **Edwin Morgan** . . . **Deidre Dawson** is now co-director of a study abroad program in Senegal . . . **Frances Dow** is now vice-president for development at the U. of Edinburgh . . . **Ian Duncan** published an edition of James Hogg's *Winter Evening Tales* with Edinburgh U. Press and co-edited a special issue of *Studies in Romanticism* on "Scott, Scotland and Romantic Nationalism" . . . **John Dwyer** has secured a tenure-track position at York U. near Toronto, returning to eighteenth-century Scottish studies after far too many years away . . . **Leigh Eicke** is now assistant professor of English at Grand Valley State University in Michigan . . . **Roger Emerson** has finished a second draft of a long study on patronage . . . **Roger Fechner** delivered a paper on John Witherspoon's *Essay on Money* at a conference in Galway, Ireland, in September 2002 . . . in spring 2003 **Michael Fry** was a fellow at the John Carter Brown Library working on "Cultural Exchange of Scots and Native Americans on the Colonial Southern Frontier" . . . **Evan Gottlieb**, visiting assistant professor of English at Kenyon College in 2002-3, will now become an assistant professor at Oregon State U. . . **Kathy Grenier** gave birth to her second child, Matthew Douglas, on 10 January 2003, saw husband Stephen (a captain in U.S. Army Special Forces) off to Afghanistan for his second tour of duty there, and never missed a beat in organizing the ECSSS conference in Charleston in April . . . **Charles Griswold** was among the plenary speakers at the annual conference on value inquiry, organized at the U. of North Dakota by **Jack Russell Weinstein** . . . **Knud Haakonssen** has been elected Corresponding Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh . . . **Lore Hisky** spoke on Arthur Herman's *How the Scots Invented the*

Modern World at the Memphis Scottish Society and at Scottish festivals at Lyon College and Middle Tennessee State U. . . in January **Colin Kidd** gave the BP Prize Lecture in the Humanities at the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in the spring he was appointed to the chair of modern history at the U. of Glasgow . . . **László Kontler** has published a *History of Hungary* with Cambridge U. Press . . . congratulations to **Andrew Hook** on his induction as a fellow of the British Academy . . . **Richard Maxwell** spent two years in Berlin and then a year teaching comparative literature and English at Yale U. . . . **Carol McGuirk** received an NEH fellowship for work on Burns; in November 2002 she spoke on Burns at the universities of St. Andrews and Strathclyde . . . **Esther Mijers** has a three-year postdoc at the U. of Aberdeen for a project entitled "American Colonies, Scottish Entrepreneurs, and British State Formation in the Seventeenth Century" . . . **Jerry Muller's** book *The Mind and the Market: Capitalism in Modern European Thought*, was published by Knopf in 2002 . . . **Mark Noll's** new book, *America's God, from Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*, was published by Oxford U. Press in 2002 . . . **Murray Pittock** published an edition of James Hogg's *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland: First Series* and gave the Chatterton Lecture on English Poetry at the British Academy on "Robert Burns and British Poetry" on 29 October 2002; in autumn 2003 Murray takes up the chair of English at the U. of Manchester . . . **Adam Potkay**, who has moved from "happiness" to "joy" in his research, recently recorded a series of fourteen lectures on The Bible and Literary Tradition for Recorded-Books.LTD . . . **Ross Roy** was awarded an honorary Doctor of Letters by the U. of Edinburgh in July 2002 . . . **Paul Scott's** event-filled life is the subject of his 2002 autobiography, *A Twentieth-Century Life*; this year the Saltire Society is publishing his latest book, *Resurgence: Comments on the Scottish Cultural Revival* . . . **Ken Simpson** was appointed reader at the U. of Strathclyde and spent the summer of 2001 as the W. Ormiston Roy Research Fellow in Scottish Poetry at the U. of South Carolina . . . **Mark Spencer** is now assistant professor of history at Brock U. in St. Catharines, Ontario . . . the prolific **Hideo Tanaka** published two books of interest in Japanese in 2002: *Innovation of the Science of Society* and *Visiting the Origin: Footsteps of Adam Smith* . . . **Pheroze Wadia** has retired as professor of philosophy at Rutgers U., Newark but plans to continue organizing the annual Applied Ethics conferences held there . . . **Craig Walton** is organizing this year's meeting of the Hume Society in Las Vegas in July . . . **Norbert Waszek** reports that his book on Hume, Smith, and Ferguson is forthcoming from U. Presses of France . . . **Howard Weinbrot** is president of the Johnson Society of the Central Region . . . **William Zachs**, who recently edited *Mary Hyde Eccles: A Miscellany of Her Essays and Addresses*, is president of the Samuel Johnson Society of Southern California.

Thomas Johnson, Charles Mackie, and the Scotto-Dutch Book Trade

by Esther Mijers

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the United Provinces and Scotland upheld a close intellectual connection. Although it was the culmination of centuries of commercial, religious, and military ties between the two countries, this relationship largely centered around educational exchange. The importance of the Dutch Republic as the “intellectual entrepôt of Europe,” as G. C. Gibbs once called it, needs no explanation here. Her universities were among the most successful in Protestant Europe. In his famous description of the Netherlands, Sir William Temple, the English ambassador in the late seventeenth century, commented favorably on the Dutch universities: “Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Universities of Leyden or Utrecht, in the common studies of Human Learning, but chiefly of the Civil Law, which is that of their Countrey.” Many Scots agreed, and between 1650 and 1750 several generations of young Scotsmen received their education at the four Dutch universities of Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen, and Franeker—at least 1500 matriculated officially.

A dynamic Scotto-Dutch book trade accompanied this educational exchange. In spite of the extensive recent scholarship on the Dutch book industry and its trade with continental Europe and England, and the long history of trade between Scotland and the Netherlands, dating back to the twelfth century, the knowledge of the book trade with Scotland is largely confined to what is known about the English book trade. This essay points toward a more extensive study of the book trade between Scotland and the Netherlands by highlighting the unique relationship, during the first half of the eighteenth century, between Thomas Johnson, “Libraire Anglois” at The Hague and later Rotterdam, and Charles Mackie, the first professor of universal history at the University of Edinburgh. Johnson and Mackie conducted an extensive correspondence, which has been preserved in the Edinburgh University Library. The analysis of their papers, which was part of much wider Ph.D. research, has uncovered a wealth of information about the intellectual relationship between Scotland and the Netherlands. Most importantly, it provides conclusive evidence that this connection was not merely confined to education but also included an extensive and sophisticated trade in books and learned journals.

The book trade between Scotland and the Netherlands consisted of both religious and secular works. Throughout the seventeenth century there existed not only a strong economic, but also a religious connection, between Scottish Covenanters, English Puritans, and like-minded Dutchmen. Books followed trade even in exile, and the secret presses at Leiden, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam were responsible for many a Covenanted work, circulating secretly on both sides of the North Sea. This “religious” trade is the more well known of the two and has recently been described by Alastair Mann in *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (2000). At the same time, however, there existed a dynamic book trade in more conventional works, which was to continue well after the last Scottish exiles had returned home. University text books, legal, medical, and scientific works, classics, bibles and historical books, either written or edited by Dutch authors or printed by Dutch publishers, were a common sight in Scotland, as they were throughout Europe. Moreover, in the early eighteenth century the Dutch produced learned journals that were becoming increasingly popular. It is indicative of the situation in Scotland that even though virtually no books by Dutch authors were printed in Scotland before 1700, Dutch books already featured heavily in most private and institutional libraries. Some aspects of this trade have been known for a long time, among them that the Advocates’ Library in Edinburgh imported books from the Netherlands from its foundation in 1682 and throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, and that Robert Wodrow bought Dutch books for the Glasgow University Library during his tenure as university librarian from 1698 until 1703. Less is known, however, about the individuals responsible for and active in the thriving Scotto-Dutch book trade and their role in the resulting intellectual exchange, especially on the Dutch side.

The so-called “Latin trade” with Scotland was dominated by a small number of booksellers who catered—though not exclusively—to a Scottish clientele. In the light of the seventeenth century “Presbyterian connection,” as well as earlier trade relations, it is perhaps not surprising to find that Scotto-Dutch intellectual contact in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was dominated by a number of bookseller-merchants and their friends. Among the numerous circles of students, friends, and ex-patriots who were involved in the Scotto-Dutch intellectual exchange, it is possible to identify a number of key figures: the Rotterdam merchant, ex-Covenanter, and pillar of the Scottish exile community, Andrew Russel; the Utrecht university printer Willem van de Water; the famous book collector, chess player, and tutor to the Scottish aristocracy, Alexander Cunningham of Block, who resided in The Hague; and Thomas Johnson, “English bookseller” in The Hague and Rotterdam. With the exception of Russel, these men were contemporaries—all active between the late 1680s and the early 1730s—and were in close contact with each other.

Thomas Johnson (c.1677-1735) was a pivotal figure among them, active from 1705 until 1735. Very little is known about him. It is not entirely clear whether he was a Scot or an Englishman. There is a baptismal record of a Thomas Johnson in St. Cuthbert's Parish, Edinburgh, but it is by no means certain that this is the future bookseller. Johnson was known as a *libraire Anglois*, specializing in English books, and acted as printer to the London-based Company of Booksellers between 1717 and 1730. He had entered his profession in 1705-6 through collaboration with the Frenchman Jonas l'Honoré. Soon after he set up his own shop in The Hague at *De Pooten*, which quickly became a meeting place for English and Scottish tourists. Joseph Addison, for example, apparently stayed with Johnson in the summer of 1706. Johnson's rise as a bookseller thus coincided with the Anglo-Scottish Union and its aftermath, and Johnson seems to have benefited greatly from the increase in the number of wealthy Scots who arrived in the Netherlands on the Grand Tour after 1707. In 1728 he moved from The Hague to a much bigger shop in Rotterdam, which he described in a letter to Mackie as "the center of all English affairs and business in these Provinces." Explaining the reason for his move, he wrote: "Now that I am settled here with a very large shop & warehouse full of very good books to a considerable value, which I hope to find better occasion here to print off & send off than I had at the Hague." Johnson indeed had a large international clientele, among whom the Scots appear to have occupied a special place. His importance is underlined by the fact that his widow, Jean or Jane Wemyss, and their son, Alexander, who succeeded him until 1745, seem to have maintained his Scottish network after his death.

Johnson acted as agent to many Scottish book-buyers, including the many students who studied at the Dutch universities in the 1710s and 1720s. He cooperated with the Edinburgh university printer George Stewart and shipped books to the Scottish bookseller Gavin Hamilton, although he terminated his collaboration with the latter in 1733 as a result of his profound displeasure with his service. He also sold his own publications in Scotland by subscription, as he did for instance with the works of Pierre Bayle. He delivered books to the Edinburgh lawyers and Scottish university professors, such as William Anderson, the Glasgow University professor of ecclesiastical history, and of course Charles Mackie himself. The correspondence with Mackie confirms that Johnson specialized, unusually, in English literary publications. He printed and reprinted works by the likes of Pope, Dryden, Addison, Shaftesbury, and Gilbert Burnet, and was especially famous for his reprints of Shakespeare's plays. The bulk of the books he sent to Scotland, however, were non-literary, largely classical and Dutch scholarly works. Johnson was also the printer-bookseller behind a number of learned journals, including *Le Mercure Galant*, *Le Misanthrope* and, most famously, the *Journal Littéraire*, which was, according to the evidence from Mackie's papers, particularly popular in Scotland. Thomas Johnson, being both a bookseller and printer, was thus a crucial link between the Dutch academic and literary worlds and the Scots in the first three decades of the eighteenth century.

Charles Mackie was born in 1688 in Limekilns, near Inverkeithing. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he first encountered Dutch scholarship. Like so many other young Scots of his time, Mackie went to the Netherlands after graduation. In October 1707 he matriculated in the faculty of law at the University of Groningen, where he stayed for two years. In 1715 he returned to the Netherlands as tutor to Alexander Leslie, son of the third earl of Leven. Together they matriculated at the University of Leiden. It must have been during these years in Leiden that Mackie met Thomas Johnson. Their professional relationship seems to have begun around the time that Mackie returned to Scotland to become professor of universal history at the University of Edinburgh in 1719. Mackie maintained an extensive circle of contacts in the Netherlands, made up of Scottish students, Dutch university professors, and printers and booksellers.

Mackie was a keen collector of books and learned journals, which were of crucial importance to his scholarship. Throughout his life, he kept inventories of his own library, lists of newly published books and journals and, it seems, even "wish lists." He also collected books for other people, including his cousin Alexander Dunlop, although he did not do this as extensively as Alexander Cunningham. In the Netherlands with Alexander Leslie, he was responsible for building up the latter's library, which he described to the earl of Leven as "above 600 Guilders worth of very good books"; he continued to advise Leslie and others long after they had ceased to be his pupils. Mackie acted as Thomas Johnson's agent in Edinburgh, selling his books, most notably Johnson's editions of Bayle's works, by subscription to his friends and colleagues. He also referred his friends and ex-students in the Netherlands to Johnson. Most importantly, he imported most of his own books directly from the Netherlands, usually via Johnson, who provided him over the years with some twenty-nine identifiable titles, but certainly many tens, if not hundreds, more which cannot be confirmed.

Already in October 1719, the year of his university appointment, Mackie received a copy from Johnson of his main textbook, Tursellinus's *Epitome Historiae Universalis*. This incidentally was probably not his only copy: his library also lists a rare first French edition, printed in Paris in 1706, whereas his lectures must have been based on the Latin text. In April 1720 Mackie returned to the Netherlands for what seems to have been the last time in his life, and book-buying was apparently one of the reasons for his trip. The books he bought were sent to him in

Scotland by Johnson, who wrote to him in January 1721: "You'll find all the books...you left here...I hope you'll receive all safe & to your contentment." Over the years Johnson provided Mackie with some of his most treasured works: Alexander Cunningham's *Horace* and the accompanying *Animadversiones*, several dissertations by Barbeyrac and his *Défense du droit de la Compagnie Hollandoise*, Bayle's *Oeuvres* in four volumes and *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, Le Clerc's *Histoire des Provinces Unies*, Antoine Furetiere's *Dictionnaire Universel* (although Mackie later wanted to dispose of it), Wicquefort's "curious book," as Johnson put it, *Histoire d'Hollande*, several volumes of Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Heineccius's *Antiquitates Romanae*, Burnet's *History of his Times*, Lenglet du Fresnoy's chronological tables, several maps and a copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*, as well as numerous new editions of the classics and the English authors Johnson specialized in such as Pope, Swift, and Shaftesbury. Johnson regularly sent copies of his *Littéraire*, and he was probably also responsible for the other French learned journals in Mackie's library. Other books Mackie obtained from the Netherlands were his beloved *Thesaurus* by Graevius, which he received, upon request, from Robert Duncan in 1724, and several of Petrus Burman's publications from Alexander Boswell and Thomas Calderwood. In addition to his contacts, Mackie also bought directly at auctions, presumably via an agent, often Johnson himself. In a letter to Mackie from 1724, Burman, a Leiden professor, referred to the sale of the libraries of Gronovius, Graevius, Brockhuizen, Perizonius, and Cuper. In 1730 the Scottish student Andrew Mitchell sent him the inventory of the *Bibliotheca Uilenbroukiana* "marked with their prices." Moreover, Mackie had books in his library which came from some of the most famous libraries in the Netherlands, those of Cunningham, Graevius, Fabricius, and Burman.

Aside from books, Mackie was an avid reader of the learned journals that were published in the Netherlands at the time. His papers have numerous references to Dutch learned journals such as the *Bibliothèque Raisonné*, the *Journal des Savants*, and Johnson's *Journal Littéraire*. These journals kept him informed of the latest scholarly developments and discussions and the most recent publications from all over Europe. Mackie used them, in the first place, as a source of information for news on the latest scholarly, rather than literary, publications. His Dutch correspondents often referred him to the learned journals for this purpose. Mackie was a compulsive list maker, and the *Journal Littéraire* appears many times as a source of information for new books. He also used the learned journals as a reference work for his ongoing projects on chronology. This was a topic of great scholarly debate among British historians and classicists in the 1720s and 1730s, and it is to Mackie's credit that he not only collected chronological facts but also tried to work out new ones. Establishing such crucial data as the age of the world, the exact dates of classical and biblical antiquity, and the reigns of kings and queens kept him occupied throughout his life. Furthermore, Mackie's personal papers show an interest in many of the topics and ideas covered in the learned journals, in particular "freethinking," and they reveal a distinctly critical attitude toward religion in the historical past. In a lecture on his methodology, which was presented to the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in 1741 but would not have been out of place in the *Journal Littéraire*, Mackie warned against the errors which often occurred due to religious zeal. Lastly, Mackie saw the purpose of history as a key contribution to elegant learning and polite everyday life—exactly the same purpose that the editors of the learned journals had in mind for their readers.

A number of conclusions about Scotto-Dutch relations can be drawn from the correspondence of Charles Mackie and Thomas Johnson, and from Mackie's papers more generally. First, Mackie's specific example points out that in the early eighteenth century the Scots not only bought but also used Dutch books as well as journals in disciplines other than the traditional trio of law, medicine, and theology. It would appear that Mackie received all the main sources for his scholarly work and lectures—the works of Bayle, Graevius, Fabricius, Burman, Tursellinus—directly from the Netherlands, and especially from Johnson. Although this is perhaps not surprising in itself, the extent and the duration of his interest in Dutch scholarship say a great deal about Mackie's own relationship with the Netherlands, as well as about the importance of the latter for Scotland's early and high Enlightenment. Moreover, we should not underestimate the significance of the French learned journals, above all Johnson's *Journal Littéraire*, to Mackie's teaching and thought. The fact that Mackie was a keen reader of these journals shows how modern Scottish scholarship was becoming.

The Johnson-Mackie correspondence also establishes the existence of a distinct Scottish market for books, as recognized by certain Dutch booksellers. Sophisticated mechanisms were in place to market and distribute books in Scotland, even if they were dependent on only a few individuals. Finally, the correspondence highlights the fact that the Dutch booksellers' Scottish clientele had a keen interest in the so-called Latin trade. Unlike the English, with whom they are generally lumped together, the Scots continued their interest in the classics and Latin scholarly works well into the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

Of course, Scots bought their books and journals from many other booksellers besides Thomas Johnson, such as the Leiden university printers Elsevier and their successor in 1715, Pieter Van der Aa; the English Puritan booksellers in Amsterdam, Swart and Bruyningh; and the Leiden booksellers Johannes Van der Linden, Jr. and Johannes Langerak. Remarkably, the famous Huguenot bookseller Prosper Marchand does not appear in any of the

Scots' correspondence, though the fact that Johnson knew him suggests that he probably had some Scottish clients. The famous Rotterdam bookseller Reinier Leers also appears to have catered to a substantial Scottish clientele. Leers specialized in French books and was part of the circle surrounding Jean Leclerc. The mathematician David Gregory bought books from him for himself and Andrew Fletcher, during his visit to the Netherlands in the summer of 1693. Robert Wodrow ordered "catalogues, priced or not price[d]," suggesting he ordered substantial numbers of books for Glasgow University's library. Leers also published in cooperation with the Edinburgh bookseller and official printer to the Church of Scotland, George Mosman, and even appears to have printed under the fictitious imprint of "Edinburgh, J. Calderwood," although not much more is known about this subject. Thus, the Scotto-Dutch trade in books and journals appears to have been much more extensive than the seventeenth-century Presbyterian connection, and therefore deserves more attention than it has hitherto received.

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HONORING G. ROSS ROY

Kenneth Simpson, University of Strathclyde

Editor's Note: On 11 April 2003 G. Ross Roy honored the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society by accepting our Lifetime Achievement Award at the Charleston conference. This is the speech that Ken Simpson delivered at the conference dinner to mark the occasion.

To the names of David Daiches, Thomas Crawford, Ian Simpson Ross, and Hiroshi Mizuta will now be added that of G. Ross Roy, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of English and Comparative Literature in the University of South Carolina. To Ross I would say, as Burns did to the Reverend John McMath,

Sir, in that circle you are nam'd;
Sir, in that circle you are fam'd;

Educated in Montreal (where he was a classmate of Allan H. MacLaine), Ross graduated M.A. from the University of Montreal and gained the *maitrise* from the University of Strasbourg and doctorates from the Universities of Paris and Montreal. Last year Ross received an Honorary Doctorate of Letters from the University of Edinburgh. Like many of his contemporaries, Ross had his studies interrupted. Four years as a navigator in the Royal Canadian Air Force honed skills that would serve him well as a textual editor. The values which Ross and his generation defended they then brought with them into academe—freedom, responsibility, fairness, and a very real *esprit de corps*. To enter the profession in the 1960s or 70s was a privilege: the collegiate spirit then prevalent surely owed much to the shared endeavors and hardships of those who had seen war service. Ross's teaching career has taken him to Quebec City, Montreal, Alabama, Texas Tech in Lubbock and, from 1965, the University of South Carolina at Columbia. Many are the testimonies to his inspirational teaching. As we know, Burns could be skeptical about the benefits of higher education: "They gang in Stirks, and come out Asses" ("Epistle to John Lapraik, an Old Scotch Bard"), to which I would add, "But no frae G. Ross Roy's classes."

Aged eight, Ross came to Scotland with his grandfather, W. Ormiston Roy, a man in whose honor the term "Scotophile" was surely invented. Proud of his ancestry and soon bekilted, the boy began a love affair with Scotland and its culture, a relationship that would come to be reciprocated. As with his teaching, Ross's scholarship embraces English and comparative literatures, but it is his work in Scottish literature that should be especially celebrated here: he has written on, among others, Macpherson, the Brash and Reid chapbooks and, above all, Burns. Ross's revised Clarendon edition (1985) of DeLancey Ferguson's *Letters of Robert Burns* is a model of empirical textual scholarship. For Ross, undeniably, "Facts are cheels that winna ding" ("A Dream"); every letter was checked at source (where available); important letters were added; significant emendations were made. The method and the result are simply exemplary. This is particularly important for Burns scholarship since the richness and diversity of Burns, the remarkable range of voices in poems and letters alike, can be used to support partial or subjective readings. Burns can so engender enthusiasm that it becomes the master of judgment; not so in the work of Ross Roy, where these vital qualities are in perfect synthesis.

Nowhere is this more evident than in another of Ross's outstanding achievements, his editorship of *Studies in Scottish Literature*. When Ross conceived of the journal in the early 1960s you had to persevere to find university teaching of Scottish literature even in Scotland. When Ross sought advice in Scotland, the response was less than encouraging. Fortunately, New World energy triumphed over Old World skepticism: the "Go for it" ethos of North America overcame the constraints of that all-too-familiar Scottish dictum, "You'll get it if it's meant for

you.” Forty years on, all with an interest in Scottish literature are the beneficiaries of one man’s vision and one man’s courage in making it a reality. Name those scholars of Scottish literature whom he has published—it’s easier to name those whom he has not. Nowadays academics who would prosper are encouraged to “network.” Ross Roy has never needed to put this concept into practice. Yet in a’ the airts and all the arts he has created his own clan, an extended family of fellow-enthusiasts. This has been achieved by love of his subject and breadth and depth of knowledge of it. When tribute was paid to him at a symposium at University of South Carolina in 1999, Ross, characteristically, more than repaid the compliment: “the great thing about Scottish literature,” he said, “is that you get to meet so many nice people.”

Ross’s qualities as editor are many, but three warrant particular mention: an almost Keatsian humility in the face of the richness of the creative imagination (how many editors can number writers from MacDiarmid to Lochhead, Leonard, and Gray among their friends and contributors?); a readiness to extend to all the possibility of submitting material for consideration (to how many young researchers has Ross afforded that all-important break—the first publication?); and the judicious nature of that consideration, be it guidance as to scholarly convention or rigorous engagement with the quality of argument. Ross combines generosity with uncompromising adherence to the highest standards of scholarship. Ross can “go his dinger” and “give it laldy” where matters of scholarship are concerned, but as individuals and collectively we are the beneficiaries. (Here I speak from experience: ever since “strewth: split infinitive” appeared in red among the marginalia, I have vowed never again to knowingly split an infinitive.) Scholarship would be the poorer without the scrupulous editorial surveillance of Ross and his associate editor, his wife Lucie (and, indeed, another so honored by the Society, Thomas Crawford). This breed of editor has set standards which those who follow must strive to maintain, difficult though it will be.

Ross’s generosity has many manifestations. Bibliophile and Scotophile in equal measure, he has greatly enlarged the collection begun by his grandfather. Consequently, we now know that there is a heaven, or at least a scholar’s heaven: it is the Roy Collection in the Thomas Cooper Library of the University of South Carolina. There you will find books that you sought in vain in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, or the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. It is a scholar’s paradise, but there are so many to choose from that you would need to be blessed with eternity to do them full justice. These are riches that Ross has gone out of his way to share, by donating the bulk of his collection to the university and by being unsparing in affording access to both the collection and his own expertise. The collection, and the conferences and symposia it has engendered, have made the University of South Carolina the center of Scottish literary study in North America. The W. Ormiston Roy International Research Fellowship, established by Lucie and Ross Roy in 1990 in memory of the collection’s founder, has enabled visiting scholars to research across a wide range of topics in Scottish literature. And, after visiting Lucie and Ross, all of them have come to know what “hospitality” really means. Burns’s lines

‘The social, friendly, honest man,
Whate’er he be,
’Tis he fulfils great Nature’s plan,
And none but he.’ (“Second Epistle to Lapraik”)

assume a new dimension. Privileged to hear his paper at the conference this morning, those present were doubly rewarded with the gift of “Tam o’ Shanter” in chapbook form as memento of the occasion—a gesture typical of the man and the scholar.

It is said that people get like their dogs. I can’t comment on this, but I would point out that Ross has a magnificent and supremely gentle German Shepherd named William Wallace. Had Burns known of him he would surely have been immortalized alongside Caesar and Luath. It is also said that scholars get like their specialisms. In Ross Roy we have the best qualities of Burns. Burns described himself as “a Poet of Nature’s making” (*Letters of Robert Burns*, 1:325). In the doyen of Burns scholars we have a Gentleman of Nature’s making.

Ross, it is a pleasure, an honor, a privilege to present to you the Lifetime Achievement Award of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society. There is no one more deserving of it.

Letters to the Editor: The Nature of Boswell’s Task

To the Editor:

I am sorry that Professor Marlies K. Danziger could not resist the temptation to label my book *Boswell’s Presumptuous Task* “presumptuous” in her review [no. 16, spring 2002: 24-25]. I suspect that she disapproves of anyone not “in the field” writing about Boswell—or perhaps even reading him. One of her principal criticisms, so strongly felt that she repeats it, is to label my prose “brisk,” a charge to which I hang my head and plead guilty. I hope that no one has ever accused *her* of writing briskly.

Professor Danziger is troubled at the “impression given by Sisman that he is offering fresh new material”—but this is the old straw man trick, knocking down a claim I never made. Of course I haven’t discovered a cache of new Boswelliana, otherwise we would have read about this in the newspapers long since. What my book seeks to do is to tell the story of how Boswell set about writing his masterpiece, and in doing so to illustrate the predicament of the biographer, and indeed of all writers. Whether my approach is original is not for me to say, but in fairness I should point out that most other reviewers—no, *all* other reviewers, “in the field” or out of it—have decided that it is. All this is lost on Professor Danziger, who is so busy examining the leaves that she walks straight into the tree.

It would be tedious to rebut Professor Danziger’s criticisms one by one. I do protest, however, at the charge that I have given insufficient credit to Frederick Pottle (apart from Boswell himself, the very first person mentioned in my book), to the Yale Boswell editions (described in my first sentence as “superb”), including the volume she co-edited, and in particular to Professor Marshall Waingrow’s *Correspondence and Other Papers of James Boswell Relating to the Making of the Life of Johnson*. I wrote (in my third sentence) that I “have drawn particularly” on Waingrow’s wonderful book: “my copy has been used so much and so often that the binding is coming away.” What more would Professor Danziger have me say?

I protest too at her mistaken report that I have admitted to finding Boswell irritating. On the contrary, I find Boswell delightful. What I did write was that many of Boswell’s contemporaries (and even some of his closest friends) found his repeated insistence on his status as “an ancient Baron” tiresome. Again, Professor Danziger misses the point, by herself insisting that Boswell *was* entitled to regard himself as a baron. She doesn’t seem to appreciate how it could, and can be, tiresome (or indeed ridiculous) to insist on such entitlements.

Though wounded by Professor Danziger’s barbs, I console myself with the thought that she would have been equally disapproving of James Boswell daring to put pen to paper, or indeed of Samuel Johnson doing so.

Adam Sisman, Bath

Marlies Danziger replies:

I am sorry that Mr. Sisman was offended by my review of *Boswell’s Presumptuous Task*, the more so as this review was, on the whole, quite favorable. Let me just say briskly (a word I do not consider pejorative at all), that while I praised his book for offering “a very full and lively story” for the general reader, I was writing for readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, who are likely to be familiar with Boswell’s work and the many stories that enliven Mr. Sisman’s book. Far from disapproving of his putting pen to paper, I am delighted that his book has drawn renewed attention to Boswell’s writings.

Marlies K. Danziger, Scarsdale, N.Y.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2002 - 31 Dec. 2002

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

Balance 1 Jan. 2002: £12,148.95

Income: +£2487.58 (dues, book orders, & payment for flyer: £2301; interest: £186.58)

Expenses: -£168.75 (book purchases)

Balance 31 Dec. 2002: £14,467.78

II. Fleet Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan. 2002: \$4173.99

Income: +\$9585.47 (dues, book orders, & payment for flyer: \$3135.71; transfer from Certificate of Deposit: \$6449.76)

Expenses: -\$5785.67

(printing, copying, and clerical: \$1484; supplies [including Edinburgh conference]: \$293.35; Edinburgh conference gift: \$41.54; board dinner in Edinburgh: \$332.60; hotel deposit for Charleston conference: \$500; travel expenses for ASECS conference: \$300; illustrations for France and Scotland book: \$412.79; subsidy for France and Scotland book: \$2087.21 [from money in Bank of Scotland account]; book orders, for resale, U. of Toronto: \$309.18; state of NJ annual non-profit organization registration fee: \$25)

Balance 31 Dec. 2002: \$7973.79

III. Certificate of Deposit (Summit Bank, Maplewood)

Balance 1 Jan. 2002: \$6433.88

Interest: \$15.88

Transferred to Summit Bank Checking Account: \$6449.76

IV. Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2002 [vs. 31 Dec. 2001]: \$7973.79 [\$10,607.87] + £14,467.78 [£12,148.95]

Review Essay: Two Centuries (and More) of Adam Smith

by Ian Simpson Ross

A Critical Bibliography of Adam Smith. General Editor, Keith Tribe. Advisory Editor, Hiroshi Mizuta. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002. Pp. viii + 402.

"I proceed to tell you the melancholy News, that your book [*The Theory of Moral Sentiments (TMS)*] has been very unfortunate," David Hume teased Adam Smith in a letter dated 12 April 1759: "for the Public seem disposd to applaud it extremely." Hume went on to say that the publisher, Andrew Millar, "exults & brags" that two thirds of the edition were already sold, and he was now sure of success: "You see what a Son of the Earth that is, to value Books only by the Profit they bring him. In that View, I believe it may prove a very good Book." The work here reviewed is something of a statistical vindication of the truth behind Hume's joke, also a global commentary on the amazing story of the continuing publishing success of Smith's second book, the *Wealth of Nations (WN)*, and the impressive recurring interest in its forerunner, *TMS*, certainly a unique phenomenon for any eighteenth-century author, and therefore well worth tracing.

Moreover, this publication adds to the picture emerging from two others of recent date that have explored the intense interest that Smith's thought has aroused for more than two centuries, particularly in relation to the secrets believed to lie hidden in his political economy: Cheng-chung Lai, ed., *Adam Smith Across Nations: Translations and Receptions of The Wealth of Nations* (Oxford, 2000), and Kenneth E. Carpenter, *The Dissemination of the Wealth of Nations in French and in France, 1776-1843* (New York, 2002).

At the factual level, *A Critical Bibliography of Adam Smith* covers the print history of editions in English and translations into many other languages through the device of presenting lists arranged chronologically, by title of work, and finally by language group. At an analytic level, in the essays that precede the book lists, and notes that follow them, certain members of the team assess Smith's fortunes in his own and other countries as a leading contributor to the founding of political economy. A *caveat emptor* is in order at this point, namely, that quality control has not always been exercised over the bibliographical lists, which are sometimes inconsistent and present information at variance with what is found in the essays, or overlook important points. For example, item 6 in the Main Bibliography does not present the alternative title for *TMS* that Smith devised for the fourth edition of 1774: "an Essay towards an Analysis of the Principles by which Men naturally judge concerning the Conduct and Character, first of their Neighbours, and afterwards of themselves." This is a highly significant clue about the unfolding of Smith's argument about morals.

As for the essayists, some regard Smith as remaining relevant to the advance of economic theory (e.g., Stefan Zbieglik's chapter on Smith in Poland), while others explore his significance for bygone eras (e.g., John Reeder and José Luís Cardoso's chapter on Smith in the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world), or relegate him to the dusty shelf of the history of ideas (e.g., the chapter by Gilbert Faccarello and Philippe Steiner). Still other contributors suggest that Smith remains important in the era of the collapse of Marxist Communism (e.g., Tatiana V. Artemieva's chapter on Russian translations; Zhu Shaowen's on Chinese translations; and Roxana Bobulescu's note on translation of *WN* into Romanian). For people in the former Eastern *bloc* and Asia, especially, Smith offers convincing arguments in favor of the core principles of western democracy, which seem to be associated with material welfare: "the establishment of perfect justice, of perfect liberty, and of perfect equality, is the very simple secret which most effectually secures the highest degree of prosperity" for property owners, cultivators, and those in the manufacturing-commercial class.

The general editor, Keith Tribe, gives an overview of the project in a General Introduction, indicating that to some extent it is an extension and historicizing, with commentary added, of the Catalogue of the Vanderblue Memorial Collection of Smithiana, now found in the Historical Collections Department of the Baker Library, Harvard Business School. As the doyen of Smith scholars in Japan, Hiroshi Mizuta was an admirable choice as advisory editor for the project, since he has canvassed book collections with Smith holdings the world over, in search of titles once possessed by Smith, for *Adam Smith's Library: A Catalogue* (Oxford, 2000). Also, he has played a major role in introducing Smith to Japanese readers, first as a translator of *WN* and *TMS* in variorum editions, and as a supervisor of and contributor to the translation of nearly all the other writings of Smith that have survived. These efforts are listed in the ninth chapter in this *Critical Bibliography*, and they are linked to the story of the origin and development of Smith studies undertaken by Japanese scholars since the 1860s. Mizuta's main point for his fellow countrymen is that in Smith's books (which, like many Japanese colleagues, he sees in large part as complementary), there is to be found the moral and economic teaching that provides a dependable basis for a "civil" or, as he would say, a democratic commercial society.

In the first chapter, Richard B. Sher surveys the editions of Smith's books published in Britain and Ireland from 1759 to 1804. Drawing mostly on contemporary correspondence, newspaper advertisements, and the printing ledgers of the Strahan family, who ran what Dr. Johnson called the "greatest printing house in London," Sher provides fascinating details of Smith's prudent management of his intellectual property as an author, and of the production and marketing skills of his printers, publishers, and distributors in Britain, who foiled the attempts of Irish pirate-publishers to cut in on their trade. We follow the story of *TMS* from the moderately priced, one-volume octavo first edition (six shillings bound), to the two-volume, sixth edition of 1790, introducing important advances in Smith's moral thought, and costing more than twice the price (fourteen shillings bound). Sher calculates that in all 4,750 copies of *TMS* were printed before Smith died in 1790, and up to and including the ninth edition of 1801, the last one published before the expiry of copyright in April 1804, a further 3,000 two-volume octavo sets were produced. *WN* outdid the success of *TMS*. Sher notes that it began as an expensive two-volume quarto book (£2.2s. bound), issued in March 1776 by William Strahan (MP as well as printer) and Thomas Cadell (bookseller). It achieved a third edition in October 1784, with substantial "additions and corrections," but offering no theoretical advances in economics, and was published in a three-volume octavo format, indexed for the first time, and costing the still considerable sum of a guinea. In all, five editions appeared before Smith's death, and a further five before the copyright ran out in 1804. The total number of unabridged copies of *WN* printed up to this time in Britain, as estimated by Sher, is 16,000. Smith's profits from these *WN* sales were considerable, perhaps reaching from £1,500 to £1,800.

After Smith's death, it transpired that some fragments survived from a "Philosophical History of all the different branches of Literature, of Philosophy, Poetry and Eloquence," which he reported he had "on the anvil" in 1785. Edited by his literary executors, James Hutton and Joseph Black, they were published in 1795 by Cadell and Davies in London and William Creech in Edinburgh, in a quarto volume entitled *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*. This book with a print run of 1,000 copies was a losing proposition for the publishers, the only one of Smith's works to meet this fate, although it contained Smith's "History of Astronomy," which the great historian of economic analysis, Joseph Schumpeter, declared a methodological "pearl."

In the second chapter, Keith Tribe deals with editions of *WN* in English up to the early twentieth century. He notes that while *TMS* remained in print in the century after Smith's death, it was eclipsed by *WN*. He covers briskly the work of nineteenth- to early twentieth-century British editors, giving Edwin Cannan full credit for the scientific calibre of his 1904 edition, based on firsthand knowledge of Smith's sources in Hutcheson and other predecessors, also on his work editing Smith's manuscript lectures on jurisprudence, identified as the matrix of *WN*, which came to light in 1895 and were published the next year.

In 1811-12, when the copyrights of *TMS* and *WN* had lapsed, Cadell and Davies, together with a consortium of London publishers, also, from Edinburgh, Creech and the mainly legal publishers, Bell and Bradfute, issued *The Works of Adam Smith* in five volumes octavo, in a print run of 750 copies. This venture was not very successful, and there were only two reissues (1822, 1825). It took almost a hundred and forty years for another initiative to be launched, resulting in the Glasgow Collected Edition of Smith's Works and Correspondence, which is described in the third chapter, by D. D. Raphael. This edition re-established Smith as a moral philosopher of continuing significance, provided a better-founded, historical awareness of his work as an economist and philosophical essayist, and offered critical texts of drafts for his books, student notes of his lectures on jurisprudence and rhetoric and belles letters (hitherto unknown sets of which had to light in 1958), and documents such as his letters.

Raphael's essay covers salient points regarding the origin and editing of the volumes of the Glasgow Edition, but somewhat mysteriously it is organized on a book-by-book basis rather than comprehensively. My own recollections may help to supplement his account. In 1965, the committee invited Ernest C. Mossner, University of Texas, whose biography of David Hume has won such acclaim and attracted so many readers to the personality as well as the philosophy of its subject, to write the biography of Smith that was intended to accompany the Glasgow Edition. Mossner realized that his first task was to edit Smith's correspondence, and I joined him in Glasgow in the summers of 1965 and 1967 to begin this work. In 1967 Mossner introduced the Glasgow editors to his University of Texas colleague, W. B. Todd, a highly experienced textual scholar, who had recently completed his *Bibliography of Edmund Burke* (1964). I recall attending a tense meeting of the editors, which debated Todd's proposals about the textual side of the Glasgow Edition. There was some resistance to applying to works of moral philosophy and economics the new science of critical bibliography, which had been devised mainly for English literary texts. In the end, Todd prevailed in making the third edition (1784) the copy text for *WN*, and Raphael and Macfie held out for the sixth edition (1790) as the copy text for *TMS*. The upshot was very careful attention all round to the progress through editions of Smith's texts during his lifetime and immediately afterwards. In 1969 Andrew Skinner (later Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy at the University of Glasgow) became the secretary of the Glasgow Edition Committee, and he and David Raphael between them carried an immense burden as general editors, putting all the successive volumes through the press, scrutinizing texts and notes, and ensuring ac-

curacy and consistency. The remarkable success of the Glasgow Edition itself is perhaps best measured by the production figures of the subsequent Liberty Classics series, which began reprinting the several volumes in 1982, in inexpensive paperback format: *WN* (2 vol. sets) 1982-97: 74,717; *Lectures on Jurisprudence* 1982-98: 11,260; *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* 1982-2000: 8,774; *TMS* 1984-2000: 37,745; *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* 1985-2000: 6,594; *Correspondence* (2nd edn.) 1987-97: 4,918. There is now a CD ROM of the Glasgow Edition, available from Intelix, Charlottesville, VA, at \$US 300.

The course of the Smith industry in France is traced in a chapter by Gilbert Faccarello and Philippe Steiner, who corroborate Kenneth Carpenter's well-argued thesis that *WN* in French proceeded from being a peripheral publication to achieving centrality both in place of publication and the minds of inquirers into political economy, through the era of the Revolution and on into the nineteenth century. The authors also make the interesting point that in the public debate of 1790 over money, credit, and national debt, the liberal ideas associated with Smith were countered by interventionist arguments from Sir James Steuart, whose "false principles" Smith believed he had confuted in *WN*. In regard to *TMS*, Faccarello and Steiner note that the translation of Sophie de Grouchy (Condorcet's widow), based on the seventh edition of 1792, was a great advance on its predecessors. Published in 1798, together with Smith's essay on the first formation of languages, and an original work by the translator, *Eight Letters on Sympathy*, it was republished as recently as 1981, finally being replaced in 1999 by a new translation by Michaël Biziou, Claude Gauthier, and Jean-François Pradeau, based on the sixth edition.

Publishing history suggests that *WN* until late in the nineteenth century was accorded canonical status as a central text of economics in France. The preferred version was that of Germain Garnier, which had appeared first in 1802, prefaced by an exposition of Smith's teaching compared with that of the Physiocrats, and a method for facilitating the study of *WN*. These aids to understanding Smith were often republished in nineteenth-century English editions (1806 to 1877). Garnier's translation was extensively re-edited for publication in 1843 by Blanqui, in Guillaumin's Collection des Principaux économistes, with notes drawn from the work of a generation of leading commentators on Smith's economics. In this form and with this apparatus, *WN* took Smith's ideas across Europe. The translation was further re-edited by Garnier's grandson, Joseph, in 1859 and again in 1881, to become through this process the *WN* edition of reference in French. As such, it was presented in 1991 by Daniel Diatkine, in a Flammarion series of paperback economics classics. Looking at the "theoretical horizon" of the reception of Smith's thought in France, Faccarello and Steiner argue that with the canonization of *WN*, it became marginalized as far as advances in economics are concerned, and they believe that the new translations by Paulette Taieb (1995, based on the 1776 edition) and Jean-Michel Servet (2000) are addressed not to legislators, or economists, or ideologues, but to academics interested in the history of ideas. They are dismissive of Diatkine's contention that Smith has again become important for modern economic theorists. The authors state that French economists have never liked the organization of *WN*, and have modified it where they thought it inadequate, following J.-B. Say in believing the systematic treatise is a more appropriate form for the dissemination of a science aimed at reconstructing the modern world.

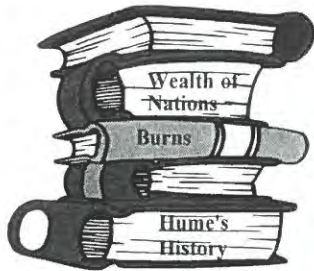
There is a case for arguing, however, that Say and Garnier oversimplified Smith's economics, and that its theoretical richness has been rediscovered outside France. Also, as Marco Guidi makes clear in his note on Italian editions of Smith, a history of ideas approach to studying Smith, using translations based on the Glasgow Edition, has been a component in Italy of a self-empowering learning experience for students and workers enrolled in seminars and special study groups. They have included Smith in their inquiries into the Anglo-Saxon moral and political tradition, in the aftermath of the decline of Hegelian and Marxist studies. There are American and Canadian parallels to this Italian movement, with students using as textbooks the Liberty Classics paperbacks.

Keith Tribe is well known for his work on German economic discourse from 1750 to 1840, the period of the displacement of the Cameralist tradition by that of *Nationalökonomie*, and thus creation of a German alternative to the French-British tradition of classical economics of that period. Examining in the fifth chapter the reception of Smith in Germany, where translators were first off the mark putting *WN* into a language other than English, he stresses the interpretative value of considering anew *das Adam Smith Problem*: how to reconcile the "sympathy" theory of *TMS* with the "selfishness" theory of *WN*. August Oncken is properly celebrated for arguing in 1898 that a careful reading of the sixth edition of *TMS* and *WN* should leave no one in any doubt that the books were part of a larger project, and that its outlines were established before Smith left his Glasgow chair of moral philosophy in 1764. Oncken's views on this issue came from careful study of the report of Smith's lectures on jurisprudence, edited by Cannan in 1896. Following up Oncken's work, Walter Eckstein produced an exemplary edition of *TMS* in 1926 (of great use subsequently to the Glasgow editors, Raphael and Macfie), and J. Jastrow's 1928 introduction to *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, also the publication of several translations and summaries of *WN*, suggested there was a promising Smith revival in Germany. The *Nazizeit* put an end to this development. After 1945, in the American and British zones of occupation, extracts from *WN* were published as school texts, but a complete, new, accurate translation was not made available until Peter Thal's version, vol. 1 (1963), 2 (1975),

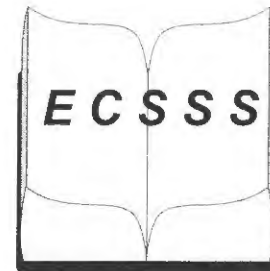
and 3 (1983), was published in East Berlin, unfortunately with a limited circulation. It was a great loss to Smith scholarship when Professor Thal was forced out of the Jena chair of the history of economic thought after the *Wende* in 1989. Horst Claus Recktenwald's version of *WN* (Munich, 1974; revised paperback issue, 1978) was severely criticized for its inaccuracies by Monica Streissler in 1976, and she subsequently published her own well-regarded translation based on the Glasgow Edition in 1999. In 1996 Daniel Brühlmeier followed up his well-informed 1988 study of Smith's legal and political thought with a reliable translation of *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, also based on the Glasgow Edition, and since Eckstein's edition of *TMS* has remained in print, German readers are well served for access to Smith's main texts.

A survey of Russian translations of Smith by Tatiana V. Artemieva describes the impact of his thought on her country. Smith's influence is traced back to two Russians, S. E. Desnitsky and I. A. Tret'yakov, who came to Glasgow in 1761, directed there by Lord Mansfield, and apparently heard Smith's lectures on jurisprudence, as well as civil law courses by Smith's former pupil, John Millar, which incorporated his teaching. They were awarded Glasgow doctorates in law in 1767 and thereafter taught Smith's liberal jurisprudence at Moscow University. Though Tret'yakov died comparatively young in 1779, Desnitsky survived into the 1780s, and his advocacy of legal and constitutional reforms in line with Smith's principles was well received by Catherine the Great. Thereafter *WN* was translated into Russian, first from an English edition (1802-6 by N. R. Politkovsky), and then from the French of the 1843 Garnier-Blanqui edition (1866 by P. A. Bibikov), just as *TMS* was translated from the de Grouchy version (1868 and 1894, also by Bibikov). Before the Communist Revolution, Lenin had hailed Smith as an important contributor to Marxism, together with German nineteenth-century philosophy and French utopian socialism, and extracts from Smith were often reprinted in Soviet times. A post-Stalinist 1962 reprint of *WN* was used as a basis for citations of Smith in textbooks and popular works during the period of *perestroika*, a program of political and economic restructuring initiated by Gorbachev in 1987-88, which introduced into Soviet Russia some limited free-market mechanisms. When the Communist regime collapsed in 1989-90 and a drive began to create a market economy, there was renewed interest in Smith's works. One example was a project launched in 1993 by the Economic Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences to produce an authoritative edition of *WN* supervised by the director, academician L. I. Abalkin, a vice-premier in the cabinet of N. I. Ryzhkov, and advisor to Gorbachev in 1991, during his final year as president of the USSR. Only one volume of this edition has appeared so far, containing books I-III of *WN*, translated by E. M. Maiburd, whose Foreword warns readers of the dangers of reading such "immortal works" only with an eye to issues of the day. However, the level of interest in Smith in Russia and the Ukraine is indicated by the availability of parts of *WN* on several Internet websites, which also carry students' essays about ideas in Smith. There was also a tradition of response to *TMS* and Scottish moral philosophy in the nineteenth century. The 1997 reissue of Bibikov's 1895 edition, edited by A. F. Griaznov and introduced by B. V. Meerovsky, offers a systematic comparison with the Glasgow Edition.

In the final note on editions, Roxana Bobulescu deals with *WN* in Romanian. She relates the efforts toward translating this book in relation to ideological changes, in some ways the most poignant of all the stories of the fortunes of *WN*. Between 1934 and 1938, Al. Hallunga produced a partial Romanian translation, at a time when the monarchist Romanian government was encouraging the expansion of industry, and no doubt when Smith was thought to offer some guidance for economic growth through capitalism. A second edition of *WN* completed by the original translator, Hallunga, was published in 1962, during the Communist era. The project was commended by academician N. N. Constantinescu, who pointed out in an Afterword that to understand Marxist economic analysis, you had to read *WN*. In 1989 the dictator Ceausescu, who had made Communism a front for a police state, was murdered, and the Communist Party melted away, raising hopes for the emergence of democracy and a free market economy. In the aftermath of political turmoil and continuing economic problems, however, power was gained by the Democratic National Salvation Front under Ion Iliescu, who had been an advocate of state direction of the economy before 1989. Privatization of agriculture and industry made little headway, and it was not the climate for further publication of Smith's work, with its advocacy of a regime "of perfect justice, of perfect liberty, and of perfect equality," to bring prosperity to all. Meanwhile, Moldova, originally part of Greater Romania, which Soviet Russia had made part of its empire by annexations in 1924 and 1940, broke away after the collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union, and proclaimed itself an independent republic in 1991. Its government encouraged privatization, taking steps to establish a market economy, and in 1992 the Association of Moldovan Economists supported the publication of Hallunga's translation of *WN*. Some revisions were called for, including the ditching of Constantinescu's Afterword about Smith and Marxism, and inclusion of a short Foreword placing emphasis on the relevance of *WN* to the market economy now being created. Faced later with pressures to reunite their country with Romania or ally it with Russia, the citizens chose to maintain the elements of a civil society with open public debate over their future, and voted in overwhelming numbers to maintain their independence. Perhaps in their own way, they were endorsing the "obvious and simple system of natural liberty," a moral as well as economic concept that Adam Smith offered his readers as long ago as 1776.



BOOKS in REVIEW



Andrew Mackillop, **"More Fruitful than the Soil": Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815.** East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001. Pp. xiii + 290.

This book is an important addition to our understanding of how Scots came to comprehend and shape their roles in the British Empire. Believing that "the longer-term impact of the '45 on the Scottish Highlands has been seriously under-estimated" (p. 237), Andrew Mackillop seeks to de-romanticize Highlander participation in the British army and explore how Highlanders used access to the British Empire to their advantage. With severely limited access to the more lucrative sectors of the fiscal military or domestic state, Highlanders of all strata looked to militarism as part of their agenda to reap the spoils of empire. Mackillop explores the origins and impact of military recruitment in the Scottish Highlands from 1715 through 1815 and finds that the influence of the British fiscal-military state and its recruiting for the British army not only affected the imperial development of the United Kingdom but also was one of the primary elements of social change in the north of Scotland, especially after the '45.

Four themes organize Mackillop's narrative. The Introduction and Conclusion emphasize the need for new studies of Highland military life. The first two chapters show how the state and prominent Highland families came to depend on each other for manpower, patronage, and wealth. This symbiotic relationship between metropolitan and provincial leaders would ultimately lead to the "ghettoisation of the Highlands as an imperial-military reservoir" (p. 40), which literally gave Highlanders access to the spoils of war but limited access to the rest of the British fiscal-state. Third, chapters 3, 4, and 5 focus on the rise of commercial landlordism and how military recruitment and the creation of regiments fundamentally altered estate management in the north of Scotland. Chapter 5 is especially effective in demonstrating how military recruitment aided the rise of commercial landlordism and crofting as well as explaining the declining status and position of tacksmen in the Highlands. Finally, chapters 6 and 7 address the effects of military recruiting on emigration and the Highlanders' emerging identification with Britishness. Of the two, chapter 7, "Military Service and the British Identity in the Highlands, 1746-1815," is much more effective, especially in its elaboration of the ironic use of military service to reform the Highlanders' reputation after the Jacobite rebellion. Mackillop's chapter on emigration, while providing some interesting connections between emigration and military service and the further decline of tacksmen, nonetheless leaves several connections between military service and emigration under-explored, especially the ten-year period after 1763 when military service had familiarized many Scots with North America; how half-pay made settlement a more fiscally stable proposition; and access to land in the colonies became such a motivating factor for Scots. More use of Loyalist records would have provided more background and insight on these topics. But that is my only complaint about the sources used in this book. Mackillop has scoured the archives of Scotland and put together an impressive body of primary research. His research of the Breadalbane, Seafield, Sutherland, and Minto papers alone makes reading this study necessary.

Mackillop challenges several traditional beliefs about Highland regiments, such as the idea that military recruitment after the 1745 Jacobite uprising embodied the culture and social norms of pre-'45 Highland society. Mackillop argues that Highland society was much more dynamic than traditional, static models of eighteenth-century clan life often show. Mackillop's Highlands was a protean society that retained a strong, expanding militarism despite the collapse of clanship and private clan warfare, which had been in long-term decay since the late seventeenth century. This new form of militarism is the key to understanding post-Culloden Highland society. According to Mackillop, by taking advantage of the empire's military opportunities, Highlanders were not relics of the past, holding on to a dying way of life but, rather, an active, modernizing group, struggling to take the best advantage of the opportunities opened up to them in the British Empire. Both Highland landlords and tenants colonized the British army, reaping the fertile benefits of military service.

Highland landlords used English ignorance about the state of clan life (something the landlords often purposefully encouraged through misrepresentation, in order to keep the metropolitan leadership reliant on them and to secure their position as local agents) to alter dramatically the economic and social life of the Highlanders. Metropolitan perceptions about Highland clan life were anachronistic and inaccurate but, ironically, this ignorance worked to the benefit of both the metropolitan and provincial leadership. Military recruitment allowed the British fiscal-military state leadership to acquire the manpower it needed for its half-century of battles after 1750 and to believe it could channel the Highlanders' martial instincts in positive directions. Militarism also benefited Highlanders by providing access to the sinews of government power most often denied to them domestically. Military recruitment provided landlords with several new fiscal opportunities. Military recruits became a "cash crop" for the landlords, and recruiting provided them with an opportunity to remove the least productive members of Highland society. Landlords found military recruiting lucrative with the increasing bounties for recruits, and although military income often was less profitable than estate revenues, it was nonetheless a welcome, consistent source of income that often offset erratic agricultural returns.

However, while the landlords achieved great benefits, this book should not be approached simply as a top-down study of Highland life. Mackillop effectively demonstrates how tenants and the lower strata of Highlanders also played a pivotal role in state militarism's alteration of Highland society. He asserts that the economic change caused by military recruitment was central to several developments such as crofting, the decline of tacksmen's status, and emigration. Military opportunities allowed tenants to bypass the increasing pressures of rising rents and rousing encouraged by tacksmen, and army earnings proved invaluable in paying their families' bills.

"More Fruitful than the Soil" is a study blooming with ideas about the Scottish Highlands and the region's relationship to the British fiscal-military state. Mackillop's thoughtful analysis is an excellent revision of the traditional discussions of eighteenth-century Highlanders as a static, conservative, clannish people unable and unwilling to adapt to the modernizing aspects of imperial life. Although the work concentrates on the effects of army recruiting and state militarism on the Highlands, it will become an important part of the broader discussion of the evolution of British identity in the eighteenth century and how Scottish Highlanders helped to shape an understanding of it. This book is a worthy addition to studies of the British military-fiscal state and British identity in the eighteenth century such as John Brewer's *The Sinews of Power* and Linda Colley's *Britons*, both of which are significant ideological anchors for Mackillop's study.

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Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland 1650-1790*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002. Pp. xvi + 368.

The author of this excellent monograph is an independent researcher and writer hitherto known for a series of specialized local studies of the shipping and ports of Ayrshire, mostly published by local historical societies. The earliest of these was on old Ayrshire harbours, and this genre does have a literature that covers, erratically, much of the Scottish coastline. The snag about it, as the present reviewer found out when he wrote a study of port development on the east coast of Scotland, is that there is only a limited amount of development of the physical layout of Scottish harbors before the nineteenth century. It is during and after the nineteenth century that there is a continuous pattern of investment, change, and obsolescence, expressed in a continuum of civil engineering works. However, in 1979 Eric Graham presented an Exeter M.A. on the history of Scottish privateering, so he is much more than an updated antiquarian or architectural historian, and this is a sophisticated history of most aspects of the maritime experience of Scotland in the age of high "Mercantilism." The term is notoriously a slippery one. Some would insist that there never was a coherent mercantilist system, indeed that such a thing was first invented as a straw man in the form of "the Commercial or Mercantile System" in Book 4 of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Graham defensibly uses it as a term of art to cover an era when the government used a framework of protective legislation backed up by substantial naval force to promote the interests of its own seamen and merchants. The aim was to exclude foreign shipping from the coastal and colonial trades, and to restrict the importation of foreign goods.

The two Navigation Acts passed by the rump Parliament in 1650-51, mainly to drive the Dutch out of the carrying trade, laid the foundations of a British mercantilism that was always more an accumulation of pragmatic devices than a logical system. However, the cumulative impact was important. The War of American Independence fatally breached the whole structure, revealing its inconsistencies and occasional econocidal tendencies, and this study stops with the first substantial pruning and rationalization of British mercantilism by the younger Pitt in the aftermath of the American War in 1786-90. Graham starts his survey with a look at the period between the Restoration of 1660, when Scotland was only just recovering from the devastation of her economy by war and Cromwellian conquest, to the eve of the incorporating Union of 1707. Taking the defense of maritime sovereignty as

the master theme, he concludes that events had proved that the Scots wholly lacked the resources to control their home waters with guardships, let alone make a break into the colonial and plantation trades by means of commercial colonies like Darien. They could not even control their own pattern of imports, as the suspension of all restrictions on the importation of Irish foodstuffs after 1695 in the face of famine in Scotland showed.

It follows that Graham sees the Act of Union of 1707, with the concomitant imposition of English trade regulations, as a crucial event, though more in terms of restructuring than of recovery. The only area of Scottish maritime life that boomed between 1707 and 1758, when the Scottish economy went through a sequence of stagnation, depression, and gradual recovery, was smuggling. Scots were good at that. Before 1707 smuggling to the colonists of foreign crowns had been by far the most promising aspect of their involvement in the colonial trades. A series of chapters on the impact of wars shows that the Scots did display talent in exploiting the windfall profits that government's need for shipping services during wars could create and that they did at times pursue vigorously and profitably the alternative use of ships as privateers. The interventionist side of the Union state was to be lambasted by Adam Smith as encouraging fishing for subsidies rather than fish, but by the 1760s it had helped the Scots to make a modest start to establishing more adequately capitalized fisheries, for whales as well as fish. The Acts of Navigation had also helped Glasgow to emerge as one of the two most important tobacco-importing ports in the United Kingdom, with the corollary that tobacco was the dominant commodity in both Scottish imports and re-exports before 1775.

After 1707, Scots trade was protected by the Royal Navy in which Scotsmen, like Irishmen, came to occupy important command roles. Scottish maritime trade, though still basically a coastal, North Sea and Baltic, and North Atlantic operation, was immeasurably stronger by the end of Graham's chosen period than it had been at the start. It even survived the traumas of readjustment necessitated by the break-up of the old British Atlantic world, which as he shows offered opportunity as well as loss, especially to ship builders because about two thirds of the Antebellum British merchant ships had been American-built. There is a splendid short chapter on aids to navigation and port development that covers such topics as charts and coastal lights. It brings out the spectacular shortage of any really reliable general survey of Scottish waters until after 1825, though there were a spasmodic series of initiatives that did produce a few usable charts of the more heavily frequented waters from about 1689. Port development is covered briefly, but adequately, for it was limited and most active on the lower Clyde.

This is a beautifully produced book, with superb paper quality and abundant relevant illustration. John Tuckwell has never done better. Both he and the author are to be congratulated on laying the foundations for the first time of an adequate historiography of Scots maritime activity in these two vital centuries of emergence.

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Patrick Griffin, **The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001. Pp. xv + 244.

Ever since they first began to move to North America in significant numbers in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the largely Presbyterian migrants from the North of Ireland have constituted a considerable interpretive problem for observers and historians. They have been portrayed with starkly conflicting images, either as brawling, backward, bigoted, and unlettered frontiersmen, as in the Anglican missionary Charles Woodmason's famous depiction of the Carolina backcountry, or—alternatively—as avid builders of churches, schools, and colleges, and as Presbyterians who could be both evangelical and intellectual, with an Old Side devotion to doctrine combined with a New Light commitment to toleration and enlightenment. Even what to call them has been a matter of constant controversy, and they have been variously labeled Scotch-Irish, Ulster Scots, Irish Presbyterians and, more recently, Scots-Irish, with little consensus upon how closely they should be linked to their Presbyterian ancestors in Scotland.

Patrick Griffin's *The People with No Name* sets out to demystify the story of what he regards as a nameless people (although one might well ask if the problem is really the absence of a name or the existence of too many). He insists in particular upon the separateness of Ulster Presbyterians from Scots, citing in particular the very different constitutional relationship Scotland had to Britain, as compared to that of Ulster as a part of Ireland. He emphasizes as well the difficulties Ulster Presbyterians had in securing even the status of tolerated dissenters at home at a time when their co-religionists in Scotland had regained possession of the religious establishment. Out of that situation, and the exodus to North America for which it was partly responsible, came what Griffin regards as three persistent attributes of Ulster Scots or Scots Presbyterian culture: movement, both across the Atlantic and within North America; a consistent loyalty to diverse manifestations of the Presbyterian heritage; and varying expressions of Britishness and British liberty.

There is a great deal to consider here, but let us focus on the first of those—migration or movement—to illustrate both the strengths of the work and some of the questions that it leaves unsettled. Surely the prevalence of

movement as a consistent theme in the Ulster and Scots-Irish past, and not just as a development in the transatlantic movement, is a significant point. But it leaves me to wonder how well it can be squared with some of the other arguments. Thus, although nearly a century separated the founding of the Ulster plantation from the beginnings of significant transatlantic migration from Ulster, most migration there from Scotland took place during the second half of the seventeenth century rather than the first, with by far the largest exodus occurring during the famine years of the 1690s, so that most migrant families were likely to have lived in Ulster for only one generation rather than three. And movement back and forth continued thereafter, for education and trade. While it undoubtedly makes good sense to distinguish communities of Ulster migrants in America from others composed predominantly of natives of Scotland, one cannot ignore their strong connections either.

Given the consistency of movement in the experience of Ulster migrants, one should probably be wary of trying to explain migration as a response to unsettledness. Relying upon the commercialization model of his mentor Timothy Breen, Griffin attributes the rise of transatlantic migration from Ulster in the early years of the eighteenth century to a "period of crisis" resulting from a stagnant linen trade, along with divisions within the Presbyterian Church and the insecure position of religious dissent. Still it is hard to see why the 1720s should have been more unsettled than most of the previous century, with wars, persecutions, and religious violence leading to the repeated movements of Protestants back and forth across the Irish Sea. It may be more productive to view such movements less as a response to instability than as one of the integral mechanisms by which a mobile people were able to maintain community ties across space—for Scots migrating to Ulster and for their transatlantic descendants.

The book provides significant discussions of other issues. The Presbyterianism of Ulster migrants turns out to be far less monolithic than it has appeared in previous treatments; divisions between New Lights and their adversaries turn out to have provided usable and useful alternatives for settlers attempting to make their traditions serve vital functions in a changing environment. Their Britishness also was malleable and useful both to defending their position as dissenters in Ireland and their political interests in America. Perhaps most importantly, *The People with No Name* demonstrates once again that group identities among settler populations in the New World were not simply mirror images of one another but varied significantly not only in the traditions they upheld but also in the roles they gave to those very traditions. If the book has not yet clarified all our questions about the culture of Ulster migrants—the extreme violence of Ulster settlers in Indian affairs still seems to me to require further exploration—the answers that we do achieve will undoubtedly build upon Griffin's formulations.

Ned Landsman, SUNY at Stony Brook

Allan I. MacInnes, Marjory-Ann D. Harper, and Linda G. Fryer, eds. **Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650-c. 1939: A Documentary Sourcebook**. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2002 (for 2000). Pp. 312.

The latest publication of the Scottish History Society is an edited anthology of archival documents dealing with every aspect of Scottish emigration to the Americas. Items cover recruitment, removals (not all of them painful), economic opportunities and entrepreneurialism, military service, settlement and assimilation, and the social devices of nostalgic nationalism. Of the more than two hundred items, about forty per cent are drawn from the period between 1660 and the Napoleonic Wars and include documents of indenture, flyers and advertisements, reports of emigration societies, newspaper accounts, published narratives, and letters taken from repositories on both sides of the water. An excellent Introduction discusses the historiography of emigration and the complexities of individual motive and intent.

Henry L. Fulton, Central Michigan University (Emeritus)

Peter Pininski, **The Stuarts' Last Secret: The Missing Heirs of Bonnie Prince Charlie**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002. Pp. xxv + 317.

Rebecca Wills, **The Jacobites and Russia, 1715-1750**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002. Pp. xvi + 253.

These are two very different books in terms of their significance for historians and the general public. The contrast between them, indeed, encapsulates the divergence between the modern academic audience and its wider public. Both will, however, make a lasting impact on the historiography of the Jacobite phenomenon.

Pininski's *Stuarts' Last Secret* is an odd book for a historian to review, in the sense that it is like a twenty-first century paleontologist encountering a dinosaur. Pininski is not a professional historian and consequently the first 125 pages of the book should be skipped by academics, as his account of the fall of the Stuarts contains a number of inaccuracies and his interpretation of events 1688-1788 is superficial and enthusiastically pro-Jacobite, though it does improve somewhat as it gets to 1745. But that is not what the book is really about. The novel, and convinc-

ing, contention of the second part of the book is that he, Peter Pininski, and a number of other named individuals are the descendants of the main line of the Stuarts through Charlotte Walkinshaw, by his own admission Charles Edward's only surviving child, the illegitimate daughter of Clementina Walkinshaw. Charlotte, who was legitimized and created Jacobite duchess of Albany by Charles Edward in 1783, in turn had three illegitimate children by Ferdinand de Rohan, the archbishop of Cambrai, and it is through the second of these, Marie-Victoire, demoiselle de Thorigny, that Pininski traces his connection to the Stuarts. That Pininski is able to do so convincingly is a remarkable testimony to his painstaking genealogical detective work. Essentially, the de Rohans had various Polish connections, as did the Stuarts (through James, the Old Pretender's, marriage to Clementina Sobieska), and they were sheltered and succored by their Polish friends and kinfolk in the aftermath of the French Revolution. There Marie-Victoire married into the Polish nobility and through various further marriages by her only son and heir, Antime Nikorowicz, and his descendants, the Pininskis and several other aristocratic families became the heirs of the Stuarts.

Pininski lays out this descent at great length and with careful attention to detail. He has also put on file microfilm and copies of all the relevant documentation, with exact notation as to where the originals can be found, in a dedicated archive in the Royal Castle in Warsaw as well as in this book. His intention, however, is not to lay claim to the throne of the United Kingdom. He accepts that Marie-Victoire was not a legitimate grand-daughter of Charles Edward, and that he, and all the other descendants, have no claim whatsoever. This obviously begs the question: why write the book at all? In part, it would seem, it was to demonstrate the charlatan status of the so-called prince of Albany, who claims to be descended from a legitimate child Charles Edward supposedly fathered in 1784. But in equal part the book is a celebration of the descent, deeds, and accomplishments of the house of Pininski, of which Peter Pininski is the direct heir. That is why this book felt so odd to this historian while he was reading it. For the book is in essence a throwback to aristocratic family histories of the nineteenth century. It is not the kind of book academic historians will be recommending to their students, except, possibly, as part of a general historiography course, but it is a book that will very much interest the genealogists. Not only has Pininski done some model genealogical work; he has also won a prize that many genealogists yearn for: he has established a *bona fide* family connection to genuine—and even better, doomed—royalty. Thus, the book is not something historians generally will much value, though it is nice to have the minor historical mystery of the fate of Charlotte's children finally wrapped up, whereas the historically engaged public will very likely be fascinated and thrilled by the book and its revelations.

Rebecca Wills's *The Jacobites and Russia* is by contrast a solidly academic work. Wills's focus is a part of the Jacobite diaspora that has received relatively little attention. Between 1688 and the 1730s, and especially between 1715 and the 1720s, a good number of Scots, Irish, and a few English military and naval officers took service with the burgeoning Russian state. Russian service, however, was not a great prize for the peripatetic officer in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Europe. Wills calculates that on average, taking into account the devaluation of the rouble, Russian officers were paid only 45 percent of the wages their counterparts enjoyed in France or the British Isles. Correspondingly, those officers who could find employment elsewhere than Russia tended to do so. This is where the Jacobite connection comes in. For between 1715 and the 1720s, Peter the Great was both in need of good, experienced officers and on increasingly bad terms with the Hanoverian regime in Britain over Baltic affairs. Russia thus became a haven for Jacobite officers in exile. It was not an easy billet. Despite a low cost of living in general, the cost of keeping up an appropriate lifestyle, with the necessary imported luxuries, was daunting. Many Russians were also xenophobic and there were periodic outbursts of violent hostility from the rank and file of the army and the general populace. Life in the distant outposts of the empire could also be lonely, tedious, and dangerous. Yet many Jacobites eagerly seized the opportunity to take service in Russia, and Wills demonstrates that in part this was owing to their perception that Russia was sympathetic to the Jacobite cause and that by doing so these officers believed they were serving their exiled king. Peter the Great and his immediate successor Catherine I were happy to encourage this perception of Russia, and allowed the Jacobites to build up a mutual support network within the Russian army and navy that positively favored Jacobite recruits. Peter and his heirs only stipulated (though strictly) that the foreign officers be competent. And behind Peter and Catherine's exploitation of the Jacobite diaspora for professional military purposes there does, indeed, seem to have been a genuine shift in Russian foreign policy. Peter not only encouraged the exiled Jacobite court to hope for Russian military assistance, he went far further than any of his contemporary monarchs in acknowledging the legitimacy of the exiled Stuarts by receiving a Jacobite envoy with full diplomatic honors and writing personally, with the appropriate forms of address and recognition, to James, the Old Pretender. Maurice Bruce in 1936 suggested that what Peter was primarily after was a French alliance against Hanover-Britain, which he thought the Jacobites could facilitate. Wills does not substantially change this interpretation of why Peter went so far with respect to the Jacobite court, but she does round out the picture admirably, in the process coming up with some interesting insights, such as the fact that the secretaries of state in Britain seem to have been almost entirely unaware

of quite how well the Jacobites were doing diplomatically in Russia—a useful reminder that even the fabled British anti-Jacobite intelligence operation was neither omnipotent nor all-seeing. After the death of Catherine, however, policy and politics turned against the Jacobites in Russia, as her successors increasingly sought a rapprochement with Hanoverian Britain and, in the reign of Elisabeth I, stirred up the forces of popular xenophobia to drive out the foreign officers recruited by former rulers. Wills shows, though, that before this reaction set in the Jacobite officers in Russian pay more than fulfilled their side of the bargain. To take only two examples, Admiral Thomas Gordon kept the Russian navy up to par as a regional naval great power and was thus able to deliver a crushing victory in the War of the Polish Succession, and General James Keith scored such a run of victories and successes against Russia's enemies that he became one of Russia's prime military assets by the end of the 1730s and was being aggressively recruited by Frederick the Great. Wills thus more than demonstrates the instrumental contribution of the Jacobite diaspora to the rise of Russia as a great power. More generally, her book is a very useful survey of the Jacobite presence and influence far beyond western continental Europe. If we can only have similar studies of the Jacobite diaspora at work in Sweden, France, and Spain (to name only the most obvious candidates), we will be on our way to a global understanding of this complex pan-European phenomenon.

Daniel Szechi, Auburn University

Daniel Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath: A Study in Jacobitism*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002. Pp. x + 230.

This book addresses a crucial question in our understanding of early eighteenth-century politics and cultural life: "what made a Jacobite?" It attempts to answer this question with one of the most comprehensive analyses of the Jacobite mentality that has yet been undertaken, an analysis that if finally falling short of completely revealing the character of its subject, still manages to paint a portrait of remarkable depth and complexity.

De Medina's painted portrait of Lockhart on the book's cover shows a ruddy country face with intelligent and inquiring eyes. This in many ways encapsulates the dichotomy at the heart of Szechi's portrayal: the rural Scottish laird and countryman who engaged with some of the most fundamental political struggles and beliefs of his time. To establish Lockhart's motivation, Szechi purposefully states his aim to avoid the limitations of the traditional biographical approach in favor of "an essay in the retrieval of a lost mentality" (p. 2). His endeavor is not just to describe and explain Lockhart's actions, but to understand his beliefs, his fears, his sympathies and, ultimately, the social, mental, and physical parameters within which he operated. As Szechi admits, Lockhart was not necessarily a typical product of his age, not least because of the extent to which his biographical writings made him so accessible both to his contemporaries and future historians. Lockhart was happy to live his life on a very public stage, and the extent of his engagement with Scottish affairs does perhaps make him a questionable tool for illuminating the lives of his more mundane contemporaries.

The first section of the book does, in fact, follow a more traditional biographical approach by considering his family and economic background, early years, and career in, respectively, "parliamentary Jacobitism" (1708-15) and "revolutionary Jacobitism" (1715-27). The research, however, is exemplary and constantly returns to an examination of the shifts in Lockhart's perceptions and the fundamental beliefs that underpinned them. His relationship with the Jacobite court and his constant exasperation at the behavior of James is particularly fascinating and affirms to what extent the Stuart personality was a double-edged sword. From a purely biographical point of view, Szechi finally sets the record straight on his subject's dates: probably born in 1681, most certainly died (in a duel) in 1731. It is, therefore, a lamentable editorial failing that the book's cover (and its subsequent listing in countless bibliographies) uses the old *DNB* dating of 1689-1727.

The second (and smaller) part of the book engages with Lockhart's world view: beliefs, principles, and what Szechi identifies as the "Jacobite moment," the combination of factors that made his Jacobitism concrete. This analysis does offer wider implications and highlights the fineness of the nuances that prompted some to support the exiled king. In this Szechi offers a more complete understanding than has hitherto been available of the elaborate political and religious life that underlay Jacobite activities in the early eighteenth century. Yet somehow the true character of Lockhart still eludes us. Szechi mentions the "affective" relationship he enjoyed with his wife Euphemia, but she remains an underexplored character, as does the importance of their distinctive marriage to his development. Likewise the practical problems of Lockhart's overly full life—the difficulties of being an active Jacobite—do not figure. It is astonishing that, from such a remote rural base, Lockhart could so readily play an integral part in political life in Edinburgh, London, even Rome. The travel alone must have absorbed a frustrating amount of time. Lockhart's world is illumined by this perceptive, scholarly, and highly readable study, but there are still aspects that remain dim and distant.

Robin Nicholson, Drambuie Liqueur Company

John L. Roberts, **The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745** Edinburgh: Polygon, 2002. Pp. 224.

Given the romantic allure cast by the Jacobite rebellions, it is all too easy to see them as one of the great melancholy episodes in Scotland's history—the last gasp of the Stewart dynasty to retrieve power for itself and its followers. The creation of the myth of Bonnie Prince Charlie is another factor, and his defeat at Culloden only adds to the nostalgia surrounding any mention of the final uprising in 1745. Small wonder that they have been such a rich source of inspiration for countless later writers or that Charles Edward Stewart should have been re-born as a failed Romantic hero who came close to changing the course of modern history.

Often written off as an aberration, the 1745 revolt is usually viewed as a marker in Scotland's gradual acceptance of the Union of 1707 and the "heavenly Hanoverianism" which accompanied it. Within two decades the Highlands had begun the long march toward subjugation and the Highlanders themselves had undergone a curious metamorphosis. From being bare-arsed bandits, the scourge of the Lowlands, and figures who created equal amounts of fun and fear, Highlanders were transformed utterly into manly, colorful, patriotic figures who managed to be both respected and respectable. For a country whose identity was increasingly bound up with its English neighbor, and at a time of encroaching anglicization of Scottish life, tartan kilts and an imagined Highland past became a means of satisfying a deep emotional need. Yet, as John L. Roberts (a Highland geologist) shows in his posthumous military history of the period, the rebellions were not just the stuff of shortbread tins and whisky bottles. Following on from the revolutionary settlement in 1688-89, they were serious attempts to replace the alien House of Orange and restore the Stewarts to the throne of Britain. Given a different strategic situation in continental Europe, or if the leadership had been more effective, they might have succeeded. As Roberts argues, had Prince Charles been less of a romantic and more amenable to reason, he could have posed a bigger problem than he did. As it was the Hanoverians were thoroughly shaken by the experience; hence the need to finally take control of the bandit-country of the Scottish Highlands. The account begins in 1715 and ends with the flight of the prince and the subjugation of the Highlands that followed in the wake of Culloden.

Drawing on contemporary sources and the work of later historians, Roberts sustains a clear and persuasive narrative to produce a much-needed military and political re-assessment of this much-mythologized episode of Scottish history.

Trevor Royle, Edinburgh

Yvonne Galloway Brown and Rona Ferguson, eds. **Twisted Sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002. Pp. xii + 212.

This volume of essays proceeds from the Autumn 2000 "Twisted Sisters" conference sponsored by the Scottish Women's History Network, and it testifies to the varied and lively work currently underway in Scottish women's history. The editors aim to move beyond Flora Macdonald and Mary Stuart, the "few romanticised heroines" of Scottish history, as well as the received view of women upholding traditional roles, "essentially passive and restrained" (pp. 1, 3). Instead, the collection "seeks to celebrate the actions of women that allowed them to be seen as immoral, rebellious, or criminal, and to portray such deviancy as positive resistance and a force for change" (p. 3). Six of the volume's essays address Scottish women during the long eighteenth century.

Hugh MacLachlan and Kim Swales reconsider the case of Christian Shaw, a young girl historically represented as the instigator of the Paisley witchcraft case of 1697. They review existing interpretations, identify authors of the narrative describing the case, and put the case in a broader social context. Maggie Craig's informative and entertaining popular account of women's involvement in the 1745 Jacobite rebellion touches upon many women, both working class and elite, who participated in the rebellion and its aftermath. Some readers will wish Craig had provided a scholarly apparatus to enable and encourage further study.

Scottish reactions to sexual deviance provide the subject for Catriona M. M. Macdonald's examination of Scotland's response to the Queen Caroline affair of 1820-21. The article demonstrates that the reformers' support of Caroline was rooted in an understanding of the husband's responsibility to provide a domestic environment in which female virtue could grow, and the reformers applied King George's failures as a husband to his failures as monarch. Gordon DesBrisay also addresses deviance in a clearly written essay, persuasively arguing against the notion that "godly discipline," the Calvinist war on sin, primarily of the flesh, applied equally to women and men. He shows that even when the same penalties were exacted, they affected women more harshly due to women's more contingent place in the community, and moreover, some penalties were applied only to women.

The final two essays address infanticide in Scotland. Drawing primarily on secondary sources, Anne-Marie Kilday compares infanticide in southwest Scotland from 1750 to 1815 to infanticide in other European regions. She addresses the disproportionately high numbers of cases prosecuted in the Southwest, the more violent methods of killing the infants, and the mothers' possible motives. Quoting extensively from archival sources, Lynn Abrams

examines infanticide in Shetland from 1699 to 1899, noting its relative rarity and the late arrival of notions of virtuous womanhood. She concludes that the women were not "deviant or cold-blooded murderesses" but rather "were desperately trying to avoid condemnation and attempting to conform to the ideal of the good, virtuous woman" (p. 198). Two additional essays address the late-medieval period: Elizabeth Ewan on women's employment and crime, and Kimm Perkins on competition and litigation to become prioress. Discussing the early modern period, Andrea Knox examines connections between Scotswomen and Irish women in resisting later Scots and English colonization in Ireland.

These essays certainly move beyond romanticized heroines and engage women's unruly, resistant activities. The volume makes a valuable contribution to Scottish women's history, extending research into new areas, and it should spark future study.

Leigh Eicke, Grand Valley State University

Susan Manning, *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing*. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave, 2002. Pp. viii + 339.

This book is elegantly written, intellectually rigorous, and full of nuance as it accomplishes the difficult task of dealing with comparative national literary identity in a thoroughly contemporary critical voice. For Susan Manning, political models of union in America and Scotland, federative and incorporative, respectively, each spawn expressions of union and fragmentation in thinkers and writers. These articulations do not indicate unhealthy lack of holism in these individuals or their cultures *per se* (as essentialist criticism would tend to read such phenomena) so much as healthy, self-conscious reflection upon post-Enlightenment personal, national, and cultural identity. *Fragments of Union*, silently disregarding the simplistic tropes of cultural schizophrenia so beloved of many past (and some current) generalist American and Scottish critics, provides an account of the literary and cultural development of America and Scotland which sees these not as *alternatives* to some ideal English-British cultural model but as embodying a (perhaps *the*) mature experience in western modernity (something hinted at by other critics over the past decade or so, though Manning is the first to pursue this idea extensively in a literary-centered study).

The Scottish Enlightenment emerges refreshingly free of the customary literary critical condemnation as conservative and anglocentric, and is instead seen as finely nuanced and busily engaged with the imagination. Thinkers such as Hume and Reid pay attention to issues of grammatical and mental connection and so provide in their own writing and for that of others a basis for the setting of anxious individual and historical experience. If all this might be less of a surprise to historians of eighteenth-century Scottish thought than to Scottish literary critics, *Fragments of Union* also contains one of the most incisive summaries ever written of how Hume is both the goad and the guide to numerous other Enlightenment thinkers.

The "literary" texts in the book are very well chosen (most especially under the collecting rubric of "savaged texts and harmonizing sentiments," which might stand for the vision of the entire book rather than just a chapter heading), but are sometimes somewhat *outré*. It is often the case with such pregnant-minded critics as Manning that they can make certain texts more interesting than their primary reading experience is for most of us. This is perhaps the case here with James Thomson's *The Castle of Indolence* and William Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line*. More fascinating texts such as Byrd's diaries, Boswell's journals, and the poems of Ossian are freshly illuminated with a combination of profound psychological, philosophical, and literary historical insight to be found only in the very best critics. In this regard, for instance, Manning's identification of the contemporary reader-ship's experience of James Macpherson's Ossianic texts as full of definite but difficult-to-pin-down literary echoes of the past is a superbly deft gauging of aesthetic and historical impact. One suspects that had Manning not dealt extensively with the likes of James Hogg and Nathaniel Hawthorne in her excellent book *The Puritan Provincial Vision* (1990), these writers might have featured strongly here. I can't help feeling that it is a shame that they do not, since they represent writers and texts upon which Manning's methodology of analyzing tropes of fragmentation would work very well and in a manner which could be utilized in an undergraduate comparative course in American and Scottish literatures. As it is, this excellent study is perhaps more a work for post-graduates (and this is maybe where American-Scottish comparative developments might take root, in a manner which they have so far failed to do). That said, I have never seen twenty pages of criticism which would better serve as a general introduction to Emily Dickinson, for undergraduates or any others, as we find here in Manning's analysis of the theme of articulation in the poet's work.

Transcultural trails are brilliantly pioneered in this book. For instance, Manning demonstrates Walter Scott's perception of the Dutch, a people of "fluid boundaries" and cultural and commercial success, and Washington Irving's influence on Scott's reception of such ideas. It has been critically fashionable in recent years to treat literary ideas of ethnicity which are virile in the formation of modern Britain; here Manning adds the idea of the "Flemish" as an important American-Scottish crucible which suggests that the trend toward "four nations" (i.e.,

British) literary history might be widened to become, at least, “five nations” literary history. Equally innovative is the contextualization of Emily Dickinson’s work within a line of psychological and grammatical inquiry that is traced from the Scottish Enlightenment to the post-Dickinson thinker William James.

In the best Humean tradition, Manning is skeptical of placing too much trust in cause and effect and shows us many intellectual and literary connections without insisting that these are the only or the most crucial ways of reading her chosen material. In the matter of comparative American-Scottish literary relations, however, she has set a new benchmark that will not be challenged for intellectual rigor. My only and trivial complaint about this book is the cosmetic matter of rather poor reproduction of illustrative plates.

Gerard Carruthers, University of Glasgow

Robert Crawford, ed., **“Heaven-Taught Fergusson”**: Robert Burns’s Favourite Scottish Poet. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003. Pp. xiii + 239.

Robert Fergusson was among the poets of the 1760s and 1770s who set the agenda for British Romanticism. Like Macpherson, Beattie, Warton, and Chatterton, he is a minor poet of major significance, a transitional figure who taught his successors to think about transitions in innovative ways that laid the groundwork for modern notions about culture. That these writers would share an equivocal status in the literary canon is not difficult to account for: their works, like their lives, were in various ways sadly, complexly, and radically imperfect. They did not, like Oliver Goldsmith, leave behind polished masterpieces in canonical literary genres. Apart from a common concern with history, their work is so heterogeneous that it is difficult to think of them as a group or a movement. While their literary accomplishments were real enough, their greatest achievement seems to have been to provoke the imaginations of others. The legacy Fergusson left to Burns, Scott, and a host of later writers is a well-documented fact.

Despite its title, the intention of this collection of essays is to turn our attention squarely on Fergusson. The contributors quite properly make much of the Edinburgh poet’s sources and followers, for Fergusson’s was an art of tradition—of traditions plural: ancient and modern, Scots and English, local and cosmopolitan, demotic and learned. Out of the abundant welter of context developed in these essays Fergusson begins to emerge as his own man, a writer haunted by ghostly recollections and possessed by immediate preoccupations, a poet who brought the dancing lights of tradition to bear on his subjects with an ineffable mixture of detachment and enthusiasm. The modal multiplicity of his verse, like the perplexing shape of his brief but busy life, provoke the poets and essayists in this book to reflections and insights worthy of their elusive subject. Fergusson’s capacity to inspire laughter, thought, empathy, and love of place is on full display.

The collection is framed by an authoritative critical memoir by Robert Crawford and a brilliant essay by W. N. Herbert, one of the best things written on the intricacies of imitation in Scottish poetry. The twenty-seven other poems and essays, many by distinguished contributors, examine Fergusson’s life and work from a variety of perspectives. Matthew Simpson explores the social dynamics of student culture at St. Andrews; Douglas Dunn contributes a valuable appreciation of Fergusson’s art; Ian Duncan supplies some thick description of the poet’s habitus in Edinburgh; Susan Manning very usefully separates Fergusson from his received image, re-situating him in the broader context of eighteenth-century poetry; Janet Sorensen brings the lens of social linguistics to bear on his unruly diction; Carol McQuirk insightfully examines the precarious position of the bardic poet in a commercial age; Matthew Wickman muses on the verbal, social, and political ambivalences of “tone,” while Andrew Macintosh’s reflections on the twentieth-century poet Robert Garioch explore the long reach of the Scots tradition in Edinburgh. The poems dispersed among the essays, in Scots and English, supply a running counterpoint to the essays.

The volume has been assembled with considerable care, with much attention to the selection and arrangement of individual essays and poems. There are not many such collections of which it can be said that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, or that they demand a thoughtful and sequential reading from cover to cover. Robert Crawford has done exemplary work as editor, assembling a variety of critical perspectives, restraining the excesses of academic prose, and never letting us forget that Fergusson was first and foremost a poet, a man of his age, but a writer for all times. *“Heaven-Taught Fergusson”* is much more than an academic monograph; it will have broad appeal not only to literary scholars but to poets, general readers, and anyone with an interest in Scotland or the modern condition. As the jacket says, “How can anyone not like Fergusson?”

David Hill Radcliffe, Virginia Tech

Hugh M. Milne, ed., *Boswell's Edinburgh Journals 1767-1786*. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2001; 2nd edn., 2003. Pp. xiii + 609.

James Boswell often seems trapped in the amber of London, particularly because of the celebrity of the London Journal of 1762-63. However, just as Johnsonians have been at pains to point out that Johnson did not spend most of his life in the company of Boswell (nor, one might add acerbically, did Boswell live only or mainly in the shadow of Johnson), it is important to note that Boswell lived much of his life in Edinburgh, not London. Whatever his mixed feelings about metropolitan culture in Scotland's capital and cultural hub, Boswell was an Edinburgh man both in terms of civic definition and professional life. In London, until 1785, he was chiefly a holiday-maker and cultural tourist, whereas in Edinburgh he was a resident and property-owner of fairly high social standing.

Hugh Milne has skillfully picked and chosen from the normalized "reading" texts established by eight of the thirteen volumes in the Trade Edition segment of the Yale Boswell Editions to create a tapestry of Boswell's life in Edinburgh during the two crucial decades from 1767 to 1786. Although the result is (as Milne dutifully warns) "not a complete version of the journals kept by Boswell while living and working in Edinburgh" (p. viii), Milne's modesty conceals the generous amount of text he has managed to include in the 495 pages of journals he has selected. He has done so with an eye to the common reader, eliminating segments that he considered "uninteresting or obscure, or which would result in needless repetition" (p. viii). Such an editorial decision will please the armchair reader and the undergraduates (or grad students) who may be assigned the book, but will perhaps upset some Boswellians hoping for the *histoire totale* of Boswell's daily routine in Edinburgh, repetitions and all.

Milne, himself an Edinburgh lawyer, has benefited from close access to the Advocates' and Signet Libraries, and to the modern Edinburgh legal world and its practitioner-scholars. Where he could, he has added "significant material" in the form of identifications of people, events, and places missing from the original eight volumes that were his source material (p. ix). However, he is very scrupulous in acknowledging the nature of his work as an adapter and expander of pre-existing popular editions of the journals. He nonetheless explains the pains he has taken to re-craft and expand the adapted material: "Although the influence of the Yale editors can be felt at every turn, the text of the journal entries has required a complete re-editing" (pp. viii-ix). This is not simply a cut-and-paste job of the sort Mark Harris or John Wain performed on the Boswell journals; it is recognizably altered in annotation, though not so much in text. One suspects that the most dramatic changes Milne has made are indeed (as he suggests) those which discuss the law cases and legal world, but he also adds biographical data and solves certain non-legal puzzles of Boswell's Edinburgh years.

Some pieces of the puzzle are still missing from Milne's edition because the earliest Edinburgh journalizing, that of 1758-62, including the "Harvest Jaunt," was never published in the general trade series. Those new sections will only appear in print as the Research Edition of the journals comes forth over the next five years. Where Milne thinks it necessary, he fills in the several significant gaps in the journal sequence either with journal material from the rare *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle* (1928-34) or with relevant letters, or with his own prose, cued to the reader's attention through extended use of italic print. Although the patches and segues do prove helpful in a narrative read-through and will certainly aid students and newcomers, they can be skipped by specialists without great danger. The best example of Milne's own style as a biographer is the Introduction, a brisk presentation of Boswell's life from 1740 to 1766. Milne also provides a very brief Epilogue, explaining the last decade of Boswell's life, 1786-95. Additional original features are the appendixes: a ten-page biographical register of "Certain Notable Judges and Advocates" in 1766 and a six-page "List of Sources," which might have been excised by a lesser trade publisher. Thirty-seven pages of a reasonably detailed index are also a welcome surprise. The newly available second edition alters the editorial content "to clarify," "correct some factual errors," and include "additional information" (p. xi).

Some specialist demurrals might be made about the completeness of Milne's *apparatus criticus*. He likely accepted too readily the flaws of the Trade Edition's texts, which excessively normalized and modernized the text in an effort to reach a wider reading public. Milne does not attempt to be exhaustive in his survey of secondary sources even on topics of Boswell's legal career, and some useful secondary sources are absent from his notes and brief bibliography. Yet in a popular edition such as his, no such burden is placed upon him, and for a broad readership he has already gone far beyond expectations. Milne's florilegium should be bought and consulted even by those who own the entire Trade Edition of the journals or who already collect extensively on Enlightenment Edinburgh. *Boswell's Edinburgh Journals* is a worthy addition to the corpus of affordable and well-presented texts being put forward by Mercat and Canongate in what one hopes will be part of a more general, extra-academic renaissance of cultural interest in Scotland's vibrant urban life in the period 1750-1800.

James J. Caudle, Yale University

Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg, **The Canongate Burns: The Complete Poems and Songs of Robert Burns**. Edinburgh: Canongate Classics 104, 2001. Pp. xcix + 1017.

The most notable complete Burns edition (reprinting all poems and songs plus commentary) since James Kinsley's for Clarendon (1968), the Canongate focuses on the poet's complex relationship to politics of the 1790s. In a commentary liberally spiced by quotation from Burns's letters, the editors argue that Burns's radical political activities never faltered between 1793 and 1796, the dark period in British politics and civil liberties that coincided with the last three years of his life. Burns went underground, they argue, sending anonymous and pseudonymous poems (some twenty-five previously unattributed texts are included here) to radical London and Scottish papers. A separate case for some of the new attributions (including the anti-war song "Ewe Bughts") was actually made during the 1960s by the Coleridge scholar Lucylle Werkmeister, in a neglected essay on "Robert Burns and the London Daily Press" that Andrew Noble rediscovered a year after Patrick Scott Hogg had independently ascribed several of the same poems to Burns.

If one could imagine two centuries of editors actively committed to promoting a Tory Lord Byron or a conservative William Blake, one would have some sense of what has happened to the poems, songs, and reputation of Burns. Noble's and Hogg's major achievement is their successful refutation of the idea of a politically quiescent Burns and their forceful realignment of Burns with radical British politics of his era. The Canongate Burns aims to demolish the myth of creative and personal decline originally set in place by Dr. James Currie in 1800: as editor of the first complete *Life and Works*, Currie was less interested in facts than in securing public sympathy for the poet's widow and children, to whom the proceeds of his edition were secured. Currie deliberately obscured the aura of political danger that was so visible to the poet's contemporaries. As William Nichol, godfather of one of Burns's sons, wrote to John Lewars a month after the poet's death: "both . . . the Scotch and English newspapers . . . pour forth their invidious reflections without reserve, well knowing that the dead Lion from whose presence they formerly scudded away with terror, and at whose voice they trembled through every nerve, can devour no more" (Laing Mss, Edinburgh University Library; quoted in James Mackay, *RB: A Biography of Robert Burns*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1992: 646). *The Canongate Burns* takes as its focus Nichol's "Lion," not the mild-eyed lamb of popular myth.

Hogg and Noble document the steps Burns took to speak out and yet safeguard his excise position, usually by printing Jacobite and Jacobin writings anonymously or pseudonymously and in some cases by writing in standard English rather than Scots. (To those who might assume that these newly recovered English poems are necessarily trivial, the editors point out that they were at any rate good enough for the young Coleridge to admire.) Cloaked signatures and anonymous publication were especially necessary after Burns was called upon in 1793 by Robert Graham of Fintry to answer formal charges of political disaffection. Fintry, a commissioner on the board of excise, was the patron to whom Burns turned during the 1790s following the death of the earl of Glencairn (whose own radical sympathies, along with those of Burns's other early aristocratic friend, Lord Daer, are fascinating concerns of the commentary). But Fintry himself, Noble and Hogg have discovered, was a paid informer, supplying information to the government about Burns's activities in the period 1793-96 (p. 251). Among other paid government spies active in a posthumous falsification of the poet's later years were Robert Heron, author of the (scurrilous) first short biography of the poet in 1796, and the novelist Henry Mackenzie. Had Fintry, Heron, and their ilk differed from Burns and said so publicly, there would be no reason for recriminations. But it has been a disaster for Burns's literary and personal reputation that enemies posing as well-wishers organized such an active and effective disinformation campaign in the years following his death.

The edition proceeds usually by order of publication, with the exception that signed poems that first appeared in periodicals, such as "To a Haggis" (first printed in the *Caledonian Mercury* in December 1786), are printed as they appeared in subsequent volumes of Burns's collected *Poems*. The Kilmarnock poems (1786) are printed first, followed by new poems printed in the two Edinburgh editions (1787 and 1793) and "Songs Published During His Lifetime" (largely, those published before 1796 in James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* [1787-1803] or George Thomson's *Select Collection* [1793-1818]). The next and most controversial section, "Anonymous and Pseudonymous Writings," prints the newly attributed works alongside acknowledged Burns poems, including "Scots Wha Hae" (1793) and "Is There for Honest Poverty" ["A Man's a Man"] (1795), first published in newspapers either anonymously or under such provocative pseudonyms as "Agrestis, Banks of Bannockburn." The volume concludes with works published posthumously, with a separate section of posthumously printed Burns songs included in *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*—a volume of bawdry that probably contains many more texts by Burns than Noble and Hogg acknowledge—and with a section on "Undetermined and Rejected Works."

The newly attributed poems vary in quality. Some, notably "The Dagger" (a satiric address to Edmund Burke), are striking additions to the Burns canon. Others show signs of hasty composition, including a short text ("On the Death of the Late Dr. Adam Smith," printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1790 and signed "Ag-

ricola'') that has the over-the-top energy of Burns's extempore performances but that mangles the meter in line three:

Death and Hermes of late in Elysium made boast,
That each would bring thither what earth valued most:
Smith's *Wealth of Nations* *Hermes* stole from his shelf
DEATH just won his cause—he took off Smith himself. (p. 445)

Two variant texts of a blank-verse poem spoken by Robert Bruce are among the stronger candidates for inclusion in the canon. They show, for one thing, clear influence from Burns's idolized predecessor, Robert Fergusson, who (like Burns in "The Brigs of Ayr") was much given to transcribing the midnight conversations of Scottish "ghaists." Fergusson was not generally admired at this time—it was Burns who ordered a stone for Fergusson's unmarked grave soon after arriving in Edinburgh in late 1786. So the echo of Fergusson adds significantly to the case for Burns as author. Both the "Bruce" poems appeared in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* shortly before "Scots Wha Hae," whose speaker is also Robert Bruce, was printed in the radical *London Morning Chronicle*. Noble and Hogg point out that the last line of "Scots Wha Hae"—"Let us do or Die!!!"—echoes the Oath in the Tennis Court and so explicitly supports the French Revolution.

The editors are not all-inclusive, questioning the status of several texts that Kinsley admits and in one case ("Wantonness") never even discussing a song that I think is probably by Burns. On the generally knotty matter of Burns's authorship of songs sent to *The Scots Musical Museum*, the editors may be too prone to taking Burns's own word. His elaborate coding system for the *Museum* (R, B, and X were used to identify his own work; Z to mark traditional songs transmitted or only lightly retouched) was often a medium for playful subterfuge. The same friend told by Burns that "Auld Lang Syne" (signed "Z") was the work of an ancient "Heaven-inspired Poet" (*Letters of Robert Burns*, 1:345), had been told a month earlier that "Those [songs] marked Z, I have given to the world as old verses to their respective tunes; but in fact, of a great many of them, little more than the Chorus is ancient; tho' there is no reason for telling every body this piece of intelligence" (*Letters*, 1:337). The editors may have missed an opportunity to connect the subversive Burns of anonymous newspaper publication with the covert bard who infiltrates national consciousness disguised as an ancient sage. No one can determine with exactness the extent of Burns's rewriting of the songs for *The Scots Musical Museum* or *Merry Muses of Caledonia*; still, the editors might have devoted more time to sorting out the possibilities.

Any expansion of commentary to do full justice to the "lyric" (as opposed to "political") Burns would have lengthened a volume that is already more than 1100 pages long. Still, fuller information is sometimes needed, and not only on the songs but also on departures from the copytexts. Especially difficult textual challenges are raised by "Holy Willie's Prayer" and "A Poet's Welcome to his Love-Begotten Daughter," as both were circulated in variant forms during the poet's life. Noble and Hogg rightly identify the latter as "First printed in Stewart, 1801" (p. 564), yet the text they actually follow is that of the Glenriddell Manuscript (1791), never mentioned in the notes. Glenriddell is indeed usually preferred by editors—but the terseness of the note creates the false impression that Stewart's is the copytext. Even aside from textual matters, the commentary might have benefited from expanding certain discussions. To discover that Mary Wollstonecraft corresponded with Burns is interesting (p. 449), but the information generates a curiosity (unsatisfied in the note) about the circumstances.

Probably it is constraints of volume length that produce such a compressed commentary and overcrowded page, with glosses and notes crowding in upon the poet's own words. Whatever the cost in additional pages, later editions should add some further space around the texts. An index of first lines and a detailed subject and name index linked to the Introduction and notes would also make the volume easier to use. The present index of titles is not sufficient because many of Burns's writings are known under variant titles. Another drawback is that Burns's poems of political and social commentary are annotated much more carefully than the lyric and narrative poems: the editors sometimes seem to take the beauties of the "canonical" Burns texts too much for granted. In addition, the editors can be intemperate in their treatment of contemporary Burns editors (including G. Ross Roy and James Mackay) who happen to differ from them on points of authorship. Finally, they pass up some excellent scholarship and advice in neglecting J. C. Dick's still unsurpassed 1903 annotated edition of Burns's songs.

Despite these problems, *The Canongate Burns* is valuable as the only one-volume annotated text of all of Burns's poems and songs. (Kinsley's Oxford University Press paperback includes all the texts but removes the notes and commentary). It provides a much needed supplement to Kinsley's textually precise but strangely colorless edition, and it makes a vigorous case for Burns's continuing radicalism. Noble and Hogg bring dozens of brilliant but neglected Burns poems of political and social commentary (from "The Twa Dogs" to "A Winter Night") back into the full light of close editorial attention. As for the newly attributed poems, they are likely to remain contested in the absence of manuscripts in Burns's hand. But the contextual case for them is strongly argued, and the editors have convinced me that most or all are indeed the work of Burns.

Carol McQuirk, Florida Atlantic University

Jeffrey Skoblow, **Dooble Tongue: Scots, Burns, Contradiction**. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2001. Pp. 268.

Liam McIlvanney, **Burns the Radical: Poetry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Scotland**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002. Pp. x + 262.

As with buses, so with full-length studies of Robert Burns: you wait for a long time, and then two arrive at once. The wait has been worthwhile: these two very different books represent a considerable contribution to the study of eighteenth-century Scottish studies. Jeffrey Skoblow's interest in language, informed by literary theory, seeks to revisit "the situation (or problem) of writing . . . in the context of Scottish resistance to English power" (p. 19), and to "defamiliarize the landscape" (p. 9) from which we take our usual bearings when reading Burns's work. Liam McIlvanney wishes to "restore Burns to his proper contexts" by drawing attention to Burns's politics, and to re-situate him as "one of the great political poets of his—or any—age" (p. 11).

Skoblow's "series of long improvisations" (p. 9) are usually brilliant but sometimes rather glib: "Courts for Cowards are erected, Churches built to please the priest, and Literary Criticism federally funded" (p. 106). The work begins by approaching a number of twentieth-century works by poets who write in Scots, particularly W. N. Herbert and Robert Crawford's 1990 volume *Sharawaggi: Poems in Scots*. A second chapter offers a full and fun account of Hugh MacDiarmid's indebtedness to Romanticism. Students of twentieth-century Scottish writing would do well to turn to Skoblow for his deft handling of MacDiarmid's *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* in particular. Skoblow reads Burns as, paradoxically, "unreadable": as having become an awkward collision of half-remembered aphorism, mythic figure, and preserve of a very peculiar fan club. What Skoblow is really good at is finding the energy generated by Burns's use of Scots. He also provides one of the most compelling readings of Burns's prose and letters that I have come across, and rightly focuses on the delicious manoeuvres between public and private performed by the preface to the Kilmarnock and Edinburgh editions. He also engages fruitfully with James Currie's 1800 edition of Burns's work, an edition which defined nineteenth- and many twentieth-century responses to the corpus by attaching Burns's biography (printing the poet's letters alongside recollections of him) to the poems and songs. A section entitled "Kilmarnock on my Mind" offers a compelling account of the structural integrity of that edition *qua* edition, finding in the running order of the Kilmarnock edition a reflection of the concerns of the poems themselves—arguing that if "each of the Kilmarnock texts contrives its audience" (p. 173), then the structure does so too. For Skoblow, "A Dedication, to G[avin] H[amilton] Esq" is a "misplaced preface" which if "placed at the start of the volume . . . might appear as if Burns were to have farted upon entering the room (instead, we get the mellifluities of the Preface)" (p. 188). This is fun and really compelling material. The final chapter, "Sang & Mowe," addresses the libidinal energy of Burns's work, finding in song and in bawdry the apogee of Burns's awkward, "doubled" resistance to England and to English. For Skoblow, song (like sex) cannot be produced and consumed, only performed: it is part of a libidinal economy that resists and evades the dominant economies of English power and authorized (English) speech. Burns, MacDiarmid, Herbert, and Crawford all represent a response to Romanticism, and the alienation of the self from the world that Romanticism is taken to imply. Compelling and illuminating, this book provides new readings of many of Burns's poems, and innovates in its attention to prose, song, and bawdry.

Liam McIlvanney's meticulously researched and beautifully written book is the most important work to have appeared on Robert Burns in a generation. Nine chapters focus attention on Burns's engagement with late eighteenth-century British, particularly Scottish and Irish, politics. We are offered as lucid an account of Scottish radical politics, and the intellectual traditions from which such radicalism emerged, as we could wish for. New work on the influence of John Murdoch, Burns's schoolmaster, opens up not only a new understanding of the Whiggish bent of Burns's education, but also new ways of reading the significance of allusion within Burns's corpus. Like Skoblow, attention is paid to the Kilmarnock edition, and to the verse epistles which lie at its heart. One minor reservation is that whilst Burns's bawdry is dealt with fully and convincingly, little time is given to the songs. The New Light, especially the fraternal atmosphere of progressive Ayrshire Kirk politics, is well served, and serious attention is paid to the Kirk Satires. Perhaps the most exciting section of the book is that dealing with Burns's response to the government's crackdown on radical activities in 1792-93, and the growth in Ireland and Scotland of a subterranean radical culture. Picking up on some of the poems recently attributed to Burns by Patrick Scott Hogg, McIlvanney offers a compelling account of Burns's later radical verse, and is able to square (for example) the apparently reactionary "The Dumfries Volunteers" with radical verse such as "The Dagger" and "Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn." The book ends by orienting attention toward Burns's influence on Ulster Scots poetry, particularly that which appeared in the radical newspaper, the *Northern Star*. This is new and significant material, drawing attention to the complexity and coherence of Burns's political verse and to Burns's impact upon the radical Scottish and, we now know, Irish politics of the late eighteenth century.

We have been offered two refreshing and invigorating accounts of Robert Burns's work, profoundly different in approach but both concerned to reinvigorate Burns criticism. The wait was worthwhile.

Hamish Mathison, University of Sheffield

Judith Bailey Slagle, **Joanna Baillie: A Literary Life**. Madison & Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2002. Pp. 325.

The current revival of academic interest in Joanna Baillie, famous in her lifetime for her *Series of Plays [delineating] the Human Passions*, has yielded a monograph (by Catherine Burroughs), several essays, a Broadview teaching edition, and Judith Bailey Slagle's 1999 edition of Baillie's letters, followed by this new biography from the same author and press. Slagle's diligent research in libraries, public record offices, and other archives has uncovered a lot of new material, and her work gives us more accurate information about Baillie than has hitherto been available. The main challenge the biographer confronts is that, by the standards of the genre, nothing much seems to have happened to her subject: Joanna Baillie was born in Lanarkshire in 1762, her family moved to London when she was 22, and she eventually settled in Hampstead, where she died in 1851. She wrote plays, poems, and (late in life) Unitarian treatises, entertained visitors, and corresponded with friends. She never married, which Slagle represents (without providing any evidence) as a matter of choice rather than circumstance.

The category of eventfulness is undoubtedly a convention shaped by masculine biography, and Slagle lodges frequent protests (nothing in this book is ever stated just once) against commentators who dismiss Baillie's life as uneventful. Regrettably, Slagle does not develop a convincing alternative narrative of the rhythms, textures, and economies of early-nineteenth century domestic experience. Baillie enjoyed rich intellectual and social connections—she belonged to a celebrated medical family which included her uncles, John and William Hunter, and her brother Matthew, and she kept up distinguished friendships, notably with Walter Scott. Slagle's method of narrating all this is to dump potted biographies into her text of everyone remotely associated with Baillie, drawn from standard reference sources such as *DNB* and *DAB*, without any attempt to sort out the relevant information. The same goes for current events, such as the 1831 cholera epidemic. Some of this material shows up two or three times, word for word, in the main text and notes, and it is often unclear why it appears in one place rather than another. (An entire paragraph on Byron and Drury Lane seems to have strayed into the wrong chapter, on p. 150). The book soon becomes unreadable, asphyxiated in redundancy and repetition.

Slagle has little feeling for the historical and cultural contexts of her subject, and gives the reader no clear sense of the literary qualities of Baillie's work, either in her "theatre theory" or the plays themselves. The literary commentary consists of unfocused plot summaries, assertions that the works have a "feminist agenda" (p. 159) because they feature strong women and unhappy marriages, and an assumption that Baillie "clearly had to feel passion in order to write about it" (p. 79). The uncritical, unrelenting advocacy of Baillie as a mighty genius "surmounted by the patriarchy" (p. 110) soon gets monotonous—it reads like a caricature of a feminist analysis of literary production and reception. Feminism, affirmed rather than argued, is the book's *a priori* term, authorizing its circular logic: Baillie must be a feminist heroine, since this is a feminist work of recovery. But hagiography, the book's actual genre, does a disservice to those many feminist projects of historical reconstruction and critique which currently are among the most rigorous work being done in Romantic-era studies—and of which Baillie has been a beneficiary. Readers interested in her should stick to the letters and critical studies.

Ian Duncan, University of California, Berkeley

Bernard D. Frischer and Iain Gordon Brown, eds., with contributions by Patricia R. Andrew, John Dixon Hunt, and Martin Goalen, **Allan Ramsay and the Search for Horace's Villa**. Aldershot, U.K., and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. Pp. xx + 183.

Few painters in the English-speaking world have monuments erected to their memory (in Italy they name airports after artists). The statue of Allan Ramsay (1713-84) in the park just off Princes Street in Edinburgh attests to the esteem in which he is held by his countrymen. Admired today for his sensitive, telling portraits, particularly of women—his limpid portrait of his wife Margaret Lindsay daily entrances visitors to the National Gallery in Edinburgh—Ramsay was also a prolific writer and an able antiquarian. Educated in the classics, as most artists were not, he came close to the ideal of the gentleman artist extolled by his friend and rival Joshua Reynolds.

In 1778 Ramsay told a group of dinner companions—including Johnson and Boswell, Reynolds, Gibbon, and others—that he had written an account of his observations of Horace's Sabine villa. Boswell urged him to publish the work but this never came to pass until now. *Allan Ramsay and the Search for Horace's Villa* presents Ramsay's text for the first time, preceded by essays by the editors, Bernard D. Frischer and Iain Gordon Brown, and by Patricia R. Andrew, John Dixon Hunt, and Martin Goalem. *An Enquiry into the Situation and Circumstances*

of *Horace's Villa* Written during travels through Italy in the years 1775, 76, and 77 survives in three manuscript versions. Two are in libraries in Edinburgh and are partly autograph and partly in the hand of Ramsay's second wife and amanuensis Margaret Lindsay. The third and most complete version, in the hand of an unknown amanuensis—the copy chosen for publication by the editors—is at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Horace's lyrical descriptions of the natural setting of his farm in a valley among the Sabine hills—known to every educated person in the eighteenth century—were in perfect harmony with Enlightenment ideas of nature, domestic architecture, and garden design. Add to this the preoccupation with ruins, spurred by the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and it is not surprising that the search for the exact location of the fabled villa became of considerable interest to the international community of antiquarians gathered at Rome. While others visited the various sites around the Valley of Licenza, Ramsay—a friend and disciple of Hume—pursued a more empirical approach. He alone made extended visits to the area and, while not an archaeologist, arranged for some small excavations. Even during his last trip to Italy (1782-84), when he was in failing health, and devastated by the death of his wife—and with his treatise already written—he returned to the valley for another careful look around.

The pleasure of reading Ramsay's work today lies less in its literary merits, or even its archaeological accuracy—though he seems to have come pretty close to getting it right—but in his directness and sincerity. Unlike other antiquarians whose motives were commercial to the point of looting, Ramsay was genuinely interested in the truth. He states his purpose to “select all those passages which relate to his farm, accompanying them with such explanations and remarks as my reading upon the subject, and my attentive inspection of the ground itself have enabled me to make” (p. 113). And this he does. Each passage from Horace is quoted in Latin (this volume provides English versions by the eighteenth-century translator Philip Francis or by the editors) followed by Ramsay's attempts to match them to the observable topography of his day. He tries to account for man-made changes in the landscape, and chastises the slipshod work of other “scholiasts.” One aspect of his methodology would be well noted by archaeologists today: *he talked to the people*. In fact, he ends his text with an appreciation of “the country people” whom he considers to be “amongst the antiquities of the place” (p. 152). Sometimes uneducated locals have knowledge stored in their collective memories that scholars lack.

Since Ramsay's treatise is quite short (the manuscript is sixty-seven pages), most of *Allan Ramsay and the Search for Horace's Villa* is made up of the essays by the editors and contributors. As engaging as they are learned, they provide a rich context for Ramsay and his *Enquiry* as well as for the importance of Horace and his villa for the eighteenth-century pastoral ideal. We learn, for instance, from Patricia R. Andrew, of the English landscape painter Jacob More and the Prussian Jacob Phillipp Hackert—not overly familiar names even to specialists in eighteenth-century art—whom Ramsay engaged to illustrate his treatise, although how, and ultimately if, he intended to use these illustrations remains a mystery. Andrew also provides an extensive catalogue of visual works related to Ramsay's project.

The book is handsomely printed and illustrated. The excellent essays cover a wide range of topics, and the account of Allan Ramsay's search remains a compelling one to this day.

Frank Cossa, The College of Charleston

Charles W. J. Withers and Paul Wood, eds., **Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002. Pp. xv + 364.

Charles Withers and Paul Wood have joined with nine other contributors to produce a volume that is sure to be a standard work on science and medicine in eighteenth-century Scotland. The editors have co-authored a historiographical Introduction and Afterward which bracket the more specific chapters in between. They offer those chapters as a “rethinking” of the Scottish Enlightenment and, in their Afterward, make suggestions for future research.

The editors' Introduction reviews scholarship from recent decades seeking to define just what was enlightened about eighteenth-century Scotland. Beginning with Hugh Trevor-Roper's claim in the 1960s that the human sciences defined the crux of enlightenment, they arrive at Roger Emerson's emphasis on the natural sciences. Though they clearly agree with Emerson and imply that this book will strengthen that view, the editors actually conclude on a more neutral note in their Afterward. Whatever was most enlightened about eighteenth-century Scotland, this book, say they, will extend our understanding of science and medicine at the time.

And indeed it does. Written primarily from a “constructivist” viewpoint, the book's chapters mainly examine aspects of the social context of science and medicine. Just as *constructivism* is a word of variable meaning, so also the book's chapters provide various kinds of historical insights. The book's most ambitious chapter, co-authored by Wood with Roger Emerson, relies on biographical information on 168 Glasgow men of science, presented in a series of tables at the end of the chapter. Exploring the local context of these men, Emerson and Wood contrast Glasgow with Edinburgh and Aberdeen. They argue, for example, that the end of the regenting system at Glasgow

University considerably undermined the virtuoso ideal of unified knowledge and that the rapid growth of Glasgow's business and industry sufficiently "captured" the context of science to raise industrial chemistry to its dominant position by century's end. The broad scope of John Anderson's natural philosophy course at Glasgow University, and of his own interests, would seem to make him an exception to, rather than an example of, any such decline of the virtuoso ideal. Nevertheless, Emerson and Wood have certainly succeeded in giving theoretical form to a mass of biographical information. Indeed, one senses further publications huddled within that material, awaiting release.

By contrast with that prosopographical chapter, six other chapters focus on individual men of science or medicine. Judith Grabiner explains how Colin Maclaurin applied his Newtonian mathematics to various cultural components, ranging from revealed religion to insurance to molasses barrels. Anita Guerrini places George Garden's and George Cheyne's ideas of preformation in the context of mysticisms, personal problems, and medical practice, among other things emphasizing the differences in Enlightenment from Aberdeen to Edinburgh to Glasgow. Stephen Brown explores the printer William Smellie's role in the book culture's popularization of scientific ideas, especially in natural history. Warren McDougall also writes about book culture, telling the story of Edinburgh bookseller Charles Elliot's international trade in medical works. He provides an extended table of Elliot's 154 medical publications from 1772 to 1790. In the most interesting of these chapters, Fiona Macdonald unveils the transition in medical examinations from trust in the patient's account of symptoms to trust in direct examination of the patient's body. Working in the specific context of Glasgow where physicians and surgeons came more closely together than elsewhere, Robert Cleghorn is Macdonald's central character in this study of an evolving revolution in diagnostic practice. Finally, Charles Waterston discusses the gentleman scholar George Steuart Mackenzie's practical cultivation of several areas of science, indicating his (Waterston's) disagreement with Emerson and Wood regarding the increase of specialization.

The remaining three chapters by A. D. Morrison-Low, Charles Withers, and Stuart Hartley examine the place in the Scottish Enlightenment of, respectively, scientific instruments, geography, and geology. While Morrison-Low and Withers show the dispersal of their subjects through Scottish society, Hartley examines the growing significance of geological field work in the minds of geologists who had different views of both geological theory and the philosophy of scientific knowledge.

Whether or not it is a fundamental *rethinking* of its subject, this quite successful book accepts the central role of science and medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment and from that starting point explores the complexities of the social context of science and medicine. Highlighted by the editors for future research are (1) different ways of acquiring knowledge, (2) the geographical distribution of scientific and medical knowledge, and (3) the culture of the book. Other questions remain, too, of course. What would a constructivist analysis of *historians* of science and medicine make of the fact that most of the contributors have strong connections to Scottish institutions, while none is from, for example, continental Europe? Moreover, was there, in fact, anything especially *enlightened* about eighteenth-century Scotland? No doubt every society has sufficient science and medicine to repay historical study of their social context. Whatever exactly "enlightenment" means, it would surely convey some claim of "conceptual" progress or superiority. But is "Enlightenment" simply an old term prone to dissipation under historical scrutiny? Would the constructivist contributors to this volume follow Steven Shapin's lead and declare that there was no such thing as the Scottish Enlightenment and that this is a book about it? These, however, are not the book's questions. Emphasizing the importance of science and medicine, its contributors have given us a volume we need to read.

David B. Wilson, Iowa State University

Francis Hutcheson, **An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense**. Edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002. Pp. xxv + 226.

Francis Hutcheson's *Essay and Illustrations*, one of the finest examples of moral-theoretical argumentation in the literature of philosophy, has long been hard to find in any form and has never appeared, in its entirety, in a serious scholarly edition. Bernard Peach's 1971 Harvard University Press edition includes only the *Illustrations*, omitting the longer *Essay*, while R. S. Downie's 1994 Everyman edition of Hutcheson's writings contains both, but in abridged form. The present volume therefore fills a genuine need, and on the whole it does so impressively.

The edition's virtues begin with the attractiveness and readability common to all Liberty Fund publications, but they go well beyond the superficial. Aaron Garrett aims to produce a genuine critical edition and—with one reservation—I would say that he succeeds. The text follows that of the 1728 first edition in every significant detail and is usefully supplemented with line numbers and explanatory footnotes. Garrett endeavors to preserve Hutcheson's idiosyncratic preferences in spelling, capitalization, and italicization—and not without effect: the lavish

use of italics virtually compels the reader to imagine the arguments as spoken aloud by their author, one of the great lecturers of his day. For those curious about the development of Hutcheson's thought, an Appendix sets out every significant change introduced by Hutcheson in the 1742 edition. There is also a straightforward and informative Introduction, which some might think humbler in its brevity than is called for in such an important edition.

On, then, to the book's faults, which are not many. Inclusion of the 1725 *London Journal* debate between Hutcheson and Gilbert Burnet might have been useful. And, while it is certainly acceptable to put the 1742 emendations into an appendix, reference marks at the places in the main text to which those emendations relate would have spared readers the trouble of marking them in for themselves. Finally—to come to the “reservation” mentioned above—the editor's treatment of eighteenth-century spellings is curiously inconsistent. Thus, while *strengthening* is allowed to remain as such on p. 43, Hutcheson's *weakning* is corrected to *weakening* on p. 86, and his *weakned* to *weakened* on p. 89. Similarly, the “æ” ligature is sometimes retained, sometimes not (e.g., *Latitia* oddly becomes *Latitia*), and the author's evident preference for the possessive *Mens*, so rendered, is likewise respected in some places but not others. Finally, a few odd spellings that one initially supposes to be eighteenth-century curiosities turn out, in fact, to be twenty-first century mistakes—for example, *desireable* (p. 47) and *ecstacies* (p. 85). These are trifling faults—only once did I notice anything as serious as a wrong word (*produce* for *procure* on p. 88)—but as they may be important to some, and possibly of use to the editor in preparing a second edition, I raise them without meaning to exaggerate their significance in what is unquestionably a work of merit and scholarship.

Andrew Cunningham, Toronto

Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*. Text edited by Derek R. Brookes. Annotations by Derek R. Brookes and Knud Haakonssen. Introduction by Knud Haakonssen. The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid (General Editor, Knud Haakonssen), volume 3. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 2002. Pp. xv + 651.

Thomas Reid's *Intellectual Powers* is arguably the most widely studied and quoted of his works. Scholars will be grateful for its appearance in a modern typography in the new Edinburgh Edition, but the quality of the design is cause for concern. Proper names in full capitals disfigure many pages, up to nineteen times a page, and there is seriously bad formatting of the dedication. A patchy but nevertheless serviceable set of footnote annotations—all of them editorial—directs readers to many of Reid's explicit and implicit references, and there are two substantial indexes. Despite a few infelicities, the new edition is on both these counts an advance over Sir William Hamilton's incomplete edition. The *Intellectual Powers* presents other challenges, however, to a modern editor. The most intractable is how to utilize the manuscript morass from which the work developed. This has been deferred, quite sensibly, to Knud Haakonssen's forthcoming edition of the shorter *Active Powers*. The two works had a common evolution as a unified exposition of Reid's thinking on our mental powers until Reid took a late decision to divide them.

Brookes left academic life when this edition was incomplete and can really take responsibility only for Reid's texts. Haakonssen, greatly assisted by Åsa Söderman, had to work against the clock to augment the annotation and supply the historical context. To promote the result as a “critical edition” is a bit optimistic. In the textual preparation, only one copy, unidentified, of the first edition appears to have been consulted, even though the library that holds it has three other copies which should have been collated. About a dozen deviations from the copytext are acknowledged in the footnotes, allegedly correcting “printer's errors in the light of Reid's manuscripts” (p. vii). In fact none of the more substantial changes made is supportable from Reid's latest surviving manuscript. The misquotation from Locke on p. 297 is Reid's own, and his perfectly good idiom on p. 318 should not have been altered. On p. 597, the sense of Addison's Latin is destroyed by the loss of a line in the copytext, a loss noted but not rectified in the new edition, notwithstanding its correctness in the manuscript. Reid's and his compositor's correct Greek has been badly scrambled on p. 500.

The main novelty of the edition—some manuscript papers on the nature and duration of the soul—is more problematic. The transcription has many minor inaccuracies, and the strata of composition have been confused, sometimes by not attending to sense and sometimes by ignoring variations in hand and ink. An editorial note expresses needless puzzlement at Reid's excluding the subject from the *Intellectual Powers*. The subject belongs to natural theology, which is systematically excluded throughout. It is not that Reid repudiated the religious framework that is explicit on the title pages of all his publications, but that he had nothing *original* to say about it. The editors are silent on where Reid is coming from, but his discussion of the soul, like much else in his natural theology, is an uncritical reworking of Joseph Butler. That these are “three lectures . . . probably first delivered in January 1766” (p. 616) is doubtful. Two lectures only, numbered 41 and 42, are identified in the manuscript,

but between them they cover three topics—the immateriality of the soul in one lecture, its place and duration in another. No. 41 was to be given on 6 January but there is no text for it: in other words, Reid was signaling the use of a previously existing lecture. No. 42 was scheduled for the 7th, but the “7” is deleted (not a “continental” 7) and it was rescheduled for the 20th. A summary of these lectures is outlined in another document printed here, “Appendix to Pneumatology.” Only on the third topic is there any sign that Reid wrote anything fresh for his 1766 delivery, and this was in turn later absorbed into a longer discourse on whether the soul perishes, that goes back to reuse spare paper on an earlier manuscript. This has not been adequately worked through.

Brookes’s edition of Reid’s *Inquiry* went into paperback, so it is reasonable to hope the *Intellectual Powers* will do so too. Before that happens, editors and press should get together to correct the more readily corrigible errors in what will still be a useful edition.

M. A. Stewart, University of Aberdeen

The Correspondence of Thomas Reid. Edited by Paul Wood. The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid (General Editor, Knud Haakonssen), volume 4. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 2002. Pp. xxvii + 356.

Slowly but surely, the major figures of eighteenth-century Scottish thought and culture are getting their correspondences published in modern editions. J. De Lancey Ferguson’s edition of *The Letters of Robert Burns* (later revised by G. Ross Roy) and J.Y.T. Greig’s edition of *The Letters of David Hume* (later supplemented by Raymond Klibansky and Ernest Mossner’s *New Letters*) got things started in the early 1930s, but those were “one-way” volumes, containing letters “from” but not letters “to.” More recently, we have had “two-way” correspondences of Adam Smith edited by Ernest Mossner and Ian Ross (1987) and of Adam Ferguson edited by Vincenzo Merolle (1995), and of course the ongoing volumes of James Boswell’s correspondence edited by various hands. Roger Robinson’s four-volume edition of the correspondence of James Beattie has been announced by Thoemmes Press for summer 2004, and Jeffrey Smitten’s edition of the correspondence of William Robertson continues to make its way toward completion. Each of these editions has special problems of its own, and their editors have adopted different editorial strategies. For example, Adam Ferguson’s correspondence, being mostly about the affairs of Ferguson’s life, was well-served by the inclusion of Jane Fagg’s book-length Biographical Introduction, keyed to the letters in the book. To handle the vast size of James Beattie’s correspondence, Roger Robinson has hit upon the clever expedient of devoting one full volume to summaries of every extant “to” or “from” letter, leaving three volumes for the full texts of a selection of about 350 of the best letters by Beattie himself.

In editing the correspondence of the Presbyterian minister, university professor, and philosopher Thomas Reid, Paul Wood faces a very different set of editorial problems. Remarkably little of Reid’s correspondence has survived: only 103 letters from Reid and 21 to him; two-thirds of the letters by Reid himself have previously been published; and the correspondence as a whole provides little insight and information about Reid’s life. After reading it through, one still knows remarkably little about the man. Reid gives us neither detail nor emotion. He gives away so little of his views on religion and ecclesiastical matters, for example, that one wonders how he could have been a minister in the same church as Robertson and John Erskine. Reid’s role in higher education also receives little attention, although we can at least hope for more on that score when Alexander Broadie and Paul Wood produce the tenth and last volume in the Reid edition, *Reid and the University*.

But if Reid’s correspondence is biographically disappointing, it is philosophically satisfying. Reid was the kind of person who could write a letter to a close friend, such as Lord Kames, that would dispense with pleasantries in a single sentence (if that much), launch into page upon page of detailed philosophical or scientific argument, and then come to an abrupt end. The lengthy letters to Kames, along with some that Reid wrote to James Gregory and Dugald Stewart when he was preparing his two volumes of *Essays* for the press during the 1780s, are sure to be treasured by historians of philosophy and science. No matter that most of these letters have been published previously by Sir William Hamilton, Ian Ross, and others: almost all the works in which they appear are not easily accessible, and there is something to be said in any case for having all these fine letters together in one place, accurately transcribed. Moreover, the small size of Reid’s correspondence has enabled the editor to build on the strengths of his material by including several relevant letters *about*, rather than by or to, Reid, such as the important letter from Hume to Hugh Blair about the manuscript of Reid’s *Inquiry* that Wood himself first published in *Mind*, as well as three drafts of letters from Reid to Kames that are different from the known versions (which are also included). A substantial Appendix (previously published by Hamilton) consisting of Reid’s comments on an essay on cause and effect by James Gregory is another welcome addition.

My only criticism concerns the seriously flawed editorial format. In user-friendly editions of correspondence, information about prior publication is placed at the top of each letter, and footnotes contain explanatory informa-

tion about individuals, institutions, and incidents mentioned in the text as well as textual revisions by the author and cross-references to other relevant letters. Here, however, this information appears in several different places in the back of the book. First, a section of Explanatory Notes (pp. 267-324) is keyed to the text with asterisks, corresponding to letter number, page number, and line. A separate section of Textual Notes (pp. 325-38) includes not only textual changes made by the author (which are not keyed to the text in any way) but also information about where letters were previously published. This is followed by an Index of Places and Subjects (pp. 339-343), and then an Index of Persons and Titles (pp. 344-56), which is also the main place where individuals mentioned in the letters are identified. The system is confusing and time-consuming for the reader, and it is made worse by inconsistencies (e.g., some individuals mentioned in the text, such as David Fordyce on p. 3, are identified in the Explanatory Notes, while most others are identified only in the second index) and errors (e.g., on p. 290 the line references do not correspond to the asterisks). While the large font used in this edition makes for a very readable text, one would gladly sacrifice it for the smaller font and user-friendly editorial format that EUP employs in the Research Edition of The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT and Rutgers-Newark

The American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly. Special issue on Thomas Reid. Edited by John Haldane. Volume 74 (Summer 2000).

The context of the volume is set by John Haldane's treatment of Thomas Reid's life and work in which he portrays Reid and Kant as "the two great anti-skeptical contemporaries of Hume." If we view Reid's historical and philosophical contribution in this manner, Reid's criticism of Humean epistemology and his own "common sense" epistemology become primary, and indeed half the articles in this volume are dedicated to Reid's epistemology, beginning with Ralph McNerny's brief discussion of the role of Reid's principles of common sense in, "Thomas Reid and Common Sense."

The emphasis on epistemology continues in Keith Lehrer and Bradley Warner's "Reid, God and Epistemology" and Philip de Bary's "Thomas Reid's Metaprinciple," each of which examines the role of God in Reid's epistemology. Lehrer and Warner read the seventh of Reid's first principles of contingent truths—namely, "that the natural faculties, by which we distinguish truth from error, are not fallacious" (Reid's *Works*, ed. Hamilton, p. 447)—as a metaprinciple that provides evidence for itself and the other first principles. Lehrer and Warner defend this reading against Plantinga's providential naturalism, which is obviated, they argue, by the self-evident and prior status of the metaprinciple. Their argument gets off the ground, however, only if we read Reid as an internalist about justification, since an externalist may still argue that Reid is a providential naturalist while granting Lehrer and Warner's position that no knowledge of God's role in guaranteeing the reliability of our faculties is required for the justification of our beliefs. This is well illustrated in de Bary's "Thomas Reid's Metaprinciple," which argues that an internalist reading of Reid's epistemology that regards Reid's seventh principle as a metaprinciple is caught on the horns of a dilemma on which either the metaprinciple does not contribute any justification over and above the justification afforded by the other principles of common sense, in which case it is otiose, or it does afford such additional justification, which generates a regress of *metametaprinciples*. Those who are concerned about the role of God in Reid's epistemology will be interested in de Bary's claim that if we read Reid as an externalist, the truth gap need not be bridged at the level of God but "at the level of the 'first principles of contingent truths' themselves."

A trio of articles by Alexander Broadie, Roger D. Gallie, and William Rowe depart from epistemological concerns to focus on one of liveliest issues in Reid scholarship: agent causation. Broadie's "The Scotist Thomas Reid" examines the relationship between the will and the intellect by showing the remarkable similarities between Reid and Scotus on this issue. Broadie establishes that Reid's theory of the interaction of the will and intellect is Scotist insofar as both regard the will as influenced, but never fully determined, by the intellect, and the intellect as being influenced to a significant degree by the will, especially as regards intellectual attention. Broadie's discussion of the act of attention provides fertile ground for those interested in Reid's theory of perception, concerning which little attention has been paid. Gallie's "Reid, Kant and the Doctrine of the Two Standpoints" argues that Reid's account of the efficient causality of agents as a contingent relation shows that both Reid and Kant regard our will as possessing both freedom of spontaneity and the freedom to do otherwise than we did (freedom of indifference). Gallie's article is nicely positioned beside Rowe's excellent analysis in "The Metaphysics of Freedom: Reid's Theory of Agent Causation," which demonstrates that we should not read Reid as claiming the Lockean (and perhaps Kantian) conception of freedom as the power to act otherwise than we did, but rather the much weaker conception that freedom is the power to will or not will what we did.

In addition to the editor's Introduction, John Haldane contributes "Thomas Reid and the History of Ideas," in which he undertakes the much-needed task of situating Reid's philosophy of mind, particularly his realist account of intentionality, in the scholastic historical framework from which Reid himself mistakenly took himself to

depart. As a historical piece, Haldane's article is indispensable; in addition, it should be required reading for any analytic philosopher of mind interested in cognition, representationalism, and introspection. If Haldane's article points backward and returns Reid (unwillingly) to his proper philosophical ancestry, Ronald E. Beanblossom's "James and Reid: Meliorism vs. Metaphysics" points forward and takes the equally necessary step of disengaging Reid from American Pragmatism, with which Reid is commonly associated. Beanblossom illustrates that while James regards methodology and epistemology as prior to any metaphysics, Reid's realism commits him to the priority of metaphysics over epistemology. Beanblossom's discussion prompted this reviewer to note that Reid's commitment to the objective truth of the first principles puts him closer to the mitigated skepticism of Mersenne and Gassendi than it does to contemporary pragmatism.

Nicholas Wolterstorff scrutinizes a Reidian doctrine that is both Reid's most famous and, in this reviewer's opinion, his most confused, namely, his doctrine of common sense. Wolterstorff argues convincingly that we should take the primary mark of the principles of common sense to be their status as propositions we all take for granted, rather than the alternative mark, that they are propositions believed immediately and justifiably. He argues rightly that these two conceptions of the status of the first principles are in fundamental tension, given that "taking for granted" is surely a distinct epistemic category from "believing" and that the class of propositions taken for granted is surely larger than the class of propositions believed. Wolterstorff's argument draws on an illuminating discussion of Wittgenstein that makes evident the role of the first principles in combating skepticism as a senseless doctrine. The volume closes with C.A.J. Coady's "Reid and Modern Feminism," an original and informative discussion of the differences between the Humean and Reidian conceptions of justice and the role of self-interest in contracts and promises. Coady uses Reid's position that justice cannot be based on self-interest to examine some of the tensions and interpretive options in contemporary feminist philosophy.

Reid is still a neglected figure, and as this exceptional volume makes clear, his philosophy deserves more attention than it has received. Reid's criticism of the way of ideas was not grounded solely in his epistemological or anti-skeptical concerns, however, just as Kant's critical works cannot be read as solely epistemological. Reid and Kant were, it is true, the two great anti-Humean contemporaries of Hume, and as I plead for more study of Reid, to which this special issue of the *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* makes a significant contribution, I would also like to plead that such study reconceive Reid's contributions as extending farther into the philosophy of mind, metaphysics, and metaethics.

Rebecca Copenhaver, Lewis & Clark College

Kenneth E. Carpenter, *The Dissemination of the Wealth of Nations in French and in France, 1776-1843*. New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 2002. Pp. ix + 255.

Scholars generally enjoy hearing about how other scholars came to be drawn to the subject of their research, and Kenneth Carpenter's Preface, in which he briefly recounts his research trajectory, immediately engages the reader. As curator and librarian of the Kress Collection of pre-1850 economic literature at Baker Library in the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Carpenter was intrigued by the vast disparity of French translations of the *Wealth of Nations*, differences so noticeable that they could not be attributed merely to the varying degrees of linguistic competence of Smith's French translators, or to particularities of the translators' styles. It became increasingly apparent to Carpenter that "translators, editors, and publishers altered the original in accordance with their perception of the needs of their culture" (p. ix). Realizing that a comprehensive analysis of all the French editions of the *Wealth of Nations* would yield results of great interest not only to Adam Smith specialists but also to scholars of the history of economics, the history of the book, the history of French publishing, and the cultural history of revolutionary and post-revolutionary France, Carpenter set out to acquire for the Baker Library as many French translations and editions as possible.

The fruits of Carpenter's years of collecting and studying these French editions, and his analysis of their reception and influence in France as reflected in both the editions themselves and in the French press, are laid out in this well-organized, attractively illustrated volume, in which scholars can easily locate any information they may be seeking about a particular French edition of the *Wealth of Nations*. All thirty known French editions—including published and unpublished translated extracts, full translations, reprints of translations, reissues of revised translations, offprints, preprints of frontmatter, summaries, manuscript commentaries, and reviews of English editions and French translations—are presented in chronological order. A summary publication history, a complete bibliographical description, a mention of notices and reviews, and comments on notes and textual revisions are given for each publication. Carpenter also provides the complete French texts of prefaces, introductions, reviews, and summaries, and this alone will make his volume indispensable to many scholars.

From a purely bibliographical standpoint, the information meticulously compiled by Carpenter constitutes a significant contribution to the publication history of the *Wealth of Nations*. But it is the Critical Introduction to the material presented here, "French Transformations of the Wealth of Nations: From Marginality to Centrality to

Canonicity,” that presents Carpenter’s new conclusions concerning the reception of the *Wealth of Nations* in France, and its influence on the evolution of French economics, and indeed on France’s perception of itself as a modern nation (p. xli). Gérard Genette’s discussion of the “paratext,” that is, the various elements of the materiality of a book, provides the theoretical framework for Carpenter’s analysis. In *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretations* (1997), Genette divides the paratext into the “peritext,” which includes elements under the direct control of the publisher, such as format, running heads, tables of contents, indexes, title pages, prefaces and introductions, and the “epitext,” which is comprised of some elements beyond the control of the publisher, but which also help to make the text “present in the world” (p. xxv). These epitextual elements include announcements, reviews, letters, and other forms of publicity for a book.

Carpenter’s careful scrutiny of all the paratextual elements of French editions reveals that the period 1790-95 marked the transformation of the *Wealth of Nations* from “a text published on the periphery in peripheral form” to “a tool for creating a new society” (p. xli). Whereas the first French language edition (The Hague, 1778-79) contained no additional frontmatter, no translator’s name on the title page, and no notes, in other words, “no mediation of the text, nothing to proclaim its importance and relevance to the culture of the language of the translation” (p. xxxv), the 1787 Duplain edition of the Abbé Blavet’s translation, printed in Paris, placed Smith’s work at the center of French publishing and philosophic circles. Favorably reviewed in such influential journals as the *Mercure de France*, the *Journal encyclopédique*, and the *Journal de Paris*, the *Wealth of Nations* was interpreted as “an examination of the organization of civilized societies . . . with broad relevance to French readers of 1788” (p. xlv). The 1790-91 translation by the acclaimed poet Jean-Antoine Roucher (who was to go to the guillotine in 1794) was accompanied by paratextual elements that clearly indicated that by the middle of the revolutionary era, the *Wealth of Nations* had become a central text. The name of the well-known poet-translator was prominently printed on the title page; two pirated editions were printed in Avignon and Neuchâtel; extensive extracts were published; many reviews and commentaries appeared; and a volume of commentary by Condorcet was announced (though Condorcet, yet another victim of the Terror, never even began it). Carpenter points out that the name of Condorcet “was crucial in mediating the *Wealth of Nations* for French readers” (p. xlviii).

By 1800 Bonaparte had overthrown the Directory in his coup d’état of 18 Brumaire, and the *Wealth of Nations* had entered into the final phase of “canonicity.” One of the three new translations announced in the *Mercure de France* in that year was probably a revised edition of Blavet’s translation, which in Carpenter’s analysis had already moved the *Wealth of Nations* closer to canonicity by including expanded prefatory matter and an index. Carpenter speculates that the second translation announced in the *Mercure* article must have been a reprint of the 1794 Roucher translation. The fact that Roucher’s family had received compensation from the Convention in 1795 for Roucher’s execution helped secure funding from the French state for a reprint of his translation, and the recent rehabilitation of this “illustrious victim of most horrible tyranny,” in the words of his rival Blavet (p. xlvii), no doubt contributed to the success of this reprint. It was the 1802 translation by Germain Garnier, however, that secured the *Wealth of Nations* a position as a canonical text. Even more than the translation of Antoine Roucher, the status of the translator—Garnier had supported Bonaparte in his coup and had subsequently been appointed prefect of the department of Seine-et-Oise—guaranteed that this edition would be a best seller. Garnier was also a political economist in his own right, and his translation was accompanied by an entire volume of his own notes, which more than any other paratextual element crowned Smith’s work as a classic text and “transformed *Richesse des Nations* . . . from a work of the moment into a scholarly text” (p. xxiv). The 1843 edition of Garnier’s translation included notes from political economists in several different countries, making the *Wealth of Nations* “a foundation piece in the professionalization of the science of economics” (p. xxiv).

Carpenter neatly concludes his study by noting that the range of Smith’s influence in France, not just on economics but on the concept of civil society itself, would not have been as broad had it not been for the many “invisible hands” of translators, publishers, editors, authors of prefaces and reviews, who not only helped to shape the materiality of Smith’s text but also prepared its reception and appreciation by French readers. It is refreshing to see the meticulous, sometimes tedious, and often thankless work of translating and editing given its just due as original scholarship in its own right.

Deidre Dawson, Michigan State University

David Hume, *Essais moraux, politiques et littéraires, et autres essais*. Édition intégrale. Traduction nouvelle, introduction, notes, chronologie, bibliographie et index par Gilles Robel. Préface de Jean-Pierre Cléro. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001. Pp. viii + 874.

In the 1742 edition of the *Essays, Moral and Political*, and only in that edition, David Hume included a piece entitled “Of Essay Writing” in which he refers to himself as a kind of ambassador, representing the Dominions of Learning which have for too long been separated from the Dominions of Conversation. In the previous century,

philosophy, secluded from common life, good company and the ‘‘conversible’’ world of history, poetry, and politics, had become a ‘‘moaping recluse,’’ chimerical in content and unintelligible in style. A healthy balance of trade between the two realms had now to be established to ensure that the raw materials of sound reasoning would be drawn from experience—experience that can be found only in that *conversible* world.

In this very useful edition of the *Essays* translated into French, Gilles Robel demonstrates how the *Essays*, following closely on the heels of the *Treatise*, signaled Hume’s concerted attempt to adapt his writing strategies to the needs of the aforementioned balance of trade. We are mistaken, in short, when we follow too avidly the distorting processes of modern analytical philosophy and separate the philosopher from the man of letters. Ultimately, Hume the thinker has to be read and understood within the framework of a ‘‘culture of politeness,’’ and no work more than the *Essays* exemplifies the unity, the evolution, and the coherence of the Humean corpus. Robel’s overriding desire to get that important message across lies behind the wealth of annotations in this uncommonly exhaustive critical edition. Indeed, although the forthcoming Clarendon edition of the *Essays* may alter the picture somewhat, it is safe to say that at the moment nothing comparable to this 874-page production, crammed with small-print notes, variants, and notes to variants, exists in any language.

The editor’s decision to adopt a mainly chronological order of presentation as opposed to the traditional arrangement found, for example, in the 1772 edition of the *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (the Humetext 1.0 electronic version of which serves as a basis for his edition) seems essentially sound, allowing as it does for a clearer appreciation of the evolution of Hume’s thought. It makes little sense, for example, to place Hume’s very last essay, ‘‘Of the Origin of Government’’—composed late in his career and reflecting Hume’s many post-Wilkite anxieties—in its traditional fifth position at the beginning of the collection, immediately after the essay, ‘‘Of the First Principles of Government,’’ which Hume wrote more than thirty years earlier. Robel also rejects the anachronistic distortions resulting from more than one attempt to group Hume’s essays under modern thematic rubrics such as economics or esthetics—disciplines not yet autonomous in Hume’s day. The *Essays*, written to ‘‘bring forward’’ the whole of his philosophy, argue against all fragmentation of knowledge and deliberately mingle history, criticism, and politics as a total science of man. Hence Robel’s constant emphasis on editorial strategies that fully contextualize each piece and point at every opportunity to the basic coherence of Hume’s thought, highlighting parallel texts from the *Treatise*, the *Enquiries*, the *History of England*, etc., all the while citing relevant details of contemporary political, literary, or other events. The result at times is probably too much information, but the editor clearly adopts the view that too much information is always better than not enough.

As for the quality of the translation itself, French readers will not be disappointed. Robel’s versions are classically fluent, authoritative, and happily lacking in threadbare archaisms or facile anachronisms. In most instances, he achieves the ideal of producing the illusion of an original rather than a translated text. Although errors of nuance crop up here and there, most of the inaccuracies in the text appear to be the result of proofreading failures. An entire line, for example, is missing from ‘‘My Own Life’’ (p. 91); Hume’s salary as tutor to the mad marquess was 300 pounds per *year*, not per *month* (p. 93; even so, a generous stipend for the times and Hume would have accepted less!). The line in ‘‘Of Superstition and Enthusiasm’’ designating the Quakers as ‘‘the only sect that have never admitted priests amongst them,’’ is missing (p. 208). Hume calculates that Roman legions were composed of 5000, not ‘‘25000’’ men (p. 458). The words ‘‘any civilized people’’ cannot be rendered by ‘‘tous les peuples civilisés’’ (p. 520). Especially surprising are a number of outdated lapses: Diderot may well have been influenced at some point in his career by Hume’s essay ‘‘Of Refinement in the Arts,’’ but it could not have been, as Robel claims, ‘‘when he came to write the article ‘Luxe’ in the *Encyclopédie*’’ (p. 442) since that particular article was composed not by Diderot but by Saint-Lambert. Again, no French translation of the *Essays*, philosophical or otherwise, could have been produced by Mlle. de la Chaux (pp. 817-19) since it has been well established for some time now that Mlle. de la Chaux, despite her fanciful listings in far too many scholarly bibliographies, not to mention the catalogues of the world’s greatest libraries, never existed.

Two essays not previously translated into French, a biographical reference section ranging from Addison to Xerxes, and a 15-page chronology detailing synoptically Hume’s works and various cultural and historical events of his day, complete an edition which deserves a place in the reference library of every Hume scholar with a reading knowledge of French.

L. L. Bongie, University of British Columbia

Mark G. Spencer, ed., *Hume’s Reception in Early America*. 2 vols. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2002.

This is a very welcome collection. Mark Spencer has selected from responses to Hume published between 1758 and 1850; he describes the collection as representative rather than exhaustive, with an emphasis on obscure and not previously reprinted essays. The selection is arranged in four sections: American responses to Hume’s essays, to his philosophical writings, to his historical volumes (the most extensive of the sections), and to his death and

character. Resetting of the original articles for this edition has involved editorial choices and interventions which are carefully explained, and purposefully minimal. Selections reprinted in these volumes range from anonymous and workaday synopses to such distinguished names as John Witherspoon's successor at Princeton Samuel Stanhope Smith, Timothy Dwight, theologian and grandson of Jonathan Edwards, and several members of the Channing family. In general, the editorial principles are austere, and self-effacing almost to a fault. Spencer has elected to supply brief contextual and bibliographical introductions to each part and head-notes to individual essays that point to relevant secondary discussions, rather than a synoptic introduction to the two volumes. The decision was perhaps taken in response to publication constraints, or to avoid anticipating the editor's forthcoming monograph on the reception of Hume's political thought in early America, but it feels like a missed opportunity: this reviewer wished for greater elaboration, for example, of the tantalizing hint that Hume was read, in the pre-Revolutionary years, as a voice for liberty, but that by the mid-nineteenth century his writing was cited much more readily for reactionary implications. To an extent, the selections themselves provide the evidence; but given the editor's unique scholarship on Hume in America, readers of this selection would have benefited from a general critical assessment of the body of material from which the selection is drawn. The detailed bibliographic documentation and informative head-notes are indispensable, though these should have had closer proofreading: some pages contain as many as four typos. More damagingly, re-setting errors have crept into the texts, so that the authority of these reprinted essays has to be treated with caution.

Interesting patterns emerge, nonetheless. To a notable extent these examples suggest that Hume's essays were something of a common currency in early American culture, sufficiently familiar that they could be alluded to rather than quoted; there's a clear assumption of readers' acquaintance with the detail of their arguments. In this sense, "Hume"—sometimes simply "a celebrated author"—seems to have acted as a kind of rhetorical counter, bringing weight and persuasive power to arguments about liberty of the press, the rights and wrongs of slavery, constitutional establishment. Even where he is cited adversarially, Hume was evidently an authority who was to be reckoned with in colonial and early national America across a wider range of his *oeuvre* than is normally cited. Despite the known popularity of the *History of England*, it is surprising to learn that the Harvard University lending record shows this to have been the most frequently borrowed book in the crucial Revolutionary years 1773-82, that it was still regarded as essential reading when James Madison drew up his core list for the Congressional library, and that in the middle of the nineteenth century American essayists continued to debate the justice or otherwise of its portraits of Charles I, the Puritans, and the Irish settlements with animation and at great length. To a greater extent than in British critical reception, the Jacobitism of Hume's sympathies seems to have been assumed by these American critics. As a self-appointed voice of posterity, Francis Bowen reviewed a new Boston edition of the *History* in the magisterial *North American Review*: "With all its faults, the book is immortal; it has pushed its predecessors off the shelves of ordinary libraries, and has not given place . . . to one of the numerous histories that have since appeared under the pretence of correcting its blunders and imperfections." So things appeared in 1849, nearly a century after Hume's first appearance as a historian.

The only known review of the *first* American edition in 1795, on the other hand, declared confidently that "while every man of letters reads Hume's History of England, almost every reader condemns many of its author's principles, and yet recommends it to general perusal." It's a strange assertion, and yet borne out by the internal conflicts of the selection reprinted here. In terms of literary criticism, one of the most interesting responses to the *History* is Charles Brockden Brown's ideological and stylistic comparisons between Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, in which "the sagacity and comprehensives [sic] of Hume" emerge as "great beyond example," and (significant praise from the ambitious American novelist) "his narrative is coherent and luminous. It affords pleasure to the old and the young, and fiction itself is outdone in its power to command and delight attention by the seductions of his tale." The more conservative reviewer of *The Port Folio*, on the other hand, awards the laurel to Robertson, "in dignity, in strength, in harmony and in purity," while Leonard Withington, writing in *The American Quarterly Observer* in 1833, finds Hume too mercurial to be interested in the antiquarian detail and accuracy of Gibbon: "it is very rare, that a man of genius is a good searcher." Better known, and deeply intriguing, is Thomas Jefferson's distrust of Hume's "bewitching" style and manner, able to seduce "all England" to become "Tories by the magic of his art." He might almost have been writing of that other "Great Magician," Walter Scott.

We find John Adams, despite his admiration for the *History*, defending the American Constitution by taking issue with the form of the "complicated aristocracy" of Hume's essays on civil government, while the steamboat engineer Robert Fulton cited him approvingly in support of industry and the "free exchange of . . . labour." Such references, often fleeting and broadly allusive, confirm the widespread familiarity and circulation of Hume's essays in the late Colonial and early National periods, well in advance of the first American edition of 1817. This selected publication of the "wonderful genius and writer" (put together by Thomas Ewell, erstwhile pupil of Benjamin Rush) included, in addition to the *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, the two *Enquiries*, the *Natural*

History of Religion and an “Index of the Dissertaiton [sic] of Miracles”—these last apparently guarded against infidelity by the inclusion of George Campbell’s refutation. Repeatedly, we find American reviewers tempted into the fruitless occupation of “refuting” Hume’s speculative thinking. The infamous chapter “On Miracles” emerges (as in Britain) as a favorite target for self-styled antagonists. Others, like Ralph Waldo Emerson, were non-committal on issues of doctrine; a few (notably a reviewer for *The Analectic Magazine*) insisted on the difference between speculative thinking and counsel for living. Most frequently, though, reviews of Hume’s philosophical—as distinct from historical—writings accomplish little more than travestied paraphrase of his own arguments; some express their alarm in an engagingly “American” idiom: “All the realities of life seem to be sinking, like fragments of floating ice, under our feet”; “We would not raise the Tomahawk against a literary adversary, or kindle around him the fires of the stake”; and—in the context of Cooper’s *The Prairie* or Melville’s *Moby-Dick*—perhaps most suggestively, “Like Ishmael, his hand should be against every man, convinced that every man’s hand is against him.” Hume’s “Life,” ubiquitously reprinted and moralized upon, his death compared with the virtuous ends of the “faithful,” reminds us that the “infidel” character of the skeptical philosopher and historian was of abiding interest to more commentators than James Boswell. Altogether, and despite some textual shortcomings, this adds up to an extraordinarily interesting and varied selection, which will re-open debates about the extent and nature of Hume’s impact in early America.

Susan Manning, University of Edinburgh

Reception of the Scottish Enlightenment in Germany: Six Significant Translations, 1755-1782. 7 volumes. Edited and introduced by Heiner F. Klemme. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2000.

Beyond the Rhine, Scottish philosophy was on the roll by the 1750s. In the earlier phase of the Scottish Enlightenment, in natural law and mathematics, in metaphysics, moral and natural philosophy, the thoughts of Pufendorf, Leibniz, and the luminaries of the Royal Berlin Academy were objects of reflection, discussion, teaching. But the mid-century marks a major reversal in German-Scottish crosscultural flows. What impact, when, where and how, did the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment have on philosophy in Germany?

These are difficult questions. Heiner Klemme has taken on the task of getting together some of the German translations that are indispensable to giving an answer: this is a set of six philosophical works by David Hume, Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, James Beattie, Adam Ferguson, and Thomas Reid, here reproduced with the editor’s systematic introductions in English on original contexts and reception for each of the authors. He draws upon the growing body of research into Scottish Enlightenment *Rezeptionsgeschichte* since Gawlick and Kreimendahl’s pioneering 1985 study of Hume’s impact in Germany, gives a cumulative insight into German Kant-related research problems and results through the 1990s, and extends our understanding of “Scotland-in-Germany” in the later half of the eighteenth century. Unsurprisingly, the chief focus is on Kant.

Following the chronology of publication in German, the first volume in this set, *Philosophische Versuche über die Menschlichen Erkenntniß* (1755), is the second edition of Hume’s *Philosophical Essays* edited by Johann Georg Sulzer, who contributed a 20-page Preface and sometimes extensive remarks after each essay. The remarks were held to be valuable, perhaps in part because the translation is uneven and lacks definition. Kant owned the 4-volume Hamburg-Leipzig edition of 1754-56, of which this is the second volume. No less a figure than Lessing is the translator of volumes 2 and 3, *Sittenlehre der Vernunft* by “Franz Hutcheson,” the 1755 *System of Moral Philosophy* with Leechman’s “Life” published the following year. Lessing’s title (“Moral Teaching of Reason”) emphasizes the rational-didactic framework and systematic exposition. It is the finest translation in this Thoemmes set by a master of classical German prose.

Volumes 3-5 fall within the years in which Kant is thought by most Kantian scholars to have awoken from his dogmatic nap. Adam Smith’s *Theorie der Moralischen Empfindungen* (3rd ed., trans. C. G. Rautenberg) appeared in 1770, quickly followed by Christian Garve’s translation of Adam Ferguson’s *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* and an anonymous translation of Beattie’s *Essay on Truth*, both published in 1772, two years after Kant’s “Inaugural Dissertation.” Garve appends an extended essay to his edition and has interesting comments on translating philosophical terminology as well as on Ferguson, “an honest and great man.” The “Sophistry and Scepticism” of Beattie’s title is translated as “Klügeley und Zweifelsucht” (with colloquial undertones of “nitpicking cleverness and addiction to doubt”), anticipating the popular-philosophical register adopted. Published in Leipzig and Copenhagen, it was, as they say, a runaway success. The final volume in this set is the anonymous 1782 translation of Reid’s *Inquiry* (3rd ed.) which enjoyed a mixed reputation into the 1790s. For one Königsberg professor, however, Reid made the same basic mistake as Beattie, and his *Untersuchungen* was the final straw. In his *Prolegomena* of the following year, as Klemme phrases it, “Kant gave Common Sense its *coup de grace*.”

Klemme discusses the mediators in the wider philosophical scene. Apart from Mendelssohn, Hamann (whose translation of Hume’s *Treatise* 1:4, 7 appearing in 1771 is thought by many to have broken Kant’s slumber), and

Jacobi, he identifies some lesser-known philosophers and literati in Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, and also Erlangen. Christian Garve, for example, weaves motifs from Edinburgh and Glasgow in his later philosophical essays. The editor's account of Kant's access to Scottish philosophy in Königsberg leads through to the awakening ca. 1770, where he raises appropriate questions concerning the causes of Kant's reorientation—the factors are complex, the possible causes many—and Scottish ingredients or precedents in the construction of the Kantian constellation of categories. In Kantian ethics, is Adam Smith's Impartial Spectator in fact Kant's Lawgiver, as Garve asserted? Kant himself was evidently puzzled by the relation, or transition, between the Impartial Spectator's non-interaction with the participants and his partial siding with what is general good, indeed why the Spectator also felt good about that. It should also be noted that instead of "Spectator" (Zuschauer), Kant operates here with the term "Richter" (judge), following Rautenberg's translation: concept substitution makes a difference.

Klemme is skeptical about ascribing too central a role to Reid in later German philosophical debates of the 1790s. He draws attention instead to Gottlob Ernst Schulze's *Aenesidemus* (1792), with its argument that Kant had not answered Hume on causality. It is at this point that the editor's tasks conclude: on the eve of Fichte, the "moment" of the Tübinger Stift, Hegel's article on Schulze and Reinhold's Kantian system in 1802, and Thomas Brown's efforts to come to terms with the causality *Streit*. Beyond the Tweed, well into the nineteenth century, the remarkable critical and speculative reasonings of Kant as well as Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel proved to be partly compatible with various philosophical interests and movements in Scotland. Maybe some of those incoming ideas and problems in that long Scottish reception of German Idealism, whether transcendentalized, sublimed, or even "aufgehoben" (sublated), were just coming back.

Geoff Parker, University of Flensburg

Briefly Noted

The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800. Edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Pp. xx + 324.

More than a study of the British Atlantic World, these these essays attempt to conceptualize and do Atlantic history, which the guru of the field, Bernard Bailyn, characterizes in the Preface as "an emerging formulation which reveals more clearly than we have seen before a transnational, multicultural reality that came into existence over a certain passage of years and has persisted" (p. xix). The volume begins with David Armitage's helpful typology of "Three Concepts of Atlantic History" and proceeds to eleven topics in thematically organized chapters (e.g., migration, economy, gender, race) by both established and up-and-coming British and American scholars. Although the chapters are too short to provide full coverage of their topics over such a wide chronological and geographical sweep, the volume provides a starting point for students to enter this growing field.

A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain. Edited by H. T. Dickinson. Blackwell Companions to British History. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002. Pp. xxx + 550.

This volume is a monumental multi-author achievement, consisting of no fewer than thirty-eight essays divided into six parts: Politics and the Constitution; Economy and Society; Religion; Culture; Union and Disunion in the British Isles; and Britain and the Wider World. With stars like Gordon Mingay on agriculture, Peter Borsay on urban life and culture, Daniel Szechi on the Jacobite movement, Colin Kidd on national integration, and Bruce Lenman on Britain and India, not to mention Dickinson himself on the British Constitution and on popular politics and radical ideas, to name a very few, this volume generally provides a high level of synthesis. Eleven pages of maps, not only of Britain and Europe but also of relevant portions of America, the West Indies, and India, add appreciably to the book's usefulness. If only it weren't too expensive for anyone but a library to afford!

Index to the Works of Adam Smith. Compiled by K. Haakonssen and A. S. Skinner. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001. Pp. x + 209.

This index to the Glasgow Edition of the Works of Adam Smith brings that extraordinary project to a close exactly twenty-five years after it began to appear. Actually it is not an index at all but a series of five separate indexes to the different publications in the series (the *Correspondence* is excluded), each of which is further divided into an index for subjects and one for persons. Although these indexes will be helpful to scholars using the Glasgow Edition, they will undoubtedly play their greatest role not in this form but rather on the web, where, according to the Introduction by Andrew Skinner, they will be available at the websites of both Liberty Fund's Library of Liberty and Oxford University Press.

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 2002, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous issues.

- Barbara BENEDICT, "Recent Studies in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century," *SEL* 42 (2002): 621-74.
- August BENZ, "Thomas Reid's Utopia: Bypassing a Contradiction," *Beiträge und Berichte*, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Hochschule St. Gallen, Zurich, no. 295 (2002): 1-20.
- Elaine BRESLAW, "From Edinburgh to Annapolis: Dr. Alexander Hamilton's Colonial Maryland Medical Practice," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 96 (2001): 401-20.
- Alexander BROADIE, "The Association of Ideas: Thomas Reid's Context," *Reid Studies* 5 (2002): 31-53.
- Stephen W. BROWN, "William Smellie and Natural History," in *SMSE*, 191-214.
- Stewart J. BROWN, "Religion in Scotland," in *CECB*, 260-70.
- John W. CAIRNS, "Legal Study in Utrecht in the Late 1740s: The Legal Education of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes," in *Summa Eloquentia: Essays in Honour of Margaret Hewett* (Pretoria, 2002), 30-74.
- John W. CAIRNS, "'The Dearest Birth Right of the People of England': The Civil Jury in Modern Scottish Legal History," in *'The Dearest Birth Right of the People of England': The Jury in the History of the Common Law*, ed. John W. Cairns and Grant McLeod (Oxford, 2002), 1-15.
- John W. CAIRNS, "Alfenus Varus and the Faculty of Advocates: Roman Visions and the Manners that were Fit for Admission to the Bar in the Eighteenth Century," *Ius Commune: Zeitschrift für Europäisches Rechtsgeschichte* 28 (2001): 203-32.
- John W. CAIRNS, "Ethics and the Science of Legislation: Legislators, Philosophers, and the Courts in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Jahrbuch für Recht und Ethik* 8 (2000 [2001]): 159-80.
- John W. CAIRNS, "Alexander Cunningham's Proposed Edition of the Digest: An Episode in the History of the Dutch Elegant School of Roman Law," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 69 (2001): 81-117, 307-59.
- John W. CAIRNS, "John Millar, Ivan Andreyevich Tret'yakov, and Semyon Efimovich Desnitsky: A Legal Education in Scotland, 1761-1767, in *The Philosophical Age*, no. 15: Russia and Scotland in the Enlightenment (St. Petersburg, 2001), 20-37.
- John W. CAIRNS, "The Moveable Text of Mackenzie: Bibliographical Problems for the Scottish Concept of Institutional Writing," in *Critical Studies in Ancient Law, Comparative Law and Legal History: Essays in Honour of Alan Watson*, ed. J. W. Cairns and O. F. Robinson (Oxford, 2001), 235-48.
- John W. CAIRNS and Grant McLeod, "Thomas Craig, Sir Martin Wright and Sir William Blackstone: The English Discovery of Feudalism," *Journal of Legal History* 21 (2000): 54-66.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "The New Bardolatry," *Burns Chronicle* (Winter 2002), 8-15.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*," in *Scottish Literature*, ed. Douglas Gifford et al. (Edinburgh, 2002).
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "The Word on Burns," *The Drouth*, no. 3 (2002).
- Greg CLINGHAM, "Resisting Johnson," in *Johnson Re-Visioned: Looking Before and After*, ed. Philip Smallwood (Lewisburg, Pa., 2001), 19-36.
- Alastair T. CRAWFORD, *Scots and the American Revolution: A Reappraisal* [16-page pamphlet]
- Marlies K. DANZIGER, article on James Boswell in *Multicultural Writers from Antiquity to 1945*, ed. A. Amora and B. L. Knapp (2002).
- Ian DUNCAN, "Waverley," in *Il romanzo*, vol. 2: *Le forme*, ed. Franco Meretti (Turin, 2002), 135-42.
- Ian DUNCAN, "Primitive Inventions: *Rob Roy*, Nation, and World System," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 15 (2002): 81-102.
- Pamela EDWARDS, "Political Ideas from Locke to Paine," in *CECB*, 294-310.
- Roger EMERSON, "How Not to Deal with Enlightenments," *Historically Speaking* 3 (2002): 5-7.
- Roger EMERSON, articles on Archibald Campbell, 3rd duke of Argyll, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Robert Wallace, Edinburgh, Scotland, Virtuosi, Clubs and Societies, and Tradition in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (New York, 2002).
- Roger EMERSON and Paul WOOD, "Science and Enlightenment in Glasgow," in *SMSE*, 79-142.
- Jane B. FAGG, "An 'Ingenious Literary Production': Adam Ferguson and the Carlisle Commission Manifesto," *Scotia* 24 (2000): 1-14.
- Judith V. GRABINER, "Maclaurin and Newton: The Newtonian," in *SMSE*, 143-71.
- Anita GUERRINI, "The Burden of Procreation: Women and Performance in the Works of George Garden and George Cheyne," in *SMSE*, 172-90.
- Knud HAAKONSEN, "The Moral Conservatism of Natural Rights," in *Natural Law and Civil Sovereignty: Moral Right and State Authority in Early Modern Political Thought*, ed. Ian Hunter and David Saunders (Basingstoke, 2002), 27-42.
- Knud HAAKONSEN, article on Sir James Mackintosh in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century British Philosophers* (Bristol, 2002), 715-19.
- Neil HARGRAVES, "The 'Progress of Ambition': Character, Narrative, and Philosophy in the Works of William Robertson," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (2002): 261-82.
- Colin KIDD, "Race, Theology and Revival: Scots Philology and Its Contexts in the Age of Pinkerton and Jamieson," *Scottish Studies Review* 3 (2002): 20-33.
- Colin KIDD, "Conditional Britons: The Scots Covenanting Tradition and the Eighteenth-Century British State," *English Historical Review* 117 (2002): 1147-76.
- Colin KIDD, "Integration: Patriotism and Nationalism," in *CECB*, 369-80.
- Colin KIDD, "The Ideological Uses of the Picts, 1707-c.1990," in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, ed. E. J. Cowan and R. Finlay (Edinburgh, 2002).
- Bruce P. LENMAN, "Britain and India," in *CECB*, 460-72.
- Emma Vincent MACLEOD, "The Crisis of the French Revolution," in *CECB*, 112-24.

- Ingrid A. MERIKOSKI, "The Challenge of Material Progress: The Scottish Enlightenment and Christian Stoicism," *Journal of the Historical Society* 2 (2002): 55-76.
- Annette MEYER, "The Experience of Human Diversity and the Search for Unity," *Studi Settecenteschi* 21 (2001): 245-64. [German responses to Scottish Enlightenment thinkers on the nature and science of man]
- James MOORE, "Utility and Humanity: The Quest for the *Honestum* in Cicero, Hutcheson and Hume," *Utilitas* 14 (2002): 365-86.
- Alexander MURDOCH, "Scotland and the Union," in *CECB*, 381-91.
- Steve NEWMAN, "The Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay: 'Lyrick' Transformation, Popular Culture, and the Boundaries of the Scottish Enlightenment," *Modern Language Quarterly* 63 (2002): 277-314
- Fania OZ-SALZBERGER, "Civil Society in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, ed. S. Kaviraj and Sunil Khimmani (Cambridge, 2001), 58-83.
- Geoff PARKER, "The Idea of the University of the Scottish Enlightenment," in *Zeitschrift für Kultur- und Bildungswissenschaften*, no. 12, symposium: "Die Idee einer Universität (Flensburg, 2001), 49-59.
- Murray PITTOCK, "Jacobite Literature and National Identities," in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David Baker and William Maley (Cambridge, 2002), 226-42.
- Murray PITTOCK, "The Jacobite Cult," in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, ed. E. J. Cowan and R. Finlay (Edinburgh, 2002), 191-208.
- Murray PITTOCK, "Johnson and Scotland," in *Samuel Johnson in Historical Context*, ed. J.C.D. Clark and Howard Erskine-Hill (Basingstoke, 2002), 184-96.
- Murray PITTOCK, "Contrasting Cultures: Town and Country," in *Aberdeen before 1800: A New History*, ed. E. Patricia Dennison et al. (East Linton, 2002), 347-73.
- Murray PITTOCK (with Michael Lynch and Gordon DesBrisay), "The Faith of the People," *ibid.*, 289-308.
- Adam POTKAY, "A Response to My Critics," in *Hume Studies* 27 (2001).
- Adam POTKAY, articles on Biography, Happiness, and Passion in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (New York, 2002).
- Paul Henderson SCOTT, "The Eighteenth-Century Revival and the Nature of Scottish Nationalism," *Scottish Studies Review* 3 (2002): 9-19.
- Richard B. SHER, "Early Editions of Adam Smith's Books in Britain and Ireland, 1759-1804," in *A Critical Bibliography of Adam Smith*, ed. Keith Tribe (London, 2002), 13-26.
- Kenneth SIMPSON, "'Epistolary Performances': Burns and the Art of the Letter," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 33 (2002).
- Kenneth SIMPSON, "Burns and Independence," in *Robert Burns and America*, ed. G. Ross Roy (Columbia, 2001), 11-22.
- Kenneth SIMPSON, "Burns and Independence," *Burns Chronicle* (2002): 31-43.
- Judith Bailey SLAGLE, "Joanna Baillie: Synthesis of Romanticism, Nationalism, and Feminism," in *Scottish Women Poets of the Romantic Period*, ed. Stephen Behrendt and Nancy Kushigian (2002).
- M. A. STEWART, "Two Species of Philosophy: The Historical Significance of the First Enquiry," in *Reading Hume on Human Understanding*, ed. Peter Millican (Oxford, 2002), 67-95.
- Daniel SZECHI, "The Jacobite Movement," in *CECB*, 81-96.
- Hideo TANAKA, "The Transformation of the Ideas of Public and Private in Modern Britain: From Absolutism to Civil Society," *Public Policy* (Tokyo) 4 (2002) (in Japanese).
- Hideo TANAKA, "The Change of Ideas of Social Order in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Moral Economy and Political Economy," *Journal of Region and Society* (Osaka) 5 (2002)
- Norbert WASZEK, "La 'tendance à la sociabilité' (Trieb der Geselligkeit) chez Christian Garve," *Revue germanique internationale* 18 (2002): 71-85. [much on Adam Ferguson, whom Garve translated into German]
- Carl WENNERLIND, "David Hume's Political Philosophy," *Hume Studies* (2002).
- Calhoun WINTON, "The Southern Book Trade in the 18th Century," in *A History of the Book in America. Vol. 1: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge and Worcester, Mass., 1999).
- Charles W. J. WITHERS, "Situating Practical Reason: Geography, Geometry and Mapping in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *SMSE*, 54-78.
- Paul WOOD and Charles W. J. WITHERS, "Introduction: Science, Medicine and the Scottish Enlightenment: An Historical Overview," and "Afterword: New Directions?," in *SMSE*, 1-16, 327-36.

SMSE = *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Charles W. J. Withers and Paul Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002).

CECB = *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. H. T. Dickinson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

Recent Doctoral Dissertations by ECSSS Members

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Eighteenth-Century Scotland (ISSN 1085-4894) is published annually by the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society (ECSSS) and is sent to all ECSSS members each spring. Submissions of articles, announcements, and news items are welcome. Address all correspondence to the editor: Richard B. Sher, Executive Secretary – ECSSS, New Jersey Institute of Technology, University Heights, Newark, NJ 07102-1982, USA.

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Special thanks to the College of Science and Liberal Arts, New Jersey Institute of Technology, for mailing and copying support.

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