

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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

DUBLIN AS WE SPEAK

At press time in May, final preparations were being made for ECSSS's joint conference with the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society (www.mic.ul.ie/ecis/ECIS.htm) at Trinity College Dublin, 17–20 June 2004. Co-conference organizers Michael Brown and Christopher Finlay have worked tirelessly to make this a memorable event, and every indication is that it will be exactly that. The conference will begin at the Royal Irish Academy on the morning of Thursday 17 June with welcomes from Ian Campbell Ross, convenor of the Centre for Irish-Scottish Studies, which is hosting the conference, as well as from ECSSS president Ned C. Landsman and ECIS president Graham Gargett. This will be followed by the first plenary lecture, by Ian McBride of King's College London. Over the next three days, more than two dozen sessions will occur at Trinity College, on topics such as military diasporas, Scottish impressions of Ireland, reflections on Hume and Burke, Georgian neoclassicism and the quest for cultural union, writing history, political experience, religion and politics in Ireland, American connections, gender issues, Ossian, Robert Burns, Francis Hutcheson and various themes in Irish and Scottish philosophy, Gaelic literature, and medicine. Most of the sessions will be integrated and often comparative, so that scholars of eighteenth-century Ireland and Scotland will get a chance to exchange ideas about their subjects. The historic Bank of Ireland building that formerly was the scene of the Irish House of Lords will host a second plenary lecture, by Andrew Noble of the University of Strathclyde, and ECSSS and ECIS will each sponsor briefer plenary addresses, by Susan Manning of the University of Edinburgh and Ian Campbell Ross of Trinity College Dublin, respectively. The conference will conclude with a banquet on Saturday evening 19 June and an excursion to Castletown House in County Kildare on the following day.

BUDAPEST NEARS

As reported last year, ECSSS will hold its annual meeting in 2005 in Budapest, Hungary, with the Hungarian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, hosted by Central

European University. Please note that the dates have changed: the new dates are 23–26 June 2005. The conference theme is Empire, Philosophy and Religion: Scotland and Central–Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth Century. With László Kontler of CEU at the helm, this is sure to be the most exotic and daring conference that ECSSS has ever had. Among other things, an excursion is planned to the eighteenth-century chateau Gödöllő, outside Budapest, where talks and a concert will be held. For more information, see the enclosed Call for Papers or contact László Kontler at kontler@ceu.hu. Hope to see you all in Budapest next year!

HOLD THAT DATE IN 2006...

Although arrangements have yet to be finalized, all indications are that ECSSS will hold its 20th-anniversary meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia, on the weekend of 27–30 April 2006. It's a fitting month and location, since the society was founded at an ASECS meeting in Williamsburg in April 1986. Bob Maccubbin and Adam Potkay of the College of William and Mary are organizing the conference, which is certain to be exceptional. A Call for Papers will be circulated with the 2005 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*.

...AND IN 2007!

ECSSS will meet with the Enlightenment Congress in Montpellier, France, during the summer of 2007. Clotilde Prunier of the Université Paul Valéry de Montpellier will serve as ECSSS liaison. Stay tuned for more information!

ASECS, BSECS AND CSECS

As reported last year, ECSSS has been moving to establish closer ties with the British and Canadian Societies for Eighteenth-Century Studies, while not lessening our traditional connection with the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. As a result of this development, 2004 marks the first year in which ECSSS has sponsored Scottish studies panels at the annual conferences of each of these national societies.

The latest developments began with the news

that CSECS, at its annual meeting in Vancouver in late October, had voted unanimously to accept an ECSSS proposal for affiliation. So now ECSSS is officially an affiliated society of both ASECS and CSECS! To celebrate this exciting event, ECSSS has been invited to organize a panel at the 2004 CSECS meeting in London, Ontario, and past-president Roger Emerson has agreed to organize it. Further details will appear in next year's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Meanwhile, we are delighted that CSECS president Frans De Bruyn of the University of Ottawa will participate in our Dublin conference in June, speaking on James Hamilton's edition of the Georgics.

Then came the BSECS conference at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, in January 2004. Fiona Stafford organized a very successful ECSSS panel that featured Murray Pittock speaking on John Law, Paul Tonks on Sir John Sinclair and others, and Mary Anne Alburger on Scottish music.

Finally, at the ASECS conference in Boston in late March, Deidre Dawson organized an ECSSS panel on Franco-Scottish Exchanges that coincided with the launch of *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment* (see story below). The panel included a paper by one contributor to that book, Ferenc Hörcher of Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Hungary, with the provocative title "Was Hume a Francophile Snob?," as well as papers by Christian Marouby of Mills College on Smith and Rousseau and by Marc André Bernier of Université de Québec à Trois-Rivières on Smith's translator, Sophie de Grouchy. The conference included a second, unofficial ECSSS panel on the Scottish Enlightenment and the American Revolution, organized by Roger Fechner. It featured a talk by Mark G. Spencer, now of Brock University, on "David Hume and the Ideological Origins of the American Revolution."

Special thanks to Fiona Stafford, Deidre Dawson, and Rogers Emerson and Fechner for taking the time to organize these panels at the conferences of our illustrious fellow eighteenth-century societies.

SCOTLAND AND FRANCE APPEARS

Scotland and France in the Enlightenment, a collection of essays edited by Pierre Morère and Deidre Dawson, forms volume seven in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series, now published by Bucknell University Press (http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/univ_press/books/scottish/index.html). Based on papers delivered at the society's 1996 conference at the Université Stendhal in Grenoble, where Pierre Morère established the Centre d'Études Écossaises, the volume contains an Introduction by the editors and thirteen essays by scholars from France, Britain, North America, Hungary, and Israel, organized into three main parts: Literature and the Arts; Encyclopaedias and Natural History; and Philosophy and Political Thought (see

review in this issue). The book appeared in March and is now available for purchase. ECSSS members can purchase personal copies at a 20 percent discount by using the special order form enclosed with this issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, but they are also encouraged to request that their university or other institutional libraries buy the book at the regular price.

Members with ideas for additional volumes in this series are asked to contact the executive secretary of the society.

DAVID DAICHES PICTURED AT 91

In honor of the eminent scholar and critic David Daiches, who is preparing to celebrate his 92nd birthday, the Talbot Rice Gallery at the University of Edinburgh hosted an exhibition of portrait-drawings by the distinguished Edinburgh painter and specialist in literary portraiture, Joyce Gunn-Cairns, running from late April to late May 2004. Ms. Gunn-Cairns has been painting David Daiches every second or third week since she met him a few years ago, and the result is an impressionistic series of portraits of her sitter in different poses and moods. "I do not have words adequate to express the times of sharing that I have enjoyed with David," the artist told *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. "He is the most sensitive and humble of men, as fascinating and approachable in person as he is in his writing."

A native of Edinburgh, David Daiches graduated *magna cum laude* from the University of Edinburgh seventy years ago, and returned in 1976 to be presented with an honorary doctorate and to serve, from 1980 to 1986, as director of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities. In the intervening years, he had a tremendously productive teaching career, first in the United States—at the University of Chicago and Cornell, where he taught Harold Bloom—and then in England, at Cambridge and especially at the University of Sussex, which he helped to found in 1961 and remained at until 1977. Daiches has sometimes been called the last non-specialist of his generation. He has written on Scottish, English, American, and Anglo-Jewish literature and culture, including several important works on eighteenth-century Scotland, such as *The Paradox of Scottish Culture* (1964). In recognition of his distinguished contributions in this field, ECSSS made David Daiches the first recipient of its Lifetime Achievement Award in 1988.

To accompany the exhibition, the Talbot Rice Gallery has produced a handsome pamphlet entitled *Drawing David Daiches*. It consists of two photographs and eleven Joyce Gunn-Cairns portraits of David Daiches, a foreword by the curator, Duncan Macmillan, a brief biographical sketch and a bibliography by Michael Lister, and excerpts from a broad range of Daiches's published writings.

MURRAY COLLECTION TO EDINBURGH?

The National Library of Scotland is campaigning to raise £33 million to purchase the archive of the publisher John Murray, the London firm established by the Edinburgh-born Murray in 1768. (Consult the library's website for further details: <http://www.nls.uk/news>.) Valued at over £44 million, the archive is a rich source of information, much of which is unexamined. While the nineteenth century is at the core of the collection, with such notable authors as Byron, Scott, Livingstone, and Darwin, the eighteenth century is also well represented. Unpublished correspondence is there from late eighteenth-century Scottish authors such as John Millar, William Cullen, and Gilbert Stuart (to name a few), as are letters from Scottish booksellers like William Creech and Andrew Foulis. Of special note are the letter books and account records of the Edinburgh bookseller Charles Elliot (father-in-law of the second John Murray), who published a number of the leading authors during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The NLS is waiting to hear the news of their application for over £20 million to the Heritage Lottery Fund. £6.5 million have already been put up by the Scottish Executive.

NAS PROTOTYPE CATALOGUE

After eighteen months of work, the National Archives of Scotland (NAS) launched its prototype electronic catalogue onto the World Wide Web on 18 August 2003. The NAS had purchased an off-the-shelf cataloguing system, CALM, and employed a team of nineteen archivists and casual staff, together with a typing company based in the Philippines, to convert 140,000 pages of our catalogues into machine readable form. The result is that the overwhelming majority of the lists of eighteenth-century papers in the archive can now be searched electronically as easily as if viewers were in our search rooms. These lists include the records of central government (e.g., State Papers, Exchequer Court, customs and excise), legal records (the Justiciary Court, sheriff courts, and some Court of Session material), and many private family papers. This last group will probably be of most interest to ECSSS members. It is a varied mix and encompasses everything from single volumes such as the duke of Cumberland's order book for the Culloden campaign (GD1/322/1), through the numerous archives of country gentlemen, all the way to the massive collections of the great Scots noble families. The papers of the Grant family of Grant (GD248) include much material on their friend and relative Henry Mackenzie, the sentimental novelist. The third duke of Buccleuch's papers (GD224) fully reflect the world of his tutor Adam Smith, while the archives of the earl of Mar (GD124) and the duke of Montrose (GD220) have much to say on the politics and society of the 1720s and 1730s.

There is much else besides.

The system is still very much a prototype. A few catalogues proved impossible to convert because of their arrangement. We have not given up on these and they will be loaded as soon as possible. Similarly, because the information in the new system was taken directly from the existing paper catalogue, there are numerous shortcomings in the way in which the data are presented. These problems are also being worked on. NAS will continue to develop improvements to the searching functions and to the guidance for readers. We welcome suggestions for future improvements in both these areas. The main catalogue does not yet include privately owned papers surveyed by the National Register of Archives for Scotland (NRAS). These will be added progressively beginning in the near future.

Access to the catalogue is through a button on the home page of our website at www.nas.gov.uk, and there is a help button to provide notes on settings and on searching.

David J. Brown, Head of Private Records,
NAS

ADAM SMITH REVIEW OUT SOON

The much-anticipated first volume of the *Adam Smith Review* will be published by Routledge in autumn 2004. *ASR* is a multidisciplinary scholarly annual review sponsored by the International Adam Smith Society (www.adamsmithsociety.net). It is meant to provide a unique forum for debate and scholarship on all aspects of Adam Smith's works, his place in history, and the significance of his writings for the modern world. *ASR* is intended as a resource for Adam Smith scholarship in the widest sense, and the editor welcomes suggestions and proposals for future developments. Proposals to edit symposia and to translate into English significant works relating to Adam Smith published in other languages are also welcomed. Submissions to the *Adam Smith Review* of up to 10,000 words are invited from any theoretical, disciplinary, or interdisciplinary approach. Contributors are asked to make their arguments accessible to a wide multidisciplinary readership without sacrificing high standards of argument and scholarship. Please send all papers, suggestions, offers to edit symposia, and other correspondence to Vivienne Brown, Editor, *Adam Smith Review*, Faculty of Social Sciences, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, UK; v.w.brown@open.ac.uk.

Books relating directly or indirectly to Adam Smith will be reviewed in *ASR*, and authors of reviewed books will routinely be invited to respond to reviews of their work. Offers to review works published in languages other than English are welcomed. Please send all correspondence and inquiries to James Otteson, Book Review Editor, *Adam Smith Review*, Dept. of Philosophy, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0218, USA; jotteson@tenhour.as.ua.edu.

The contents of the first issue of *ASR* will include articles by Willie Henderson on "hedging" in the *Wealth of Nations*, Takashi Negishi on Smith and disequilibrium economic theory, Ian Simpson Ross on Smith's projected corpus of philosophy, and Richard B. Sher on the publication and reception of the *Wealth of Nations*, as well as a translation of an article by Ernst Tugendhat, an article by Gloria Vivenza on reading Smith in the light of the classics, a symposium on Emma Rothschild's *Economic Sentiments*, and four book reviews.

The third issue of *ASR* will include a symposium on Adam Smith and Education that is now being organized by ECSSS member Jack Russell Weinstein of the Department of Philosophy and Religion at the University of North Dakota (jack.weinstein@und.edu). Those interested in contributing to this symposium are asked to submit abstracts to Jack by October 2004 and articles by 1 March 2005. For more information, see the Call for Papers at www.und.nodak.edu/instruct/weinstei/call_for_papers_ASR.htm.

ASR will be available for sale in bookshops, but members of the International Adam Smith Society will be able to purchase it on preferential terms. For details regarding membership, contact the membership secretary, Ryan Patrick Hanley: ryan.hanley@yale.edu.

NANTES WORKSHOP ON MACLAURIN

The University of Nantes will host a workshop on the eighteenth-century Scottish mathematician and scientist Colin Maclaurin on 10 and 11 December 2004. The workshop will address Maclaurin's historical, philosophical, social, and political contexts; his scientific works and their reception in Scotland, England, and the Continent; and his place in European scientific communities. For additional information, contact Olivier BrunEAU, François Viète Centre for the History of Sciences, University of Nantes, Faculté des Sciences et des Techniques, 2 rue la Houssinière, 44322 Nantes Cedex 3, France; bruneauolive@free.fr.

REID SYMPOSIUM & CSSP

The Centre for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen continues to breathe new life into Scottish philosophical studies in general and Reid studies in particular. In mid-July the CSSP will host the third International Reid Symposium, featuring plenary talks by Alexander Broadie and Gordon Graham. Many other ECSSS members are among the conference speakers, including Eugene Heath, Savina Tropea, Willem Lemmens, Rebecca Copenhaver, and Emanuele Levi Mortera. Highlights of the conference will include the unveiling of a plaque by the city of Aberdeen to commemorate the association of Thomas Reid with King's

College and the launch of the Library of Scottish Philosophy, the CSSP's new series of inexpensive anthologies of readings from major authors such as Reid, Smith, and Beattie.

In other Reid news, the Reid Society and the Boston Center for the Philosophy and History of Science sponsored a one-day conference on Thomas Reid and the Sciences at Boston University on 10 October 2003. Convened by Knud Haakonssen of the Boston University Philosophy Department, the conference featured papers by Lorne Falkenstein, Aaron Garrett, James Harris, Benjamin Redekop, Paul Wood, and John Wright, and commentary by Rebecca Copenhaver.

SCOTIA CRESCAT! PERFORMED

Wigmore Hall in London was the venue for the world premiere of Ian McFarlane's *Scotia Crescat!* on 8 December 2003. The work consists of five cantatas from the Scottish Enlightenment by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd baronet (1676–1755), edited and arranged by Kenneth Elliott. The performers at the St. Andrew's Night performance included two of Scotland's leading sopranos, Lorna Anderson and Mhairi Lawson, along with the actor Bill Paterson and the baroque group Sonnerie, led by the well-known violinist Monica Huggett.

ENLIGHTENMENT CD AVAILABLE

Scottish editor, printer, and publisher W. T. Johnston has prepared a CD entitled *Enlightenment in France and Scotland*, self-published under his Officina Educational Publications imprint. The CD contains material on dozens of figures from the French and Scottish Enlightenments, including brief biographies, bibliographies of primary source publications as well as unpublished manuscripts, and portraits and other contemporary illustrations. There are also some old articles that are difficult to find elsewhere. It's an unusual and interesting mixture that is likely to yield something useful for almost any Enlightenment student or scholar. For ordering information, contact Officina Education Publications at 11 Anderson Green, Livingston EH54 8PW, Scotland, UK; education@officina.fsbusiness.co.uk.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Henry Ablove was visiting professor of English at Princeton U. in 2003–4 . . . Sharon Alker received her Ph.D. from the U. of British Columbia in May 2003 with a dissertation entitled "Gendered Nation: Anglo-Scottish Relations in British Letters 1707-1830"; in 2003–4 she held an SSHRC postdoctoral fellowship at the U. of Toronto, working on hybridity in 18th- and early 19th-century British fiction, and in September 2004 she will become assistant professor of English at Whitman College in Washington state . . . In September David Armitage will take up his new position as pro-

fessor of history at Harvard U. . . . Nigel Aston, now reader of history at U. of Leicester, had a fellowship at the Clark Art Institute in Massachusetts in 2003-4 . . . Brian Bonnyman has been appointed a teaching fellow in the modern history department at U. of Dundee . . . David Brown is now head of public records at the National Archives of Scotland . . . Stewart J. Brown has been on leave from the U. of Edinburgh to work on volume 7 of the Cambridge History of Christianity as well as a book on religion, society, and politics in nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland . . . Vivienne Brown spent the 2003-4 academic year on sabbatical leave at Oxford . . . last autumn a Mandarin Chinese translation of Arthur Herman's *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* was published in Taiwan with an introduction by Jeng-Guo Chen, who also gave a paper on the British view of Asian civilization and the emergence of class consciousness at the annual meeting of the British Society for 18th-Century Studies in January 2003 . . . Jan Cleaver is now pursuing a Ph.D. in British history at Indiana U. . . . in September 2003 Linda Colley became the Shelby M. C. Davis 1958 Professor of History at Princeton U. . . . Deidre Dawson was elected secretary general of the International Society for 18th-Century Studies at the 11th International Congress on the Enlightenment held at UCLA last August . . . Alastair Durie has been named a teaching fellow in history at the U. of Stirling . . . John Dwyer has been promoted to associate professor with reure at York U. in Toronto . . . William Gibson received his Ph.D. from U. of Leeds in 2002 with a thesis entitled "All Together Exquisite: Tobias Smollett and Fine Art"; he is now substitute assistant professor of English at Lehman College in New York City . . . Evan Gottlieb began a new position as assistant professor of English at Oregon State U. . . . Edward Gray has been promoted to associate professor of history with tenure at Florida State U. . . . Kathleen Holcomb, a former vice-president and founding web manager of this society, took retirement from the English Department at Angelo State U. in December and moved to Fort Worth, Texas, where her husband is based . . . Thomas Kennedy has been promoted to professor of philosophy at Valparaiso U. . . . Bruce Lenman retired from the U. of St. Andrews last August and became emeritus in October; in April he visited the Huntington Library in California to work on Spanish maps, and after returning to Scotland in May he took up permanent residence in Stirling . . . Robert Maccubbin gave a lecture at the historic Innerpefferay Library in Scotland on "The English Excoriation of the Scots in Graphic Satire" . . . Caroline McCracken-Flesher reports that Oxford U. Press will publish her book on Sir Walter Scott, entitled *Possible Scotlands* . . . Esther Mijers has received the first Caird North American Fellowship at the John

Carter Brown Library . . . Mary Catherine Moran has been working as an adjunct assistant professor of history at Columbia U. . . . John Murrin has retired from the History Department at Princeton U. and is now professor emeritus . . . Robin Nicholson organized an exhibition on the Jacobites and America that ran at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum in April and May under the auspices of the Clan Currie Society; meanwhile his Drambuie exhibition on Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Royal House of Stuart, 1688-1788, continues to circulate in North America (it will be at the Winterthur Museum in Wilmington, Delaware from September 2004 through mid-January 2005), and the exhibition catalogue was published in 2003 . . . James Otteson's *Adam Smith's Marketplace of Life* (2002) was named an "outstanding academic title 2003" by *Choice* magazine . . . Marcia Clare Pennell spoke on lyricist and salon hostess Anne Hunter (wife of Dr. John Hunter) at the British Society for 18th-Century Studies conference in January . . . Nicholas Phillipson, whose teaching has been inspirational for so many scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland, has announced his retirement in September after 40 years in the Department of History at Edinburgh U.; however, Nick will remain a presence in Edinburgh, where he will be honorary fellow of the School of History and Classics and will continue work on a new journal that he is helping to launch at Cambridge U. Press, *Modern Intellectual History* . . . after completing her Ph.D. at the European U. Institute in Florence in 2003, with a thesis on ideas of race and progress in the Scottish Enlightenment, Silvia Sebastiani was awarded a fellowship to study at the John Carter Brown Library in summer 2004, as well as the highly competitive "Borsa Venturi" fellowship for study in Turin during 2004-5 (and possibly longer) . . . Kenneth Simpson has retired from the English Studies Department at U. of Strathclyde, where he was honorary reader . . . Fiona Stafford has been appointed reader of English literature at Oxford U. . . . last September Naomi Tarrant took retirement as curator of costumes and textiles at the National Museums of Scotland . . . Craig Walton has taken retirement from the Philosophy Department at U. of Nevada at Las Vegas. . . Chris Whatley is now dean of arts and sciences at the U. of Dundee, where he also holds the Bonar Chair of Modern History . . . Paul Wood has edited *Science and Dissent in England, 1688-1945*, which Ashgate will publish this summer . . . John Wright will spend two months in Edinburgh to begin a year's sabbatical leave in 2004-5, researching a book on David Hume for Cambridge U. Press . . . William Zachs spoke on "Hugh Blair and His Publishers" at the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society seminar in November and again at the "Science of Man" seminar at Edinburgh U. in April.

Late Eighteenth-Century Scottish Freemasonry: “Illumatism,” Radicalism, and the Threat of Revolution

by Mark C. Wallace

Modern Freemasonry emerged in Britain during the eighteenth century, combining tradition with a burgeoning interest in clubs and societies. As Freemasonry evolved after 1700, it brought together earlier stonemason customs, methods of organization, and the popular passion for clubs and societies. Although by no means unique in its ideology and constitution, Freemasonry established itself as a prominent and highly visible feature of British communal and social life.

Some mocked Masonic lodges and their rituals, but they were an accepted feature on the social scene. Given that Freemasons avoided political and religious discussion and swore loyalty to the existing regime, their position was uncontroversial. With the advent of the French Revolution, however, secret societies that required oaths aroused fears of subversion, and legislation such as the Secret Societies Acts of 1799 attempted to regulate the societies and eradicate any traces of secrecy. As a result, Freemasonry's commitment to the king and the government came under suspicion.

Peter Clark, in *British Clubs and Societies: 1580-1800* (2000), writes that eighteenth-century Freemasonry was by the 1790s “the biggest association in the British world” (p. 325). From its humble beginnings as an operative association in sixteenth-century Scotland, Freemasonry now boasted a powerful metropolitan impetus in London and Edinburgh, support from members of the respectable classes, and a reputation for extravagance and conviviality. Clark emphasizes the role of Freemasonry in “fostering social harmony, serving to unite different social, as well as political and religious, groups” and its effective deployment of “all the essential levers of recruitment, marketing, and organization” (pp. 319–20, 348).

After 1790, however, attitudes toward secret clubs and societies began to change. In Europe, Freemasonry did play a major role in nurturing and promoting revolutionary ideas. Though built upon the British model, Continental Freemasonry had become politically and socially subversive and posed a clear threat to the Catholic Church as well as to all forms of organized religion. Allegations flourished of Jacobin sympathizers being initiated into European lodges, and these allegations eventually surfaced in Britain, ultimately undermining claims that British Freemasonry was not subversive or seditious.

In 1797, amid claims of Jacobin Lodges in France and the presence of the Illuminati in German Masonic lodges, John Robison—the eminent professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh—published in Edinburgh *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies. Collected from Good Authorities by John Robison*. Convinced that all of Britain stood on the brink of revolution and destruction on the French model, Robison alleged that secret societies throughout Europe were conspiring to overturn governments and inspire social upheaval, with Masonic lodges a main conduit for the dissemination of such ideas.

Being at a friend's house in the country during some part of the summer 1795, I there saw a volume of a German periodical work, called *Religious Begebenheiten, i.e. Religious Occurrences*; in which there was an account of the various schisms in the Fraternity of Free Masons, with frequent allusions to the origin and history of that celebrated association. This account interested me a good deal, because, in my early life, I had taken some part in the occupations (shall I call them) of Free Masonry; and having chiefly frequented the Lodges on the Continent, I had learned many doctrines, and seen many ceremonials, which have no place in the simple system of Free Masonry which obtains in this country...I had also remarked, that the whole was much more the object of reflection and thought than I could remember it to have been among my acquaintances at home. There, I had seen a Mason Lodge considered merely as a pretext for passing an hour or two in a fort of decent conviviality, not altogether void of some rational occupation. I had sometimes heard of differences of doctrines or of ceremonies, but in terms which marked them as mere frivolities. But, on the Continent, I found them matters of serious concern and debate...But all the splendour and elegance that I saw could not conceal a frivolity in every part. It appeared a baseless fabric, and I could not think of engaging in an occupation which would consume much time, cost me a good deal of money, and might perhaps excite in me some of that fanaticism, or, at least, enthusiasm that I saw in others, and perceived to be void of any rational support. (pp. 1-3)

Robison was initiated into Lodge La Parfaite Intelligence at Liège in March 1770. Despite his Masonic affiliations, he believed that Continental Freemasonry—particularly German Freemasonry—could be potentially subversive. Robison did not directly implicate the Freemasons and asserted that their activities were vehicles only for passing the eradication of time in merriment and conviviality, but he nevertheless retained suspicions regarding the association of Freemasons

with radical societies.

One such society was the Order of Illuminati, founded in Bavaria on 1 May 1776 by Adam Weishaupt. Weishaupt was then a student in the University of Ingolstadt, where by the age of twenty-two he was elected professor of canon law, a position long held by Jesuits. His hatred for the Jesuits manifested itself in the statutes of the order he founded, the Illuminati. Initially styled the Order of Perfectibilists, the secret society had as its main goal the political and religious tyranny, while simultaneously emphasizing morality and virtue. This restructuring of society became known as Illuminism. Weishaupt attempted to blend the Illuminati with Freemasonry in an effort to ensure his order's success, and as a show of support for Freemasonry he joined the Munich lodge "Theodore of Good Counsel" in 1777. Its radical political stance drew criticism, and the order's supposed association with Freemasonry encouraged detractors' efforts to tarnish the reputation of the Masons.

This supposed association with Freemasonry aroused the suspicions of Robison and James Robertson, a Benedictine monk in Galloway. So much so, in fact, that in January 1798 each of them wrote to Lord Advocate Robert Dundas to warn of the potential subversive influence of the Illuminati on British Freemasonry. (Robison's letter is undated, but the manuscript has been marked "Jan 1798" in another hand.) These letters are published here for the first time, with permission of Edinburgh University Library, where they are housed among the Laing Manuscripts (La.II.500, 1769-1770).

My Lord

What I wished to inform your Lordship of is this some time ago an invitation was given to the Fraternity of Free Masons in Scotland to hold a Correspondence with the Grand or Royal Lodge of Berlin. This was decorated with every Ornament and full of pompous titles, and conceived in terms of the highest import for Scotch Masonry. It was conceived as particularly addressed to the most advanced Order of Masonry (tho' I rather suppose it addressed to the National Lodge) This is supposed to be what they call the Royal Order of St. Andrews—professing what they call the Masonry of Rose Croix Tau the Letter, and thus it was from a Lodge professing the same Masonry. The simplicity of the fraternity in this all the parties on the Continent, but of late we are also seized with the desire of innovation, and becoming fond of the high degrees of masonry. But we are quite ignorant of the life made of them abroad. I know that this System was continued by Swedes and the duke of Sudermannia had a great hand in it. Under the most inoffensive exterior, I know that the cosmopolitical doctrines are most zealously taught, and that the whole of this Order is engaged in the Schisms of Illumatism. I firmly believe that this Invitation to a Correspondence is with a view to make proselytes. It were to be wished that it could be prevented. One way occurs to me, to publish the whole secrets of the Order, which are in my possession, but this is very disagreeable to me, because altho' I came under no obligation to consult them, the person who sent them to me, when he quitted Russia in haste, expected that they would be kept.

What makes me trouble your Lordship just now is the Letter which accompanies this. By it you will see that it is highly probable that a bad use is already made of Free Masonry in this Country. I remember hearing of the story of a detachment being spared by the French because they were Brethren but it was not supposed to be authentic by the foreign relator. It would be of some use to inquire of our officers who were on the spot such as Major Tyrler now at Stirling who was then an Aid de Camp, and must have known Country has made us indifferent as to more than an ordinary battalion officer. If the Story could be proved to be false, it might put an End to the use made of it in Galloway and probably in other places.

I have sent your Lordship a pamphlet which I had a few weeks ago from Lord Auckland which confirms my Suspicions about the Swedish Masonry. I am respectfully

Your Lordships ms. Obedt. Servt.,

[Signed] John Robison

James Robertson's letter to Robert Dundas addressed issues similar to those raised by John Robison. As Mark Dilworth discussed in a 1958 article in the *Innes Review* ("Two Necrologies of Scottish Benedictine Abbey's in Germany," 9:191; courtesy of Clotilde Prunier), Robertson had attended seminary in Ratisbon, Germany, and after he was professed in 1778 he served on the missions in Buchan, Edinburgh, and Galloway. After briefly revisiting Ratisbon in 1788, he returned to Scotland in 1789 and by 1797 was in Galloway.

My Lord,

Permit a Stranger to congratulate you & the world on your late performance. If any thing can save us, it can only be men who have courage to unmask such horrors, at no small risk to their

own lives. Providence I trust will work for the preservation of such useful Persons.

The writer of this happened to be at Ratisbon in the year 1788 when the discovery of illumination was quite fresh. I was told that one of those wretches had been struck dead with lightning & that it was by papers found on him the discovery was made. They shew'd me the tree where he was thunderstruck. A Singular interposition of Providence. I pass'd afterwards by Munich where I was presented with the System & Correspondence publish'd by the Elector's Authority: which I brought to Edinburgh where I think I lent it to Lord Ellick. But nobody there would believe it they treated it as a dream of the senseless Bavarians. I was laugh'd at in Munich, when I maintain'd that Scotch Masonry was not tinctured with Illumination. They assur'd me they had proof of a Correspondence with Scotland. In Galloway where I now live I can assure you Sir, that the Masons are uncommonly active in recruiting, having frequent & numerous meetings: they scruple at nobody however worthless which shews no good design. I believe the bulk of them is led by the nose but there is nothing good at bottom. I have this from very good Authority, that the Masons give out: that when the Robespierrists had pass'd a decree to give no quarter to the English; a whole Regiment was saved by Masonry. I think it is said of the Inniskilling Dragoons. They were surrounded, as the story goes, by the French & were going to be cut to pieces, when the commanding officer stept forward & made some of the Mason's signs to the French, which their Commander observed & return'd: then the firing ceas'd & both parties retreated.

The circulation of this tale by the Masons to procure recruits has an obvious meaning, & therefore I presum'd it not unworthy [of] your notice. I think I had once the honor of being presented before your Couch, but you must have forgot that long ago ere now. May you arise from it more vigorous than ever & the health of your body equal the power of your mind.

I am with the most sincere Veneration

Sir
Munches near
Dumfries 8 Jan.
1798

Your most obedt. Sert.
James Robertson *Priest*

Both Robison and Robertson refer to the same event, and although they either vindicate the activities of British Freemasons or express doubt about the veracity of alleged Illuminati influence, they do hint at possible subversive activities on the west coast of Scotland. These references may well coincide with an incident which occurred in Maybole, in western Ayrshire, in 1797. Two nascent degrees of Freemasonry, the Royal Arch and Knights Templar, appeared in Maybole and at the time were not sanctioned by the Grand Lodge of Scotland as an official and recognized degree of Freemasonry. Although the Royal Arch and Knights Templar professed an interest in the higher degrees of masonry, Elaine McFarland, in *Ireland and Scotland in the Age of Revolution* (1994), explains that these degrees, "under a pretended connection with Freemasonry. . . sought to propagate the infidelity of the French Revolution, and to evoke sympathy for the democrats in Ireland." Although there is little tangible evidence to support such claims, McFarland asserts that by 1790 Freemasonry had "acquired a reputation for advanced political principles, and the United Irishmen felt comfortable in making the most of the lodges as fronts and recruiting grounds" (p. 159).

The skepticism and accusations surrounding these new and higher degrees resulted in a bizarre trial in September of 1800, which focused on accusations that the Maybole Royal Arch had engaged in certain ceremonies containing strange and unusual rituals and was allowing members of the radical United Irishmen to use the lodge as a front for their meetings. Established in Belfast in 1791, the United Irishmen espoused religious toleration, parliamentary reform, and universal manhood suffrage. The accusations were serious, and the charge read against the two principal defendants, John Andrew and Robert Ramsay, stated that

under the Shew and pretence of a Meeting for Masonary, Some time in the course of the year One thousand seven hundred and Ninety Six, at Maybole parish of Maybole and County of Ayr; along with others their associates, most of them from Ireland, form themselves into an illegal club or association Styling itself 'The Grand Assembly of Knights Templars' or bearing some such name; which club or Association under pretence of initiating into the Ceremonies of Masonry, did admit various persons as Members, and did at said admission perform various ceremonies partly with a view to vilify and undermine the established Religion, and partly to represent the Constitution and Government of the Country As oppressive and Tyrannical. (Robert Ramsay Declaration, 1800, National Archives of Scotland, JC 26/305).

The minutes from Maybole Lodge No. 14 no longer exist. However, Masonic historian David Murray Lyon apparently had access to the minutes before they were lost, and his comprehensive yet somewhat discursive *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* (1900) states that the Master of the local Maybole lodge claimed that the Royal Arch Lodge was

contravening the articles of its instruction by the practice of other than the degrees of St. John's Masonry—that its pretended meetings for the study of the so-called higher mysteries were really held for the purpose of instilling into the minds of its entrants the principles of infidelity—that the Bible had in the Lodge been replaced by Paine's *Age of Reason* and that its teachings were altogether of a revolutionary character, prejudiced alike to the interests of Church and State" (p. 324). Lyon also recounts in vivid detail a description of the Royal Arch ceremony given by William Hamilton, an initiate into Lodge Maybole Royal Arch. On 17 September 1800 Hamilton testified before the court in Ayr that

When he was admitted a member of the Lodge Maybole Royal Arch, No. 264, a pistol was fired and some person called out, 'Put him to death.' He was blindfolded first when brought into the room, and the covering being afterwards taken from his eyes, he was shown a stone jug in the corner of the room, and a candle burning in it. He was told by the panel Andrew that it was the representation of God Almighty in the midst of the burning bush. Andrew was Master of the Lodge, and was reading the third chapter of Exodus. The witness was desired to put off his shoes, as it was holy ground he stood on; the covering was put down again on the witness's face, and he was led under and arch, and, passing under the arch, he was desired to find the Book of the Law; it was taken up by some other person in the Lodge, who was called High Priest, and who said he would explain it. The witness was desired to put money on the book to pay for explaining it to him; the book, he was told, was the Bible. The witness put money on the book as desired, and John Andrew made observations on the chapter as he read it, but the witness does not positively remember any of them. Recollects that part of the chapter where the children of Israel are said to be in bondage. The passport for a Royal Arch Mason was, 'I Am that I Am.' After the above ceremonies, the witness, being taken out of the room, had his coat taken off and tied on his shoulders in a bundle, and was then brought in; a carpet with a rent in it was called the veil of the temple. He was led through it, and round the room. A sword was put into his hand, and he was ordered to use it against all who opposed him as a Knight Templar. John Andrew read the fourth chapter of Exodus; the witness was desired to throw down the sword, and was told it was become a serpent; after which he was desired to take it up again, and was told it was become a rod. Andrew poured ale and porter on the floor, and called it blood. Witness was shown thirteen burning candles. One in the middle he was told represented Jesus Christ; the others the Twelve Apostles. Andrew blew out one of the candles, which he called Judas, who betrayed his Master; one of them was dim, and was called Peter, who denied his Master. Something on the table under a white cloth being uncovered, was perceived to be a human skull, which the witness was desired to take up, and view it, and was told it was a real skull of a brother called Simon Magus. Porter was poured into the skull, which the witness was desired to drink; he did so, and it was handed round the whole Knights. Andrew put the point of the sword into it, and then touched witness's head, saying, 'I dub thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' He took an oath 'to keep the secrets of the Knights Templars, murder and treason not excepted': the penalty for revealing was that 'his body would be rooted up like a fir deal.' John Andrew was Master at his admission and at two others where he was present. The witness's impression was that the ceremonies used were a scoffing at religion, and, though he cannot say positively, he thought they had a tendency to overturn the Government (pp. 327-29).

Despite these charges, the court ultimately ruled that the facts were not proven. Upon the delivery of the verdict, the Grand Lodge of Scotland recorded the following entry in its minute book, dated 26 May 1800:

no proof has been adduced tending to Establish improper or unmasonic conduct on the part of the Members of the said Lodge No. 264 [Maybole Royal Arch] posterior to the day on which the Grand Lodge authorised their Meetings under their Sanction, to which period the Complainers proof was limited and therefore acquit the Members of said Lodge therefrom accordingly...we recommend to the Members of the Lodge no. 264 to practise only that simple Masonic conduct alone sanctioned by the Grand Lodge. And further recommending to both Lodge to bury their differences in oblivion and in future to Communicate together in Harmony and Brotherly Love.

Although the court case was eventually dismissed on lack of evidence, and the Grand Lodge admonished each lodge to "bury their differences in oblivion," the Maybole Trial of Seditious Freemasonry illustrates that British Freemasons were not immune to the uncertainty and skepticism so prevalent toward lodges and their members in Europe. Allegations of Masonic involvement in the dissemination of revolutionary ideas and connections with the Illuminati triggered fresh fears of Masonic ambitions to subvert the establishment. Although the Masons categorically denied the veracity of such

claims and affirmed their allegiance to preserving the stability of the government, conflicts such as the Maybole Trial of Sedition threatened to erode the public image so carefully crafted by eighteenth-century Freemasons.

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IN MEMORIUM

Roger Robinson

All members of the Society will have been saddened to hear of the death of Roger Robinson from prostate cancer on 12 October 2003 at the age of 71. His passing has deprived Scottish Enlightenment studies of one its most eminent practitioners, a remarkable accomplishment when one considers that Roger was a relatively recent recruit to the field. His scholarly work on James Beattie was, in effect, a second career. His professional reputation was originally made in pediatric medicine, at Hammersmith Hospital, where he became a senior lecturer at the Institute of Child Care in 1967, and at Guy's Hospital Medical School, where he was professor of paediatrics from 1975 until his retirement in 1990. Between 1969 and 1982 he was editor of *Archives of Disease in Children*, the leading pediatric journal in Britain. After attaining professional eminence as one of Britain's leading experts on the development of babies and children (especially in the area of childhood speech disorders), and at a time of life when most people are looking forward to retirement, he began work on the then rather neglected figure of James Beattie (1732-1803), the poet and philosophical polemicist. Roger had always had an enthusiasm for Romantic verse (especially Wordsworth's). He came to Beattie and *The Minstrel* through this interest after he retired from pediatrics, and became determined to explore the centrality of Beattie in inspiring the generation of the 1790s. In 1998, under the supervision of David Hewitt, he produced an Aberdeen University doctorate with a thesis entitled "The Poetry of James Beattie: A Critical Edition." There Beattie's major poetical work, *The Minstrel*, is placed in the context of the poet's wider career and output—including 50 lost poems that Roger discovered.

Roger went on to write several articles on aspects of Beattie's life and poetry as well as introductions to Beattie's complete works when they were reissued in 1996 by Thoemmes Press, notably the *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*. He was a fine textual scholar and an exacting editor in which his earlier medical training had a continued usefulness; indeed, alongside his work on Beattie in the 1990s, he acted as associate editor of the *British Medical Journal*. At the time of his death he had almost brought to completion a four-volume edition of Beattie's correspondence. When it appears this summer (Duncan Wu has generously put the finishing touches to the edition), it will justly memorialize both author and editor. Roger was also awarded an honorary fellowship at Aberdeen University for his work.

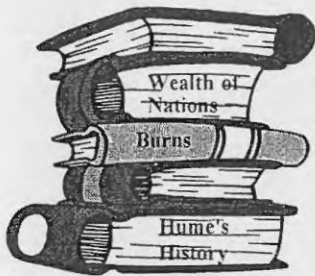
ECSSS conferences will not be the same without the benignly rigorous presence of Roger Robinson. Combining seriousness with affability, possessed of a quiet dignity that was utterly unpretentious, ever ready to talk about Beattie, Roger was a superb listener as well as an acute scholar. He prized clarity of thought, was at all times open to argument and persuasion, and generous in acknowledging others and praising their work. More than any one else, Roger put Beattie firmly back on the landscape of eighteenth-century Scottish studies, and encouraged others, whether historians, literary specialists, or philosophers, not to overlook him. Mercifully and appropriately, Roger was given time to organize the Beattie panels at the ECSSS conference in Charleston, South Carolina, in April 2003, which commemorated the bicentennial of Beattie's death in August 1803. It is hoped that publication of revised and extended versions of the papers given on that occasion will, supplemented by others, form an appropriate memorial to Roger by demonstrating how far Beattie studies have come, thanks in large measure to Roger's work and example. We all hoped he would have many active years of work on Beattie ahead of him, but his illness proved to be more virulent than he had reassured his friends was the case. The whole society extends its sympathies on the sad loss of this good and generous man to his wife Jane and the rest of his family, including his three children and his two grandchildren.

Nigel Aston, University of Leicester

Donald Withrington

Donald J. Withrington, reader in history at the University of Aberdeen, died on 1 June 2003, on the eve of his 72nd birthday, after a long battle against cancer. Don will be remembered as a lively and influential contributor to many academic gatherings, on both sides of the Atlantic, and as one of those scholars who transformed the study of Scottish history, especially the history of education and religion in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His single greatest contribution to eighteenth-century studies came with the publication in the 1980s of a monumental new edition of Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, which he masterminded and edited. Don was a generous, stimulating, and principled colleague and teacher, and he will be sadly missed by his many friends and former students.

Jennifer Carter, Aberdeen



BOOKS in REVIEW



Alexander Broadie, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*. Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xvi + 366.

In the last four decades, debates about the meaning, nature, and extent of the "Scottish Enlightenment" have unfolded along a number of different lines. In particular, there has been a tension between those emphasizing its national specificity and those arguing that eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual life belongs more properly to a wider European Enlightenment. Secondly, there is the question of exactly what constitutes an "Enlightenment" of either kind. On the one hand, some regard innovation in thinking around a narrow range of fields to be definitive of Enlightenment, for instance emphasizing political economy as the vehicle for a range of progressive concerns. On the other, "Enlightenment" can be taken to mean a general "efflorescence" extending across disciplines and fields of learning from moral philosophy to the natural sciences. The present volume generally limits itself to consideration of peculiarly Scottish themes and developments and within them their most important figures, but does so on the basis of a broad and "intellectual" (as opposed to social) definition of Enlightenment. It therefore has the advantage of being broadly inclusive in terms of ideas. Individual contributions in many cases situate themselves in relation to the parameters of wider debates, so that students using the volume as a guide or introduction are directed to discussions as defined by narrower or more integrated approaches as well as, in some cases, wider European contexts. In addition, the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment in Europe, America, and in nineteenth-century thought is reviewed in essays respectively by Michel Malherbe, Samuel Fleischacker, and Gordon Graham. The "complex religious-political-economic" context, as well as institutional and urban dimensions of the Enlightenment in Scotland, are presented in a wide-ranging essay by Roger Emerson, along with the importance of patronage and of Scottish contacts with the "wider world and its Republic of Letters."

Paul Wood's contribution on "Science in the Scottish Enlightenment" takes issue with narrower interpretations, arguing that "natural knowledge" was "a pivotal component" of the intellectual culture of the Scottish Enlightenment. On groundwork laid during the late seventeenth century, the influence of Newtonianism grew in the mathematical and physical sciences through the course of the eighteenth century, with important ramifications in moral philosophy and other fields. Scientific interests were marked in the transformation of university curricula as well as in the public sphere and were linked to aspirations for improvement in agriculture and manufacturing. Wood stresses the close relationship between developments in scientific thinking and the shaping of concerns in religious disputes and the "science of man." As Alexander Broadie emphasizes in his essay on "The Human Mind and its Powers," that subject was also studied within methodological and conceptual frameworks shaped by the influence of natural science.

The influence of Scottish Newtonianism on economics is noted in an essay by Andrew Skinner on economic theory, which he regards as part of "a particular Scottish approach to the study of the social or moral sciences in the eighteenth century, which laid great stress on socio-economic aspects" (p. 178). Most interpretations of the Scottish Enlightenment emphasize links between moral philosophy, politics, and the emergence of political economy, with ramifications in ideas about society and sociability, jurisprudence and law, as well as taste and aesthetics (the subject of a second essay by Broadie). All these domains are represented in neat synoptic essays outlining major developments. Luigi Turco's essay on moral sense focuses on Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith as the main Scottish participants in a British debate on the foundations of morals. Fania Oz-Salzberger emphasizes the connections between the specifically Scottish concerns of political philosophy, centrally the exchange of sovereignty for empire, and wider European currents, highlighting the emergence of political economy as a vehicle for a growing range of concerns in relation to politics. While the hegemony of classical conceptions of politics was thus challenged, science provided a framework within which to rethink its potential for achieving a solid understanding even while it was partly eclipsed by the

increasing prominence of law, international trade and, after Hume, conceptions of historical change. If politics was thus weakened by fragmentation of its classical unities, the Scottish Enlightenment was simultaneously accompanied by enrichment of these various other domains. In the modern natural law tradition, jurisprudence, outlined here by Knud Haakonssen, carried much of the burden classically attributed to political philosophy and, in the works of Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith in particular, it did so in characteristically challenging ways. Not least was its fusion in the Scottish tradition with an ethics centering on concepts of virtue and with a growing emphasis on the importance of historical change. Hume fares less well than Robertson and especially Ferguson in Murray Pittock's review of the historical works of the period. Whereas Ferguson's work compares favorably to current historiography in its sensitivity to the importance of sociological shifts and political decision-making in accounting for historical change, Hume and to a lesser extent Robertson both subordinated past to present in their pursuit of moral rather than properly historical insight. Their achievements are therefore more closely related to the Whig paradigm and its influence on nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography than to current practices.

As John W. Cairns shows in his essay on "Legal Theory," the broader philosophical debate on natural justice was closely connected with "theorizing" within the legal profession itself. In the training of lawyers, the eighteenth century saw a shift toward the privileging of natural law over the older legal humanism. In contrast to continental variants, however, the Scottish profession moved away from rather than toward codification of law based on reason, increasingly giving rise to "piecemeal incremental reform." The development of legal theory led to historical investigations of a "proto-anthropological" and "proto-sociological" nature. As Christopher Berry's article illustrates, sociability constituted a central and conceptually distinct theme, one over which key questions about the nature and power of reason and the basis of civil and political institutions were debated. Central to the eighteenth-century concern was the question of whether society preceded the exercise of reason or vice versa, a matter debated in dialogue with the canon of social contractalists, and of the extent to which the individual could be analyzed independently of social contexts and relationships. "Human nature" was a central pursuit of Scottish inquiry, but could be understood and explored in different ways. Aaron Garrett's essay on "Anthropology: The 'Original' of Human Nature" maps these, examining conjectural, comparative, and philosophical inquiries, pursued in general historical frameworks and in the empirical study of sentiment.

Heiner F. Klemme analyzes important tensions between skepticism and common sense in the epistemological arguments of Hume and Reid, while M. A. Stewart's essay on "Religion and Rational Theology" provides a substantial account of debates about natural and revealed religion before and after Hume, situating a critical reading of Hume's religious writings at its center. If "Enlightenment" is often associated with secularization and agnosticism, Stewart's account shows the extent to which Hume was peculiar rather than representative in his religious attitudes, his writings often meeting with as much incomprehension as incredulity.

Christopher J. Finlay, University College Dublin

James Buchan, *Crowded With Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment: Edinburgh's Moment of the Mind*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. Pp. xi. + 436.

In 1982 an American reviewer of Garry Wills's books *Inventing America* and *Explaining America* could dismiss the very idea of a Scottish Enlightenment as no more than a joke. How times have changed! Two decades later British and American publishers are clearly convinced that there is a general readership out there eager to pick up yet another account of Scotland's eighteenth-century thinkers and their modern relevance. But the term "Scottish Enlightenment" seems to continue to perplex them. Readers may recall that the American edition of Arthur Herman's bestseller about the modern world's debt to eighteenth-century Scotland made no reference in its title to the Scottish Enlightenment, whereas the British edition's title gave it pride of place. With James Buchan's book exactly the reverse is the case: its British title is *Capital of the Mind: How Edinburgh Changed the World*, whereas the American edition, reviewed here, highlights the Scottish Enlightenment in its title. Who, one wonders, makes these decisions and why?

Whatever their views on the appropriate titles of their books, Herman and Buchan are of one mind about the significance of Scottish Enlightenment thinking for the emergence of the modern world. In the second sentence of his book Buchan lays his card very clearly upon Herman's table: "For near fifty years, a city that had for centuries been a byword for poverty, religious bigotry, violence and squalor laid the mental foundations for the modern world' (p. 1). Well yes, one might respond, but was it not Scotland as a whole that enjoyed such a reputation, and was it thanks only to Edinburgh that the transformation occurred and the modern world born? Of course Buchan's book is about Edinburgh, but in the wider context of the Scottish Enlightenment and its legacy such an exclusive focus has to be somewhat misleading: neither Aberdeen nor Glasgow appears in the book's index, and the universities in these cities receive precisely one reference each.

There is much, however, to admire in *Crowded With Genius*. Its chapters often display an engaging narrative energy (like his famous grandfather, the author is also a successful novelist). Its style is consistently lively and engaging, drawing the reader into the story being told. The range and inclusiveness of the material it covers are grandly

impressive. All of Edinburgh is here: its politics, its religion, its society and manners, its music and dancing, its architecture and buildings (though for the story of the New Town A. J. Youngson's *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* will remain the exemplary text). Above all the book is full of characters—the familiar crowd of literati from Hume through Smith, Kames, Ferguson and Robertson to Home, Fergusson, Boswell, Blair, Macpherson and finally to Mackenzie, Burns, Hutton and (briefly) Scott. And Buchan is not content just to provide “plot summaries” of these men and their works; he offers his own individual—and often provocative—perspective on their output and its significance. Indeed, one suspects that some academic readers at least will feel that Buchan's own opinions are over-prominent and that he would have done better to take more account of recent scholarship: his book draws heavily on mainstream eighteenth-century sources (Arnot, Carlyle, Creech, Ramsay, Boswell, etc.), but there are very few references to secondary sources of any kind.

At the end of his introductory chapter, Buchan concludes “that Edinburgh could prosper only with the *political* defeat of the Jacobites and the *religious* defeat of the Whigs” (p. 23). This insight proves to be a valuable way into a splendidly vivid account of the Jacobite occupation of the city in 1745 and a thoughtful and persuasive analysis of how the Popular party in the Church of Scotland largely failed in its attempts to censure the literati on religious grounds. But in other areas Buchan's opinions are more contentious. The Scottish common sense school of philosophers, for example, is demonized: with its “disreputable prejudices,” we are told, it “drove Hume out of the university and the drawing-room in both Britain and North America. In the nineteenth century, he was barely read as a historian” (p. 76). Unless I am misunderstanding that final clause, this is simply wrong. It was precisely as a historian that Hume was read well into the nineteenth century. Then Buchan neatly summarizes the Ossian phenomenon as “an accident waiting to happen” (p. 144), in the sense that Macpherson's work admirably answered a whole range of existing needs and demands shared among different Edinburgh luminaries. But “the first literary Frankenstein” (p. 145) is strongly disapproved of by Buchan, largely on moral grounds, and one cannot help thinking that is why the relevant chapter, perceptive as it is, does not do justice to the scale and importance of Ossian's impact not just inside Edinburgh but outside, in Western culture as a whole. Finally, in a chapter late in the book focused on Henry Mackenzie and the cult of sentiment and sensibility in philosophy and literature, Buchan suddenly moves over to William Creech and his *Letters to Sir John Sinclair* detailing the changes in Edinburgh between 1760 and 1790. “Moral restraints,” writes Buchan, “had disintegrated” (p. 320) and, quoting Creech alone and without qualification, Edinburgh suddenly becomes less a city of enlightenment than a modern Sodom or Gomorrah. In fact Buchan's account of post-1790 Edinburgh, interesting and coherent enough on its own terms, will not persuade all of its readers. Was the new Edinburgh quite so cut off from the old? Is it fair to argue that Scott was uninterested in the philosophers and saw in the streets of Edinburgh only “numberless opportunities for myth-making” (p. 339)? The case that James Buchan makes for Edinburgh in *Crowded With Genius* is often perhaps more personal than it first appears.

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow, Emeritus

Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2003. Pp. xiv + 1105.

Edinburgh: The Golden Age is not only a knowledgeable narrative history and a useful reference work but also a guide for the general public, which will find it highly readable in spite of its huge size. Each chapter is short and thematic, introduced with friendly quotations. Strongest on the Edinburgh of Walter Scott, the book also contains some wonderful stories about lesser-known characters. There is also an impressive bibliography of secondary sources. As an architectural historian, I was grateful for accounts of the mason Hugh Miller and the painters David Roberts and Alexander Nasmyth, and for useful descriptions of rooms and buildings now long gone. The information about New Town fires is also very welcome, reflecting the recognition of the author, Mary Cosh, of the importance of health and safety in town planning. Orthodox views stand beside some welcome new information about the New Towns, such as the discussion in chapter 8 (unfortunately unreferenced) of David Steuart's plan to build Steuarttown. However, this book has some serious shortcomings, especially for professional academics seeking enlightenment in their chosen fields of study. The “Golden Age” of the title is never defined, and the book is sometimes surprising for what it fails to mention about the history of the New Town. Because the failed 1759 bill to extend the royalty is ignored, this scheme cannot be linked with Bishop Pococke's description of a plan for the New Town a year later. Furthermore, James Craig's New Town plan is not considered in the context of modern Edinburgh planning practice at Nicolson Park and George Square, or in the context of John Adam's plans for the New Town in the 1750s or Sir James Clerk of Penicuik's 1765 plan of the Royal College of Physicians. The New Town is isolated from other urban developments in Great Britain, such as London, and it is therefore not apparent that the Edinburgh Town Council, the administrators of the scheme, were looking to confirm Edinburgh's status as the principal provincial capital of North Britain. Nor is there any detailed history of Register House, the symbol of the New Town and of Edinburgh's importance to Scottish government.

Strangely, Cosh argues that in 1767 the New Town “was barely a plan” (p. 7). Even stranger, she contends that in 1778 good progress was being made on the building of the New Town. Neither the first nor second New Towns is discussed in terms of the city's political and economic performance. The impact of the Ayr Bank crash of

1772 and of the elections of 1774 and 1777 on building in the New Town has been overlooked. Instead, we are given stories of the inhabitants of the New Town and the rise to political power of Edinburgh's middling sort. Although the portraits of the city's geniuses and characters are fascinating, the impression that new Edinburgh was built as a utopia, and in perfect economic conditions, is surely misleading. The gentleness of the book's approach to history is illustrated by the attention it gives to cookery in chapter 4, which is supposed to be about architecture. The food may well have been delicious, but some readers will have more appetite for fact and argument. A story about Register House, Royal College of Physicians Hall, Assembly Rooms, St. Andrew's Church, or a private house would have been more appropriate here. There seems to be no organizing principle behind these stories about Edinburgh, which meander through various subjects and are inconsistently referenced. There are also some inaccuracies, such as referring to the equestrian statue of Charles II in Parliament Square as Charles I (p. 837).

These problems notwithstanding, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* is a good read for anyone seeking an anecdotal tour of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Edinburgh.

Anthony Lewis, University of Edinburgh

Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère, eds., *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment*. Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2004. Pp. 348.

Judging by the essays in this volume, the international conference on France and Scotland in the Enlightenment from which they originated must have been a rich exchange of insights and ideas on the cultural relationships between these twin centers of the European Enlightenment. As the editors make clear in their Introduction, while the "auld alliance" between Scotland and France became increasingly irrelevant after the Act of Union, cultural relations during the eighteenth century were intense and reciprocal. By exploring these relationships carefully, we get a better sense of the diversity within unity that was the Enlightenment.

The cultural scorecard here is decidedly in favor of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scots. In terms of literature and the fine arts, for example, essays on Ossian, Walter Scott, and Scottish art suggest that France was a neoclassical desert that required an injection of Scottish flesh and blood if it was going to flourish into romanticism and realism. In terms of intellect, there is much more coherent perspective on the Scottish Enlightenment project than there is on its French counterpart. We learn much more about Kames, Hume, the Smith and lesser lights such as William Smellie and Robert Wallace than we do about Voltaire, Diderot, Condorcet, Rousseau, and even Sophie de Grouchy, despite the editors' overly ambitious claim that the latter made a "major contribution to moral philosophy" (p. 281).

Despite the relative imbalance, this book is a significant undertaking and provides considerable food for thought for anyone interested not only in the Enlightenment but in cross-cultural dialogue in general. All the essays are well written, and most are very good. A charming but insubstantial opening piece by Paul-Gabriel Boucé on Smollett's *Present State of All Nations* doesn't do much more than repeat a simplistic stereotype of France that echoed throughout British publications during the second half of the eighteenth century. The three essays that comprise an entire section on "Encyclopaedias and Natural History" are a bit more useful in documenting cultural differences and experiences, including the increasingly conservative nature of mainstream British society during the second half of the eighteenth century. Much more valuable is Harvey Chisick's careful account of the ways that Adam Smith and David Hume were represented and read in France. Interestingly, it was Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and Hume's *History of England* that counted rather than the works of theirs that are most praised and discussed today.

This volume is particularly valuable in offering some challenging interpretative pieces. Two of the essays are destined to become mandatory reading for scholars and students of the Enlightenment: those by Duncan Macmillan and Ferenc Hörcher. Macmillan deftly unfolds the manner in which French art was nudged into psychological and scientific realism by Scottish sentimental and common sense philosophy as filtered through the anatomical drawings of John and Charles Bell and the paintings of Gavin Hamilton. What particularly fascinates is Macmillan's compelling demonstration of the rapid exchange of ideas that made the "feminine principle of feeling" (p. 132) the new key to civilization. While the Scottish emphasis on feeling and expression was part and parcel of sympathetic moral philosophy, Macmillan shows how such frameworks opened up new worlds for artists like David and Delacroix, contributing also to the new "psychological approach to narrative" in the writings of authors like Walter Scott. Susan Manning's insightful article on Walter Scott's *Malachi Letters* complements Macmillan's analysis by illuminating the ways that Scott was able to translate his private reality of emotion into "new areas of narrative to fiction and to historiography" (p. 109).

Articles by Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon, Pierre Carboni, and Andrew Hook reveal how the myth of the sublime and sentimental Highlander became a vehicle for storming the neoclassical barriers of French aesthetic conservatism. Voltaire clearly was intrigued by the dramatic potential of the survivors of the Culloden massacre. The tamed Highlander was crystallized in James Macpherson's largely fabricated *Poems of Ossian*, a work that served as a literary canon aimed at French neoclassical culture precisely because it pretended to respect neoclassical rules while appealing to the new taste for the pathetic. The literary example of a society that is simpler, but far from primitive or crude, paved

the way to less artificial and more direct forms of language. The emotive qualities of this transformed epic genre, according to Andrew Hook, led to something that would eventually eclipse classicism altogether and provide arts undergraduates with an enduring literary persona—the romantic sensibility. Fascinating stuff, despite the problem of running the Scottish influence into the 1820s and blurring important distinctions between the Enlightenment and Romanticism.

Although his focus is more strictly philosophical than literary, A. E. Pitson's analysis, "The Soul of Beasts: Hume and French Philosophy," illuminates the way that philosophical and literary themes merged in the Enlightenment. Hume believed that, while human nature had much in common with what we could observe about animal behavior, humans had evolved differently because of the necessity to work together for survival. Humans were quite distinct, therefore, in their ability to use symbols imaginatively to communicate with one another. Some form of sympathy might exist between animals, but imaginative sympathy was both discursive and central to what it means to be human. Pitson's discussion of Hume not only underlines the importance that the Scottish Enlightenment attached to sympathy but also provides insights into the manner in which sympathetic relations force us become aware of a disinterested *self* that is capable of "adopting the general view that makes the existence of such sentiments possible" (p. 236). The exploration of sociability, in other words, leads directly to the discovery of the individual; it accounts for the shift from enlightenment to romanticism, and it helps to explain the rise of increasingly introspective novels.

Hume's discussion of human nature was radical in terms of his willingness to view human beings as animals with language and human communities as the product of symbolically conveyed habits and customs that still had their basis in "a kind of instinct arising from past observation and experience" (p. 228). Hume's approach to human civilization led him in the direction of a polite and conservative utilitarianism. Today, we might be able to stomach this dethronement of humanity and reduction of moral sentiment to utility, but most of Hume's contemporaries most certainly could not, as other essays in this volume suggest. While accepting the importance of the sympathetic imagination, the typically Scottish approach was to seek an explanation of the moral sense that was more consistent with natural law and natural religion. This leads me to the superb article by Ferenc Hörcher entitled "Beccaria, Voltaire, and the Scots on Capital Punishment."

Hörcher is to be praised for offering a more sophisticated and inclusive definition of the Scottish Enlightenment—in terms of its *confrontation* between *civilized progress* and *moral purity*—than many authors who caricature the Scottish Enlightenment simplistically as the legitimization of a modern, commercial, bourgeois society. He further contextualizes his subject by contrasting the reformist character of the Scottish Enlightenment with the more activist approach of its continental counterpart. But his primary focus is Adam Smith, who wrote extensively on punishment in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and criticized all utilitarian approaches to criminal justice. Hörcher shows how Smith's theory of punishment invoked an older natural law tradition that can be traced back to Augustine and that contrasted significantly with the more utilitarian focus of Grotius and, ultimately, Beccaria and Voltaire. Smith's analysis of sympathy and morality also differed markedly from that of Hume, whom Smith explicitly criticized. Despite his advocacy of self-interest in the *Wealth of Nations*, therefore, Hörcher's Smith emerges more as a traditional social and ethical thinker than as a champion of the modern individual.

Hörcher's analysis poses problems for all those who want to picture Smith as the apostle of bourgeois individualism. It also poses problems for other authors in this volume, problems that might have been usefully addressed in the Introduction, which reads too much like a summary of the volume's contents. For example, Hörcher has a clearer appreciation for Adam Smith's moral philosophy than Deidre Dawson, whose essay on Sophie de Grouchy seems altogether too eager to picture Smith's conception of sympathy as *fellow feeling* rather than a tendency or inclination that is polished by social development. Dawson clearly wants to elevate the contribution of de Grouchy and to highlight her argument for the potential of public education to nurture and refine sympathy. She fails to see how Smith's account also conforms to a social construction of morality, admittedly a very different one. Smith clearly felt that sympathy should be molded by the community rather than by public institutions. Dawson's point about the cultivation of sympathy is valid, but it would be better taken if she pointed out that not only de Grouchy but also many of Smith's Scottish contemporaries were much more interested in the ways that sympathy could be cultivated *systematically* through both private and public education.

Hörcher's analysis also problematizes the offering of B. Barnett Cochran, who constructs a somewhat unconvincing picture of the moderate divine, Robert Wallace, as an ally of Rousseau in "a tragic, futile protest against Enlightenment and modernity" (p. 285). Cochran seems so concerned to identify Hume with John Madison and some impending industrial future that he fails to see how vibrant agrarian-republican themes remained throughout the Scottish Enlightenment. This ongoing confrontation between commercial civilization and moral corruption also helps to explain why Rousseau's writings remained so popular in enlightened Scotland and among the Edinburgh literati, as well as why Hume remained so friendly with Wallace and Rousseau, at least until the latter's neurotic behavior made such a friendship impossible. In a less simplistic definition of the Scottish Enlightenment, Wallace's writings would appear markedly less idiosyncratic and more mainstream. Despite the ongoing relevance of themes attributed to Rousseau and Wallace, however, this reader finds the comparison of the two thinkers problematic. Their respective

analyses of human nature could not have been more different, rendering any attempt to picture them as fellow travelers suspect at best.

It is a compliment to the editors that this volume is so very readable. The fact that there are interesting arguments well worth considering and engaging—even if one occasionally begs to differ—is yet another sign of an important work. Hopefully, this elegant volume will find a good audience.

John Dwyer, York University

Norbert Waszek, *L'Écosse des Lumières: Hume, Smith, Ferguson*. Paris: PUF, 2003. Pp. 127.

The idea that the Enlightenment took different forms in different contexts is not new to English-language Enlightenment studies. Still, a reference that France was only one of many epicenters of the European Enlightenment movement sounds especially daring in French. Ambitious in its scope, this brief book, intended for a wide French-speaking audience, expresses the need to shift the definition of the Enlightenment from a unified movement extending from France to a unity of national Enlightenments. Based on the works of Hume, Smith, and Ferguson, Norbert Waszek recounts the themes that are characteristic of the Scottish Enlightenment to differentiate it from a general European movement and, at the same time, to show how the Scottish Enlightenment corresponded with the European Enlightenment.

The structure of the book is tailored to address this objective. After touching upon “temporal demarcations,” terminology, and the main figures, Waszek provides a brief account of the economic, social, political, and cultural conditions that went hand in hand with the blooming intellectual developments in Scotland. The next three chapters deal with the central concerns that, as Waszek argues, shaped the Scottish Enlightenment: the “science of man,” philosophy of history, and political economy. Taken together, these chapters present a rather traditional account of Scottish moral philosophy as a study of man, socialization, and the progress of human society. Starting with Hutcheson giving a new direction for the development of the idea of moral sense, Waszek traces the development of moral sense philosophy through the works of Hume, for whom sympathy and benevolence occupied a central place, to Smith who introduced the notion of “impartial spectator,” to Ferguson who was convinced that both conflict and sympathy could unite people. The Scottish historical school, according to the author, took the idea that society develops through stages to another level when Smith elaborated that society develops through consecutive stages corresponding to different modes of subsistence. Stadial history and a philosophy of progress were enriched by Ferguson’s attention to the possibilities of society’s decline and his consideration of the role of “unintended consequences.” Through his “philosophical” perspective on history, Hume looked at political institutions as historical developments connected to changing conditions and evaluated political events in their contexts. Concentrating on the division of labor and the role of state in the economy, the Scottish philosophers analyzed the pros and cons of modernization. The book concludes with a chapter on the European reception of the Scottish Enlightenment, a theme recurrent in Waszek’s work. Comparing the reception in Germany and in France, he points out that even though certain Scottish figures were well known in France, the “Scottish school” was not recognized there. In contrast, it was specifically the Scottish direction that left a mark on generations of German intellectuals.

Arranging the themes to create a coherent picture of the Scottish Enlightenment, the author presents it as a “monolith of the movement.” Herein lie the main strength and the main weakness of the book. On the one hand, concentrating on family resemblances, the author brings Hume, Smith, and Ferguson closer together than their conceptual differences allow. Talking about the division of labor, for instance, Waszek focuses most attention on Smith’s analysis with only minor references to disagreements between Smith and Ferguson. On the other hand, despite the limitations that the approach entails and gaps, such as a crucial omission of the role of civic humanism, this enjoyable read could serve as a good introduction to Scottish Enlightenment studies.

Natalie Bayer, Rice University

Tatsuya Sakamoto and Hideo Tanaka, eds., *The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*. Routledge Studies in the History of Economics. London: Routledge, 2003. Pp iv + 215.

The editors of this collection of thirteen papers do not aim low, promising a “comprehensive view of the rise and progress of political economy in eighteenth-century Scotland” focused on “the interaction between the general historical forces that formed the Scottish Enlightenment and the disciplinary development of political economy as a science” (pp. 1–2). They believe this is needed despite the “distinguished scholarly standard” of the previous effort along these lines: *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, edited by Hont and Ignatieff. While *Wealth* produced “heated debates” over its dichotomies of wealth and/or virtue and classical republicanism and/or natural jurisprudence, the editors assert that the key question of the shaping of political economy has faded from view as the debate has tended to focus on “purely political and philosophical issues.” While criticizing the tendency of historians of political thought (with a few noted exceptions) to argue in terms of “a simplistic dichotomy,” the editors also assign blame to the “high level of specialization and the general demand for analytical exactness” among historians of economics. This makes it difficult for the latter to examine the *political* economy of this

period, understood as including the relations of economics with history, morals, and politics.

To what extent *Rise* will supplement or supplant *Wealth* I won't venture to predict, but it certainly contains several papers of general interest and high quality, as well as others of interest primarily to those seeking an introduction to a particular author or question. The topics covered in the chapters (all by Japanese scholars) start with Andrew Fletcher and continue to Dugald Stewart. The last chapter traces the history of Adam Smith scholarship in Japan. This fascinating account by Hiroshi Mizuta, part history and part reminiscence, is itself worth the price of admission (although I am not persuaded by his concluding critique of Charles Griswold on the corruption of morals).

Two of the most stimulating chapters in the collection are by the editors. In chapter 6 Tatsuya Sakamoto offers a closely argued thesis: the best way to understand Hume's claim that the rise of commerce leads to his desired ends of the rule of law and personal liberty is through his understanding of "manners." He suggests that Hume's extensive 1748 tour of the Continent was crucial in catalyzing a recognition that differences in manners (as opposed to climate or geography) could explain the wide variation in conditions between states, but that Hume initially has problems accounting for the differences in manners themselves. In his 1752 essays Hume refines his argument: the development of towns and commerce leads to "industry, knowledge and humanity." Sakamoto claims that the key is Hume's understanding that economic development is "knowledge-producing" for the individuals involved. As they apply their reason to what Hume calls "the more vulgar arts, at least, of commerce and manufacture" (p. 95), their habits and outlook change in ways favorable to liberty. The debate over Hume's view on the neutrality or non-neutrality of money is also discussed in terms of manners. What appeared in the non-neutral cases to be due to increases in money is in fact primarily a result of changes in manners, without which increases in money, as in Spain and Portugal, would be without beneficial effect (p. 97). Sakamoto concludes that Smith's praise of Hume by name in book III, chapter 4 of the *Wealth of Nations* indicates Smith's recognition that the improvement of manners leading to law and liberty is the decisive benefit of the progress of commerce.

Hideo Tanaka's excellent discussion of liberty and equality in John Millar deals with similar themes in the works of this "most outstanding disciple of Adam Smith." While Millar should not be seen as a "simple, optimistic believer in progress," he nevertheless shows that the rise of commerce frees the lower ranks from the oppression of their feudal superiors and thus promotes independence, personal liberty, and a degree of equality (pp. 170-72). Tanaka takes seriously Millar's reservations about progress and evaluates claims of civic humanist strains in his thought, but he ends by including him with Hume and Smith in the camp of those who valued commerce for its promotion of virtue. In this context, he properly argues that more attention should be paid to the interaction of these figures with the thought of Rousseau.

The most interesting, and most frustrating, of the papers is Shoji Tanaka's exposition of "The Main Themes and Structure of Moral Philosophy and the Formation of Political Economy in Adam Smith." Interesting, because it raises several questions that go to the heart of significant problems in interpreting Smith: among which are whether his providentialism can be squared with his emphasis on the corruption of morals and the desire for wealth and praise, and the related question of the extent to which he qualifies his praise of the system of natural liberty, particularly in later editions of the *Wealth of Nations*. Frustrating, because adequate answers to these questions would require a book and not an article. (He has written books, but so far available only in Japanese. Translations, anyone?) The result is that one is provoked, in both the good and bad senses, by the nearly aphoristic manner of exposition. It nevertheless is a must-read for those who admit serious interpretive problems in Smith, and should change the minds of those who don't.

Other chapters include Shigemi Muramatsu's account of the differing positions on the Union debate held by William Seton, William Black, and Andrew Fletcher; Gentaro Seki on discussions in the 1720s and 1730s of the economic effects of union and possible remedies; a discussion of Frances Hutcheson by Toshiaki Ogose; expositions of the thought of Robert Wallace by Yoshio Nagai and of the Wallace-Hume debate on ancient and modern populations by Yasuo Amoh; an analysis by Ikuo Omori of the relative merits of Hume, Steuart, and Smith, questioning Smith's superior reputation; a detailed discussion of Smith's theories of tax incidence by Keiichi Watanabe, who argues that they can be understood as manifestations of his "political ideology as an advocate of the landed interests" (p. 130) against the rising industrious classes; Kimihiro Koyanagi's exposition of Kames and Robertson on civilization and history; and an interesting analysis of Dugald Stewart's views of natural jurisprudence and political economy by Hisashi Shinohara. Although the quality of these essays is uneven, at their best they establish a very high standard.

Lauren Brubaker, University of Chicago

Michael Brown, *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719-1730: The Crucible of his Thought*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002. Pp. 207.

Francis Hutcheson grew up among the dissenters of Down and Armagh, receiving a classical schooling at Saintfield and a scholastic college course at Killyleagh, before serious philosophical and classical studies in Scotland opened his eyes to the great classical poets, the philosophical and forensic works of Cicero, and the harmonization of science with natural theology. Both arenas greatly affected his development, but his education is fleetingly mentioned in Michael Brown's book. The "crucible" of the subtitle is located not in the formative experiences of either Ulster or

Glasgow, but in Hutcheson's post-educational experience as a dissenting tutor in Dublin. The focus of the study, even so, is not his Dublin employment but his engagement with different groups and interests while he was there, which he failed to duplicate in his later career. Each chapter pairs Hutcheson with a prominent figure in some political, ecclesiastical, or literary circle: Robert Molesworth, the younger Edward Synge, John Abernethy, James Arbuckle, Lord Carteret, William King. An Introduction and Conclusion present the output of all this input as "the Father of the Scottish Enlightenment."

The conception was good. A study of Hutcheson's professional and social contacts while he developed as teacher, writer, and thinker, and a theoretical understanding of the tensions inherent in some of those contacts, should surely enhance our grasp of that development. But they neither directed nor set the limits to it. Much of Hutcheson's thought was a response to his reading, and deployed the concepts of his reading, relatively little of which was either Irish or strictly contemporary. The jacket illustration's depiction of the wrong man is thus symptomatic of deeper misdirections. Chapter headings raise expectations that can be frustrated by the author's awkward segmentation of Hutcheson's thought, and the footnotes too often point to sources that are inadequately or irrelevantly utilized at the point cited.

The Scottish sections are inaccurate on detail. The Introduction, ostensibly on "Hutcheson and Carmichael," says nothing about what Hutcheson crucially brought to Dublin. It opens with a strange gaffe over his election as Carmichael's successor, but is mostly devoted to generalities about his later teaching practice. Carmichael scarcely figures. Brown notes that Hutcheson commended Carmichael as a critic of Pufendorf, but what does that entail alongside Pufendorf's apparently influential "emphasis on man's inherent sociability" (p. 17)? The book's Conclusion, "Hutcheson and the Scottish Enlightenment", looks at Hutcheson's post-Dublin relations with David Hume, his impact on Adam Smith (wrongly credited with a Glasgow degree, p. 173), and the influence of his writings on Adam Ferguson "and the other Moderate party *literati*" (p. 169). To the extent that all shared with Hutcheson a sense of the place of sentiment in morals (wrongly characterized as "emotivism," p. 90 etc.) and desired a society combining prosperity with virtue, they can be located in a broad tradition. But the tradition originated neither in Dublin nor with Hutcheson, and does not require a distinctively Hutchesonian substructure. No evidence is offered, amid the biographical data, for a relevant influence of Hutcheson on Hume; and to represent Smithian sympathy as a "creative extension" (p. 176) of Hutcheson's moral sense without acknowledging Hume's critique of Hutcheson is quite distorting. Ferguson slips in as pioneer of a concept of "civil society" which takes clearer shape later, but that is not the kind of instinctive association taught by Hutcheson; nor would Hutcheson have welcomed the politicization of the patronage system which was the Moderate party's *raison d'être*. Hutcheson was a first-rate mind, heading a significant debate on human nature, but the major thinkers of the second half of the century all found his moral psychology unworkable. His followers were teachers and preachers of no originality. Temperamentally, he was a conciliator, but to reduce his contribution to philosophy to the paternity of a nebulous social theory does little credit to him, or to a "Scottish Enlightenment" that consists in so much else.

It is fairer to the author to discount the grand sweep and read the book for its interesting cameos. The chapters on Molesworth and Synge convey an excellent sense of local atmosphere. Molesworth's political interests are balanced against aesthetic ones and Hutcheson's admission that Molesworth commented helpfully on the *Inquiry concerning Beauty*. (We don't know, however, if Molesworth's Williamite notions of landscape design (p. 46) appealed to Hutcheson. Such notions were ridiculed later in the century. Molesworth finds no place in an "Essay on the Rise and Progress of Gardening in Ireland," *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1792.) In discussing religious factionalism, Brown effectively removes the glamor from Hutcheson's later support for the principle of justified revolution, crucially pointing out that it was historically integral to Presbyterian philosophy (p. 55). He suggests that Hutcheson nowhere mentions Catholicism: but see the tolerationist argument in the Introduction to the Hutcheson-Moor translation of Marcus Aurelius (1742). Arbuckle (who was not a Dublin minister's son [p. 101] but from a Belfast merchant family) is cast as a philosophical essayist, a welcome change from his common portrayal as a doggerel poet. The Carteret chapter details the lord lieutenant's early biography, but we still lack any hard information on where Carteret and Hutcheson found their common interests and why Hutcheson was put under pressure to change his ecclesiastical allegiance. The reconciliation of opposites in Hutcheson's (limited?) rapport with the bigoted Archbishop King is quite a test to explain. As Brown shows, King's wings had been clipped and he was a disillusioned man in his last years, and this opens up several possibilities.

The Abernethy chapter is the anomaly. Abernethy was not part of Hutcheson's Dublin. He was a northern minister who had challenged ministerial subscription to the Westminster Confession among the northern congregations. Subscription was not a direct concern for most Dublin Presbyterians, or for officialdom (for whom the Confession had no legal standing and orthodox Presbyterians were a pain). Non-Subscription was not a believer's free-for-all or, as Brown says more than once, a contest of reason against scripture. It was a pro-scripture movement against the imposition of human formularies. One can extract an attitude to the controversy, as Brown does, from Hutcheson's writings, and he makes good use of Hutcheson's letter to his father. But Abernethy is irrelevant to the north-south distinction necessary for placing Hutcheson in the context of Dublin dissent; for that we needed a whole chapter on the

Dublin congregations, their ministers, their political access, and their role in non-political institutions like banking and the book trade. Any significant relationship with Abernethy comes a decade later.

M. A. Stewart, University of Aberdeen

George Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education*. Edited and with an Introduction by Terence O. Moore, Jr. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003. Pp. xxi + 445.

As Terence Moore points out in his introduction, George Turnbull's *Observations upon Liberal Education* was one of a handful of books that Benjamin Franklin identified as influential upon his own educational theory and practice. For that reason alone, the appearance of the first modern edition of Turnbull's *Observations* is welcome. And welcome, indeed, is this high quality and elegant edition in Liberty Fund's Natural Law and Enlightenment Series.

As grateful as readers ought to be for accessible editions of Turnbull's works—and this series promises at least two more volumes of Turnbull—they may be somewhat surprised at the appearance of a treatise on education in a series focused on natural law. Moore provides some help on this score with his assertion that Turnbull was "the first Scottish moralist to call for the experimental method in the investigation of morals, and went further than any other of the Moral Sense philosophers in developing the analogy between moral inquiry and the natural sciences." This doesn't quite capture Turnbull's project, and the claim itself might be disputed were we clearer about whom Moore includes as "Moral Sense philosophers." But Aberdeen, or at least Marischal College in Aberdeen, was committed to a unity of moral and natural inquiry, and Turnbull was no small figure in this commitment. Later Moore does point the reader in the direction of an appropriate account. We discover, upon inspection of the "furniture of the mind," that our Creator has equipped us for knowledge of nature and nature's laws, some of them moral in character. A good education prepares us to recognize and properly use this furniture, to the end of our own happiness and the happiness of others.

Turnbull's 1742 work was not the only major treatise on education by a Scot. The first volume of David Fordyce's *Dialogues Concerning Education* was published, anonymously, in London in 1745, and a second volume three years later, each volume at least four hundred pages long. (If there were but few Scots who wrote about education, those who did so wrote at great length!) Fordyce's *Dialogues*, much of which may have been written as early as 1739, addresses similar themes from a similar perspective, although Locke is much less of a presence in the *Dialogues*. Turnbull proves himself the better classicist, but Fordyce shows himself the more creative and expansive thinker. And Fordyce shows himself far more adept at writing genuine dialogues; Turnbull's *Observations* contains several dialogues, each rather clumsily presented.

There is more to be said about Turnbull and Fordyce and their relation to one another as well as to their successors in Aberdeen and other figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, and it will be more easily said as a result of this fine edition. Moore has provided a most helpful index (Turnbull himself provided a valuable table of contents). Moore's notes and annotations are unobtrusive. One might have hoped for more detailed biographical information on Turnbull. Still, we have here a lovely volume at a more than reasonable price. Members of this society are in the debt of Moore, the series general editor Knud Haakonssen, and the Liberty Fund for this fine work.

Thomas D. Kennedy, Valparaiso University

David Fordyce, *Elements of Moral Philosophy, in Three Books with a Brief Account of the Nature, Progress, and Origin of Philosophy*. Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas D. Kennedy. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003. Pp xvii + 212.

The Liberty Fund continues to do valuable service to eighteenth-century Scottish studies with its series on "Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics" under the general editorship of Knud Haakonssen. This volume satisfies our need for an accessible, modern edition of David Fordyce's *Elements*. Fordyce was an educator. He served as professor of moral philosophy at his alma mater, Marischal College, Aberdeen from 1742 to 1751; the *Elements*, published posthumously in 1754, became a popular textbook in moral philosophy. As such, it was a work of synthesis, reflecting a philosophical outlook associated with fellow Aberdonians George Turnbull and Thomas Reid, heavily influenced by Francis Hutcheson and the third earl of Shaftesbury, and broadly inspired by a reverence for the likes of Francis Bacon and Isaac Newton. Thus, the *Elements* reflects much of the work that typifies the Scottish effort to found a moral science in the early Scottish Enlightenment. Consequently, this volume might usefully be put into the hands of students on the trail of enlightened moral philosophy. The inclusion of the *Brief Account of the Nature, Progress and Origin of Philosophy*, apparently lecture material introducing Fordyce's course in moral philosophy, opens up that intellectual world a bit further, and is here published for the first time.

Scholars interested in the dissemination of Scottish moral thought will appreciate the Introduction, in which Thomas Kennedy briefly and judiciously reminds us that history has been less than fair to Fordyce and his *Elements*. Although he is little remembered today, generations of students in American universities were educated in moral philosophy through the *Elements*, which likewise appeared in French and German editions. This work also continued to appear into the nineteenth century in its original form—as a volume in Robert Dodsley's *The Preceptor*, first published in 1748—and a substantial portion of it also served in the 1771 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,

under the entry "Moral Philosophy, or Morals" (p. xvi). Kennedy is certainly justified in arguing that Fordyce has been unjustly forgotten.

The editing is uniformly strong. The typescript has been modernized, while other eighteenth-century idioms, including punctuation, spelling, capitalization, marginal notes, and text in italics, follow the 1754 edition. Fordyce's notes have been retained and expanded, and are also supplemented by the editor's own explanatory notes, corrections, and translations of Greek terms. The scope of these editorial additions is modest but helpful, and a useful index is also included. In short, this is an accessible, affordable, and highly serviceable edition of an important eighteenth-century text. It is also an attractive volume; the binding for the paperback edition appears worthy of the content, and the cover is appropriately graced with an image of old Marischal College. It is typically fine work from the Liberty Fund.

B. Barnett Cochran, Mount Vernon Nazarene University

Peter Millican, ed., *Reading Hume on Human Understanding: Essays on the First Enquiry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002. Pp. xvi + 495.

While containing twelve contributions by others including eminent Hume scholars and philosophers, this volume is dominated by the interpretation of the editor. The book begins with a Preface in which Millican advises "relatively inexperienced readers" how to read the book—directed by his own contributions. For example, readers are advised to get "preliminary orientation" on each issue from Millican's Introduction, where they can learn "the thrust of each contribution and how they relate to each other." Millican does not hesitate to take issue with the interpretations of his contributors where they differ from his own. In an ambitious first chapter entitled "Context, Aims, and Structure of the Enquiry," Millican gives a "section by section summary" of Hume's book based on his interpretation of its overall aim as a "systematic manifesto for inductive science". It also includes an interesting defense of the superiority of the first *Enquiry* over Hume's earlier *Treatise of Human Nature*. In chapter 4, which like chapter 1 is considerably longer than any of the other contributions in the book, Millican discusses what he takes to be the heart of the *Enquiry*, namely Hume's discussion of "Sceptical Doubts concerning Induction" and his solution to those doubts. Moreover, the reader is advised to go to Millican's "Critical Survey of the Literature on Hume and the First Enquiry" in an Appendix where the interpretive philosophical debates concerning Hume's theory of the understanding are interconnected and traced back to disputes about his fundamental intentions. (The reader is also referred to a website in which the "Critical Survey" is regularly updated.) No one can complain that Millican has failed to guide the inexperienced reader—who is surely most of us—through the vast intricacies of philosophical scholarship on Hume in general and on the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* in particular.

Following Millican's opening contributions, the book consists of thirteen chapters that roughly focus on one or more of the twelve sections of the *Enquiry*. Three of these are slightly revised versions of chapters which appeared previously in monographs (Jonathan Bennett on meaning empiricism, Edward Craig on necessary connection, and Don Garrett on miracles); four are from previously published papers (Galen Strawson on objects and powers, Simon Blackburn on thick connections, and David Owen on Hume and Price on miracles and prior probabilities). The new contributions are M. A. Stewart's "Two Species of Philosophy: The Historical Significance of the First Enquiry," Martin Bell's "Belief and Instinct in Hume's First Enquiry," Justin Brookes's "Hume, Belief and Personal Identity," George Botterill's "Hume on Liberty and Necessity," John Gaskin's "Religion: The Useless Hypothesis," David Norton's "Of the Academical or Sceptical Philosophy," as well as Millican's own mammoth chapter on induction. These provide very different and contrasting perspectives on Hume's *Enquiry*.

Particularly challenging is Stewart's chapter, which places the writing of the First *Enquiry* in its Scottish context and in tensions between Hume and Hutcheson (and his followers), especially those arising from Hume's candidacy for the Edinburgh chair of moral philosophy in 1745. Through a careful contextualized reading, particularly of sections I and XI of the *Enquiry*, Stewart argues that Hume must be seen as a proponent of the "accurate and abstruse" philosophy over that of the "easy and obvious," which characterized the literary moralizing of the period and had begun to affect the classroom. The reconciliation of the two species, which Hume argues for at the end of section I, is seen as basically stylistic, and not substantive. While Hume is willing to leave out some of the metaphysical detail of book I of his *Treatise of Human Nature* in recasting it in his first *Enquiry*, he does not give up the fundamental skepticism of the earlier work. This is particularly clear in section XI of the *Enquiry*, where he implies that the project of the moralists to "paint in the most magnificent Colours, the Order, Beauty, and wise Arrangement of the Universe" in order to establish its moral attributes is philosophically misguided. In this chapter, Stewart not only traces Hume's own use of the images of painting and anatomy to defend his moral philosophy from Hutcheson's charge that it lacks "a certain Warmth in the Cause of Virtue," but also gives a convincing account of the literary history of these contrasting images.

The different interpretations of Hume's philosophy presented in this book, including that of Millican himself, are of great interest, but they need to be evaluated on their own grounds and not simply that of the editor.

John P. Wright, Central Michigan University

Gordon Macintyre, *Dugald Stewart: The Pride and Ornament of Scotland*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003. Pp. xii + 335.

Dugald Stewart was a noted practitioner of philosophical biography. His series of three *éloges*, first read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of Adam Smith, William Robertson, and Thomas Reid, are probably his most consulted prose. Readers fresh to the Scottish Enlightenment often begin their exploration of these thinkers with recourse to Stewart's overviews. Yet Stewart himself, until now, has had to wait for a fully fleshed out biographical study. Only his son Matthew's *Memoir*, published in 1828, and John Veitch's life and letters, included in the tenth volume of William Hamilton's *Collected Works of Dugald Stewart* (1858), have given guidance.

This significant lacuna in the literature has now been filled. The publication of Gordon Macintyre's detailed biography is thus heartily to be welcomed. Building on the recent upsurge in interest in Stewart, including a flurry of reconsiderations by Paul Wood, Nicholas Phillipson, and Knud Haakonssen, among others, Macintyre has, through extensive archival research, supplied the where and the when of Stewart's rather academic life. Appointed professor of mathematics in 1775 in place of his father Matthew, Stewart was subsequently the professor of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh from 1785 to 1810. A student and follower of Thomas Reid, he was the author of the three-volume *Elements in the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, a two-volume *Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, and a volume of *Philosophical Essays*.

In writing of Reid, Stewart recognized the difficulties of writing about a life predominantly lived in the mind. "The life of which I am now to present to the Royal Society [of Edinburgh] a short account," Stewart opened, "although it fixes an era in the history of modern philosophy, was uncommonly barren of those incidents which furnish materials for a biography. It was spent in the obscurity of a learned retreat, remote from the pursuits of ambition and with little solicitude about literary fame,—unembellished even by that epistolary intercourse with the world, which has formed the relaxation of many studious men, and in which they have themselves transmitted to posterity the most faithful and pleasing portraits of their own characters" (Stewart, *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid in The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, ed. William Hamilton [reprint edn.; Bristol, 1994], 10:245). This is certainly a limitation that applies to Stewart's own case, albeit one alleviated by the copious correspondence of his second wife, Helen D'Arcy Stewart, whose diligence in documenting life in the family household is used to great effect by Macintyre. He thus supplies a vivid portrayal of domestic life, filled with practical difficulties, personal triumphs and disasters, and concerns over future welfare. The trials of early childhood and the traumas of losing friends and family are brought home, as is the Stewarts' anxiety over the career and mental stability of their sole surviving son. The relationship with relatives, the demands of moving house, and the intake of student borders are also illuminated with care.

Stewart's life, up until retirement, was intensely engaged, a fact that allows the greater portion of the biography to proceed at a respectable pace. One meeting, in April 1784, on the occasion of Edmund Burke's installation as rector of Glasgow University, gives a flavor. Present at a celebratory breakfast on the day of the ceremony were Stewart and Burke, along with James Boswell, Lords Maitland and Daer, and Professors Adam Smith, John Millar, and Andrew Dalziel. Equally, Macintyre's pen-portraits of Stewart's social circle are successful in bringing color to the account, and one is left with a striking sense of how introverted and proximate British intellectual life was in this period.

Throughout his career Stewart was peculiarly close to men of power. He taught numerous members of Parliament, including two future prime ministers, Lords Russell and Palmerston, and was himself called upon in 1806 to act as private secretary to the earl of Lauderdale on a political mission to attempt to negotiate peace with Napoleon. Stewart's relationship with Robert Burns is also analyzed here in some depth, as are his relations with a number of his students, notably Lord Ashburton, John Ward (first earl of Dudley), and Palmerston. Numerous other luminaries also attended his classes, notably the founding figures of the *Edinburgh Review*, Henry Brougham, Francis Horner, Francis Jeffrey and Sydney Smith, and the novelist Sir Walter Scott.

Stewart was also active in university politics, and his engagement in the appointment of his own successor and in the fracas that developed over the candidature of John Leslie for the chair of mathematics are rightly given prominence. The image supplied here is very much that of an institutional man, ever watchful over the development of the college and thoughtful about its future development. In that, Macintyre helps account for one of Stewart's rare innovations, the production of a course devoted to political economy, inaugurated in 1800.

Macintyre is careful in his reconstruction of events. Particularly helpful is the detail he has found concerning the summer of 1789, when Stewart was in Paris. His account has done much to overcome the loss accrued when Matthew Stewart, in a fit of paranoia, burned the diary his father had kept. However, he contents himself with documenting the physical life. He leaves aside the philosophy for occasional and often cursory remarks, and for a brief supplement on the writings. That a further appendix contains a selection of Stewart's *bon mots* only highlights the failure to integrate ideas into the biographical narrative. This accounts in particular for the sense of fading away that occurs once Stewart retired from public life in 1810, despite the fact that he still had some fifteen years to live and a great deal of writing left to publish. Indeed, Stewart's publication record, up to then, was notably meager. Yet,

Macintyre details only the travels, meetings, and home life of this post-retirement period, leaving aside the significant body of philosophical labor Stewart was undertaking.

Nevertheless, one does succeed in gaining a sense of the man. Intellectually methodical, politically cautious, and socially quite shy, Stewart was a devoted family man. In particular, it is clear that he came alive in close company and among children. His class, filled with teens it must be recalled, loved him, and his influence was warmly acknowledged by those who studied under him (Macintyre gathers these recollections in chapter 14). While Macintyre might have done more to refine our sense of Stewart's philosophical output, his carefully constructed portrait of an academic and teacher of genius remains potent, and the image of Stewart running about a dining room with a peacock feather balanced on his nose, to capture the imagination of a child (p. 164), remains long in the mind.

Michael Brown, Trinity College Dublin

The Works of the Rev. John Witherspoon. Edited by L. Gordon Tait. 4 vols. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003.

The American literary historian Moses Coit Tyler once characterized John Witherspoon's role in the American Revolution as follows: "He seems to have come at the right moment, to the right spot, in the right way." Likewise, L. Gordon Tait, the leading expert on Witherspoon's religious thought, is the right scholar to introduce Witherspoon's *Works* to contemporary students and scholars.

Tait makes his interpretation of Witherspoon's life clear in the Introduction. While noting that Witherspoon played a significant role both in the ideology and the politics of the American Revolution and early republic, he rightly argues that Witherspoon's self-perception was not "as a revolutionary patriot or primarily a politician." Rather, Witherspoon's "enduring influence, seen clearly in his *Works*, is more that of a churchman and educator than a statesman" (p. v). Still, an equally convincing case can be made for Witherspoon the statesman, whose ultimate legacy was to combine his educational and theological ideas with his revolutionary ideology in political service to his adopted country.

Tait begins his Introduction with a compact, informative biography that summarizes—and sometimes copies verbatim—passages in the Introduction to his excellent monograph, *The Piety of John Witherspoon: Pew, Pulpit and Public Forum* (2001), although he adds some new analytical insights and punctuates his main points with references to specific writings in the *Works*. The biographical sketch could have been strengthened by analyzing how Witherspoon's experiences in Scottish ecclesiastical politics shaped his participation in American secular politics.

Witherspoon's wide-ranging writings are wisely grouped under four major headings—Religion, Republicanism, Eloquence, and Good Advice. The perceptive analysis of the religious ideas in Witherspoon's sermons, theological treatises, and "Lectures on Divinity" at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) is also taken from Tait's monograph. A sensible summary of Witherspoon's republican political thought is based exclusively on the eclectic "Lectures on Moral Philosophy" and consists largely of passages that first appeared in Tait's 1988 essay of the same title as well as his 1982 essay "John Witherspoon as Sage: 'The Druid' Essays of 1776." Perhaps a more fruitful line of argument would have been to show the original way in which Witherspoon worked out the theoretical implications of his republicanism in his writings and practical experiences in revolutionary politics. Another problem is that Tait's discussion of Witherspoon's interpretation of Scottish common sense philosophy is tacked on rather oddly at the end of this section. It might have been better to combine it with Witherspoon's explication of Scottish moral sense philosophy in the "Lectures on Moral Philosophy" and create a separate section entitled Philosophy.

The most original sections of the Introduction are those on Eloquence and Good Advice. The former section combines the theoretical insights and practical recommendations of the "Lectures on Eloquence" that Witherspoon delivered at the College of New Jersey with the "Druid" essays that were intended for the general public, in an effort to capture Witherspoon's strong emphasis on the critical necessity of correct language usage, clear writing, and persuasive public speaking. In the section on Good Advice, the "Druid" essays, "Lectures on Moral Philosophy", "Letters on Education," and "Letters on Marriage" provide Tait with a wealth of materials for his insightful discussion of Witherspoon's judicious counsel to his fellow Americans on the key elements of the common life: marriage, children, and family—topics too often ignored by scholars. He paints an endearing portrait of Witherspoon's private persona as a loving husband and father and a humorous teller of tales who took great delight in drinking wine and celebrating life with friends and guests.

The Introduction contains a few minor errors and inconsistencies. By 1789 there were no longer American colonies but states (p. xii). In the 1780s Brown's official name was still the College of Rhode Island (p. xxviii). Sometimes the titles of Witherspoon's works are enclosed within quotation marks, and sometimes they are not.

Finally, a word about the text. Although Tait used the first American edition of *The Works of the Rev. John Witherspoon* (1800–1801) in his monograph and earlier essays, he has wisely chosen to reprint the second American edition of 1802, in which the editor of both editions, Witherspoon's former student Ashbel Green, rearranged the contents of volumes three and four to achieve a more thematic organization and corrected punctuation and spelling mistakes. But large amounts of Witherspoon's writings were omitted from Green's editions, including many congressional letters, committee reports, and speeches, as well as essays on a variety of subjects that appeared in the

Pennsylvania Magazine in 1775–76. Thus, a complete, critical edition is still badly needed. Nevertheless, this reprint edition will appeal not only to Witherspoon specialists but also to a broad spectrum of scholars working on eighteenth-century Scotland and America.

Roger J. Fechner, Adrian College, Emeritus

Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660–1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003. Pp. x + 258.

This book claims to provide “the first reconstruction of late-seventeenth century Scottish intellectual culture starting with the widespread popular royalism that accompanied Charles II’s restoration in 1660 and closing with the collapse of royal authority that occurred ... in 1688” (p. 1), but that is true only if one restricts culture to politics and religion, with which Clare Jackson is almost exclusively concerned. She does mention the Scots’ awareness of the new science, of Cartesianism, and of the works of Spinoza, which brought in their wakes crises of faith and uncertainty, but these are not major themes of the book. Within the limits she has adopted, this is a very welcome and useful work, with much to recommend it, but it does not deal with many other aspects of the high culture of the times.

Jackson cites a wide range of manuscripts and printed sources, many previously unused or little regarded, to argue for a view of the period as more lively and interesting than many have found it. She thus joins David Allan, Trisram Clarke, Colin Kidd, Hugh Ouston, Paul Wood, and me in seeing seventeenth-century Scotland not as an intellectual wasteland but as place which had quite a lot going on if one looks closely and attends not only to Scots in Scotland but also to those who were abroad or who were publishing in London and the Netherlands. The Scottish discussions of politics were not so different from those taking place in France and England, although the Scots until the 1690s had no republican theorists. Instead, they were mainly concerned with kingship—its origins, rights, limits, and constitutional functioning in a system without a resident monarch and with prospects as problematic as its history encapsulated in the portraits of the kings lining the halls at Holyrood Palace. The range of opinions for and against divine right monarchy was as wide in Scotland as anywhere, and Scottish writings, while not novel, were at least clear and often as forceful in stating the limits which natural and divine law imposed on monarchs. Jackson argues that much of the discussion centered on whether or not the Scottish kings were in theory more absolute than the English and how that absolutism constitutionally related to religion and its establishment. Throughout the period, practical politics worked to moderate the claims of many politicians and clerics who were not as quick to join “religious heterodoxy and political disloyalty” (p. 219) as it has sometimes been assumed. This was in part a reflection of the deeply felt need for order and a recognition of the fragility of the state and its problematic relation to the English, but it was also in part a result of the “alliances between episcopalian laymen and radical presbyterians in defence of a common Protestantism” (p. 161) in the face of the arbitrary actions of James VII and II. What is more surprising is that Scots Episcopalians seem to have lacked a theory of the divine sanction for episcopacy, while among the Presbyterians it was not the unanimous opinion that God had chosen that system of church government to the exclusion of all others.

This book is also revisionist in thinking that there was a fairly broad band of opinion separating the extremist views of the martyrs from those who martyred them in the name of episcopacy and the Stuart king’s claim to be in some sense God’s anointed. Concerns with *adiaphora* in both religion and politics give her a set of moderate men that includes even the opportunistic Lauderdale and more admirable figures such as Sir Robert Moray, Sir George Mackenzie, and clerics like Robert Leighton and Gilbert Burnet. Unfortunately, the moderates never produced a clear and widely accepted theory of the constitution, the limits of royal power, or the form of ecclesiastical polity fit or necessary for the kingdom. This made the Revolution of 1688 and its settlements contestable and contested by the parties on the extreme ends of the political and religious spectra. There is more to be said about this theme, since among those making the university settlements in 1690 were men such as the eighteenth earl of Craufurd, head of the visitation commission for the universities, who called for the appointment of moderates and appointed the moderate William Vilant as principal of St. Mary’s College in 1690. Others like Gilbert Rule, who in 1690 was made principal at Edinburgh, or Thomas Forrester, who succeeded Vilant in 1698, were not moderates. The colleges like the country were not quickly settled or quiet for some years.

This book has very few printing errors but does have a somewhat dead format enlivened with five illustrations. It has a ten-page bibliography of secondary sources and a much longer one dedicated to manuscripts (four pages) and printed primary materials (thirteen pages). It is well indexed and contains a clearly presented view of a problematic time.

Roger L. Emerson, University of Western Ontario, Emeritus

David George Mullan, ed., *Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670–c.1730*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. Pp. xii + 438.

This collection of eight spiritual memoirs by evangelical Presbyterian women of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries adds an important dimension to the ongoing project of recovering the writings of early modern Scottish women. The memoirs, ranging in length from a few pages to over a hundred, are presented in their entirety.

Three were published long ago in editions now extremely rare; the remaining five are published here for the first time. At least six of the authors were married or widowed. Two especially captivating memoirs were written by aristocrats: Henrietta Lindsay, step-daughter of the earl of Argyll; and Katherine Hamilton, daughter of the redoubtable Anne, duchess of Hamilton, and duchess of Atholl in her own right. Lillias Dunbar was of lairdly stock, and four were daughters of the manse, including the sisters Katherine and Jean Collace: Katherine was married disastrously and lost all twelve of her children, while Jean remained single, and they both served as schoolmistresses. Elizabeth Blackadder was the daughter of a minister who married a lawyer. It is not clear whether Agnes Paton ever married. Helen Alexander's origins are unclear, but probably humbler than the others. Altogether, the authors form a fairly representative cross-section of the educated female population.

As David Mullan explains, the eight narratives form a cohesive body of work bounded by time and a shared religious outlook. Indeed, reading them all straight through, as one does for a book review, makes their common qualities perfectly (if somewhat numbingly) clear. As Mullan succinctly puts it, "the religious content is more or less uniform: all the autobiographers were evangelical Presbyterians and many of them knew at first-hand the sometimes brutal persecution of the later covenanting period; they all suffered the pangs of hell while striving toward a resolution of their spiritual conflicts; they all faced numerous crises of sickness and bereavement and other upsets in domestic life; and they all spoke the same language of Christian experience" (p. 1).

The fact that these women shared a common set of core experiences and wrote about them in ways that conformed to a well-established genre of women's writing does not diminish their importance or interest, of course, and there are many moments when the narratives come vividly to life, as when the orphaned Lillias Dunbar mourns the loss of Lady Duffus, a cousin who "was a mother to me for twelve years." "My love to her," writes Lillias, "did exceed all bounds: my expectations from her, and my fears of being deprived of her, were both great. Truly I think nothing less than deliverance out of my soul trouble and the love of Christ could make me overcome the loss of her, who was my all in the world" (p. 147).

David Mullan is a scrupulous editor and an ideal guide to the religious content that dominates these narratives. Each passage of scripture alluded to is carefully noted in footnotes and a special index. Every minister who could possibly impinge on a story is likewise identified, even if only his parish was mentioned in passing. Religious controversies are deftly explained, and the political intrigues of fathers and husbands are carefully noted. Indeed, several of the brief introductions to the narratives say more of male relatives than of the female authors themselves, even in the case of Katherine Hamilton, about whom a good deal has been written.

Readers who approach these texts from the perspective of women's or social history will unearth a great many nuggets. Marriage is a blessing for some, a curse for others; childbirth is feared and miraculously endured; children are born, cherished, and returned to the Lord; drowning is averted and government agents eluded; journeys are taken; a carriage crashes; an arm is broken and set in harrowing detail; Rotterdam and London are endured and Edinburgh's faults laid bare; breast-feeding proves difficult, wet-nurses a trial; the education of daughters is seen to; and from a Dutch beach the Protestant armada of 1688 is seen off amidst anxious high hopes which, for once, were not disappointed. All this and more can be found in the texts, but the editorial apparatus is geared primarily to religious matters, and the general index provides few leads beyond surnames. Readers are left to mine these particular nuggets for themselves. The effort is more than worth it, however, and David Mullan, the general editors of "The Early Modern Englishwoman" text series, and Ashgate Publishing are to be commended for bringing these rich and evocative texts back into the light of day.

Gordon DesBrisay, University of Saskatchewan

Leah Leneman, *Promises, Promises: Marriage Litigation in Scotland, 1698–1830*. Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2003. Pp. xiii + 241.

The late Leah Leneman's *Promises, Promises: Marriage Litigation in Scotland, 1698–1830* is a companion volume to her eye-opening account of divorce Scottish-style, *Alienated Affections: The Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684–1830* (1998). Both books draw upon the records of the Edinburgh Commissary Court, a national court for marriage-related disputes. Few sources allow us to pry quite so deeply into the lives of men and women who, though apparently unluckier in love than most, seem otherwise representative of a fairly broad cross-section of Scottish society. The accusations, denials, depositions, and cross-examinations of the contending parties are there, but so, often, are the testimonies of friends, neighbors, parents, employers, commanding officers, ministers, landladies, innkeepers, and servants, along with letters exchanged by the now unhappy couple. Couples that wound up in court were by definition unusual, but these documents not only tell us what went wrong in particular relationships but what litigants and witnesses thought a marriage ought to be.

Promises, Promises is based on 506 court cases in which a "declarator" or court ruling was sought to establish that a legal marriage existed or (much less often) to order a party erroneously claiming a marriage to desist. The cases arose out of disputes concerning irregular marriage: regular marriages performed by the parish minister and duly recorded after a proclamation of banns were a matter of record easily confirmed. Irregular marriages were just as legally binding but harder

to prove in the event of a dispute. An irregular marriage was constituted by a mutual agreement to marry at that moment, a promise of future marriage followed by sexual intercourse, or cohabitation in such a way as to imply mutual consent to marriage. The fact that witnesses were not required to establish a marriage in either of the first two instances created an opening for equivocation, fraud, and litigation. Most declarator of marriage cases were brought by women seeking to prove marriage to men who denied it, not so much to enforce cohabitation as to gain respectability and alimony for themselves and larger maintenance payments for any children rendered legitimate. Some suits included a fallback case for seduction in the event marriage could not be proven, and others sought to prove marriage as a prelude to divorce.

Irregular marriage has come to be regarded as a mainly Scottish phenomenon, but it was not always so. From about 1670 until Hardwicke's Act prohibited the practice in 1753, upwards of half the marriages in London were irregular, with lower figures pertaining elsewhere in England. Drawing on her unrivaled knowledge of kirk session records, Leneman argues that in Scotland irregular marriage was so uncommon before the Revolution of 1688–89 as to suggest that most people did not know it was an option. Ousted ministers began to perform irregular but legal marriages thereafter, and other forms of irregular marriage soon caught on: over the course of the long eighteenth century about one-third of Scottish marriages were irregular.

Promises, Promises overturns the assumption that marriage was so easily arranged in Scotland as to constitute a trap for the unwary, especially unwary young men of property. In fact, only 42 percent of declarator of marriage cases brought by women succeeded, despite strong evidence throughout that the Commissary Court was generally sympathetic to the plight of women appearing before it. As Rab Houston found with regard to cases of mental incapacity, the Scottish civil courts tended to treat the vulnerable and the victimized with sympathy and common sense even as they remained vigilant against scams. The real threats posed to the propertied classes by irregular marriage, suggests Leneman, were that Scottish women in irregular marriages had legal rights not enjoyed by their sisters in England and Wales, and that Scottish courts could not be trusted to overlook these.

The main points raised in this book can be found in the brisk opening chapter and in the last pages of the concluding chapter. As in the divorce book, the bulk of this volume is taken up by detailed case studies organized into chapters loosely based around such themes as "Neither Wife nor Mistress," "Seduction," and the intriguing "Dead But Wed." The stories are the thing here, and only limitations of space prevent me from relating some of the amazing tales Leneman tells. Generous with quotations and telling anecdotes, the author is more sparing when it comes to analysis, though the judgments she offers are astute and so deftly tossed off as to leave most academic readers—the book is obviously also aimed at a more general audience—wanting more. (Researchers wanting more can in fact arrange to download Leneman's transcriptions of the Commissary Court records at www.data-archive.ac.uk.)

Leah Leneman's death left us all wanting more from this prodigious researcher and writer. In another of her last published works ("A Personal History," *Women's History Review* 9 [2000]: 453–80), she mentioned in passing that *Promises, Promises* was written during a "miracle remission" of the cancer that claimed her in December 1999. All the more reason to be thankful for this fascinating book.

Gordon DesBrisay, University of Saskatchewan

David Dobson, *Scots-Dutch Links in Europe and America 1575–1825*. Baltimore: Clearfield, 2004. Pp. 151.

Scots-Dutch Links in Europe and America 1575–1825 is the latest volume in an extensive series of genealogical inventories by David Dobson. Previously, he published several directories of Scots in the Americas and Europe, and this latest register of "some of the Scots who settled in The Netherlands and the Dutch settlements in America between 1575 and 1825" is a welcome addition to this work. Dobson is also the author of a monograph entitled *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607–1785* (1994), from which he appears to have drawn some of the names listed in this most recent study.

Dobson provides a one-and-a-half page Introduction, in which he mentions some of the well known ties between Scotland and the Netherlands. The volume then proceeds to a list of some 2250 entries, including name, kin, profession, place of residence, reference, and date of entry, and any other relevant information that is known. For this Dobson has consulted a curious body of primary material—a mixture of published primary and secondary works—which is unfortunately also far from complete. The author does not appear to have taken into account any of the new Scottish-Dutch or Scottish-European research. Recent works on, for instance, the Scots in Rotterdam by Douglas Catterall, or the Scottish exile community in the Netherlands by Georgina Gardner, have been left out, nor are major research projects acknowledged. Two of the most important of these are the database *Scotland, Scandinavia & Northern Europe, 1580–1707*, compiled by Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean, and the ongoing New York Public Library's *New Netherlands Project*, led by Charles Gehring. Older source materials, like the matriculation records of the Dutch universities of Franeker, Utrecht, and Groningen, or Joanne Macree Sanders's readily available *Barbados Records. Wills and Administration, 1639–1700*, have not been incorporated either. Unfortunately, Dobson's choice of reference materials remains unexplained in his short Introduction. Moreover, Dobson does not make a distinction between the different groups of emigrants, such as soldiers, students, clergymen, or their geographical locations. As a result, the

Scottish-Dutch links are largely left unidentified.

Despite the seemingly random and incomplete source material and the lack of analysis, Dobson's work provides a useful first step toward perhaps a more comprehensive inventory of Scots in The Netherlands. Moreover, it is also the first appreciation of a Scottish presence in the Dutch American colonies. There remains, however, much scope for further research into Scottish-Dutch links. The notarial archives of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Zeeland contain a wealth of information on the Scottish (merchant) communities both in The Netherlands and overseas. The Dutch vocational training received by many Scots would add an important dimension to the better known educational story. Lastly, the archives of the Dutch East and West India Companies hold the names of many Scots. Several supplements to Dobson's work would be more than welcome.

Esther Mijers, Aberdeen University

Doron Zimmerman, *The Jacobite Movement in Scotland and in Exile, 1746-1759*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. xii + 305.

Too often, the standard line of British history texts is Whig, a view that marginalizes Jacobitism and, with a smug 20/20 vision, proclaims the movement moribund in the last gasps of Culloden—the last battle fought on British soil. This blinding glare avoids the fact that British people did not conclusively *know* it was the last battle, nor did Jacobites at home and abroad vaporize suddenly or turn entirely to bemoaning the amputation of their kilts. Doron Zimmerman has written a lively and smug-puncturing account of the last years of Jacobite plotting, ending more than a decade after Culloden and bringing the Jacobite threat into the Seven Years War. The text, which is a revision of Zimmerman's doctoral dissertation, still bears the bibliographical and historiographical format of a thesis, but to be fair, given the novel nature of his claims, presenting his primary sources—including the underused Stuart Papers—and likely criticisms upfront seems a reasonable precaution.

Zimmerman has a clear-eyed appreciation for the limitations of the Jacobites after 1746, not least of which was the Young Pretender himself, whose single-minded fixation on an English landing (not Scottish or Irish), unpopular mistress Clementina Walkinshaw, resentment of the French, and conflicts with his father James, the Old Pretender, split the movement into factions, while many true believers were made penniless refugees unable to assist the Stuarts any longer. There were further political and ideological landmines in the creation of brother Henry as a cardinal, and Charles's conversion to the Church of England, as well as the fallout from dealing with Lutheran Frederick II of Prussia.

However, Jacobitism still had assets. Despite draconian crackdowns, the Hanoverian government could not prevent harassment of Whig landowners in Scotland by Jacobites after 1746. Nor could they eradicate smuggling. The loyalties of some clan chiefs in Scotland were only stoked, not extinguished, by the repressions of the 1740s. Overseas, the three generations of Jacobite exiles had grown into a large population, with potential recruits spread across Europe, many of them engrained in the foreign service or military of France, Spain, Russia, or Sweden (whose governments knew full well it annoyed the British to use them as diplomats and commanders, and played on it). Even if not willing to fight, Jacobites did contribute money, long lists of whose subscriptions Zimmerman has found in the Stuart Papers. Jacobitism remained a useful threat against Britain in the strained relations of Britain, Austria, France, and Prussia before and after the Diplomatic Revolution, leading to both Prussia and France supporting potential plots.

For Zimmerman, the measurable success is how close a plot came to getting off the ground, and using that gauge, Jacobitism was alive and well. We'll never know how Charlie, even as a Protestant, might have fared, had he ever invaded again, with a British population and political system far evolved from 1688, or with his cultural supporters when they were called on to fight for him. How far France would support a restored Stuart king is another mystery. What can be known is that Jacobites were busy, as documented in the hundreds of coded messages and reports from British spies that Zimmerman cites (I heartily wish the endnotes had been footnotes, so that the useful commentary had been available alongside the text), and they found allies, however temporary, in a European situation where shuffling kings was hardly uncommon and a Hanoverian dynasty far from guaranteed.

This is a fascinating insight into the British government's behavior, and puts a new spin on the repressions after Culloden, which were not so inexplicably harsh, if the movement remained a threat. Jacobites, interestingly, were concerned about timing their coup before the accession of George III, a British-born and Anglican king likely to be the most popular of his line. Additionally, it informs familiar situations like the Battle of Quiberon Bay, Pitt's use of Scottish troops in the American theater after 1757, the Treaty of Paris and the behavior of Frederick the Great (certainly a new edge to his demand in 1759 that George II allow Marischal back into the country!), and even new work like that of Eliga Gould in *The Persistence of Empire* examining why George III was so insistent that no alternate parliament or power base ever form in the British Empire.

Although I disagree with the potential success of the continued plotting, I applaud Zimmerman for bucking the accepted verdict of history and revealing the continued importance and activities of European and Scottish Jacobites.

Margaret Sankey, Minnesota State University Moorhead

Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales since 1600*. London: Hambledon and London, 2004; distributed in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan of New York. Pp. xii + 364.

Eric Richards is a historian writing at the height of his powers, effortlessly surveying four centuries of emigration from Britain in an authoritative and entertaining manner. ECSSS members will know his work on the Highland Clearances, and the shrewd survey of Scotland and the empire in the eighteenth century published in the *Strangers Within the Realm* collection edited by Bernard Bailyn and Philip Morgan. Here he brings a unique perspective to bear, having taught for more than three decades in Australia and in the process made himself our leading authority on the Highland Clearances.

Although this is a survey rather than a study focused on the eighteenth century, and written with a far broader perspective than Scotland alone, the author's expertise in Scottish history makes this a study that will help place recent work on emigration from Scotland in the eighteenth century in a broader analytical framework. It is written with a clear understanding of the demographic and economic issues central to the phenomenon of British and Irish emigration. This had to be linked to the early development of urbanization and industrialization in Britain, which created commercial markets for food production that had a consequent impact on land use and land value. As Richards expresses it in his conclusion: "In the late eighteenth century the pressure to produce food was expressed in rising prices and rising returns to production for the market. This was transmitted into pressure on land and ultimately into rising rents. Sometimes it caused a weeding out of the traditional users of the land to the point of emigration, as witnessed in the late eighteenth century in the Highlands, in Ulster and in Yorkshire" (p. 299).

These were just the areas that received so much attention in Bernard Bailyn's influential masterpiece, *Voyagers to the West*, which revived interest in the study of Scottish emigration in terms of flight from landlord oppression, but as Richards makes clear (again on p. 299), "Emigration was mostly impractical for the poorest strata and favoured those with rising incomes and better skills." In eighteenth-century Scotland, these were the ricksmen and other small landholders in the Highlands, who endeavored to take a labor force with them to America in their search for better title to land, and in the Lowlands tenant farmers and craftsmen also drawn by the purported availability of land or by the high wages available in the expanding American economy of the second half of the eighteenth century. Until the British census of 1801, the political class in Britain feared loss of population. Richards points out that in 1796 the Younger Pitt declared that a man with a large family had served his country's interest and that such families were "a blessing not a curse" (p. 114). Within two decades government money was being used to subsidize emigration to Upper Canada, and the earl of Selkirk received government encouragement to recruit Highlanders to emigrate to Canada and Red River on Hudson's Bay Company land.

Richards is also careful not to present British emigration exclusively in relation to North America. He not only draws on his own research on emigration to Australia but discusses destinations that drew fewer emigrants but nevertheless established chains of emigration which increasingly acted as conduits for the growing culture of empire and imperialism that had made a significant impact on Scottish culture by the end of the eighteenth century. This reviewer was left wanting to learn more about the Scot who returned from India and offered to endow a chair of atheism at a Scottish university (p. 107), only to find that there were no takers!

Alex Murdoch, University of Edinburgh

James Robertson, *The Fanatic*. London: Fourth Estate, 2000. Pp. 310, and *Joseph Knight*. London: Fourth Estate, 2003. Pp. 372.

In a short story called "Rabbit," James Robertson has his first-person narrator say: "My imagination is quickened more by studying the history of my own country ... than by images of a distant present." Robertson's own imagination doubles that of his narrator and, given that his country is Scotland, this is why his historical novels should be required reading for members of ECSSS. But hold on, some of you will say, ever since Scott's triumphant invention of the historical novel, Scottish literature has never been short of historical novelists—so why should we be specially interested in James Robertson? The short answer is that Robertson is one of us: his focus, like ours, is on the long eighteenth century. Scottish historical fiction has tended to return over and over again to the same romantic episodes in Scottish history: the Wars of Independence, Mary Queen of Scots, Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites, the Highland Clearances. Despite the example of Scott himself, the eighteenth century outside of Culloden has never appealed to Scottish historical novelists any more than it has to traditional Scottish historians. But just as a recent generation of students and scholars, British and American, have at last begun to succeed in moving eighteenth-century Scotland to center stage in the nation's history, with James Robertson Scottish historical fiction too redefines itself in relation to the same century.

Robertson is a young Scottish writer who studied history at the University of Edinburgh in the 1980s. Contemplating a career as an academic, he went on to complete a Ph.D. in the Edinburgh History Department, writing his dissertation, significantly enough, on the work of Sir Walter Scott. (Last year he talked at the Scott conference in Konstanz about Scott's influence on his own writing.) His books include two collections of short stories—*Close* and *The Ragged Man's Complaint*—as well as two poetry collections. However, in 2000 he published his

first historical novel, *The Fanatic*.

In *The Fanatic*, Robertson, like his mentor Scott, brings together historical characters and imaginary ones. The historical characters belong to the post-Restoration period of Scottish history, when those who saw themselves as the faithful upholders of Calvinism and the Scottish covenanting tradition were increasingly persecuted by the established government. The novel provides a roll call of defiant Scots divines, at home and in exile in Holland, but its main protagonists are James Mitchel, a covenanter long imprisoned on the Bass Rock and finally executed in 1678 for the attempted murder of Archbishop Sharp, and Major Weir, a Deacon Brodie figure, who apparently combined his widely respected role within Edinburgh's religious society with a life of outrageous sexual perversity. Major Weir, however, also acts as Robertson's link between seventeenth-century Scotland and today as he makes nightly appearances in a ghost tour of the closes of Old Edinburgh, his role played by the character whom Robertson makes the focus of his investigation of Scotland past and present.

Juxtaposing in this way the Scotland of religious conviction and fanaticism with today's Scotland of political, social, and individual insecurity and self-doubt, Robertson's novel is a fascinating exploration of a range of complex issues. It asks questions about the nature of history itself: what is it that actually constitutes historical evidence and its reliability, whose are the voices that survive from the past, and what is the meaning of the past for the present? It addresses the range of ambiguities and paradoxes that appear to define the self both historical and present-day, and quite specifically it simultaneously subverts and sustains the conventional notion of the divided nature, the "doubleness" of both Scottish culture and the individual Scottish self. (For a fuller exploration of these aspects of the novel, see Gioia Angeletti's excellent review in *Il Tolomeo* 51 [1999–2000].) But the appeal of all of this to ECSSS members is obvious.

Robertson's second novel, *Joseph Knight* (originally published in 2002), is even better. Toni Morrison's *Beloved* is famously a story about slavery that does not want to be told; in the author's words, it concerns unspeakable things unspoken. *Joseph Knight* is remarkably similar, not just because it deals with slavery, but because it too focuses on a history, a past, that does not want to be remembered, a past which is suppressed, airbrushed out of memory.

The eponymous hero is a historical character. Joseph Knight was an African slave brought over to Scotland by his owner from his plantation in Jamaica. In 1778 his civil action challenging John Wedderburn's right to continue owning him finally reached the Court of Session in Edinburgh. A year or two earlier, England's Chief Justice, Mansfield (a Scot), had determined in the Somerset case that under English law a slave brought over to England from Virginia could not be returned to the colony against his will. Now the fifteen senators of the College of Justice in Scotland—among them such famous names as Monboddo, Kames, Hailes, Auchinleck, Braxfield, and Dundas of Arniston—had to decide whether a slave was no longer a slave when he came under Scottish jurisdiction. Enlightenment Edinburgh is in its element debating the legal and moral issues surrounding slavery—and Robertson succeeds brilliantly in recreating these debates—but the true history of Joseph Knight and slavery is less easy to resolve. The form of the novel enacts the search for the meaning of the life of the former slave. After his legal victory in the Court of Session, Knight disappears. Near the end of his life, John Wedderburn, once a fugitive from Culloden, but now through the wealth gained from his Jamaican estates restored to eminence in Scottish society, tries to discover the fate of the free Joseph Knight. The task is undertaken by his agent Alexander Jamieson and, when the dying Wedderburn loses interest, Jameson is drawn into the search on his own behalf. As readers we participate in Jamieson's struggle to fathom out Joseph Knight and his life.

Why is the task so difficult? Ultimately, it is because the Wedderburn family, like eighteenth-century Scotland, is reluctant to concede the full degree of its complicity in the reality of slavery and the racism involved in it. But I should make it clear that Robertson's novel has nothing to do with any kind of sanctimonious polemic about the sins of an imperial Scottish past. Scott is Robertson's master, and he is at his most Scott-like in his recognition of how a past society is the product of its own historical circumstances, and of how individuals are rarely in a position to resist the tide of circumstances surrounding them. The horrors of slavery, and the institution's brutalizing and degrading effects upon all those caught up in it, are vividly present here. But the novel's characters reflect a range of perspectives on the issue of slavery, from the abolitionist to the brutally supportive.

The position of the Wedderburn family, however, is indicated by two key framing and structural devices that the novel incorporates. The first is a portrait of the four Wedderburn brothers on their West Indian estate painted by one of their number. Near the opening of the novel Jamieson sees the picture in the library of the Wedderburn mansion in Scotland. He soon realizes that the portrait had originally contained an additional figure; but Joseph Knight has been painted out. In the rest of the novel, Joseph's absent presence broods over the narrative. In the original picture his existence as a human being had been acknowledged; painted out, his identity, his existence and reality have all been denied. The second device, again involving denial, takes the form of a story within the story. The Wedderburn brother who had painted the picture also kept a diary of his life in Jamaica; this diary, and the explosive truth it contains, remains hidden away in the Wedderburn library. Stolen by a daughter who has also become obsessed with Joseph Knight and what happened to him, it is passed to the investigator Jamieson, whose reading of it we share. What the diary reveals in uncompromising detail is the full horror and violence of West Indian slavery—the slavery which is the

basis and source of the Wedderburns' restored fortunes. The family may in the end burn this document, but the truth it contains survives.

In the 1776 Court of Session action the enlightened views of James Boswell, Henry Dundas, and Knight's other Scots lawyers prevail. But Robertson's novel asks the question whether this legal verdict was more rhetorical than real. How free was Joseph Knight? He remains Joseph Knight—the name he was given by the Captain Knight whose ship carried him as an eleven year old child into slavery in the West Indies. His true identity remains no more than a faint shadow in his memory. Joseph Knight, despite the unwavering love and support of his Scottish wife, remains an alienated, unintegrated figure. Robertson rarely attempts to enter into the consciousness of Knight: the condition of slavery creates an unbridgeable gap between owner and owned, between white and black, between Joseph Knight and the John Wedderburn who almost loves him, and perhaps between the author and his character. What is true is that at the time of the legal case, Joseph Knight receives a measure of financial help from those Fifeshire miners who, like salters, were themselves only recently legally released from a status much akin to slavery. Perhaps this is part of the historical record. But it surely must be a leap of Robertson's imagination that makes Knight decide to spend the rest of his life as a free man working as a miner beneath the seashore of Fife. Near the end of the novel a little boy from the village meets Joseph as he returns from his shift in the mine: "Man, ye're black as the howe o the nicht'. He laughed and said, Ah, but whaur does the coal stop and me stert?" A black worker among fellow black workers, Joseph Knight finds a degree of freedom.

The book is a wonderful achievement. ECSSS members should not miss it. At the end of another short story, Robertson has his narrator say: "I have probably drunk too much of the past." Not too much, one hopes, to prevent his going on writing as the new laureate of Scotland's eighteenth-century past.

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow Emeritus

Jeremy Lewis, *Tobias Smollett*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2003. Pp. xix + 316.

Tobias George Smollett is a hard sell these days. Rarely taught, seldom read for pleasure, if he's remembered at all it's as a lesser novelist than Henry Fielding; if he is read, it's most likely *Roderick Random* or *Humphry Clinker*, which are only the bookends of some five novels, a history of England, and translations of Cervantes and LeSage, to name only some of his works. Why this decline in Smollett's popularity? One reason is an inheritance from the Victorians, who censured him as low and tasteless (though a young Charles Dickens found him inspiring); another is that for first-time readers, eighteenth-century English is difficult (my students told me that reading *Humphry Clinker* was "torture"). However, Smollett's stories may still hold some appeal: scatological humor seems to be on the comeback, as the *Austin Powers* movies indicate, and if students are forced to slog through the knotted prose of *Clarissa*, why not Smollett's *Ferdinand Count Fathom*?

This engaging biography of Smollett, the first to appear in a half-century, may help lead readers back to the novels. Jeremy Lewis's research into the life of the writer is impressively vast, and though the author disavows any scholarly claims, the sheer amount of dull academic material he metastasizes into lively prose gives the lie to his modesty. Little is known about Smollett's life (only a handful of letters survive), and though Lewis doesn't add any fresh discoveries, he fills the gaps with humorous vignettes of contemporary figures, which add color to what could be an otherwise dry exercise. Smollett becomes our tour guide into an eighteenth century that is at once utterly familiar and completely alien. A tabloidesque anecdote about one Mary Tofts, who faked giving birth to a litter of rabbits (a friend apparently stuffed her with bunnies), is enough to suggest the lurid strangeness of the times. Although most eighteenth-century scholars won't find much that is new here, undergraduates will find these digressions valuable, as Lewis glosses medicine, history, politics, philosophy, and aesthetics during the period. As a compact, readable overview of the eighteenth century, Lewis's book compares with Roy Porter's *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. Smollett scholars will still turn to Lewis Knapp's exhaustive biography, *Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners*, but Lewis's work is an ideal introduction for the uninitiated.

Not everyone will agree with Lewis that the only works of Smollett's that still merit reading are *Roderick Random*, *Travels Through France and Italy*, and *Humphry Clinker*, though these are obvious choices for a biographer since they are the most autobiographical of Smollett's works. Part of the problem of relying on them for biographical information, however, is the fact that their characters are fictional embellishments, and though much ink has been spilled over questions of Smollettian personas and self-portraits, Lewis for the most part takes them at face value. If this approach makes Smollett's life more entertaining, the scholarly value is questionable. Considering his precarious health, for example, Smollett certainly exaggerated at times in his *Travels*. Elsewhere Lewis gives too much credence to earlier biographers: Sir Walter Scott's statement that Smollett wrote the serialized novel *Sir Launcelot Greaves* in half-hour spurts and never corrected his copy is assuredly apocryphal. Occasionally Lewis is careless in his quotations. At one point he attributes a line to the character Pallet in *Peregrine Pickle* that is actually from a memoir about Smollett, though this is an understandable slip, since the quote is from the real-life model for the fictional character. But these are minor quibbles that in no way detract from the central point of this biography, which is to bring Smollett back into the public consciousness.

Jeremy Lewis is to be commended for crafting a biography that crackles with insight and an obvious love of his subject. One suggestion for further editions would be a timeline of Smollett's works, for although the chapters are chronological, Lewis sometimes elides from one novel to another out of chronological order, in a manner that can be confusing to those unfamiliar with Smollett's corpus. Overall the book is an excellent introduction to a woefully neglected old master of the novel, and the long quotations should give a sufficient taste of Smollett's robust writing style.

William Gibson, Lehman College, CUNY

Tobias Smollett, *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*. Edited by Robert Folkenflik and Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2002. Pp. liv + 314.

Tobias Smollett, trans., *The Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses*. Edited by Leslie A. Chilton. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1997. Pp. xxxv + 383.

Tobias Smollett, trans., *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*. Edited by Martin C. Battestin and O. M. Brack, Jr. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2003. Pp. xlv + 942.

The three latest Tobias Smollett editions published by the University of Georgia Press revitalize texts traditionally seen as marginal to Smollett studies. Both translations were excluded from his corpus for a time. Smollett's translation of François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699), published in 1776, was accepted as his work at the time of publication, but doubts were raised about Smollett's role in its translation later in the century, in part because the work was issued almost five years after his death. The exclusion of the 1755 translation of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* from Smollett's body of work originated in accusations of plagiarism (from the biased source of an adversary, John Shebbeare, who would later be satirized by Smollett as the peculiar, misanthropic Ferret in *Launcelot Greaves*). Shebbeare's charges, which surfaced in 1757, were revived later in the century in Lord Woodhouselee's *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (1791). Smollett's work, Woodhouselee claimed, simply copied and paraphrased Charles Jarvis's 1742 translation.

Launcelot Greaves (1760–1762) inhabited the margins for a different reason. Robert Folkenflik and Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick point out that it has been recognized as the “first serially published novel ever to be illustrated” (p. xvii), and its appropriation and reconfiguration of *Don Quixote* has gained some critical attention. Nevertheless, the novel has been frequently described as a tedious tale with a mundane, perfect hero. Jeremy Lewis, in his 2003 biography of Smollett, noted that “*Launcelot Greaves* is so feeble, and so dull, that no sensible modern reader will pluck it from the shelves” (p. 188), an evaluation which would meet with vigorous disagreement from this (relatively sensible) modern reader. Some critics, including Paul-Gabriel Boucé and Jerry Beasley, have worked to reinvigorate scholarship on *Launcelot Greaves*. But, for the most part, this novel has received relatively little attention, particularly in comparison to the substantial body of research on *Roderick Random* and *Humphry Clinker*.

The republication of these marginal works in definitive editions, and the convincing reintegration of the translations into Smollett's corpus, will enable Smollett scholars to reassess their significance. And for that reason alone the texts are valuable. But the editions are also relevant to a broader number of current critical conversations, not least because of their superb apparatus. In the Introduction to *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (2003), Janine Barchas laments that “standard editorial practice has, in the name of ‘modernization,’ systematically eradicated innovations in the genre's graphic design from book to book. As a result, the insipid uniformity of modern paperback editions of eighteenth-century fiction so distorts and diminishes the early novel's graphic diversity that it is difficult to resurrect the genre's lost visual dynamism” (p. 6). All three Smollett editions work toward repairing this trend, albeit in hardcover. They abound with title pages, illustrations, original annotations, and other supplementary material, providing scholars with abundant opportunity to assess and analyze what Barchas calls the “complex social, economic, and technological machinery” that mediates the space between authors and readers (p. 8).

The illustrations are the most striking element of the apparatus, and facilitate different analytical approaches. Some critical work has recently been published on the illustrations in *Don Quixote*. In *Critical Images* (1999), an analysis of eighteenth-century illustrated editions of that book, Rachel Schmidt argues that although, in general, illustrators critique the texts they embellish, the interpretations of Francis Hayman and Smollett work closely together to foreground “the decadence of the aristocracy, the sensibility of the moral man, and the responsibility of the family man” (p. 123). The University of Georgia Press edition allows the reader to assess and respond to Schmidt's analysis, and also to integrate the voice of other participants into the production process. Not only are all twenty-eight images designed by Hayman for *Don Quixote* included in Battestin and Brack's edition (illustrations that were used as a pre-publication marketing tool by the bookseller), but five of Hayman's original drawings also appear in an appendix, creating a space to assess the sometimes surprising “translations” of the design by the engravers.

Leslie Chilton, in his edition of *Greaves*, includes the two images by Anthony Walker that appeared in the original serial version of the novel in the *British Magazine* and a smattering of illustrations from later editions, allowing the reader to trace shifts in technique and visual readings of the text. Folkenflik and Fitzpatrick take a transnational approach, inserting two illustrations and a map from French editions into *Telemachus*, along with a copy of the famous 1767 receipt from Tobias Smollett to Archibald Hamilton acknowledging payment for the copyright of the work. It was this receipt, brought to light by Lewis M. Knapp in 1965, which indicated that the translation did belong in Smollett's corpus.

Beyond contributing to discussions about the visual dynamics of the eighteenth-century text, this edition of *Don Quixote* has the potential to influence current conversations about the role translation played in shaping eighteenth-century fiction. The additional level of mediation between text and reader performed by the translator is frequently elided in modern editions, but the extensive notes to *Don Quixote* make the translation process highly visible. Martin C. Battestin and O. M. Brack, Jr., meticulously compare portions of Smollett's translations with five other available translations and contemporary dictionaries, even providing an appendix to index the various translations used. At the most basic level, this extensive comparison between phrases and passages extends Battestin's argument in his 1997 article in *Studies in Bibliography* that the work is neither a copy of Jarvis's translation nor anyone else's. At a broader level, the contrast between the interpretations provides a starting place to explore and theorize different approaches to translation.

Smollett's contribution to translation, however, goes beyond the simple transformation of language. In an article in *The Literary Channel* (2002), Mary Helen McMurrin has described translation as a process of mediating, not only words, but also "oppositional national characters" (p. 64). Smollett's first and last novels clearly perform the latter form of translation, encouraging Anglo-Scottish reciprocity by interpreting culture and national character across the Tweed. Even *Launcelot Greaves* engages in a form of cross-border mediation. Although the novel is centered in a specific English locale, it formulates a concept of virtuous British masculinity during a critical moment in Anglo-Scottish relations, shortly before Smollett's periodical *The Briton* would also attempt to translate cross-border dissonance into transcendent Britishness. *Telemachus* and *Don Quixote* extend the national mediation of character beyond the British Isles, and the effects of this transnational dialogue are worthy of further exploration. Of particular interest is the complex interaction in *Telemachus* between the classic epic form and subject, specific late-seventeenth-century French politics, and a post-Seven Years War British concern with the troubled relationship between national character and war.

The importance of these editions to Smollett studies cannot be overstated, but it is clear that they are also highly relevant to many areas of eighteenth-century studies, only a few of which have been touched on in this review. Let us hope that their time on the margins is over.

Sharon Alker, University of Toronto

Dafydd Moore, *Enlightenment and Romance in James Macpherson's The Poems of Ossian: Myth Genre and Cultural Change*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. Pp. ix + 187.

James Macpherson (1736–1796) was an ambitious literary synthesizer. His controversial Ossianic "translations," which supposedly had survived intact since the third century A.D., mix real and imagined Gaelic sources, histories, and identities. Derick Thomson demonstrated in *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's 'Ossian'* (1952) that Macpherson did locate important manuscript sources at a time when neither Scotland nor Ireland could lay claim to a pure Gaelic tradition: "The Ossianic cycle, indeed, gathered to it a great deal of alien material, mythical, magical and historical" (p. 11). Barry Cunliffe has stated in *The Ancient Celts* (1997) that the Ulster Cycle acquired epic conventions, "Homeric allusions," and "false archaisms" (p. 26) through its "medieval redactors"—learned Christian monks. Gaelic literature, like Homeric or Arthurian literature, holds many layers of accretion. The terms "mixture" and "intermixture," as Macpherson equivocally employs them in his prefatory "Dissertation" to *Temora* (1763), are therefore appropriate to his own Celtic designs upon prehistory.

From the publication of his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760) to *The Works of Ossian* (1765, revised as *The Poems of Ossian* in 1773), the critical focus on the "forgery" issue has often enforced a tacit strategy of containment. If you repeatedly label Macpherson's poetry "fake," then you need not admit the depth of his literary influence; for the better part of two centuries, he has thus been virtually excluded from the sanctified canon of "authentic literature." However, the prolific print history of Macpherson's poetry shows that its problematic authenticity hardly diminished its popularity. Indeed, only the intellectually jaded, the naïve, or those who have not read it, still cling to "forgery" as the most compelling attribute of Macpherson's writing.

Dafydd Moore argues in *Enlightenment and Romance in James Macpherson's The Poems of Ossian: Myth, Genre and Cultural Change* that over the past century, "the emphasis on authenticity foreclosed the debate on the generic nature of the poems: in effect the epic status of *Ossian* was left unquestioned in the race to debate whether it represented third- or eighteenth-century epic" (p. 5). In an attempted reversal of received opinion, Moore contends that *Ossian's* poems belong to the romance genre, rather than the epic. "The unquestioned commitment to *Ossian* as

epic—or significantly not-epic—is a misrecognition of *Ossian's* generic status” (p. 2). Moore concedes that this thesis contradicts the explicit arguments of both Macpherson and his senior colleague Hugh Blair. “Macpherson is himself categorical in declaring the epic reach of the poems” and “Blair makes clear that the fragments are shards of an epic tradition”; hence, “what is without dispute is that the epic trajectory of the entire project is both explicit and straight from the horse’s mouth,” writes Moore (p. 3). Only a well-versed Macpherson scholar like Moore would consider such a risky opening move.

The Introduction and first three chapters foreground Moore’s *Ossian-as-romance* critical gambit, while the next three chapters and Conclusion “take for granted this definition of romance” (p. 84), thereby “leaving behind the nuts and bolts of romance theory” (p. 87) to discuss other ideas, such as sensibility and the sublime, whose relationships with romance are not exclusive. Problematically, his assumptions in the crucial first three chapters are primarily based on one ballad, “The Battle of Lora,” which Thomson analyzed (although not as a romance) in *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson’s ‘Ossian’*. Focusing more on reception than production, Moore overlooks Macpherson’s ballad-to-epic strategy of literary nation-building, previously sanctioned by Addison’s comparison of *Chevy Chase* and epic tradition in *Spectator* 70 and 74.

Macpherson inherited a Gaelic tradition which, as Thomson and others have shown, was already mixed; therefore, we need not expect his strict fidelity to a single tradition, nor read romance influences as a mandate for comprehensive reclassification. In *Ossian*, Northrop Frye wrote, “the aim is not concentration of sense but diffusion of sense.” When reading Macpherson’s poetry as a “foundation myth” of post-Union, post-Culloden Scotland, Moore hopes to sift order from disintegration and “dysfunction” (p. 88). The fatal cosmology of Macpherson’s twilight world is fueled by a psychic entropy which resists “concentration of sense”; his Romantic sublimity aims above all at aesthetic transport. As Moore argues, “the links between *Ossian* and Romanticism remain under-explored” (p. 171). This book’s freshness of approach, wealth of reading, and bibliographical depth will benefit Macpherson studies and stimulate scholarly debate.

Mel Kersey, University of Otago

Nick Groom, *The Forger’s Shadow: How Forgery Changed the Course of Literature*. London: Picador, 2003. Paperback edn. Pp. 351.

First published in hardback in 2002, Nick Groom’s *The Forger’s Shadow* discusses the way in which literary forgeries “interpret the rules of representation to create a hybrid realism, both true and false.” Groom focuses on the English Romantic movement and the way that despite—indeed because of—its intense interest in originality, it “produced a canon of forgers and maintained forgery as a site of inspiration but also provided the ideological means of disabling their work.” His book discusses the “big four” Romantic forgers: Thomas Chatterton, William Henry Ireland, Thomas Griffiths Wainwright, and James Macpherson.

Readers of this newsletter will be most interested in the chapter on Macpherson, though they may rile somewhat at the inclusion of Macpherson and *The Poems of Ossian* in this literary company. However, Groom is very aware of the “pea-brained prejudices” that have surrounded discussion of *Ossian* as forgery, and of the “startling level of critical misconception [that] prevails whenever Macpherson and Chatterton are simplistically yoked together.” At the same time, his challenging and recuperative notion of literary forgery means that to object to discussing Macpherson in these terms is to be in danger of missing the point, perhaps even of conspiring with the forces of reaction responsible for ghettoizing such literature in the first place.

Groom discusses *Ossian* in wide-ranging and imaginative ways; in terms, for example, of both the varying traditions of the bard and bardic utterance from Homer and Socrates onward, and of Luce Irigaray’s analysis of the speech patterns of those afflicted with senile dementia. Perhaps understandably, then, he has little to say about the more conventional areas of recent Macpherson scholarship. For example, *Ossian’s* engagement within the cultural politics of Scotland is glossed over, though he acknowledges that it is “a crucial text in the reconstruction of national identities both inside and outside Great Britain.”

Instead, the argument is concerned with the way the Ossianic aesthetic of ghosts, bards, a supercharged language, and landscape, was “translated” within English Romantic culture. This is important given Groom’s sense that “Macpherson’s literary integrity is . . . surely proven by the considerable fascination he exercised over writers across the western world.” Opinion may well be split on this approach. *The Forger’s Shadow* is a popular book, which claims the central importance of *The Poems of Ossian* for a host of Romantic poets and poems. There are many who will warmly welcome it as such. However, others, particularly in the context of Anglo-Scottish cultural relations, may be disturbed by the teleology implied here. Such readers will observe the way in which Groom’s Ossianic affinities tend to posit a building on, or a distancing from, a sort of self-obsolescent *Ossian* on the part of later (English) writers. For his part, this reader has sympathy with both these positions, with the further observation that it is refreshing to find oneself in the position of being able to have this argument at all about a figure so long ignored by the world of letters.

The Forger’s Shadow is a trade rather than an academic book, and needs to be approached as such. However it concedes little more to a popular audience than the usual raft of footnotes and scholarly-back-covering. It is a

stimulating, informative, engaging, and perhaps just occasionally enraging read. It is difficult to see how even those with reservations about the approach will not welcome it to the stable of significant Macpherson scholarship.

Dafydd Moore, University of Plymouth

Wolf Gerhard Schmidt, *"Homer des Nordens" und "Mutter der Romantik": James Macpherson's Ossian und seine Rezeption in der deutschen Literatur*. 3 vols. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2003. Pp. 1417 (vols 1–2), 501 (vol. 3).

In 1901 Rudolf Tombo published his *Ossian in Germany*, which was reprinted in 1966. One might therefore wonder whether the world really needs an opus approaching 2000 pages on the same subject. Admittedly, the third volume consists of various (annotated) German translations: the *Fragments*, Hugh Blair's *Critical Dissertation*, James Macpherson's Dissertations, and of course *Fingal* and *Temora*, together with all the shorter poems that accompany the epics. And very welcome this is too, particularly the fact that Schmidt has opted for Schiller's friend Johann Wilhelm Petersen as translator of the major poetry. His *Gedichte Ossians neuverteuscht* (1782) is a prose translation of genuine merit, and it is good to have it available again. However, that still leaves the 1417 pages of the first two volumes to be accounted for. Ossian was significant for the literatures of other countries besides Germany, and there are monographs surveying the reception in France (Van Tieghem), Russia (Levin), the Netherlands (Daas), Spain (Montiel), Italy (Gilardino), Portugal (Buesco). Usually it seems that one book of this kind is enough. Why the necessity to duplicate Tombo, and at such great length? An answer is provided by a glance at Tombo's subtitle: *Bibliography, General Survey, Ossian's Influence upon Klopstock and the Bards*. The bibliography is impressive and very large, the general survey skeletal and inadequate. The only major literary figure—in what was after all to become a golden age of German letters—to have his Ossianism examined in any depth was Klopstock. Reception by Herder, Goethe, the Göttinger Hain, Bürger, Lenz, Schiller, and many other German writers of European stature was reserved for future publications that never materialized. Naturally, attempts were subsequently made to fill some of the gaps left by Tombo, and Gillies did so very thoroughly with Herder (1933), but increasingly, as knowledge of the Ossianic texts and understanding for their erstwhile appeal diminished, it became essentially a damage-limitation exercise, with the only significant and creative reception being located between 1770 and 1775, since one couldn't very well ignore the impact on Herder and the young Goethe (much though one might deplore it). Moreover, despite his aberration in allowing Ossian to loom so large in his novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) (over seven percent of it consists of translations from "The Songs of Selma" and "Berrathon," and Werther's reading from them to Lotte precipitates the catastrophe), it could always be argued that Goethe, unlike Herder, rapidly recovered from his affliction. It is astonishing but true that, until the publication of Schmidt's book, the only detailed and informed examination of Ossian's significance for Goethe remained an unpublished Marburg dissertation written in 1959. One may read widely in the secondary literature on the other great writer of the *Sturm und Drang*, J.M.R. Lenz, without even encountering the name of Ossian, despite the fact that Lenz revered him as one of the three greatest poets of all time and also published a complete translation of *Fingal*. The importance of Ossian for German sentimentalism (*Empfindsamkeit*) has hitherto been almost entirely overlooked, despite its owing to him one of its key formulations, "Wonne der Wehmut", this being Michael Denis's 1769 coinage for the Ossianic "joy of grief." In his fine psychological novel, *Anton Reiser* (1785–90), Karl Philipp Moritz quotes the phrase several times in English, leading generations of German editors to speculate as to its derivation, most agreeing to attribute it to Edward Young, and it was not until 1999 that one came up with the right answer. The remarkable crop of German writers born between 1770 and 1780, the one which for Germanists constitutes Romanticism proper, is generally assumed to have had little or no interest in Ossian. A. W. Schlegel's contemptuous dismissal of the poetry as absolutely worthless trash is taken as representative. In fact, this Schlegel is the one great exception, and not just by comparison with his brother Friedrich. One might think of Ludwig Tieck, later dubbed the "King of Romanticism," who knew his Ossian very well indeed and produced two substantial Ossianic verse epics in the early 1790s, both of which remain unread and unpublished. Among others, one could add the names of Novalis, Kleist, Arnim, Fouqué, and perhaps the greatest of them all, Friedrich Hölderlin. Hölderlin learned his Ossian virtually by heart in late adolescence (using Petersen's translation), wrote a novel, *Hyperion*, rich in intertextual Ossianic resonances, and gave the Gaelic bard prominence in one of the last works he completed before the collapse of his mind, the *Pindar-Fragmente* (1804). Needless to say, this is not something Hölderlin critics wish to know.

Looking at the title of Schmidt's book, Ossian as "Homer of the North" might seem to be a fairly familiar notion. Macpherson himself, who had certainly imbibed Blackwell's ideas during his time as a student in Aberdeen, frequently compared Ossian to Homer (at least in the *Fingal* volume), as did Hugh Blair. Ossian was apparently dubbed "l'Homère de l'Ecosse" by Voltaire, and in *De la littérature* (1800) Mme de Staël comes close to calling him "l'Homère du nord" (though contrary to common attribution, she does not use exactly those words). That the Homer of the North should at the same time be the "mother of Romanticism" might seem to be a somewhat exaggerated claim, though not altogether outrageous (the gender mixing in Schmidt's title is of course deliberate, a further indication of the role played by *Ambivalenz* in Ossian's success). After all, Nick Groom's *The Forger's Shadow* (2002) has recently reminded us of the seminal importance of Ossian for subsequent literary developments, albeit in a

decidedly Anglocentric way. For it is important to remember that English-language Romanticism is not the only one, nor is it even—poet for poet, thinker for thinker, critic for critic—the most significant in European terms. Yet for generations of literary critics and historians, Ossian plays virtually no role in German Romanticism.

Schmidt provides overwhelming evidence to the contrary. The enormous length of his book is by no means an indication of prolixity, but rather a measure of the yawning gaps in our knowledge which needed to be filled, little though we knew it. The revelation of the Romantic Ossian is only one (albeit perhaps the most crucial) of many surprises Schmidt has in store for the Germanist. The longevity of Ossian in Germany (as indeed elsewhere in Europe, and North and South America too) is also a well-kept secret. In the form of C. W. Ahlwardt's translations, which are based as far as possible on the Gaelic version published by the Highland Society of London in 1807, Ossian continued to sell well throughout the nineteenth century. Macpherson's star might have waned somewhat, since he had been revealed as an incompetent translator, but Ossian's still shone brightly enough. The eclipse came—again as elsewhere—at the beginning of the twentieth century. But even so, it was by no means total. The fourteenth, and hitherto last, complete translation of Ossian into German, and in the opinion of some the best of all, Franz Spunda's Expressionist one, did not appear until 1924. Moreover, while creative reception was undoubtedly at its richest and most significant during the age of Goethe, when the impact of the poetry's "discovery" was still relatively fresh and was being made on writers of exceptional talent, Schmidt still manages to serve up a few surprises at the end of his book, with his section on Hermann Hesse, Lion Feuchtwanger, Uwe Johnson, and Gila Prast. The least-known of these names is Prast, whose experimental novel *Ossian* appeared in the bicentenary year of Macpherson's death, 1996.

Examination of the significance of Ossian for individual German writers and poets is mainly reserved for the second volume, though the earliest phase of reception (Gerstenberg, Denis, Klopstock, and the "Bards") features at the end of the first. This volume opens with a succinct overview of previous research, both on Ossian and his German reception. There then follows a complex but lucid explanation of the methodological pluralism which is to be applied to the phenomena examined in the rest of the book. A long section of almost two hundred pages is devoted to Macpherson's *Ossian* itself, both the nature of the beast and the various phases of the Ossianic controversy in the British Isles. This is an extremely well informed account, the like of which has certainly never appeared in German before. The next major section (well over two hundred pages) is concerned not with individual examples of reception but with the different types of discourse provoked by the Ossianic poetry in the German-speaking world: philological, aesthetic, ethical, political, philosophical. Ossian's protean qualities are underlined as we are taken through various kinds of reaction/appropriation in Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*), Storm and Stress (*Sturm und Drang*), Sentimentalism (*Empfindsamkeit*), Romanticism. A leitmotif is the notion of genius, and it is fascinating to follow Ossian's development from "naïve" folk-poet to paradigm of the modern sentimental autonomous (not to say, solipsistic) artist. (For those without German, a version of Schmidt's excellent section on Schiller and Ossian is to appear in English later this year in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, ed. H. Gaskill). None of these readings does violence to the work, whose ambivalence and heterogeneity probably owe almost as much to the nature of Macpherson's authentic Gaelic sources as to any particular calculation on his part. The primitive ancient bard, giving spontaneous utterance to his feelings, is at the same time the last of his race, isolated and bereft of an audience, for whom the only joy is that of grief, the evocation in memory of what has been irrevocably lost. It is not difficult to understand the potent appeal of such a figure.

For a time this appeal was well nigh universal. In Germany Ossian decisively contributed to an extraordinary literary efflorescence, though generations of critics have been unwilling to acknowledge the fact. It is therefore entirely fitting that the most meticulous, comprehensive, and insightful study of Ossian's significance for a national literature ever to have appeared should be concerned with German reception. It has been a long time coming, but it is very, very welcome.

Howard Gaskill, University of Edinburgh

Catherine Jones, *Literary Memory: Scott's Waverley Novels and the Psychology of Narrative*. Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2003. Pp. 249.

Catherine Jones's ambitious study (if advertisements and first paragraphs of introductions can be believed), proposes to show the links between Walter Scott's novels and the history of eighteenth-century Scottish ideas. At the same time, Jones (even more ambitiously) announces her attempt to form "a new understanding of the relationship between memory and writing" (p. 11) by comparing Enlightenment philosophical and psychological theories about the role of memory in literary creativity with Freudian and other more recent views.

The hinge on which Jones's book turns is the idea of memory, in particular the relationship of memory to writing—or literary memory (thus the title). In fact there are no less than four hinges on which this six-chapter, 167-page (plus 70 more of scholarly apparatus) narrative swings—that is, four forms of literary memory which Jones describes as "associative memory," "social memory," "legal memory" and "fragmentary memory" (p. 26). Literary memory, within each of these forms, itself has two central components from which it is synthesized in varying proportions: "philosophical memory" and "folk memory" (p. 23). The former refers to Scott's Enlightenment

inheritance, that is what his intellectual precursors said about memory, the imagination, creativity, and the like, while the latter (folk) takes in Scott's absorption in the oral traditions of Scotland.

Jones is on her strongest critical ground when she is dealing with the novels themselves and with relevant aspects of Scott's own biography. Her use of correspondence, the Journal, and other autobiographical documents (such as the Ashestiel Memoir) is purposeful at nearly every turn. Scott's reading (sometimes suggested by chapter epigrams in the novels, other times by evidence of textual allusions) is also successfully integrated into the critical analysis. Nor is the work of other critics of Scottish literature neglected.

Jones gets down to her topic in chapter 2 with a discussion of *The Heart of Midlothian*. Her principal focus is on "associative memory," defined as "the trains of thought connected to an object or idea that informed authorial consciousness in the process of composition" (p. 53). Her main eighteenth-century philosophical text is Archibald Alison's *Essay on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (though for a modern measure of deeper thought the critics Lisa Jardine and Mikhail Bakhtin are added to the mix). Shakespeare (*Measure for Measure*) and Bunyan (*Pilgrim's Progress*) are equally relevant as literary influences. In terms of the narration (a multi-layered one in the case of *The Heart of Midlothian*), Scott's folk influences are subservient to the philosophical ones.

Chapter 3, "Social Memory," looks at *The Pirate*, Scott's Shetland tale, where the folk and the philosophical dimensions of memory are in tension through the narrative. After a dip into the ideas on national memory of Pierre Nora (*Les lieux de mémoire*), Jones fruitfully looks at Scott's diary of a tour he made to Shetland and other islands in 1814 as a source book for *The Pirate*. She concludes that the novel "internalizes the distanced, objective perspective of the 'Diary' in the voice of the narrator, who seeks to frame the island legends and traditions that are introduced in the course of the tale" (p. 89). The rather bleak conclusion of the novel itself is a reminder of what is described as the "tragedy of progress" (p. 100).

The discussion of *Redgauntlet* in chapter 4, "Legal Memory," asserts a more positive view of the progressive forces of history. But as in Scott's best fiction, there is always a trade-off which brings in the implied antithesis of memory—forgetting. Autobiographical aspects of the novel (Scott as a Darsie-Alan conflation) are integral to an understanding of the transposition of literary memory. Legal memory may result in progress but at the cost of destabilizing literary memory.

The shift in the dynamic between literary memory and the idea of progress continues in the penultimate chapter (the last on the Waverley Novels) on "Fragmentary Memory." Here the main focus is the most modern of Scott's novels (in chronological terms), *Saint Ronan's Well*. In Jones's critical framework, "fragmentary memory is the narrative realization in form, allegory, or theme of historical trauma, conceived as disjunction or disruption. ... it confronts the limitations of progressive history in an unresolved psychology of anxiety, a pathology of history as traumatic symptom" (p. 132).

No critical discussion of the historicity of Scott's fiction would (it still seems) be complete without reference to Georg Lukacs, whose observations open the chapter. Freud then takes up the slack in the discussion of trauma, in whose theoretical outlook it is the unconscious that is an essential form of memory and to some extent suggested in the psychological theories of Enlightenment thinkers.

The final chapter of the book, "Literary Memory and Post-mortem Effects," would probably have been best developed as a book in its own right. It focuses on the three classic early nineteenth-century American writers who were profoundly influenced by Scott: Irving, Cooper, and Hawthorne. However, these men, in Jones's view as democratically minded Americans, make radically different use of literary memory and "seek to remove the connections that bind the present to the past" (p. 177). Just to what extent these and other American writers "disown" the past is a matter requiring a deeper consideration. In terms of literary memory, they may diverge from Scott, but in general their common ground should not be obscured.

Literary Memory is essential reading for Scott scholars and probably a useful book in places for the Scottish Enlightenment scholar whose view of the period includes Scott and his age.

William Zachs, Edinburgh

Iain G. Brown, ed., *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003. Pp. xvii + 173.

This volume grew out of a gathering organized by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to pay tribute to the work of Clive Wainwright (1942–1999), the Victoria and Albert curator whose scholarship perhaps did the most to draw attention to the cultural and intellectual significance of Abbotsford. Wainwright found in this "flibbertigibber of a house" a unique expression of the romantic interior. The book's nine chapters and eleven contributors discuss Abbotsford's relationship to Scott and literature, to antiquarianism, and to the history of the National Museums of Scotland. There are also essays on Scott's taste in furniture, his attitude to portraiture—especially his dislike of Raeburn—and the relationship between Abbotsford and the Russian Gothic Revival, as well as pieces on Scott and his dogs and John Ruskin's opinion of Abbotsford. Although the chapters were all originally presented at the conference in autumn 2000, they are substantially revised and rewritten. The volume is indexed and well illustrated, but it is

unfortunate that all the portrait reproductions are in black and white; nuances and details crucial to the appreciation of these paintings are lost without the original color.

A cursory glance might suggest that there is not much new nor much to catch the interest of a student of eighteenth-century Scotland, but deeper study of the collection, especially the articles by Iain G. Brown, John Frew, David Jones, and Stephen Lloyd, as well as the collaborative piece by Hugh Cheape, Trevor Cowie, and Colin Wallace, proves otherwise. Two compelling and almost revisionist points arise several times in the collection: first, that Scott is much more a man of the eighteenth century than of the nineteenth in his ideas about history and cultural identity; and secondly, that the social and political impact of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—especially during the decades immediately following its 1782 establishment—needs to be taken far more seriously. Although none of the papers makes either point its central thesis, both notions resonate through such essays as Brown's "Scott, Literature, and Abbotsford," Frew's "Scott, Abbotsford, and the Antiquaries," and Cheape, Crowie, and Wallace's "Sir Walter Scott, the Abbotsford Collection and the National Museum of Scotland." Even Jeanne Camnizzo's charming "He was a Gentleman, even to his Dogs: Portraits of Scott and his Canine Companions" introduces us to a man who is closer to Fielding and Sterne in his sensibility than to either Austen or Dickens.

Cheape, Cowie, and Wallace begin their essay by reminding us that Scott was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland when he was twenty-five and that although "he was not, in his lifetime, a significant contributor to the Antiquaries' Museum...his own collecting zeal left a mark thereon." In turn, Scott's familiarity with the holdings of the Antiquaries shaped his own philosophy and practice as a collector, with many of the museum's more interesting artifacts appearing in Scott's historical fictions. Scott remained very much an Enlightenment antiquary, making, in Daniel Wilson's words, "the transition from profitless dilettantism to the intelligent spirit of scientific investigation," and thus fulfilling the mandate of the Antiquaries of Scotland as Lord Buchan had expressed it in his inaugural lecture. Among this volume's most important contributions are the detailed catalogue and careful illustrations of the historical curiosities that Scott amassed himself or drew upon from other collections in bringing authenticity to his recreation of the past in his novels. For Scott, historic artifacts had two inseparable purposes in the present: to encourage a scientific approach to reconstructing history and to inspire the imagination to go beyond that reconstruction in recreating empathetically the personalities and events which produced the artifacts. Perhaps the most poignant example of the imaginative significance of material culture in Scott's works is the serf's collar "with the name of the fellow convicted of theft," which Scott had seen in the national collection and used in *The Antiquary*.

Brown introduces this volume by recounting the moment at Frankfurt when the dying Scott entered a bookstore and, unrecognized by the owner, was shown a print of his own Abbotsford. The episode might remind one of the anecdote about Alexander Pope who—having just completed the final *Dunciad* and lingering on the point of death—sat silently in the front row at the Covent Garden auction of the bankrupted Oxford's estate and watched as his own Kit Kat portraits were sold off. The essays in *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott* reveal a man whose sensibility and ideas about history and material culture are closer to those of Pope than Dickens. The volume rightly reminds us that Scott comes at the end of the long eighteenth century and is better understood as an Enlightenment, rather than a Romantic, figure.

Stephen W. Brown, Trent University

Paul Henderson Scott, *Scotland Resurgent: Comments on the Cultural and Political Revival of Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 2003. Pp. 3–351.

Paul Henderson Scott, ed., *The Saltoun Papers: Reflections on Andrew Fletcher*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 2003. Pp. 3–191.

There is no one quite like Paul Scott. He is a committed Scottish nationalist with a deep interest in contemporary political affairs—no doubt of that—but he is also fascinated by the question of how Scotland's cultural past can speak to us today. Unlike many Scottish nationalists who have either ignored eighteenth-century Scottish culture on grounds of irrelevance or dismissed it outright on grounds of the supposed preference of its leading figures for Anglicization and subordination rather than independence, Scott takes the cultural history of the age seriously. Sometimes, when oversimplification takes the place of analysis, his unabashedly engaged approach to the past and his heavy handed (and often repetitive) arguments can be off-putting to academics. But much of the time Scott's forays into Scottish cultural history cannot be written off so easily.

Scotland Resurgent is composed of literally dozens of reviews, talks, essays, newspaper and magazine articles, book chapters, and other short pieces (including the paper on the Union that was delivered at the ECSSS conference in Edinburgh in 2002), concerned with everything from the Union of Crowns in 1603 to recent political events. Holding it together, more or less, is the idea that the foundation for Scotland's independence as a nation is its cultural heritage, which Scott is inclined to interpret rather generously. Of course, almost everything is viewed through a nationalist lens: writing poetry in Scots is considered inherently subversive, and the tendency of the literati of the Scottish Enlightenment to embrace the Union is regarded as a strategy adopted by people trying "to make the best of a bad job" (p. 53).

Yet often, as in Scott's perceptive paper on James Boswell (marred only by at least three glaring dating errors, pp. 71–72), the tension between England and Scotland that Scott finds everywhere is indeed undeniably present. It might also be said that Scott is easier to take in this essay format than when he writes full-length books on particular historical topics like the Union, such as *The Boasted Advantages* and *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union*, neither of which can withstand scholarly scrutiny if they are read as academic history rather than as attempts by a Scottish nationalist to sort out exactly what went wrong three hundred years ago. Scott writes with verve and passion, and when he challenges Niall Ferguson's denigration of Scottish history on behalf of the Union (pp. 191–95), his argument strikes me as both forceful and fair.

Precisely because he spoke out so strongly against the Union, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun holds a special place in the hearts of Paul Scott and other Scottish nationalists, and *The Saltoun Papers*, consisting of fifteen addresses on Fletcher delivered between 1979 and 1999, provides a fascinating glimpse of what might be called the cultural history of Scottish nationalism at work. For those of us who had no idea that since the 1960s a talk on Fletcher has been delivered each September in the church at East Saltoun, this interest in Fletcher may seem surprising. In these talks, Fletcher is sometimes used merely as a springboard, as when Sheila Douglas uses a quote from the great man on the importance of national ballads in order to justify a talk on the latter subject, and sometimes his name is never even uttered, as in Alexander Broadie's talk on "Patriotism as a Passion." There is some silliness, as when Edward Cowan, speaking in 1996, speculates that Fletcher would have certain opinions about the Gulf War and other contemporary events, and Billy Kay, speaking in 1988, gives a delightful address in a sort of semi-Scots. But the contributors to this volume include Gordon Donaldson, Neil MacCormick, Bruce Lenman, William Ferguson, Murray Pittock, Broadie, and other heavy hitters whose ideas are often worthy of consideration. Lenman claims that "Fletcher of Saltoun's ideas are often, though of course not always, as relevant today as when they were first articulated by him" (p. 44). Why is it, then, that when I read Fletcher, I find it so difficult to connect? Is it because I, as an outsider, cannot grasp what is really there, or because Scott and the Edinburgh-based Saltire Society—sponsor of the annual Fletcher lecture and publisher of both these volumes as well as five other books by Scott—have created a Fletcher cult that has more to do with the needs of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Scottish nationalists for an early modern cultural hero than with Fletcher himself? If the latter, it may just be that Paul Scott, in an effort to undo the pernicious "myth" of a Scotland saved by Union with England (see the essay "Scotch Myths" in *Scotland Resurgent*), is helping to forge counter-myths that are no closer to the truth.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

Briefly Noted

Kathryn Temple, *Scandal Nation: Law and Authorship in Britain, 1750–1832*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003. Pp. x + 242.

Kathryn Temple claims that "scandalous print spectacles," such as the one enacted by Samuel Johnson and James Macpherson over the latter's Ossianic poetry, may be read as tests of national sentiment that challenged and defined contemporary conceptions of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Britain. The rise of authorship, institutionalized by means of forgery laws and copyright regulations, is viewed through a national lens: "naming the author ensured that national texts could be identified and read as national emblems" (113). In regard to Ossian specifically, Temple cleverly suggests that "Scotland's Ossian stood for a truly collaborative form of authorship, and thus for a collaborative form of British identity, one that the Scots put forward repeatedly throughout the [eighteenth] century" (17). Though the argument is not as tidy as it might have been, the book is filled with interesting insights and connections regarding law, national sentiment, print culture, and literary controversy.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2003 - 31 Dec. 2003

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

Balance 1 Jan. 2003: £14,486.28 (corrected)

Income: + £2937.95 (dues and book orders: £1015; Interest: £149.38; Edinburgh conference reimbursements: £1773.57)

Expenses: -£370 (Charleston conference travel grants and advertising: £295; Daiches exhibit contribution: £75)

Balance 31 Dec. 2003: £17,054.23

II. Fleet Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan. 2003: \$7973.79

Income: + \$5706.80 (dues, book orders, & payment for flyer: \$3611.41; conference reimbursement from The Citadel: \$2078.43; Staples credit: \$16.96)

Expenses: -\$4724.02 (printing, copying, and clerical: \$1498; supplies: \$297.91; Charleston conference: \$2488.22

[including board dinner: \$138.04, plaque: \$105, plenary expenses: \$1578.43, gifts: \$98.09, exec. sec.: \$568.66]; software: \$43.19; website: \$375; misc.: \$21.70)

Balance 31 Dec. 2003: \$8956.57

III. Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2003 [vs. 31 Dec. 2002]: \$8956.57 [\$7973.79] + £17,054.23 [£14,486.28]

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 2003, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous issues.

- Yasuo AMOH, "The Ancient-Modern Controversy in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *RPESE*, 69-85.
- Corey ANDREWS, "The Clubbable Bard: Sentimental Scottish Nationalism and Robert Burns," *Lumen* 21 (2002): 105-30.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Idea of Civil Society," *Sociedade Civil: Entre Miragem e Oportunidade*, ed. A. Martins (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 2003), 99-115.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "Sociality and Socialisation," *CCSE*, 243-57.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "Lusty Women and Loose Imagination: Hume's Philosophical Anthropology of Chastity," *History of Political Thought* 24 (2003): 415-32.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "Virtue," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. A. Kors et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4:225-30.
- Elaine G. BRESLAW, "Marriage, Money, and Sex: Dr. Hamilton Finds a Wife," *Journal of Social History* 36 (2003): 657-73. [on Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Maryland]
- Alexander BROADIE, "Introduction," "The Human Mind and Its Powers," and "Art and Aesthetic Theory," in *CCSE*, 1-8, 60-78, 280-97.
- Lauren BRUBAKER, "A Particular Turn or Habit of the Imagination: Adam Smith on Love, Friendship and Philosophy," in *Love and Friendship: Rethinking Politics and Affection in Modern Times*, ed. Eduardo A. Velásquez (Lexington, Ky.: Lexington Books, 2002).
- John W. CAIRNS, "Legal Theory," *CCSE*, 222-42.
- John W. CAIRNS, "Legal Study in Utrecht in the Late 1740s: The Education of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes," in *Summa Eloquentia: Essays in Honour of Margaret Hewett*, ed. Rena van den Bergh (Fundamina, 2002), 30-72.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Lewis Grassie Gibbon and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *A Flame in the Mearns*, ed. Margery Palmer McCulloch and Sarah Dunnigan (Glasgow: ASLS, 2003): 124-36.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Remaking Romantic Scotland: Lockhart's Biographies of Burns and Scott," in *Romantic Biography*, ed. Arthur Bradley and Alan Rawes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003): 94-107.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS (with Alan Rawes), "Romancing the Celt," in *English Romanticism and the Celtic World*, ed. Carruthers and Rawes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-19.
- Jeng-Guo CHEN, "Introduction" to the Mandarin translation of Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (Taiwan, 2003).
- Peter DIAMOND, "The 'Enlightenment' Project Revisited: Common Sense as Prudence in the Philosophy of Thomas Reid," in *Prudence: Classical Virtue, Postmodern Practice*, ed. Robert Hariman (University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 2003), 99-123.
- Ian DUNCAN, "Authenticity Effects: The Work of Fiction in Romantic Scotland," in *Afterlives of Romanticism: special issue of South Atlantic Quarterly* 102 (2003): 93-116.
- Ian DUNCAN, "Fergusson's Edinburgh," in *HTF*, 65-84.
- Alexander DU TOIT, "God Before Mammon?: William Robertson, Episcopacy and the Church of England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54 (2003): 671-90.
- Roger EMERSON, "The Contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment," in *CCSE*, 9-30.
- Roger L. EMERSON, "Archibald Campbell, terzo Duca di Argyll (1682-1761): il *patronage* e la creazione dell'illuminismo scozzese," in *FSPSB*, 127-61.
- Aaron GARRETT, "Anthropology: The 'Original' of Human Nature," in *CCSE*, 79-93.
- Howard GASKILL, "'Ossian hat in meinem Herzen den Humor verdrängt': Goethe and Ossian Reconsidered," in *Goethe and the English-Speaking World: Essays from the Cambridge Symposium for His 250th Anniversary*, ed. Nicholas Boyle and John Guthrie (Rochester, NY, and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Camden House, 2002), 47-59.
- Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "Natural Jurisprudence and the Theory of Justice," in *CCSE*, 205-21.
- Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "Giusnaturalismo e teoria della giustizia nell'illuminismo scozzese," in *FSPSB*, 31-48.
- Neil HARGRAVES, "Enterprise, Adventure and Industry: The Formation of 'Commercial Character' in William Robertson's *History of America*," *History of European Ideas* 29 (2003): 33-54.
- Colin KIDD, "Constitutions and Character in the Eighteenth-Century British World," in *From Republican*

Polity to National Community: Reconsiderations of Enlightenment and Political Thought, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century (2003:09), 40–61.

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Key to Abbreviations

CCSE = *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

FSPSB = *Filosofia, Scienza e Politica nel Settecento Britannico*, ed. Luigi Turco (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2003).

HTF = "*Heaven-Taught Fergusson*": *Robert Burns's Favourite Scottish Poet*, ed. Robert Crawford (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003).

RPESE = *The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Tatsuya Sakamoto and Hideo Tanaka (London: Routledge, 2003)

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