

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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

ADVENTURES IN DUBLIN

Thanks to outstanding organization by Michael Brown and Christopher Finlay, the joint conference of ECSSS and the 18th-Century Ireland Society, held at Trinity College Dublin 17–20 June 2004 under the auspices of the Centre for Irish-Scottish Studies, was a smashing success. The conference featured an opening plenary lecture by Ian McBride of King's College London on "The Ulster Scots," in the Royal Irish Academy, and another plenary lecture by Andrew Noble of the University of Strathclyde on "Robert Burns and British Radicalism in the 1790s," in the Bank of Ireland building that was formerly home of the Irish House of Lords. In addition, each of the co-sponsoring societies had a separate plenary lecture of its own: Ian Campbell Ross of ECIS on Bishop Berkeley's alleged Jacobitism, and Susan Manning of ECSSS on "Becoming a Character in the Scottish Enlightenment." There were also twenty-five thematic panels of papers, most of which were organized in such a way that members of both societies could participate.

This conference had many other highlights. On the opening evening Clare O'Halloran's new book, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c1750–1800* was officially launched at a reception sponsored by Cork University Press and hosted by Seamus Deane (Clare is a member of both societies, and her book is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.). At the conference banquet on Saturday night at Fado Restaurant in the 1710 Mansion House on Dawson Street, an unexpected operatic performance by an international company that happened to be having a celebration of its own at the same restaurant brought joy to all. The last day of the conference featured an excursion to Castle-town House in County Kildare (built 1722), the most important Palladian style house in Ireland. All in all, it was wonderful, and our thanks go out to the organizers, ECIS, Trinity College Dublin, and all the other individuals and institutions involved.

RENDALL HEADS ECSSS

At the annual membership meeting at the Dublin conference, held on 19 June 2004, the Society unanimously elected a slate of officers and trustees nominated by the Board. Heading the list is Jane Rendall, recently retired from the History Department and eighteenth-century program at the University of York, who became the Society's ninth president. Also elected for two-year terms were David Radcliffe (English) of Virginia Tech, vice-president; Tim Hanson (History) Towson State University, member-at-large; and Catherine Jones (English), University of Aberdeen, member-at-large. Richard Sher was re-elected to a six-year term as executive secretary/treasurer. In addition, both László Kontler (History) of Central European University and Catherine Jones were elected to four-year terms on the Board. A rousing ovation greeted outgoing president Ned Landsman, outgoing member-at-large Dan Carey (who was instrumental in setting up the Dublin conference), and outgoing Board members Henry Fulton and Nicholas Phillipson.

BUDAPEST BECKONS

Most of you will probably receive this issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* just a short time before the society commences its joint conference with the Hungarian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Budapest from 23 to 26 June 2005. László Kontler of Central European University, the conference organizer, has worked hard to make this conference successful, and all indications are that it will be. At press time in May there were twenty-two panels of three or four papers each, on a very wide range of topics having to do with the main conference theme: Empire, Philosophy and Religion: Scotland and Central-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth Century. Participants range from all over Europe and elsewhere. As László wrote in the statement explaining the rationale for the conference: "This conference is intended to encourage inter

action among scholars of the Age of Enlightenment who would not normally meet at more specialized academic gatherings, but whose dialogue would be of mutual interest." The conference will also feature plenary lectures by Grete Walter-Klingenstein and István Hont and an excursion to a chateau outside the city. This promises to be one of the most interesting conferences in the Society's history, and we look forward to seeing many of you there

WILLIAMSBURG IN 2006

ECSSS's twentieth-anniversary conference will be held in Williamsburg, Virginia, 27 to 30 April 2006. Bob Maccubbin, recently retired from his professorship in English at William and Mary College and his long-time editorship of *Eighteenth-Century Life*, is taking charge, and that means an exciting time for all. The conference will feature a plenary talk by another recently retired member, Bruce Lenman, formerly of St. Andrews University. In addition, Bob is organizing a ceilidh at his own "wee farm" on the Saturday evening of the conference, which is certain to be great fun. Of course, there will be time for people to explore Colonial Williamsburg, the largest and best-restored eighteenth-century American community. To submit a proposal for a paper or a complete panel, consult the Call for Papers that accompanies this issue, or watch for developments on the Meetings link at the ECSSS website, www.ecsss.org.

SCOTS IN 18TH-CENTURY LONDON

On 26 November 2004 the School of History and Classics at the University of Edinburgh sponsored a successful one-day colloquium on "Scots in London in the 18th Century." Organized by Stana Nenadic, Head of Economic and Social History at the university, the colloquium was conceived as an opportunity to showcase the research of some of Edinburgh's doctoral students alongside that of established scholars. Nigel Aston (U. of Leicester) opened the day with a paper on James Beattie in London in 1773, and his Anglicization. Religious themes were continued by Alasdair Raffae (Edinburgh U.), who spoke on Scottish Episcopals in the 1690s and their use of London printing presses to generate anti-Presbyterian myths. Jane Rendall (U. of York) gave an account of the careers and friendship networks of late eighteenth-century Scottish radicals in London, indicating—as suggested in the two papers before—the importance of the British capital for Scottish professionals. Scots of gentry background were also frequent visitors to London, and Katharine Glover (Edinburgh U.) considered the education of elite Scottish girls in the mid-eighteenth century, linking to the cultures of gentry politeness and Britishness. Britishness and empire were the themes

developed by Andrew Mackillop (Aberdeen U.), who spoke on the relationship between London and service in the East India Company. Many "company men" were soldiers, and the connections between the military profession and business opportunities were explored by Stana Nenadic in the final paper before lunch. The afternoon started with an illustrated survey of Scottish artists in London by Patricia Andrew (Edinburgh U.), who showed that for every Allan Ramsay there were many painters, including women, who struggled to survive. Art collecting was a favorite pastime of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, as detailed by Iain Gordon Brown of the National Library of Scotland, but Clerk's patronage ambitions in the capital were not achieved and metropolitan life was not always to his taste. Making a success in London did not come easily and medical men in particular were often disadvantaged by the nature of their Scottish training. One who managed to get around the prohibitions was Dr. John Armstrong, who turned to medical poetry to advance his career, as described by Adam Budd (Edinburgh U.). The final paper, rounding off a most enjoyable day, was by Derya Gurses (Edinburgh U.), who spoke about the London years of Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

ROMANTICISM AT BERKELEY

The Center for British Studies and the English Department at the University of California, Berkeley, are hosting a conference on "Scottish Romanticism and World Literatures" from 8 to 10 September 2006. Jointly organized by ECSSS members Murray Pittock and Ian Duncan, the conference will address issues such as continuities between Scottish and English Romanticisms; "literature" and the disciplines of the natural and human sciences; the social environments of periodical culture, book production, and the literary market; tradition and genre; major authors; and the impact of Scottish Romanticism on European literatures, the Anglophone British Empire, and the United States.

Proposals for 25-minute papers are now invited and should take the form of a title and 100-word abstract, to be sent to Murray Pittock by 30 September 2005 at m.pittock@manchester.ac.uk. Proposals for round tables on particular issues or seminars on work in progress are also welcome.

JAMES HOGG & ROMANTICISM

The twelfth James Hogg conference, "Crossing Borders: James Hogg and the Global Context of British Romanticism," will be held at Mississippi University for Women in Columbus, Mississippi, 6-8 April 2006. The conference is open to papers on all topics related to Hogg's life and work, as well as Hogg's literary

connections and influence. The conference organizers would especially welcome papers that address Hogg's publication and reception in North America, as well as papers that make connections between Hogg's works and North American writers.

Proposals or abstracts should be sent by 15 December 2005 to Dr. Thomas Richardson, Mississippi University for Women, 1100 College Street-MUW 1634, Columbus, MS 39701 USA; fax: 662-329-7387; e-mail: trichard@muw.edu.

CROSSING THE HIGHLAND LINE

This year's annual conference of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, held from 20 to 22 May 2005, was an affair of particular interest to ECSSS members. Billed as the first conference to explore the connections between the Gaelic and Lowland traditions in eighteenth-century Scotland, the conference was set in Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Sleat, on the south side of the Isle of Skye—a magnificent setting for a conference on this theme. Among the papers on the program were four by ECSSS members: Gerard Carruthers on James Thomson; Christopher MacLachlan on Literary Edinburgh in the Time of Alexander MacDonald; Murray Pittock on Burns, Hogg and Jacobite Song; and Kenneth Simpson on The Influence of Ossian. Also of interest: a ceilidh featuring the fiddle music of Niel Gow.

BURNS AT COLUMBIA

A colloquium on "Robert Burns in His Time and Ours" was held at Thomas Cooper Library at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, S.C., on 20 and 21 August 2004, to commemorate two events: the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the G. Ross Roy Collection of Robert Burns, Burnsiana and Scottish Poetry, and the eightieth birthday of G. Ross Roy himself—who became the fifth person to receive the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award in 2003. The first day of the conference coincided with the opening of a major Burns exhibition, featuring new items in the collection as well as Burns manuscripts owned by Ross Roy. The colloquium included a panel on Ross Roy's 1985 edition of Burns's letters, with Kenneth Simpson, Gerard Carruthers, and James Mackay; a panel with Carol McGuirk and others to commemorate Ross's forty years of editing the journal *Studies in Scottish Literature*; and the first modern showings of two recently recovered Burns films: *The Romance of Robert Burns* (1937) and *Robbie & His Mary* (1959).

LOVE & LIBERTY PERFORMED

Ian McFarlane, whose Burns opera "Ae fond kiss" attracted much attention when it was performed in

2002 and whose *Scotia Crescat!* was premiered in 2003, staged two performances of Burns's "Love & Liberty" in January 2005. The first occurred at The Queen's Hall in Edinburgh on Burns' Night (25 January). On the following day *The Herald* called it "a fascinating interpretation of Burns" that is "poignant," "vivacious," and "fresh." On the 28th a second performance was staged at St. John's Smith Square in London. Both performances featured Mhairi Lawson, soprano, and Paul Agnew, tenor, as well as Monica Huggett on baroque violin, Tatty Theo on baroque cello, and Olga Tverskaya on fortepiano.

OXFORD DNB LAUNCHED

After twelve years of planning and writing, Oxford University Press published the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* on 23 September 2004. In redoing the classic *DNB* that dates from the late nineteenth century, OUP seems to have spared little expense. The sixty volumes of the *ODNB* contain 55,000 biographical entries—62 million words written by 10,000 contributors. There is also a searchable online version that will be periodically updated (the first update already occurred in January). The addition of 10,000 images, mostly portraits of subjects, and links to the National Register of Archives and other bibliographical sources, greatly add to the work's value.

The *ODNB* contains outstanding biographical coverage of eighteenth-century Scotland, with hundreds of revised, completely rewritten, and wholly new entries. ECSSS members made such extensive contributions to the project that it is not possible to list their entries in the members' article list at the end of this issue. But it is gratifying to know that we played such an important role in writing and editing this monumental publication.

InteLex EDITION OF HUME'S HISTORY

An edition of David Hume's *History of England* prepared by Frits Van Holthoon (Emeritus, University of Groningen) is now available for sale by InteLex Corporation of Virginia in CD format (Windows or Mac), at a cost of \$50 for individuals or \$125 for institutions (<http://www.nlx.com/titles/titlhumh.htm>). The edition can also be purchased as part of the *Complete Works and Correspondence of David Hume* (\$150 for individuals, \$355 for institutions), but the separately published edition of the *History* contains some corrections and additions that the editor has prepared since the appearance of the *Complete Works and Correspondence*.

Van Holthoon constructed this edition using a scanned edition of the *LibertyClassics* reprint of the 1778 edition (provided by Mark Rooks of InteLex),

which was used to register a selection of the variants he had collated from all the editions of separate volumes and sets of the *History* dating from 1754 to 1778. For the volumes that cover the Middle Ages, he has also collated the first editions with the manuscript (the only one extant) of the *History*. The editor is careful to point out that this is a *variorum* and not a critical edition, which would include a critical appraisal of Hume's sources and his use of them. (Mark Spencer of Brock University in Ontario intends to continue Van Holthoon's work by preparing a critical edition of Hume's *History*.)

In response to an inquiry from *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, Van Holthoon discussed some of the conclusions that he thinks can be drawn from Hume's revisions of the *History of England*. First, the main theme of Hume's *History* is the evolution of royal authority ending in the establishment of mixed government in 1688. Hume developed this theme while writing his *History*, and his revisions tend to confirm this focus on English history. Secondly, the most extensively revised volume is the second edition of the first volume on the Stuarts in 1759. The revisions confirm (*pace* Ernest Mossner's *Life of David Hume*) that Hume made them "invariably to the Tory side." In the first edition Hume largely conformed to the Whig criticism of the Charles I, but in the second edition that king became a tragic and virtuous hero. The revisions did not make Hume a Tory, because Hume made it abundantly clear that Charles I was unable to read the signs of the time, but he was partial to the king. This is illustrated by his discussion with Thomas Birch about the sincerity of the king (in the *LibertyClassics* edition, vol. 5, notes GG and KK), where Birch has the better of the argument in contending that the king was devious in his handling of the Irish Rebellion. However, for dramatic reasons Hume needed a sincere and virtuous king who was misunderstood by his (often fanatical) enemies. Thirdly, because Hume wanted to write a *political* history, he had trouble fitting in his large and often remarkably intelligent observations on the social history of England. So in the process of revision he banished most of those observations to notes at the back of the volume. The striking thing is that Hume used social history to debunk the past by pointing out the primitive circumstances and customs in English history. Progress for him was a product of unforeseen consequences, not of intentional reforms.

Van Holthoon believes that two of the appendices attached to the Preface of his edition are likely to be particularly useful. Appendix II contains a list of corrections of the mistakes—sometimes significant—that appear in the *LibertyClassics* edition. Appendix V presents a reconstruction of the Dublin editions of the

History, which faithfully followed the London printed ones. Hume did not carry out his threat to use them against Andrew Millar, his London publisher, by submitting his revisions to the Dublin booksellers first.

Since the electronic format of this edition enables corrections and additions to be incorporated in the existing edition, the editor is requesting that readers who discover mistakes or omissions send their findings to him via e-mail: f.l.van.holthoon@oprit.rug.nl.

Other Scottish Enlightenment CDs in IntelLex's Past Masters series, with prices shown for individuals/institutions, include Judith Bailey Slagle's 1999 edition of *The Collected Letters of Joanna Bailie* (\$80/\$200), the 1995 Vincenzo Merolle-Jane Fagg edition of *The Correspondence of Adam Ferguson* (\$80/\$200), and perhaps most impressively, the entire *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* and supplementary texts—which includes all six titles of the *Works and Correspondence* proper, in addition to Ian Simpson Ross' *Life of Adam Smith* (1995), Hiroshi Mizuta's edition of *Adam Smith's Library* (2000), and Andrew Skinner's volume of essays on Smith, *A System of Social Science* (2nd edn., 1996)—for \$300/\$750. Also available: a campus-wide license, a web server version, and an SGML version, each for twice the price of the institutional CD.

CALL FOR ESSAYS ON FERGUSON

Historians, philosophers, and social scientists are invited to contribute to a volume of essays on Adam Ferguson. Tentatively titled *Adam Ferguson: A Reassessment*, the collection will be edited by Eugene Heath (State University of New York at New Paltz), with the assistance of Vincenzo Merolle (University of Rome, La Sapienza). Papers on Ferguson's work in history, social theory, politics, morals, and philosophy are particularly welcome, as are those that reconsider some aspect of the eighteenth-century context or that revisit Ferguson's connections with other thinkers. The collection is in the early stages of planning, and potential contributors should indicate their interest by writing to Eugene Heath at heathe@newpaltz.edu.

MANNING NEW IASH DIRECTOR

In January Susan Manning, Grierson Professor of English Literature and former president (and current Board member) of ECSSS, became Director of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh. A member of the Institute Advisory Board since 2002, Susan has recently been engaged in conducting an exciting three-year project on "The Science of Man in Scotland," funded by the Leverhulme Trust and co-directed by another past-president of the society, Nicholas Phillipson. ECSSS has enjoyed close ties with IASH since the

society's founding in 1986, which was also the year in which IASH, under the direction of David Daiches and Peter Jones, sponsored the International Project on the Scottish Enlightenment (IPSE). In an effort to strengthen a sense of continuity among fellows of the Institute, past and present, Susan Manning has announced that a new "Fellows in the News" page will appear on the IASH website (www.iash.ed.ac.uk), to which former fellows will be encouraged to contribute news of their activities.

DEVINE GETS FRASER CHAIR AT EU

T. M. Devine has been appointed to the Sir William Fraser Chair of Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh, effective January 2006. Well known of late for his popular histories of Scotland, Tom Devine has made enormous contributions to eighteenth-century Scottish social history, including books on Glasgow tobacco lords and the social transformation of the Highlands. In an unusual arrangement, he will continue to hold his professorship in history at the University of Aberdeen and will also be associate director of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies there. The Fraser Chair became vacant when Michael Lynch announced his retirement.

On a sadder note, the Edinburgh Scottish History "Subject Area" that Tom Devine will be joining lost one of its finest instructors when John M. Simpson, honorary fellow and former senior lecturer, died suddenly on 15 April 2005. John will be best known to students of eighteenth-century Scotland as the author of a seminal essay on Scottish patronage and politics, "Who Steered the Gravy Train, 1707–1766?," which appeared in N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison's *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (1970). He supervised more than twenty doctoral students carrying out research on a wide variety of subjects in Scottish history at Edinburgh, the last of whom received a Ph.D. in 1997. John's contributions to Scottish history were gratefully acknowledged at a memorial service held in Edinburgh on 28 April.

AUCHINLECK NEWS

The Auchinleck Boswell Society, in which ECSSS holds a life membership, is in the process of being transformed. With the retirement at the end of 2004 of its longtime leader, Sheriff Neil Gow, the society's committee decided to bring the organization to an end. The £2337 in the society's coffers was to be transferred to the Landmark Trust, to assist it in completing the conservation and restoration work that will result in the establishment of a Boswell Study at Auchinleck House.

However, David R. Boswell of Bath is making an effort to revitalize the society in a simpler form.

Toward that end, he has invited those interested to join him at Auchinleck House on Thursday 3 November 2005 from 11 AM to 2 PM. He has also suggested an annual lunch-meeting in London every May to commemorate his ancestor James's famous meeting with Samuel Johnson in May 1763 and death in May 1795. For further information, contact DRB at Balmuto, The Avenue, Timsbury, Bath BA2 0HD, UK.

CHANGES AT TUCKWELL, THOEMMES

On 20 September 2004 the Tuckwell Press was merged into Birlinn Ltd. of Edinburgh. During the past several years, Hugh Andrew has built up Birlinn from a small independent press when founded in 1992 into a major Scottish publisher, and this merger is another step in that process. Under the terms of the merger agreement, John and Val Tuckwell will continue to commission books, which will appear under either the Birlinn imprint or the imprint of John Tuckwell's original publishing firm, John Donald, which Birlinn purchased in 1998. Birlinn also owns Polygon, making it the world's largest publisher of Scottish titles. Birlinn's website (www.birlinn.co.uk) now contains an impressive array of eighteenth-century books from all these imprints, including many older titles in paperback editions.

Like Tuckwell Press, Thoemmes Press of Bristol has been a great friend to eighteenth-century Scotland over the years, particularly in the area of facsimile reprinting of works on philosophy and social thought. In July 2003 Thoemmes became part of The Continuum International Publishing Group, while continuing to commission new books under the Thoemmes Continuum imprint. The commissioning editor of Thoemmes Continuum, Philip de Bary, has made it known that he can now offer authors "a fast-track decision process, attractive book production, and energetic promotion by Continuum's marketing departments in London and New York." Anyone with an idea for a book may contact him informally at pde-bary@thoemmes.com.

FLEEMAN FELLOWSHIP AT SA

The University of St. Andrews has announced the establishment of the J. D. Fleeman Visiting Fellowship, based in the School of English. With funds donated by Isabel Fleeman, widow of the distinguished eighteenth-century literary scholar David Fleeman, who is perhaps best known for editing the standard edition of Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, the fellowship will provide up to £3000 for a scholar wishing to do research in the eighteenth-century holdings at St. Andrews (including the newly donated Fleeman Johnson Collection) for

up to twelve weeks between early February and late May. Each fellow will also be expected to present a lecture and a seminar in the School of English.

To enter the first Fleeman Fellowship competition, for the period 6 February–26 May 2006, applicants should submit (1) a 1500-word description of their proposed research program, including details of projected dissemination of the work; (2) a full c.v., with names and contact addresses (including e-mail) of two referees; and (3) a cover letter indicating preferred dates for taking up the fellowship. The application should be sent to: David Fleeman Fellowship, The School of English, University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews KY16 9AL, Scotland, UK. Inquiries may be made to Prof. Nicholas Roe, nhr@st-and.ac.uk.

NEW EU MSc. IN SCOTTISH STUDIES

In September 2004 the University of Edinburgh launched a new interdisciplinary postgraduate program that will be of interest to students with research interests in eighteenth-century Scotland. The MSc. in Scottish Studies, overseen by the Research Institute in the Culture, History and Ethnology of Scotland (RICHES), was conceived jointly by two schools: History & Classics, and Literatures, Languages & Cultures. It offers students the opportunity not only to take taught courses in subjects offered by the schools but also to receive full research training in Scottish Studies—especially in the fields of culture, languages, history, and ethnology.

An internship component enables students to work on research projects in various archives or repositories. In the first semester, the internship takes place in one of the university's own archives, or in special collections. Those wishing to pursue research on the eighteenth century can take advantage of the university's excellent collections in this area, including, for example, its fine manuscript holdings on the history of the university, Jacobitism, emigration, empire, the Union, the East India Company, witchcraft, coal mining, the Society of Friends, farm estates, and the Royal Public Dispensary.

The MSc. also gives students the opportunity to take taught courses on aspects of Scottish studies, from a selection spanning the College of Humanities and Social Sciences. Courses are subject to availability, but many will be of interest to students of eighteenth-century Scotland. Within Scottish History can be found such courses as Scottish Emigration; Scotland and America, 1603–1914; From Darien to Parliamentary Union; Images of the Scottish Highlands, 1350–1850; and War, Famine, Pestilence and Death? A Social History of Britain, c. 1500–1700. Other courses include The Heroic Ballads of Gaelic Scotland; Scottish Art and the Enlightenment; and Scot-

land and Heritage. New courses are coming on stream all the time.

This degree is seen as a gateway, either to doctoral research or to a career in archive and record management. All students taking part in the MSc. form an interdisciplinary seminar, at which the cross-pollination of ideas and research methods adds depth to the understanding of the individual, and the group as a whole.

Potential students are warmly invited to make contact with the course coordinator, Dr. Andrew G. Newby (andrew.newby@ed.ac.uk), or to browse the program's website for further information (www.celtscot.ed.ac.uk/riches.htm).

NEWS FROM THE SRA

Retour, the newsletter of the Scottish Records Association, reports that refurbishment of the Historical Search Room at the National Archives of Scotland was completed late in 2003. The Orkney Archives moved to new premises in Kirkwall around the same time. In March 2004 the refurbished reading room opened at the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow; details of the archive collections can be seen at www.rcpsg.ac.uk/library/archives.htm. Images of Glasgow can be found at a great new website that is the result of collaboration between Glasgow City Archives and Glasgow University Archive Services, among others: www.TheGlasgowStory.com.

The following new collections are brought to the attention of students and scholars:

Royal Observatory Edinburgh: observations and calculations and administrative papers 1764–1834.

Watt Library, Greenock: various papers and accounts concerning Greenock and Port Glasgow, including Port Glasgow town council minutes from 1774 to 1975 and accounts from the burgh of Greenock from 1793 to 1798.

Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Edinburgh: various papers and records dating back to the establishment of the society in 1784, including sederunt books now available on microfilm at West Register House (RH4/188).

National Archives of Scotland: the papers of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, Edinburgh 1598–1988 (GD495).

Paisley Central Library: minutes of the Paisley Society for the Reformation of Manners, 1757–1871, correspondence of the Paisley Praying Societies 1784–1820, burgh books from Paisley burgh 1747–1822, and Renfrew town council minutes 1749–1975.

Perth Museum & Art Gallery: records of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth 1785–1915.

Glasgow University Library: sederunt book

from the Glasgow Gaelic Chapel Society on the management of the chapel of ease on Ingram Street 1781–1836.

National Library of Scotland: letters and papers of Roger Robertson of Ladykirk 1753–82 (Acc. 12245)

MANAGING BURNS ARTIFACTS

With the 250th anniversary of Robert Burns's birthday just four years away, a major effort is being made to improve and coordinate Burns materials located in all parts of Scotland. The Distributed National Burns Collection Project carried out a careful examination of these materials in 2003 and 2004, and the project's website (www.burnsscotland.com) presents some of its findings. Visitors to the site can see the DNBC scoping study and an executive summary of it, dated April 2004. The study identified over 36,000 items that were divided into three categories on the basis of their age and historical significance. It turns out that local authorities hold more of these materials than any other kind of organization. The most important objects, labeled category 1 (i.e., material used or created by Burns; publications or artwork by or of Burns from the period of his lifetime), constitute less than 2% of the total, and most of them are held by the independent sector (indeed, Burns Cottage Museum in Alloway holds more than a third of all category 1 items, the largest single collection by far). Therein lies the great paradox. In almost every area one can name, independents lack the necessary resources for optimal management of these materials. Burns Cottage Museum, for example, "has the least adequate provision for environmental monitoring and control." The independent sector and local organizations generally have poor security, insufficient staffing, poor education policies and facilities, dismal conservation procedures, and inadequate insurance (many items in independent collections are deliberately undervalued in order to reduce insurance premiums, and over 7% of category 1 artifacts have no insurance at all). When these factors result in crises (such as the one that is now jeopardizing many of the artifacts at Burns Cottage Museum), the response is reactive rather than proactive. Across the board, a surprisingly large amount of the documentation is kept manually, and only 4% of these materials have been recorded as digital images.

The study's recommendations follow naturally from these findings. The Burns materials in Scotland should be organized in a manner that will enhance what the authors of the report call "a holistic Burns experience." There should be regional and national coordination and sharing. The independent sector should learn from the expertise of the larger and more professional museums. Steps should be taken to

conserve artifacts before crises occur. Everything should be adequately secured and insured. Public access should be improved by means of a public guide to Burns materials in Scotland as well as a broad-based website. Teachers should be trained and educational programs developed, including an educational resource pack that can be used by all partners in the project. Signposting should be improved. Marketing should be done jointly, in partnership with local authorities and tourist organizations. A coordinated program should be developed for the 250th anniversary in 2009.

As discussed on the DNBC website, several of these recommendations have already been developed or are now in the works. One is the formation of a new Burns trail in southwest Scotland, which is scheduled to be published late this spring. Another—of more interest to scholars—is the publication by the National Burns Collection of letters written by Bishop John Geddes, newly discovered in the Scottish Catholic Archives. In an excerpt from one such letter on the website, dated 14 October 1788, Geddes charmingly describes how Burns "read a great deal having been for many years a subscriber to a circulating library at Kilmarnock; had a little chest for holding books at the fireside, and on the Sundays, if the weather was good, instead of going to the Kirk, went to a wood with some Poet[ry]. Amendments were offered to him by Dr Gregory and others; but he would not adopt one of them; because he said; he was to publish his own Poetry." There is also a new educational initiative called Discover Burns, which was launched by Carl MacDougall in January, in connection with a new education kit and other materials.

We wish the project well but wonder whether it could not benefit from some of its own recommendations. According to the website, the Geddes book, a promotional pamphlet entitled *Burns in Scotland: Highlights of the National Burns Collection*, and other materials have been available for some time, but there is no indication how they can be obtained and no sign of them at Amazon.co.uk.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Corey Andrews, editor of the *Midwestern ASECS Newsletter*, has received the W. Ormiston Roy Memorial Fellowship to do five weeks of research in the G. Ross Roy Collection of Robert Burns, Burnsiana, and Scottish Poetry, located at the Thomas Cooper Library, U. of South Carolina . . . **Barbara Benedict** is completing her second term on the executive board of the Northeast Society for 18th-Century Studies . . . **Christopher Berry** gave a plenary lecture at the Hume Society conference in Tokyo in August 2004 . . . **Fiona Black** is now director of the School of Library

and Information Studies at Dalhousie U. in Halifax . . . **Brian Bonnyman** earned his Ph.D. at Edinburgh U. in June 2004 with a thesis entitled "Agricultural Improvement in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Third Duke of Buccleuch, William Keir and the Buccleuch Estates, 1751–1812". . . **Mark Box** is leading a team of researchers who are editing Hume's essays for the Clarendon Edition of the Works of David Hume . . . **O. M. Brack, Jr.** has edited two Smollett translations scheduled for publication by U. of Georgia Press in 2005: *Le Sage's The Devil upon Crutches* and *Don Quixote* . . . **Stephen Brown** spoke on "Scottish Freemasonry and Learned Printing in the Later 18th Century" at the Edinburgh Book History Seminar for 2004–5 (**Mike Barfoot** also spoke to the seminar, on a nineteenth-century topic) . . . **Jeng-Guo Chen** gave a paper on the luxury-virtue debate over India at the British Society for 18th-Century Studies conference in January 2005 . . . in 2004 **Kathleen Doig** became chair of the Dept. of Modern and Classical Languages at Georgia State U. . . . **Alexander Du Toit** has enrolled in a new Glasgow U. MPhil program in Information Management and Preservation, where he is writing a dissertation on the role of archives in promoting ideas of national identity in post-Union Scotland . . . **John Dwyer** has been promoted to full professor at York U. in Toronto. . . **Evan Gottlieb** celebrated the birth of son James Kenneth on 6 February 2005 . . . **Anita Guerrini** has been promoted to full professor of History as well as Environmental Studies at U. of California, Santa Barbara . . . **Knud Haakonssen** has moved from Boston U. to a professorship in intellectual history at U. of Sussex . . . **Ryan Hanley** is now assistant professor of political science at Marquette U. in Milwaukee . . . **Maureen Harkin** moved to the faculty at Reed College in Oregon . . . last September **Eugene Heath** began a three-year stint as chair of the philosophy department at SUNY New Paltz . . . **Lore Hiskey** presented an illustrated lecture on "St. Andrews: Town and Gown" at the Arkansas Scottish Festival at Lyon College . . . **Andrew Hook** spent the spring 2005 semester as visiting professor of English at the U. of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota . . . **Colin Kidd** gave lectures at the U. of Pennsylvania and the Folger Library in spring 2005 . . . **Peter Kivy** was the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship for 2004–5 and has been named a Board of Governors Professor at Rutgers U. . . . **Ned Landsman's** *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680–1760* (2000) received the 2003 Distinguished Book Award given by the Society of Colonial Wars . . . **Bruce Lenman** was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and retired from the modern history faculty at St. Andrews U.; Bruce now resides in Stirling but continues to travel

extensively, most recently to China, Australia, and Singapore . . . **Bob Maccubbin** retired from the English faculty at College of William and Mary (giving up the editorship of *Eighteenth-Century Life* in the process) and spent part of the 2004–5 academic year at Aberdeen U. . . . **Jane McIntyre** became the president of the Hume Society in 2004 . . . **Roger Mason** has been appointed to a personal chair of history at St. Andrews U. . . **Vincenzo Merolle** continues to produce *2000. The European Journal* . . . past-president **Jim Moore** is now emeritus professor of political science at Concordia U. . . . **Pierre Morère**, now professor emeritus at U. Stendhal in Grenoble, has moved to Talence, near Bordeaux . . . **Murray Pittock** is now deputy head of Arts, Histories and Cultures at U. of Manchester . . . **John Robertson** has been appointed chair of the Faculty Board in History at Oxford U. from 2004 to 2006 . . . **David Raynor** spoke on Hume, Reid and the Skeptical Tradition at a conference on Hume and His Critics at Baylor U. in April. . . ECSSS president **Jane Rendall** retired from the History Department and Centre for 18th-Century Studies at the U. of York in October 2004. . . **Lisa Rosner**, spoke on enlightened science in Enlightenment universities at the Science in Europe meeting in Maastricht last November and is writing what may be the first scholarly investigation of the Burke-Hare murders by a historian of medicine; as a member of the editorial board of the new journal *Eighteenth-Century Thought*, she requests that more ECSSS members submit articles (see the website at <http://eighteenthcenturythought.org>). . . **G. Ross Roy** edited vols. 33–34 of *Studies in Scottish Literature*, which contains many 18th-century articles . . . **Tatsuya Sakamoto** has been elected to the executive committee of the Hume Society . . . **Juliet Shields** received her Ph.D. from the U. of Pennsylvania in May 2004 with a dissertation entitled "Engendering Great Britain: The Literary Negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1700–1800," and is now assistant professor of English at Ohio State U. at Marion . . . **Ken Simpson** returned to the U. of Connecticut as Neag Distinguished Visiting Professor in British Literature . . . **Clifford Siskin** has left Glasgow U. to become the George Dalacorte Professor of Humanities at Columbia U. . . . **Paul Tonks** received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins U. in 2004 with a dissertation entitled "Scottish Historical Discourse and Arguments for Metropolitan Authority in the 18th-Century British Atlantic Empire". . . **Craig Walton** took retirement at U. of Las Vegas and is now emeritus professor of philosophy . . . **John Wright** taught a graduate seminar on Hume at Edinburgh U., where he will be visiting professor of philosophy for the next three years; John is also a proud grandpa of a daughter born to son Stephen last summer.

Cross-Border Friendship: Robert Bage's Britain

by Sharon Alker

In the last three decades of the eighteenth century, British writers increasingly produced works that used Anglo-Scottish tropes of union. Some of the novels they published can be thought of as prototypes for the national tale, a genre developed by the Irish writer Sydney Owenson with the publication of *The Wild Irish Girl* in 1806. The national tale foregrounded peripheral culture and vulnerability, an emphasis that is evident in earlier prototypes of the genre, such as Anna Thomson's *Fatal Follies* (1788), Regina Maria Roche's *Children of the Abbey* (1796), and Elizabeth Helme's *Albert; or the Wilds of Strathnavern* (1799). These works frequently celebrate Scottish dress, manners, music, traditions, history, and virtue, and sometimes demonstrate unease with Anglo-Scottish relations by considering the susceptibility of these elements of culture to English materialism and neglect. Power imbalance in these novels is often represented, as in the national tale, through courtship tropes. Katie Trumpener, in *Bardic Nationalism* (1997), and Miranda Burgess, in "Violent Translations: Allegory, Gender, and Cultural Nationalism in Ireland" (*Modern Language Quarterly* 59 [1998]: 33-70), have investigated the way in which these tropes mediate cross-border relations, and Ina Ferris's "Narrating Cultural Encounter: Lady Morgan and the National Tale" (*Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51 [1996]: 287-303) and Mary Jean Corbett's *Allegories of Union* (2000) have grappled with the way similar tropes are used to negotiate Anglo-Irish relations.

Tropes of courtship, however, are not the only "relationship" trope used to configure nation. My research suggests that a number of novels emerge in the same period, written by authors from various parts of Britain, which approach Scotland from an entirely different direction. Rather than explore tensions in Anglo-Scottish relations or work to reify a specific concept of Scottish culture, these works use homosocial tropes of Anglo-Scottish union for overt political purposes, relating to such issues as British socio-political reform or Anglo-American relations. Scotland is characterized in these tropes either as an avenue through which a degenerate England (or Ireland) can be transformed, or as an equal partner with England in rebuilding a Britain that represents the political stance of the author, whether reformist, conservative, or somewhere in between.

Scottishness could be used as a force of revitalization and recuperation during the last decades of the eighteenth century because, at a time when traditional power structures were being vigorously questioned and defended, Anglo-Scottish relations were increasingly perceived as stable, becoming most firmly solidified by Scottish support for Britain during the American War of Independence. As Stephen Conway points out in *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (2000), "contemporary opponents of the conflict with the Americans sometimes called it 'a Scots war.' The purpose of this jibe was to highlight the part played by the Scots and their enthusiasm for the government's line" (p. 132). The literary result of this cross-border alliance was that, in some works, Anglo-Scottish relations become a benign, malleable concept, used to resolve fractures and dissonance in other areas of dispute. Homosocial exchange was often the means through which this resolution was achieved.

Since the works that foregrounded male cross-border friendship were not aimed at validating Scottish culture, there is little emphasis on cultural distinction inherent in the model of national identity they produced. On the other hand, the novels do reflect the equal collaboration of North and South Britons in the construction of new national virtues, systems of power distribution, and commercial enterprises. The Scots in these tropes, on the whole, are no ghostly Ossianic figures steeped in elegy and past glories. Although they lack the elements of cultural nostalgia that were central to the national tale, they have considerable agency in manufacturing the British nation, sometimes greater agency than their English counterparts. They tend to be robust, intelligent men, who engage in powerful egalitarian relationships with English men. Emphasis on Scottish masculinity may be necessary because agency to transform Britishness is more easily performed by a male character who can advise, guide, or exchange ideas from a position of equity with his English associates. This is not to say that Anglo-Scottish courtship did not appear in these politico-national works, but that courtship and marriage are generally not the center of the narrative, nor are such courtships seen, as they will come to be depicted in the Irish national tale, as tormented relationships filled with obstacles that reflect the difficulty of achieving national reconciliation.

Robert Bage, an English provincial papermaker and novelist, was one of the earliest writers to deploy Anglo-Scottish homosocial tropes to reformulate British identity, and this essay will examine the way it plays out in his first novel, *Mount Henneth* (1782), written as the war with America was coming to an end. Bage, who had opposed the war, focuses primarily on class tension, reform, and a reestablishment of Anglo-American relations. Gary Kelly's entry on Bage in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* describes his novels, in general, as valuing "idealism, toleration, egalitarianism, entrepreneurship and reform." This involved not only embracing

commerce and science as a means to social progress, but also celebrating social and cultural inclusiveness, "from Indians to Scots, from peasants to aristocrats." Anti-Jacobin writers clearly recognized the subversive implications of Bage's novels, and placed him "in the rogues' gallery of *The Anti-Jacobin Review*, in February 1800, along with other prominent radical writers" (Peter Faulkner, *Robert Bage* [1979], p. 22). John Gibson Lockhart later echoed anti-Jacobin reservations, suggesting that Bage's writing was a "vehicle of all the anti-social, anti-moral, and anti-religious theories that were then too much in vogue among the half-educated classes" (noted in the Introduction to Bage's *Hermesprung or Man as He Is Not*, ed. Pamela Perkins [2002], p. 18).

Scottish characters play a unique role in several of Bage's novels. Indeed, they are presented quite differently from other cultural groups. Scottish characters tend to form strong allegiances with English characters, and to have little to do with any actual sense of Scottish cultural traits and a lot to do with finding ways to make a re-imagined Britain palatable to readers. It is likely for this reason that a writer such as Walter Scott, who was concerned with defining a tangible and perhaps "marketable" Scottish identity, felt uncomfortable with Bage's ability to create "that species of character which is formed by profession or by nationality" (quoted in *Sir Walter Scott: On Novelists and Fiction*, ed. Ioan Williams [1968], p. 145). Scott laments that Bage's "Scotchmen" are "awkward caricatures, and the language which he puts in their mouths, not similar to any that has been spoken since the days of Babel." Dr. Gordon, the Scottish character in *Mount Henneth*, is a more intricate character than Scott implies, and operates in complex ways within the trope to convey Scottish participation in nation building. Yet it is certain that the primary goal of English reformist writers, including Bage, was not to manufacture and disseminate a distinct Scottish culture, but to invent and promote a reformed Britain, using whatever tropes might make it attractive.

Before tackling Dr. Gordon's function in this little-known novel in some detail, I will digress briefly to summarize the plot. *Mount Henneth* is an epistolary novel with multiple correspondents. It begins with an exchange between an English brother and sister, Thomas and Ann Sutton, whose uncle has disinherited them after Thomas dared to suggest he enter the army. Thomas introduces two brothers he has befriended into the narrative, John and Henry Cheslyn. Henry, the younger brother, has lost his inheritance after investing it in a partnership with an American house, which failed after the breach between Britain and America. As the story unfolds, a number of love interests evolve that cross class and national divisions and are generally fraught with tension. Thomas falls in love with Laura, a daughter of an aristocratic family, whose siblings are appalled at the possibility of her marrying a man of lower rank and take action to prevent it. John Cheslyn falls in love with Julia Foston, who is of mixed origins. Julia's deceased mother had been half Jewish and half Persian and her father is an English curate's son who has become a wealthy merchant through his marriage. Henry Cheslyn falls in love with Camitha Melton, the only surviving child of an American man and a Native American woman. And, in an immensely straightforward courtship, the English Ann Sutton and the Scottish Dr. Gordon enter into the least problematic relationship in the novel.

At the close of the novel, and after many machinations, primarily involving the relationships between Tom and Laura and Henry and Camitha, all of these couples come together in a utopian, merit-based community developed by a rich merchant, Mr. Foston. In this community, commercial and landed interests merge and ethnic distinctions vanish. Mr. Foston explains that in this new Britain, perhaps appropriately reborn in Wales, the space associated with the original Britons, "every man...should be a man of business, of science, and of pleasure," and manufactures and commerce will assure the happiness and prosperousness of the community ([London, 1824], p. 238).

The formulation of this community occurs because of the machinations of two men, who initially do not know each other, but who work toward the same goal of community. This homosocial trope consists of the English Mr. Foston, who offers economic support and an initial vision for a reformed community, and the Scottish Dr. Gordon, an intellectual physician with remarkable mediating skills, who helps his fellow Britons overcome class-based conflict and, who, perhaps appropriately during a "Scot's War," is instrumental in repairing Anglo-American conflicts, resulting in a new Anglo-American alliance between Henry Cheslyn, who had lost his money due to the conflict, and Camitha Melton, who embodies an alliance between Native and settler Americans. His actions contribute directly to the formation of the utopian middling-class community that rejects traditional social divisions.

A Highlander from Inverness, Dr. Gordon is educated, intelligent, humorous, sympathetic, and skilled as a mediator. Rather than a languishing Highland warrior, he is a progressive, action-based professional. He enters the novel in a professional capacity, as the physician of Mr. Sutton, Tom and Ann's disaffected uncle. While Ann is on a visit to her uncle, he becomes ill and calls in "a young Scotch physician, whose name is Gordon, and who is rising into great reputation, though he has been from Edinburgh only two years. He speaks broad Scotch, and seems to be a man of humour, and good humour too" (p. 172). When Ann discovers that the housekeeper, who is planning to marry her uncle, is promiscuous, and fails to convince the elderly man of his fiancée's guilt, Dr. Gordon becomes an active part of the solution to the conventional plot device of an unfairly lost inheritance, persuading a

witnessing servant to substantiate Ann's story, and negotiating a settlement plan for the housekeeper. Having mediated reconciliation between Ann and her uncle, Dr. Gordon continues to mediate between her brother Tom and Mr. Sutton. Writing to Tom, he proffers his Scottishness as a source of humor to enhance their exchange:

There are, amongst your countrymen, [those] who say, that when a Scotchman speaks truth to save any body but himself, he must be possessed of *singular* merit; and also, that he is never unprovided with a *quantum sufficit* of impudence to make the most of it. Whatsoever you may be able to allow of the former quality, you will not dispute the latter, when I inform you that there is an impertinent fellow of that country, who is ready to besiege you, on your arrival in town, and will pretend a claim to your friendship; who pretends also to the surly honesty attributed sometimes to his countrymen: in consequence of which, he advertises you that he is, with all his might, endeavoring to steal the affections of your amiable sister (p. 182).

Far from being confined by a stereotype, as Scott suggests, Bage seems to play with typical traits and stereotypical allusions to Scots in his representation of Dr. Gordon. Bage represents benign anti-Scottish remarks as being a potential building block of Britishness. There is no need for the feisty flyting of Tobias Smollett's *Lismahago* and Matthew Bramble. Negative characteristics—self-interest and 'surly honesty'—traditionally imputed to Scots by the English have become objects of play, lacking any sense of aggression or indeed merit. Perhaps one of the most startling examples of this shift is Bage's use of the Scottish dialect. When Ann first meets Dr. Gordon she notes his broad Scotch dialect. When Ann converses with him later about possible resolutions to her family problems, she realizes that his speech has "so much less of the Scotch pronunciation" (p. 175). He explains that his broad accent is "an innocent deceit...by which he found he could keep the generality of his patients in good temper, with very little aid from wit and humour."

In a fascinating inversion of the much discussed mid-century Scots' obsession with erasing Scotticisms, Bage suggests that Scottish dialect is endearing, pleasantly humorous. He suggests that it facilitates friendship and good humor between fellow Britons from either side of the Tweed. It is a useful tool that Dr. Gordon picks up at will to tease his patients. Here Bage seems to preempt Linda Colley's suggestion in *Britons* (1994) that "human beings are many-layered creatures, and do not succumb to the hegemony of others as easily as historians and politicians sometimes imply" (p. 163). Dr. Gordon certainly seems to be a free and active agent who is engaging in a Britishness in "a new and intensely profitable fashion" while maintaining his connections to Scotland (p. 163). Indeed, he uses one of the markers of his Scottishness—performance of his native dialect—to create a connection that we might call Britishness between himself and his patients.

In the long passage quoted above, the doctor also tells Tom that he intends to court Ann. The untroubled courtship between Ann and Dr. Gordon signifies that Anglo-Scottish relations, particularly mutual desire between England and Scotland, are not fractured in the novel. At one point, shortly after revealing the truth about his housekeeper to Mr. Sutton, Dr. Gordon asks Ann for a kiss and is promptly given one. No mediation is required, nor are there obstacles to overcome. It is significant that while American and Indian colonies are represented as female in Bage's narrative, in that English men are married to women from the colonies, Scottishness is unequivocally masculine. Moreover, while both colonial-British marriages are mediated by a patriarchal figure, Dr. Gordon and Ann mediate their own. Their only moment of disagreement is about how long after Mr. Sutton's death they need to wait to marry. The ease of their courtship is at odds with the troubled relationships between Tom and Laura, who are trying to overcome class differences, and between Henry and Camitha, who are dealing with the painful result of the American war in which Camitha's brothers have been killed and which appears to have contributed to her father's death. Dr. Gordon facilitates both tumultuous courtships: the first by restoring a small inheritance to Ann and her brother, and the second by reconciling Camitha with her father. Camitha had not wished to think of marriage while she was mourning the loss of her father, who she believes died in a shipwreck. During a medical visit to a hosier's wife, Dr. Gordon becomes intrigued by a melancholy gentleman residing with the family. He tries to comfort the man, and it is during this act of kindness and humanity that he discovers he is Mr. Melton and starts the process of reconciling father and daughter, facilitating Henry's marriage. In having a Scot undertake this recuperative act, reuniting individuals separated in a "Scots' War," Bage may be suggesting that those who most supported the war now wish to move toward reconciliation and regeneration.

Dr. Gordon is not the only recuperative force in the novel. Mr. Foston, John Cheslyn, and others help to facilitate the marriages. Yet Dr. Gordon's ability to mediate, even in awkward situations, is explicitly recognized by others. Mr. Foston, noting that a meeting he had arranged between Tom and Laura's father, Sir Richard, had been extremely stiff and formal, comments, "nor could any man of my acquaintance, Gordon excepted, have rendered it otherwise" (p. 231). The Scot, then, is an important, even vital part of the British team required to rebuild

the reformed nation.

The book ends with letters from Gordon and his wife, who describe to their friends, in Scotland and England respectively, the new British community in which they reside. Peter Faulkner notes the significance of his choosing "a Scotsman to make the values [of their community] explicit" (p. 47), for it is Dr. Gordon who provides an extensive description of the division of labor. Gordon's narrative, and the representation of the intellectual Scot in general, may directly reflect the interjection of Scottish Enlightenment intelligentsia, such as Adam Smith, David Hume, and John Millar, into the theorization of political economy in Britain.

Dr. Gordon writes to a Scottish friend that Tom Sutton and Mr. Foston take on the land management because it is suitable to their "tempers and inclinations" (p. 238). The American Mr. Melton and his son-in-law, the English Harry, combine their skills in trade and a ship-building venture. John Cheslyn offers to be the community lawyer and, in addition to contributing his medical skills, Dr. Gordon remarks:

I understand something of my own country linen manufactory; Welsh women may be taught to spin, and Welsh land to bear flax. But, above all, I consult my own propensities in the erection of a dome to make glass bottles. I have marked a hill abounding with excellent flints for the purpose; and when we have made glass...it will be the easiest thing in the world to make spectacles (p. 238).

John Chesyn agrees to be Dr. Gordon's pupil in these projects. As well as an abstract mediating ability, Dr. Gordon can provide practical professional and trade skills, as can his nation. Moreover, his profession is significant for reasons beyond the production of a significant number of doctors in Scotland each year. He is a healer, who contributes both to the physical and mental well-being of the English and, in producing spectacles, implies that he will also be able to improve the literal and perhaps figurative vision of the English, as they try to imagine new forms of community.

Bage's use of Anglo-Scottish friendship as a key trope in reformulating the socio-political configuration of Britain suggests that the courtship trope was not the only viable means of articulating cross-border relations. Alternate concepts circulated that replaced an emphasis on Scottish cultural nostalgia with stress on Scottish economic progression and agency. William Godwin, who had met Bage in 1797, and Charlotte Smith both pick up this model, lingering over cross-border masculine friendship, albeit in a darker sense, in their respective novels, *Fleetwood* (1805) and *The Young Philosopher* (1798). The Scottish anti-Jacobite writer Robert Bisset uses a similar trope in *Douglas, or the Highlander* (1800), but, perhaps because he writes from a Scottish perspective, he combines robust agency with cultural uniqueness, a blend John Galt picks up much later in his novel, *Sir Andrew Wylie of that Ilk* (1822). Thus, at the same moment in which the Irish national tale is emerging and articulating Anglo-Irish inequity in courtship tropes, some writers articulate an alternate model of cross-border relations, one in which Anglo-Scottish relations are conceived as so stable that they become the vehicle through which the nation can be reimagined.

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Writing Home: Scottish Women Travelers at the Margins of Empire

by Juliet Shields

Anne Macvicar Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* (1806) claims for women a privileged position as cultural mediators in Britain's imperial projects. Grant's decade-long sojourn in the mid-eighteenth-century colony of New York revealed to her the need for such mediators, as she witnessed a succession of conflicts between Dutch settlers and British soldiers, Europeans and Native Americans, Revolutionaries and Royalists. Mrs. Schuyler, the American Lady whom Grant's *Memoirs* celebrates, transformed her home into a temporary refuge from these tensions by inviting to her frequent social gatherings individuals who ordinarily might not have met on amicable terms. By promoting "the chastened enjoyment of the same social pleasures" among Native Americans, British soldiers, and Dutch settlers, Mrs. Schuyler "contrived to smooth down asperities, and assimilate those various characters, in a manner that could not be done by any other means" (*Memoirs* [Philadelphia, 1846], p. 126). Mrs. Schuyler exploited women's role in eighteenth-century society as the supposedly natural arbiters of sentiment and sociability to cultivate among her guests domestic habits and affections that transcended cultural and political differences.

Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland* (1811) reveals that she later emulated Mrs. Schuyler's strategies of cultural mediation in the Highland parish of Laggan. Her *Memoirs* and *Essays*, moreover, transform Mrs. Schuyler's practices of imperial domestication into a rhetoric of domesticity that argues for the importance of the home, and hence of women, to the prosperity and stability of Britain's growing empire.

Much published and unpublished writing by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scottish women travelers—including Janet Schaw's privately circulated account of her voyage to the West Indies and colonial North Carolina (1774–1776); Anne Lindsay Barnard's letters written from the Cape of Good Hope to Secretary of State Henry Dundas (1796–1801); Maria Graham's *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812); and Frances Wright's *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821)—similarly participate in the rhetorical domestication of empire. Gary Kelly's *Women, Writing, and Revolution* (1993) and Anne Mellor's *Romanticism and Gender* (1993) have noted this strategy of domestication at work in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century novels by women. By positioning domesticity as central to “national interest and imperial destiny” (Kelly, p. 183) and by “extend[ing] the values of domesticity into the public realm” (Mellor, p. 3), women novelists of this period claimed the authority to intervene in political discourses that traditionally had been the province of men. Rather than drawing an analogy between home and nation, as writers such as John Locke and Robert Filmer previously had done, these novelists blurred the distinctions between the domestic and the political, representing the British nation and empire as an organic extension of the family, or as the home writ large.

Two factors distinguish Scottish women travelers' explorations of the relationships among home, nation, and empire from those of their novel-writing contemporaries. First, and most obviously, they did not write novels, which by the turn of the nineteenth century were widely considered a “feminine” genre, written by and for women. As these travelers transgressed the boundaries of the domestic sphere, they also moved discursively into the masculine territory of travel writing, a genre that, according to James Clifford's “Traveling Cultures,” historically has implied a “privileged, white, usually masculine subject” as its author (*Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg et al. [1992], p. 105). In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), Mary Louise Pratt identifies the “portraits of manners of customs” found in eighteenth-century travel writing as the predecessors of modern ethnography (p. 64). These portraits construct a seemingly objective, distanced authority by homogenizing the peoples they describe and situating them in a timeless present. Even as they painted such portraits for their readers, women travelers couched their potentially transgressive political, economic, and scientific observations in acceptably “feminine” genres like letters and journals—genres that made little claim to either public authority or objective truth.

Secondly, these women's perspectives as travelers were shaped by Scotland's ambiguous position as at once an imperial power and a marginalized periphery, and by the contrasts within Scotland between the Lowlands, where commerce and intellectual inquiry flourished, and the Highlands, where the remnants of feudal hierarchy did nothing to alleviate economic depression. As Ronald Meek has argued in *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (1976), these contrasts informed the Scottish Enlightenment's paradigm of civilization as a teleological process, beginning in the primitive tribal origins of human society and culminating in the refined, commercial nation-state (p. 127). Conjectural historians including William Robertson, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson argued that the gradual growth of trade and the concomitant specialization of a social division of labor must break up traditional tribal societies bound by blood ties and establish in their place commercial societies united through economic interdependence. Scottish women travelers challenged this diachronic or temporal understanding of civilization by moving synchronically or spatially into what Pratt has termed “contact zones”: “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other” (*Imperial Eyes*, p. 4). Whereas Enlightenment narratives of civilization suggested that the marginalization, dispersal, and even the destruction of primitive peoples were inevitable, albeit perhaps regrettable, outcomes of imperial progress, these women argued for the preservation of peripheral populations and for their gradual integration into civilized society. In contrast to the geographical contact zones that Pratt examines in *Imperial Eyes*—for instance, the borderlands and hinterlands of South Africa and South America—Scottish women travelers represented the home as a contact zone where women could oversee a nonviolent form of imperialism founded in the values of domesticity and sociability.

Although their political exclusion as women was compounded by their cultural marginalization as Scots, travelers like Anne Grant were not necessarily or exclusively anti-imperialists. These women's journeys usually were enabled by Britain's imperial projects and, emphatic claims of tolerance notwithstanding, they often mingle condescension and racism with their expressions of sympathy for the indigenous people they encountered during their travels. Indeed, Grant's arguments for the integration of peripheral populations into “civilized” metropolitan society also justified their exploitation in the service of Britain's imperial expansion.

Taking Grant's *Memoirs* and *Essays* as examples, this essay explores the ways in which Scottish women travelers “wrote home.” In the first and most literal sense, they addressed their writing to the friends and family

who formed part of a British reading public located primarily in the metropolitan areas of England and the Scottish Lowlands. Secondly, they aimed to render the inhabitants of an expanding empire familiar and even admirable to this readership by fashioning supposedly primitive societies into a reflection of the values and manners of civilized, commercial British society, or into an image of "home." By writing home in both these ways, Scotswomen created an ideological home for themselves, despite their cultural and political marginality, at the center of British nation-formation and empire-building.

Grant's *Memoirs* and *Essays* are not conventional travel narratives insofar as they describe her residences in, rather than journeys through, regions that would have been unfamiliar to her Lowland and English readers. Like conventional travel narratives, however, the *Memoirs* and *Essays* assume a distinction between "here" (a geographical and cultural location shared as normative by author and readers) and "there" (a location that, because of its difference from "here," requires interpretation). Grant emigrated from Glasgow to New York in 1758 and remained there until the growing tensions between Britain and its American colonies forced her family to return to Scotland in 1768. A few years later, she married the Reverend James Grant, minister of Laggan. While most eighteenth-century travelers invoked the manners and mores of civilized metropolitan Britain as standards for judging the foreign peoples they encountered abroad, Grant reversed this perspective by using her experiences at the peripheries of Britain's empire to challenge the customs and values of the metropolitan center. Grant's *Memoirs* and *Essays* also reveal similarities between metropolitan Britain's relations with two very differently situated imperial peripheries and their indigenous populations—Celts in the Scottish Highlands and Mohawk Indians in New York. The New York colonists' destruction of indigenous Mohawk Indian communities around Albany—a travesty that Grant laments in the *Memoirs*—informs the solution to the Highland Clearances that she proposes in the *Essays*.

Grant presents her *Memoirs* and *Essays* quite specifically as interventions in the teleological narratives of civilization developed by conjectural historians. Gently ridiculing men of "enlightened curiosity" (*Essays* [London 1811], 1:v), she claims, "I have been often amused with the descriptions that philosophers in their closets, who never in their lives saw a man but in his improved or degraded state, give of uncivilized people" (*Memoirs*, p. 50). Grant's criticisms suggest that the purely theoretical categories of "savage" and "civilized" are in practice neither distinct nor mutually exclusive. She authorizes these claims by subverting normative gender roles and rendering "philosophers" effeminate: confined to their domestic and theoretical closets, university-educated male writers fail to notice in their own supposedly refined societies all the petty vices and affectations that uncorrupted savages lack. Although an unlearned woman, Grant has acquired through her travels unmediated experience and, by implication, an authentic understanding of various states of society.

Grant's depiction of the Mohawk Indians in *The Memoirs of an American Lady* illustrates the savagery of civilization and the civility of savages. Moreover, the historicity of this portrait of manners and customs—its vivid evocation of the differences between Mohawks before and after the Seven Years, or French and Indian, War—avoids the timeless present tense through which ethnographic description, according to Pratt, tends to normalize and reify its subjects. Anyone who had known the Mohawk Indians "while they were a people," Grant asserts, would "hesitate to call [them] savages" (p. 20). At once "warlike and social," they lived in what "may be truly called the reign of the affections: the love of kindred and of country ruling paramount. . . . no mind being contracted by selfish cares, the community. . . but as one large family, who enjoyed or suffered together" (p. 104). Contact with European settlers and soldiers gradually introduced firearms, liquor, and money—along with the civilized vices of self-interest, intemperance, and avarice—into their familial community, and the desire for individual gain soon eroded the "reign of the affections." Much as Europeans drove the Mohawks off their land without securing them new territory, settlers also divested native peoples of their primitive virtues without imparting to them the virtues proper to civilized society. Grant declares that "nothing can be conceived more enfeebled and forlorn than the state of the few detached families remaining of vanished tribes, who, having lost their energy, and even the wish to live in their own manner, were slowly and reluctantly beginning to adopt ours. It was like that suspension of life which takes place in the chrysalis of insects, while in their progress towards a new state of being" (p. 109).

Grant faults metropolitan Britain's misguided approach to colonization for the Mohawks' debilitating cultural disenfranchisement. Rather than attempting to win the affection and loyalty of primitive peoples "by genuine kindness, and by gradually and gently unfolding to them simple and useful truths," she explains, "our manner of treating them seems calculated to dazzle, oppress, and degrade them with a display of our superior luxuries and refinements" (p. 25). The *Memoirs* argues that metropolitan Britain ought to protect uncorrupted savages from its own "civilized" vices until they develop the capacity to distinguish between sophisticated affectation and genteel refinement. Through careful moral guidance and gradual exposure to the manners and customs of civilized society, primitive peoples might acquire worldly knowledge without worldly vices.

Pointing to Mrs. Schuyler as an example, Grant suggests that women, as the purportedly natural nurturers of civilized sociability, are particularly suited to oversee this process of gradual meliorism and assimilation, and

that the home, as a refuge from the vices of the public sphere, is an ideal space in which to expose primitive people to polite manners and mores. By positioning the home outside the political sphere, however, Grant inevitably politicizes it, representing it as a site of cultural transmission and, arguably, of imperial domination. While Mrs. Schuyler's gatherings encouraged social converse among antagonistic groups, her guests did not interact on an entirely equal footing. In her home, "the shrewd and deeply reflecting Indian learned to respect the British character, and to confide in that of the [Dutch] settlers, by seeing the best models of both acting candidly towards each other, and generously to himself" (p. 126). In other words, Native Americans were taught to admire, emulate, and even obey European settlers out of respect and affection rather than from fear or ignorance. Grant claims that this feminized imperialism, founded in sociability and working through gradual meliorism toward integration, might counteract the "fatality [that] has never failed to follow the introduction of European settlers; who, instead of civilizing and improving, slowly consume and waste, where they do not...absolutely destroy and exterminate the natives" (p. 109).

In her *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, Grant draws on her experiences on the outskirts of Britain's empire to negotiate tensions between "savage" and "civilized" societies that were, for her Lowland and English readership, closer to home. She derives her authority as a cultural mediator not only from her imperial travels in America, but also from her domestic duties as a wife and the mother of twelve in the Highlands. These duties offered Grant many opportunities for the "long and close observation" on which her extensive portrait of Highland manners and customs is based and assisted her assimilation of Highland culture (1:v). She recalls: "The language, the customs, the peculiar tone of sentiment, and manners of the people—the maxims, traditions, music and poetry of the country I made my own with all possible expedition. I learned them in the fields, the garden, and the nursery, in such a manner as to promote [rather] than interrupt my necessary avocations" (2:338). Revealing the unsettling mixture of deference and condescension that characterizes her perspective throughout the *Essays*, Grant selectively appropriates Highlanders' customs rather than asking Highlanders to adopt those of southern metropolitan Britain.

The *Essays* suggests that, despite the differences in manners occasioned by the material conditions of primitive and commercial society, Highlanders and southern Britons share in common the values of domesticity and sociability considered by conjectural historians to be products of historical progress and symptoms of enlightened civilization. Arguing against the popular stereotype of Highlanders as violent, cunning brutes, Grant explains that the "shared hazards and sufferings" of each clan fosters a veritable "fervour of filial and fraternal affection" among its members. This familial affection blends seamlessly into the civic virtues of "pride, courage, patriotism, and independence" (1:14–15). Highlanders' strong sentimental ties encourage them to privilege the welfare of the clan over individual gain and personal safety. By representing Highlanders, like the Mohawks, as a familial society in which "the love of kindred and country rul[es] paramount," Grant sought to elicit southern Britons' indignation at what she called "the crime of depopulation," and their sympathy for Highlanders who were cleared from their homes (2:150).

As the *Essays* illustrates, Highlanders resembled Mohawks not only in the familial structure of their societies but also in their disempowerment as peripheral and supposedly primitive populations. Like Native Americans in the mid eighteenth century, Highlanders in the early nineteenth century were forced from their land to further the prosperity of southern Britain's urban centers. The *Memoirs*' critique of metropolitan Britain's irresponsible attempt to "dazzle" the Mohawks abruptly into a civilized state informs the *Essays*' discussion of the Highland Clearances. Grant recommends the Highlanders' gradual integration into southern Britain by arguing against their too rapid "civilization" or Anglicization. Efforts to assimilate Highlanders too quickly might destroy their ennobling virtues and sensibilities, leaving them, like the Mohawks, unable either to return to their traditional ways of life or to assimilate fully into refined, commercial society. The chrysalis that symbolized the Mohawks' cultural liminality reappears in Grant's discussion of the "half-informed" Highlander: "His mind is not sufficiently balanced or enlightened to appreciate justly either what he has lost or what he has acquired. He considers the former as the mere exuviae of the chrysalis form which he has recently forsaken, and while moving with confused and mingled sensations through a new atmosphere, he supposes his late-acquired wings will enable him to rise to a much greater height than he is capable of attaining" (2:129). Overwhelmed by the luxuries and refinements of the metropolis, Highlanders learn to despise their native manners and customs as the relics of a barbaric age. Despite their aspirations, however, they possess neither the education nor the skills to assimilate successfully into commercial society, and are left to "wander like discontented shades, along the dividing stream....The highlands have lost, and the lowlands have not found them" (2:134–35). Grant's "dividing stream" marks the cultural and the geographic boundaries between Highlands and Lowlands, and her wraithlike Highlanders are homeless—ideologically as well as literally—on either side. While the *Memoirs* and *Essays* foreground Grant's own geographical mobility as an advantage of Britain's commercial and imperial expansion, they also expose Highlanders' and Mohawks'

migrancy as a tragic consequence of the same cause.

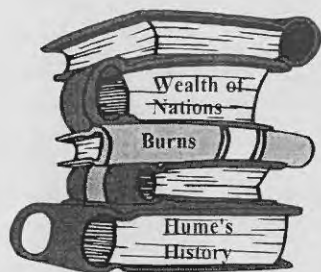
Grant further reveals her complicity with Britain's imperial endeavors when she proposes military service as a means of accustoming Highlanders to the manners and customs of civilized, commercial Britain while also nurturing their traditional values. In the army, she claims, the Highlander's "enthusiasm finds an object: his honourable feelings, his love of distinction, his contempt for danger, and what is of equal importance in the military life, his calm fortitude, stern hardihood and patient endurance all find scope for exercise" (2:135). Military service preserves Highlanders' distinctive virtues by exploiting them in the defense of Great Britain and its empire. Their "domestic education," Grant explains, renders Highlanders ideal soldiers: courageous, compassionate, loyal, industrious, and devoted to the collective welfare, whether of clan, regiment, or nation (2:227).

Grant's argument for Highlanders' integration into a supposedly already united Great Britain marks the limit of her comparison between Mohawks and Highlanders—a limit determined not by any essential differences between these two peoples, but rather by their relationships to the British nation-state and its imperial projects. *The Memoirs of an American Lady* offers no worldly solution to the Mohawks' plight, claiming that "the pure and genial light of Christianity alone...could cheer and ameliorate the state of these people" by opening "to them views of a happy futurity" that, presumably, might compensate for their immediate sufferings (p. 116). Grant hoped that religious indoctrination might help the beleaguered Mohawks "to adopt such of our modes as would enable them to incorporate in time with our society" (p. 117). Significantly, "our society" refers neither to Great Britain nor to the colonies that had, since Grant's stay in New York, become the United States of the America, but instead to the general state of civilized society in which stadial progress culminated. The elision is revealing: rather than integrating the Mohawks into the political and economic institutions of either of these nation-states, Christianity offered them entrance to an egalitarian heavenly kingdom. Military service, in contrast, forged bonds of mutual political and economic dependence between Highlanders and southern Britons by transforming Highlanders into the agents of metropolitan Britain's imperial projects.

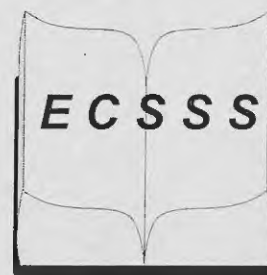
Grant's solution to the problems caused by the Clearances is by no means unusual. Many of her contemporaries also advocated military service as preferable to emigration. For instance, John Knox's *View of the British Empire, More Especially Scotland* (1784) described Highlanders as "a hardy, brave race of men, equally qualified for the domestic, the naval, and military line," and the Highlands as a teeming "nursery for soldiers and seamen" (pp. 14–15). To understand how military service—a particularly violent form of imperial exploitation—is compatible with the feminized, domestic imperialism that Grant endorses in the *Memoirs of an American Lady*, we must return briefly to this earlier work. In the *Memoirs*, Grant describes a winter spent with her father's regiment in Oswego. The regiment's commander, a Highlander named Colonel Duncan, "wished to promote a common interest, and habits social and domestic" among his snow-bound soldiers (p. 205). Accordingly, he encouraged them to spend the winter reading and learning "to think and to converse" (p. 205). Perhaps because of this rather utopian childhood experience of military life, Grant conceives of the army as a familial community much like the clan and as an instrument of gradual meliorism similar to the home. The army places Highland soldiers under the guidance of southern Britons until they reach civilized maturity and can themselves oversee the cultivation of virtue and its dissemination throughout the empire. Reminding readers that "improvements, to be really such, must be gentle, gradual, and voluntary" (*Essays*, 2:130), Grant argues that military service offers Highland soldiers the chance to better themselves economically and intellectually. The army engages them simultaneously in acquiring and protecting the values of civilized British society.

Without openly acknowledging that Highlanders' empowerment depended upon their participation in the disempowerment of other peripheral peoples, Grant reconfigured the opposition between core and periphery on a global scale so that the Highlands would become part of an imperial center. Highlanders' integration into a supposedly already united Great Britain required their participation in the exploitation of Britain's more distant imperial peripheries, and similarly, Grant sought to overcome her own political and cultural disempowerment as a Scots-woman by endorsing the exploitation of those even less powerful than herself. By suggesting that her refined sensibilities allowed her to appreciate Mohawks' and Highlanders' domestic and social virtues and authorized her to explain these seemingly savage peoples to a Lowland and English readership, Grant implicitly staked her own claim to participate in Britain's imperial projects.

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BOOKS in REVIEW



Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*. Edited and with an introduction by Wolfgang Leidhold. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004. Pp. xxv + 258.

Among the many important editions commissioned by the Liberty Fund as part of its Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics series—under the general editorship of Knud Haakonssen—perhaps the most valuable are those that form part of what will be the Complete Works of Francis Hutcheson. Facsimiles of the early editions have been available for some time, most notably those prepared by Bernhard Fabian for Olms between 1969 and 1971, but we have only had partial critical editions of Hutcheson's first two works (Peter Kivy's edition of the treatise on beauty and Bernard Peach's edition of *Illustrations on the Moral Sense*). Wolfgang Leidhold's editing of *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* is therefore welcome, since it provides a scholarly rendering of Hutcheson's first and most important book in its entirety, giving ready access to the substantial changes that Hutcheson made in the four editions of the work, between 1725 and 1738. In this respect, a great service has been done, but some unfortunate editorial decisions in this particular volume diminish what might otherwise have constituted a more definitive achievement.

The most crucial decision relates to the choice of copy-text. Hutcheson's first edition appeared in 1725 with a lengthy title which styled the work as a defense of Shaftesbury against the attack on him in the latest edition of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*. Within a year, he had produced a second edition of the *Inquiry* with substantial changes responding to criticism and elaborating his position (in a separate printing, for the benefit of those who had purchased the first edition, this amounted to 28 pages). In 1729 another edition came out with yet more revisions, though not on the same scale as its predecessor. Finally a fourth edition arrived in 1738, with further sizeable modifications of his argument, notably some changes to his famous "mathematical" calculation of virtue.

In the light of this publishing history, the correct choice of copy-text, it seems to me, would be the fourth edition. Although Hutcheson did not have access to proofs—he was resident in Scotland, while the text was printed in London—it nonetheless constitutes a revision of the third edition incorporating the latest developments in his thinking on beauty and virtue. Obviously, one must devise an apparatus that indicates his changes to the text between the editions, but the final state of the text represents the most considered expression of his position on what are, after all, philosophical subjects. Leidhold has chosen the second edition (1726) as his copy-text, on the grounds that this is Hutcheson's "first corrected text." But why not favor his second or third "corrected" text? In fact, the problem lies in describing it as a "corrected" text in the first place, when in fact it represents a revised and expanded edition, a process which continued in the subsequent two editions published in his lifetime.

Leidhold's decision allows him to incorporate some substantial alterations made by Hutcheson within the main body of the text (for example, his Shaftesburian critique of travel writing added to the second edition), while other significant additions are consigned to the "textual notes" where variations are recorded, including a section covering fourteen pages in the fourth edition that now appears in the textual notes on pages 219 to 227. To draw a parallel with Locke, this would be equivalent to treating the second edition of the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1694) as copy-text, a decision that would allow for inclusion of Locke's important changes to the chapter "Of Power" within the main text, but would relegate the chapters on enthusiasm and the association of ideas—added to the fourth edition (1700)—to the textual notes at the back. If a further parallel is needed, we could think of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. The second edition contained many alterations and additions, but it is the substantially revised sixth edition of 1790 that merits the status of copy-text (as editors like D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie, and more recently Knud Haakonssen, have agreed). These examples suggest that the privileging of Hutcheson's second edition is rather arbitrary.

Given the intention to prepare a critical edition, one would also expect that features such as capitalization and italicization would be retained from the original. Capitals are occasionally changed here, while italic passages have been regularized throughout. Although italics were certainly a generous feature of Hutcheson's publications (as indeed of eighteenth-century texts more generally), they constitute part of his version of the text and there is no reason to remove them. Aaron Garrett's 2002 edition of Hutcheson's *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense*, published in the same series, appropriately preserves them.

Leidhold's account of the textual history of the *Inquiry* requires some modification. There were in fact two issues of the first edition (described by Thomas Mautner in an appendix to his edition of *On Human Nature* [1993], pp. 170-1). In the first issue there are what appear to be stop-press corrections of the Latin motto. The second issue is more interesting because it has a new title-page—a cancel—which refers only to the inquiries and removes the longer description of the work as a defense of Shaftesbury against Mandeville, in tune with the sentiments of ancient moralists, and proposing a mathematical calculation of morality. A couple of things may be going on here. As John Stephens has noted, Thomas Longman no longer appears as one of the booksellers. He completed his apprenticeship to John Osborn in 1725 and acquired a deceased bookseller's business, also on Paternoster Row. The cancel may simply reflect the new arrangements and the long title was elided at the same time. Another possibility, which may complement this, is the fact that Robert Molesworth, in whose circle in Dublin the work was conceived, died on 22 May 1725, releasing Hutcheson from the obligation of positioning himself so prominently as Shaftesbury's champion. (In any event the shorter title was retained by Hutcheson for the second edition, and a new dedication added to Lord Carteret, dated June 19, 1725).

As for the fourth edition, Leidhold points out that there were three issues of this text, but the first of them is not a simple reprinting of the third edition of 1729 with an updated year of publication. A number of changes occur. Subsequently, Hutcheson seems to have communicated more substantial corrections to the printer. Not all of them were incorporated into the second issue. Eventually, in a third issue, they were included partly as an additional final sheet and also by cancellation. Leidhold's statement that pages 179 and 180 are "printed twice" is incorrect: this is simply a case of mispagination.

The short introduction to the volume raises different issues. First, Hutcheson is referred to exclusively as a "Scottish" philosopher which, despite his Glasgow education and professorship, would have struck him as a misleading elision of his Irish, dissenting background. The editor's emphasis on Hutcheson's influence on the "American polity" is a little forced in this context. Hutcheson's specifically academic impact was probably more extensive through publications like his "Compend" (i.e., the *Philosophiae moralis institutio compendiaria* of 1742, translated as *A Short Introduction to Philosophy* in 1747) than the *Inquiry*—a Philadelphia edition of the *Short Introduction* appeared in 1788. The political impact of his work, meanwhile, was more obvious in the case of the posthumous *System of Moral Philosophy* (1755), certainly in connection with anti-slavery argument and the assertion that colonies should in due course receive their independence. We are told that Hutcheson's philosophy was well known through his students and "learned visitors to Scotland—among them Benjamin Franklin in 1759" and that his "ideas even became part of the colonial curriculum" (p. x), but it is worth noting that Franklin did not need to travel to Scotland to become better acquainted with Hutcheson's work, if that is the implication. By this time Franklin had already appointed William Smith (educated in Aberdeen) as provost of the College of Philadelphia in 1756, and Smith's "Account of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania" made it clear that Hutcheson was taught in all three years of the course. Lastly, Leidhold treats Hutcheson's importance as predicated on his political position, stressing the notions of happiness and liberty in his work, but it is notable that he makes no mention of natural rights, which Hutcheson treated in the closing section of the *Inquiry*, making this tradition compatible with his moral sense theory.

These reservations aside, it is helpful that students of Hutcheson can now trace the changing states of his *Inquiry* by consulting a single volume. This important work, available in an attractively printed and inexpensive edition, will doubtless bring new attention to the philosophy of a key figure in eighteenth-century Irish and Scottish thought.

Daniel Carey, National University of Ireland, Galway

Joseph Houston, ed., *Thomas Reid: Context, Influence, Significance*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2004. Pp. x + 192.

This collection has its origin in a conference held at the University of Glasgow in 1996 to commemorate the bicentenary of the death of Thomas Reid. Over the course of the eight years it took to get at least some of the papers initially presented at that conference into print, the world of Reid scholarship was transformed, but most of the essays in the present volume do not register this transformation and consequently the collection has a dated air.

When the Glasgow conference took place, the study of Reid still required some kind of apology, at least among philosophers. This is no longer the case. Since 1996 the literature on Reid has been enriched by a steady stream of significant monographs on Reid's philosophy, as well as numerous articles in *Reid Studies* (which reappeared after a hiatus in 1998) and elsewhere. Both the Reid Project launched at the University of Aberdeen in 1997 and the Reid Society founded in 2003 signaled a new self-confidence shared by those interested in Reid's intellectual legacy, and in 2004 Reid was finally canonized in philosophical circles by the publication of *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Reid*. Moreover, prior to 1996 only one installment of the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid had appeared, but since then four volumes have been added to the series. Students of Reid also now have on-line access to most of his manuscripts, a revamped catalogue of his papers held in Aberdeen University Library and other research tools. There is, however, only the slightest acknowledgment in this collection that a scholarly edition of Reid's writings is in progress, and one might have the impression that there are no Reid manuscripts of note were it not for the two chapters by M. A. Stewart which alert the reader to the fact that Reid's surviving papers yield invaluable insights into the evolution of the doctrines found in the *Inquiry* and the two *Essays*. Whatever the merits of the individual contributions, therefore, collectively they provide only a partial sense of the state of contemporary Reid scholarship.

Apart from the two essays just mentioned the book includes six others: a brief and ill-informed editorial introduction which attempts in part to justify the study of Reid in terms of his writing style; an admirably clear delineation of Reid's conception of human agency and free will by R. F. Stalley; a contorted response by the editor to C. A. J. Coady's critique of Reid's view of testimony; a recycled but nonetheless elegant piece by Nicholas Wolterstorff on the distinctive nature of what he calls "Reidian piety"; a lucid refutation by Paul Helm of the interpretation of Reid's epistemology offered by Wolterstorff and Alvin Plantinga; and a comparison of Reid's and Kant's responses to skepticism about the existence of the external world by René van Woudenberg. Epistemological issues predominate in these pages, and so too do many of the problems which are by now all too familiar in the Reid literature. The only contributor to strike out in new interpretative directions is M. A. Stewart, and his chapters are the best parts of this curate's egg of a book. For unlike the other contributors, Stewart combines a firm grasp of Reid's intellectual context with a thorough knowledge of Reid's published and unpublished writings and a sensitivity to the philosophical issues raised by the works of Reid and his contemporaries. In his first essay, Stewart shows how the incoherence of Reid's response to Locke's account of personal identity results from Reid's attempt to incorporate inconsistent lines of thought taken over from Bishop Butler and George Campbell. In the second, Stewart skillfully deploys a range of unpublished materials in order to reconstruct the development of Reid's answer to the problems he thought Hume had posed for the defense of rational religion. This second essay will surely become the starting point for all future discussions of the topic.

What, then, does this volume tell us about Reid's context, influence, and significance? All the contributors agree that Reid was and is a significant figure, but no consensus emerges as to the nature of his significance. Reid's impact on contemporary philosophy is well illustrated in some chapters, but little is said about Reid's influence prior to the latter part of the twentieth century. As for Reid's context, only Stewart has anything substantive to say about it. The coverage of these three themes is thus as uneven as the collection itself.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Samuel Fleischacker, *On Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations: A Philosophical Companion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Pp. xvii + 329.

It has been a puzzle for many philosophers and economists how the author of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) could have written an economics treatise such as *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). In *On Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations: A Philosophical Companion* Samuel Fleischacker provides a most impressive response to this puzzle: he interprets the *Wealth of Nations* as a work of "social science" that is informed throughout by Smith's deep philosophical understanding.

Fleischacker's interpretation of *WN* engages with Smith's entire oeuvre and includes: methodological and interpretative issues relating to literary theory, philosophy of science, and moral philosophy; human nature, self-interest and vanity; justice, property, and distributive justice; and politics. Fleischacker argues that Smith was a common-sense philosopher who espoused a "normative egalitarianism," radical in his own time, which is crucial for his entire enterprise (sect. 16). This normative egalitarianism underpins the moral philosophy in sustaining the impartiality of spectatorial mechanisms of moral judgment; it underpins the account of economic growth in showing the benefits of a rising standard of living for the working poor; it underpins the approach to justice in terms of posing the suffering of the poor as the central problem for the justification of property rights; and it underpins the analysis of the role of the state in emphasizing the protection of all individuals' liberty as well as the amelioration

of the lot of the poor.

In reading *WN* with a philosophical eye Fleischacker aims to show that, although Smith refrained from direct moral commentary, *WN* is nonetheless imbued with moral concerns. In this Fleischacker charts a delicate course between opposing interpretations. For example, Fleischacker argues that "Smith can be read as carrying out moral purposes all through *WN*," even though moral concerns are muted there (p. 50); he argues against the view that *WN* is "built upon the granite of self-interest" (p. 84), although he also accepts that self-interest (or at least non-tuism) is what largely motivates economic activity (sect. 23); and he argues that Smith's views on justice do play a role in *WN* although a background role (p. 173). But the overriding moral purpose that drives *WN*, Fleischacker argues, is Smith's commitment to the normative equality of all human beings such that "Smith's most novel contribution in *WN*" is the "dignified picture of the poor" (p. 208).

This is a powerful interpretation of Smith's project. Reading the social science of *WN* philosophically, however, raises questions about the purview of the "economics." Although symbolically located in the center of the book, Fleischacker's section on economics is the shortest section, comprising just one chapter, barely twenty pages. Fleischacker prefers not to get involved in what he calls "the quarrels economists have over what is useful and what is wrong-headed" in *WN* (p. 123), and so he considers just a small range of economic topics, such as market/natural price, real/nominal price, long-term comparisons of growth, productive and unproductive labor. But in not addressing economic issues as discussed by economists, Fleischacker's argument about the implicit moral content of *WN* seems incomplete. The implications of this can be seen, for example, in his discussion of the "invisible hand." Fleischacker argues against a providentialist interpretation of the invisible hand, but his construal of it in terms of "social forces" drains it of economic content. This is how Fleischacker interprets the invisible hand: "(IH:) Where people act freely rather than under threats of violence, long-term opportunities for any one individual to better herself are made possible by the needs and wants of her society" (p. 140). Fleischacker concedes that this is "disappointingly obvious" and blames this disappointment on our expecting too much of the invisible hand passage (at IV.ii.9). But Fleischacker's formulation inverts the point of Smith's argument that certain individual (economic) activities thereby produce a benefit for society. It seems that the economics has slipped out of sight of Fleischacker's social science here, and its absence raises questions about the implicit moral content of the economics in *WN*.

Inevitably scholars will want to debate the interpretation proposed in this philosophical companion to the *Wealth of Nations*, but there is no question that Fleischacker has produced a landmark study of Adam Smith's works. His handling of philosophical issues is subtle and suggestive; and in probing "the virtues that lie within and just beyond the frame of *WN*" (p. xv), Fleischacker provides new philosophical resources for the debate about the fundamental relation between *WN* and Smith's larger philosophical project.

Vivienne Brown, Open University

The Adam Smith Review. Edited by Vivienne Brown. Volume 1. London: Routledge, 2004. Pp. xi + 200.

There exist a small number of solid journals devoted to eighteenth-century topics. A fascinating new entry is *The Adam Smith Review*, published by Routledge in association with the International Adam Smith Society (www.adamsmithsociety.net). Edited by Vivienne Brown (with book reviews edited by James Otteson), *ASR* is, in fact, a hardback publication, published annually. Its goal, as affirmed in the opening editorial, is to provide "a unique forum" for scholarly debate and discussion of "all aspects of Adam Smith's works, his place in history, and the significance of his writings." The inaugural issue includes a strong selection of essays and book reviews. The essays range over topics of appeal to historians, economists, and philosophers, some written by notable scholars of eighteenth-century thought. In a nicely wrought essay linking the history of ideas with the history of books, Richard Sher argues convincingly that, in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century, *The Wealth of Nations* (*WN*) achieved greater success than any comparable scholarly publication. To make his case, Sher employs evidence of the financial arrangements between Smith and his publisher, assesses the publication history of *WN*, and compares the sales of Smith's work to that of Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*. In another essay, Ian Simpson Ross argues against the contention of Charles Griswold, in his *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment* (p. 30), that the whole of Smith's "*corpus* was incompletable in principle." In reviewing the narrative of Smith's work, Ross suggests that Griswold's "Platonic formulations" (p. 45) erect a misconceived tension between Smith's historical endeavors and his attempt to find principles of law and justice. In other essays, Takishi Negishi contends that Smith's theory of natural price should be understood as a disequilibrium rather than an equilibrium theory, and Willie Henderson contributes a careful account of Smith's use of "hedging" terms such as "seems," "perhaps," and "probably." Such hedges not only indicate tentative knowledge but manifest a rhetorical strategy for engaging the reader more effectively. And Gloria Vivenza offers a general account of how both the civic humanist and natural law interpretations of Smith invoke classical perspectives.

Another aim of *ASR* is to include translations of important works unavailable in English. This volume includes the first English translation of lecture fifteen of Ernst Tugendhat's *Vorlesungen über Ethik* (1993), with introductory remarks by Christel Fricke. In Bernard Schriebl's readable translation, one discovers Tugendhat's analysis of how Smith's theory of morals includes a prominent place for attitudes toward others, including for example, virtues of sensitivity and self-control. These attitudes supplement the universalism of the impartial spectator and signal other virtuous attitudes, including that of respect for others. Tugendhat's essay complements well the invigorating and interesting symposium on the challenging and illuminating work of Emma Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment* (2001). In light of Rothschild's interpretation of Smith, Stephen Darwall elaborates how Smith's psychology, as well as the nature of commercial exchange, reveals presuppositions of respect and dignity. Patricia Werhane takes note, among other themes, of how Rothschild's delineation of sentiment, in the thought of Smith, Condorcet, and Turgot, creates "the disposition of enlightenment" (p. 136). In his sympathetic critique, Samuel Fleischacker queries Rothschild's account of Smith's religious beliefs but also proffers concerns regarding her somewhat deflationary account of the idea of the invisible hand, thereby revisiting an important issue of interpretation but also one which, *pace* Rothschild's worthy challenges, is not without interest. In her spry, thoughtful, and scrupulous reply, Rothschild points out that one of her motives was to "give pause to the modern Smithians who identify Smith with a single great idea, and also to the political Smithians who see (or saw) in the invisible hand not so much an explanation as a clarion call" (p. 158).

One of the innovative features of *ASR* is the inclusion of author responses to book reviews. Each of the works reviewed in this issue—Luc Boltanski's *Distant Suffering*, Gloria Vivenza's *Adam Smith and the Classics*, Jack Russell Weinstein's *On Adam Smith*, and Kenneth E. Carpenter's *The Dissemination of The Wealth of Nations in French and in France, 1776–1843*—seems to have been assessed with attention and care. Three of the authors have penned responses, and all are of interest.

This inaugural volume bodes well: In general, the essays are interesting, provocative, and well-edited. (There are only a few typographical errors or omissions and some infelicities of expression.) A most pleasing feature of *ASR* is its use of translations, author responses to reviews, as well as symposia. These bring into print the idea of scholarly conversation (surely appropriate for a review on an eighteenth-century thinker such as Smith!). Of course, one may justifiably wonder whether the academy needs another journal or review. However, the thought of Adam Smith, too long ignored, transcends narrow disciplinary fields and suggests numerous avenues of inquiry and discussion. Moreover, interest in Smith, and his various intellectual and personal connections, seems robust enough to support an annual review. It is up to scholars, including the readers of this review, to see that this work of the International Adam Smith Society receives notice, including that of librarians. As Ian Simpson Ross exclaims, "Smith's ideas, amply and critically considered, about human nature at the individual and social levels... are sufficiently suggestive and far-seeing, also disturbing, to be worthy of careful examination and evaluation" (p. 43). *The Adam Smith Review* is a new and valuable tool in this endeavor.

Eugene Heath, State University of New York at New Paltz

Adam Smith, *Selected Philosophical Writings*. Edited by James R. Otteson; James Beattie, *Selected Philosophical Writings*. Edited by James A. Harris; *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the 18th Century*. Edited by Jonathan Friday; *Scottish Philosophy: Selected Writings 1690–1960*. Edited by Gordon Graham. All from the *Library of Scottish Philosophy* sponsored by the Centre for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004.

This new series provides accessible collections of the work of individual figures like Smith and Beattie, and of groups linked by their contribution to a tradition (Scottish Idealism) or an ongoing debate (problems in aesthetics), for classroom use. The four volumes reviewed here represent an auspicious start to the series, with each providing very good introductions and appropriate selections, and in the case of the group volumes, excellent headnotes. My one general criticism is the omission of indexes, which would make using the texts easier, especially for students.

In the first of these volumes, on Adam Smith, James Otteson provides a short, crisp introduction, giving the major events of the life and a sense of the dominant issues in Smith's work. Otteson traces some of the complications of Smith's account of ethics in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and economics in *The Wealth of Nations*, and gives a sketch of some of the more important responses. The selections which follow from *TMS* cover most of the major topics one would want to include in a discussion of the text: the complex nature of sympathy, the role of the impartial spectator in ethical response, Smith's review of cultural variation in moral feeling, and brief excerpts from Book 7 evaluating different moral systems. The excerpts from the *Wealth of Nations* include Smith's discussions of the division of labor, wages, stock and the factors in commodity prices, productive and unproductive labor, the varying rates of progress of commercial development and "opulence" in different regions and communi-

ties, his critique of restraints upon imports and of mercantilism as a system, and the proper use of government revenues, including education and public works. Also included is an excerpt from *Lectures on Jurisprudence* which gives Smith's famous sketch of the four stages theory of historical development, an excerpt from his essay on astronomy that outlines some of Smith's aesthetic principles, and several letters. The selections are judicious and well-suited to introducing readers to the range of Smith's thought as well as to some of the major debates that his work participates in, or has generated.

James Harris's introduction to his collection of James Beattie's philosophical and critical writings is also a very useful sketch. Harris covers Beattie's career, the nature and overlap of the philosophical and literary fields in the eighteenth century, the significance of the Scottish culture of clubs or select societies and, above all, Beattie's antagonistic relationship to David Hume and, linked to this, his role in articulating the dominant assumptions of the period. The selections include several chapters from the *Essay on Truth*, along with excerpts from Beattie's other writings on philosophy (discussions of memory, religion, slavery, government, virtue) and aesthetics (poetry, music, the nature of taste and the sublime).

Jonathan Friday's volume, *Art and Enlightenment: Scottish Aesthetics in the Eighteenth Century*, is a very well-chosen collection. It includes, along with the better-known essays of Francis Hutcheson, Beattie, and Hume (such as "Of Tragedy" and "Of the Standard of Taste") important excerpts from works that are far less accessible, either because they are out of print (e.g., Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Taste*) or are forbiddingly long for classroom assignment (Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism* comes immediately to mind). The sequence moves from Hutcheson through George Turnbull, Hume, John Baillie, Gerard, Smith, Kames, Thomas Reid, Beattie, Archibald Alison, and Dugald Stewart, and gives a good sense of the recurrent (even obsessive) topics of their attention: the sublime, the beautiful, and the standard of taste. The range of the volume provides something of a built-in syllabus (perhaps along with a work like Andrew Ashfield's and Peter de Bolla's reader on the sublime from a few years back). The introduction is good, briefly describing the tradition of the sublime in eighteenth-century aesthetics, analyzing the pervasive influence of Locke, and giving an overall context for the individual contributors. Friday makes an economically stated and well-justified claim that "modern aesthetics had its origins" in the work of the thinkers surveyed here, elaborating on the extraordinary scope and importance attributed to aesthetic experience in these authors. The headnotes are also both useful and nicely handled: see the candid assessment of Kames, for example.

Finally, Gordon Graham's *Scottish Philosophy: Selected Writings 1690–1960* traces the principal currents in the Scottish philosophical tradition from 1690 to the recent past, with a strong representation of eighteenth-century thinkers (seven of the thirteen contributors, or eight if we extend the eighteenth century to 1820). The brief introduction gives a good sketch of the institutional and social context for the extraordinary Scottish achievement in philosophy in the period, and a clear account of some of the principal divisions between them (the inquiry into the workings of the mind and the nature of belief in early Hume, Reid, and Stewart, the more sociologically oriented study of human society in Smith and Ferguson). The volume includes Gershom Carmichael, Hutcheson, Turnbull, Hume, Smith, Reid, Stewart, and Thomas Brown (Hume, Smith, Reid, and Stewart are represented by several extracts), along with later writers including A. E. Taylor and John Macmurray.

All four volumes contextualize and present the Scottish Enlightenment texts that they excerpt very well, and the series as a whole will certainly now make it easier to incorporate a wider range of these texts in the classroom. The CSSP and the individual editors have produced a valuable new resource for undergraduate teaching in the humanities.

Maureen Harkin, Reed College

The Correspondence of James Beattie. Edited by Roger J. Robinson. 4 vols. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2004. Pp xxxii + 548, viii + 318, viii + 263, viii + 335.

With this fine four-volume edition of his letters, there will be rather less excuse for scholars in future treating James Beattie as the Cinderella of the Scottish Enlightenment. The project was meticulously undertaken by the late Roger Robinson, pediatrician turned literary historian, who devoted what was an all too short interval after retirement to editing Beattie and writing about him. Tragically, Robinson died just before reaching completion of the *Correspondence*, and it has been seen through the press by Professor Duncan Wu.

There has been no decent edition of Beattie's letters before now, and this one is neither exhaustive on the model of the Burke correspondence nor extensively edited. What Robinson actually gives us is a complete calendar of the correspondence plus the full texts of 348 letters selected from the 893 he deems to be in existence, and they are all letters from Beattie rather than to him. Many of Beattie's letters were published in the biographies written by Sir William Forbes in 1806 and Margaret Forbes in 1904 but, as Robinson points out in his preface, they saw fit to alter and omit *in extenso*, requiring him both to correct and to rectify the imbalance by giving printing priority to the letters not found in the Forbes' publications. Robinson performs his job with great care according to principles set

out in his introduction, but the absence of full editorial apparatus is a regrettable deficiency that limits the value of what he has done. It is also odd that the calendar should summarize all the letters, including those printed in full elsewhere, and while there is a splendid index of both correspondents and subjects, there is no bibliography. It is debatable whether Robinson would have attempted these other tasks had he been younger and healthier—the introduction suggests not—but what he has given posterity is serviceable enough for Beattie specialists and indeed anyone working on Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The letters comprehensively illustrate the private as well as the public face of their author. Beattie's family life was unhappy, with a wife who suffered from chronic mental illness and two sons who predeceased him. He stayed north of the border despite a greater appreciation of his work in England, where for a while he enjoyed almost cult status. Beattie was little short of paranoid about the enmity he faced in Scotland (at least outside Aberdeen) and found his female friends habitually supportive; Jane, duchess of Gordon and Elizabeth Montagu always offered him a shoulder to cry on and to the latter, his constant patron through life, he complained, "there is not one of our great Scotch authors who does not hold me in utter detestation:—and yet nothing is more true. But I glory in their enmity" (6 July 1772, 2:179). Throughout life he had something like a persecution complex about reviewers and was convinced that they meant him ill. He told Mrs. Montagu that he had been "very obnoxious" to them "ever since I had the assurance to write against David Hume" (25 Nov. 1794, 4:211). He was complacent that, as a controversialist, "I have met sometimes with a plausible, but never with a formidable, antagonist" (To Mrs Montagu, 3 June 1785, 3:228). Such claims have seemed bizarrely inflated in retrospect, but Robinson's edition confirms that the polite world endorsed Beattie's opinion of his capacities.

The letters also show that Beattie was constantly preoccupied about his standing among his contemporaries and, above all, with posterity. Reynolds's famous painting of him in his Oxford doctoral robes (an honor conferred for his *An Essay on Truth*) gave him enormous satisfaction. As he told the artist: "my writings, and my cause, shall receive honour and celebrity from this mark of the friendship, and approbation of Sir Joshua Reynolds" (28 May 1774, 2:274). Beattie could always strike just the right mark of mild obsequiousness when the occasion demanded it. There was, too, a surprisingly ruthless streak in him, no doubt the product of a man who had known early hardships. He was unrelenting in his effort to extract a royal pension in 1773 (hence the basic purpose of his most famous trip to London) and, fourteen years later, called on all the best efforts of his friends to have Henry Dundas approve a scheme to name his son his assistant and successor at Marischal College (see Beattie to Mrs Montagu, 16 Apr 1787, 4:16–18). Four years later he was doing much the same when he moved fast to line himself up as the successor of the dying principal of the college, George Campbell (who actually lived until 1796).

His uncompromising anglophilia is apparent throughout. "Our men of genius," he told John Pinkerton in 1778, of late "have written in English," and he dismissed those "who now write Scotch" for using "an affected, mixed, barbarous dialect" (20 June 1778, 3:69). His fear was that the English language would be infected by the Scottish idioms that had to be kept out at any cost. His own literary model of English was always Addison (he failed to complete a biography in the late 1780s) and he was scrupulously careful not to deviate from what was becoming, toward the end of his life, a rather old-fashioned path of politeness. His churchmanship—he was a luke-warm, embarrassed Presbyterian—made him feel comfortable associating with the Church of England and highly placed members of the hierarchy such as Bishop Porteus of London, though he never felt any overwhelming need to leave Aberdeen and take Anglican orders, as many of his English admirers besought him to do. He worked hard after the death of the Pretender in 1788 to bring the Scottish nonjurors in from the cold (despite the suspicion many of them had for him) and this was consistent with what he told Bishop Skinner: that he was "a friend to every society of Christians, and utterly abhorred persecution of whatever sort" (to William Laing, 12 December 1788, 4:90).

These four volumes confirm Beattie's stature as a gifted, mellifluous correspondent with a wide range of interests and contacts. They afford us a much fuller picture than the customary focus on Beattie as the author of *The Essay on Truth* and *The Minstrel* usually permits. And Robinson provides plentiful coverage of his projects and writing in his last twenty-five years. Although much may still be lacking, how splendid at last to have the most important letters to hand on the bookshelf rather than secreted in the archives. It is desperately sad that Roger Robinson did not live to see his four volumes in print, but there is something consolatory in Robinson's monument to Beattie also functioning as one to himself.

Nigel Aston, University of Leicester

My Very Dearest Sweet Heart, or, Boswell before Boswell: Letters of Lady Elizabeth Boswell (1704 to 1711, and 1733). Edited by David R. Boswell. Bath: Oxmuir Script, 2003. Pp. v + 174.

This collection of letters, edited by David R. Boswell, a direct descendant of the biographer of Johnson, opens a window into the world of the rural gentry of early eighteenth-century Scotland. In the Prologue, the editor explains that though these "ancient letters" from the family archive were once thought to be "love letters, and too

personal to publish," closer perusal revealed a series of letters from a wife to her husband on family matters, estate management, local kirk government, and various other practical concerns. The letters were written by Lady Elizabeth Bruce (1671–1739), the grandmother of the famous Boswell, to her husband James Boswell, 7th laird of Auchinleck (1672–1749), while her spouse was in Edinburgh during the court sessions. In addition to these twenty-eight letters from Lady Elizabeth to her husband, the volume also prints three letters written to her youngest son John, while he was pursuing medical studies in Edinburgh in 1733. The letters are presented in chronological order, under such thematic headings as "Family Matters," "Lady Elizabeth, the Kirk and Religion," and "Edinburgh and the Law." In addition to the Prologue, David R. Boswell provides brief introductions to each thematic chapter, offering broader social and historical contexts within which to place the correspondence.

For a modern reader, perhaps the most striking characteristic of Lady Elizabeth Bruce's correspondence is its easy mixture of matters spiritual and secular, with discussion of even the most mundane of household concerns informed by deeply held religious convictions. In a typical letter, dated 1708, she begins by reflecting at length on "that new and Everlasting covenant," expressing the hope that "when this short time shall be finished we shall glorify [God] through all Eternity." She goes on to update her husband on the latest neighborhood illnesses and deaths, then issues instructions for the purchase of meal and sugar (pp. 25–28). The letters are full of requests for purchases, issued in language that no doubt made perfect sense to her husband but that modern readers might find puzzlingly vague: in these days of email communication, online shopping, and standardized sizes, it is difficult to imagine a world in which the purchase of children's shoes involved a written request "to send a nother [pair of shoes] per the littlest that can be had for Jamie has a very little foot" (p. 94). Her attention to the details of household and estate management confirms the observation of historians that the domestic role of eighteenth-century women was no idle or decorative function, and throughout the volume Lady Elizabeth Boswell emerges as a capable and competent manager, deeply concerned with both the material and spiritual welfare of her household. This collection will be of interest to Boswell scholars as well as those interested in Scottish family and social history and the history of early modern Scottish women.

Mary Catherine Moran, Queens, New York

Suzanne Kord, *Women Peasant Poets in Eighteenth-Century England, Scotland, and Germany*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Camden House, 2003. Pp. xiii + 325.

Dorothy McMillan, ed., *Scottish Women's Writing*. Special Issue of *Women's Writing*, Volume 10, 2003. Pp. 397–533.

Suzanne Kord's *Women Peasant Poets* is wholly focused on the eighteenth century, but with secondary coverage of Scotland, while Dorothy McMillan's collection is wholly focused on Scotland, but with only two of seven articles on the eighteenth century. Together they make a good combination. Kord's approach is richly comparative: although she devotes by far the most space to the German cowherd Anna Louisa Karsch and the English poets Molly Leapor and Ann Cromartie Yearsley, five Scottish women poets also receive some attention: Jeanie Glover, Christian Milne, Jean Murray, Tibbie Pagan, and the relatively well-known Ayrshire "milkmaid" Janet Little. But the significance of Kord's book for enthusiasts of eighteenth-century Scottish poetry and literary culture extends beyond her relatively brief coverage of these poets. Robert Burns and James Macpherson get more play than one would expect, as do Scottish critics of literary "genius," William Duff and Alexander Gerard. Kord's purpose is not to make aesthetic judgments about the poetry of peasant women but rather "to use their literature and their reception by male bourgeois readers to question how judgements of 'quality' are made in the first place" (p. 13). The multiple tensions between male and female, bourgeois and peasant, poetry and criticism, and British and German add to the appeal of her work.

Considering Kord's comprehensiveness, it is surprising that she neglects Jean Adam, or Jane Adams, as her name appeared in its anglicized form on the title page of her only known collection of poems in 1734. For this reason, Bill Overton's "The Poems of Jean Adam, 1704–65" in McMillan's volume complements Kord's book nicely, though its concern is mainly of the unjustly-neglected variety that Kord deliberately eschews. In the second eighteenth-century article in *Scottish Women's Writing*, Margery Palmer McCulloch explores some of the connections among "Women, Poetry and Song in Eighteenth-Century Lowland Scotland," beginning with Janet Little, who wrote only for the printed page, and then moving to a number of women—high-born and low—who established the leading role of women in eighteenth-century Scottish song culture. Finally, the concluding essay in McMillan's volume, by Kirsteen McCue, usefully surveys the last ten years of scholarship about Scottish women's writing, including recent secondary literature on Mary Somerville, Joanna Baillie, and Elizabeth Hamilton.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

J. Walter McGinty, *Robert Burns and Religion*. Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2003. Pp. 281.

J. Walter McGinty's book is a useful contribution to our knowledge of Burns's work and life. Ten chapters treat the church's influence on Burns's youth and education, the poetry and letters that deal with religious topics, and the literary context of matters spiritual in the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in the work of William Cowper and Christopher Smart. McGinty then deepens his analysis of Burns's religious poetry, looking in particular at "The Kirk of Scotland's Garland" and the later church satires. The principal thrust of the book is straightforward: Burns was a thoughtful man who gave a lot of time to Christianity and its tenets, but who had little time for several members of the local kirk.

As such, the book leans quite heavily toward the biographical in places. Where a close analysis of a poem or letter may have helped us toward a fuller understanding of the texts in hand, we are often told what Burns (rather than his works) may have said, thought, or done. For example, after a lengthy quotation from a letter of Burns to Alexander Cunningham, in which Burns claims to be drunk, McGinty notes: "Yes, maybe Burns was 'fou' when he wrote that, but he was 'nae that fou'" (p. 23). Such speculation doesn't really drive forward an analysis of the letter's rich engagement with matters of class, friendship, and patronage, not to mention faith: speculating on how drunk he was at the time is simply a distraction.

If there is a problem with the use of biography, there is also some need of a fuller engagement with more recent critical writing on Burns and his milieu. The first chapter, entitled "The Cultivation of the Finer Feelings of the Heart," rather assumes that those finer feelings are a consequence of the spiritual rather than the temporal realm. But as we now know, following Carol McQuirk's *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (1985), the language of feeling is a deeply complex product of literary inheritance, cultural context, faith, and mid-century philosophy. The simultaneous strength—and weakness—of McGinty's book is to fillet-out from that "Sentimental Era" the spiritual material Burns's writing offers us. While a student new to the work of Burns might over-read the religiosity of the poetry on the basis of McGinty's book, it is nonetheless refreshing to have our attention directed back to the spiritual contexts in which Burns was writing.

McGinty's work is at its most useful in helping the reader through some of the more tangled doctrinal thickets of the eighteenth-century church. His treatment of the *Westminster Confession* in Chapter 3 has been needed for some time, and is a helpful elucidation of a notoriously problematic issue. McGinty is good too when elucidating the range of Burns's reading in the field of eighteenth-century religious writing, and when helping us with some of the complexities of Burns's (impressive and well-measured) biblical references. The author provides useful additional information too: a brief but helpful appendix on the Reverend William McGill brings this crucial character to the foreground again. More could have been made, in fact, of McGill's influence, as his conflict with the Reverend William Peebles was the motor behind much of Burns's mature satire, and prompted a significant reassessment, on Burns's part, of the proper role and governance of the Church of Scotland. There is a useful table giving a list of the titles that Burns gives to God in his letters (pp. 56–58), reinforcing Burns's indebtedness to his seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poetic forbears as we find references to a "Spirit," "Disposer," "Judge," "Preserver," "Benevolent Being," and so forth. And it is here again that we should return to the problem suggested above. Undoubtedly, Burns is thinking about God when he writes of a "great unknown Power" or "SEARCHER OF HEARTS." Yet equally without doubt is he thinking of the lexis of eighteenth-century moral philosophy, freemasonry, and a poetic tradition that conflates spiritual and temporal realms that takes us back at least as far as Pope. Overall, then, this is a helpful addition to Burns studies, but a book that really needs to be read alongside other recent secondary work for a rounded critical analysis of the poetry.

Hamish Mathison, University of Sheffield

Corey Andrews, *Literary Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Club Poetry*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004. Pp. v + 377.

In his first paragraph Corey Andrews suggests says that "Eighteenth-century Scotland perhaps looks less like the golden age of Enlightenment than an embarrassing time more conspicuous for its cultural inferiority complex." He finds the main symptom of this in the desire of some Scots to learn to speak and write like the English. This had its advantages if you had ambitions to speak in Parliament or move in London society or find a wider market for your books. But was it a sign of a feeling of inferiority? In the same letter where Hume refers to "a very corrupt Dialect," he also says that the Scots are "the People must distinguished for Literature in Europe." This looks more like a sense of superiority than its opposite.

Andrews is, however, right to see that the Union involved a threat of cultural assimilation by England, that language was the clearest indication of it, and that the counter attack was led by three poets, Ramsay, Ferguson and Burns. Their best work was in Scots which was not a "corrupt dialect", but a language of great poetic

force. Andrews has chosen to study these poets through their membership in clubs and the poems which they wrote for them. In a sense this is a distorting point of view, because they did not write many, or their most typical, poems for the clubs. Even so, Andrews has produced a very thorough investigation which throws light not only on the three men but on the clubs themselves, an important aspect of eighteenth-century Scottish life.

As it happens, a clear demonstration of the relevance of the clubs to the theme of nationalist resistance comes at the beginning of the book in the account of the Easy Club, founded by Allan Ramsay and a few friends in 1712. At the start, it seemed that the intention was to follow the English example. The six founding members chose "patron names" of well-known Englishmen and resolved to read a copy of *The Spectator* at every meeting. Soon afterwards, the Club secretary proposed, and it was agreed, that they should choose Scottish patrons because of the "perfidy, pride and hatred of England."

Robert Fergusson became a member of the Cape Club in October 1772, only two years before his death. This short period was also the time of his intense outpouring of exuberant poetry in Scots on which his reputation and influence, especially on Robert Burns, depends. Was this more than a coincidence? Fergusson was fighting a campaign to preserve Scots poetry and music; but Andrews says that the Cape Club poets were more concerned to commemorate "their own extravagant convivial enjoyment."

Andrews says that Burns is at one moment strongly anti-Union and at another pro-British. In fact, Burns was consistently opposed to the Union until 1792 when he was threatened with a government investigation into his political reliability. This involved a real risk, not only of the loss of his employment, but of transportation or worse. It is hardly surprising that in self-defense he then made a parade of adherence to the British constitution.

Burns had more experience of clubs than his two predecessors; but, as Andrews says, he wrote little poetry specifically for their members and it is not among his best work. An exception may be *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, the collection of bawdy songs, put together, and perhaps partly written, by Burns for the convivial club, the Crochallan Fencibles.

Burns was a member of a whole succession of clubs, starting with the Torbolton Bachelors' Club which he himself founded in 1780 for conversation and debate, an earnest endeavor in self-improvement by a group of young men. Also while Burns was in Torbolton he became a freemason in 1781. He was a faithful adherent of the order for the rest of his life. There have been few attempts to explain its appeal for Burns. Andrews does this convincingly in his account of the commitment of members to help one another, and their internal egalitarianism and democracy. One of the proudest moments in Burns's life was when the Grand Master of the Lodge of Scotland proclaimed him Caledonia's Bard. This is what all three of these poets had been seeking to achieve, to be recognised as a poet speaking in Scots for the whole community of the nation. And that is how Burns is still regarded.

Paul Henderson Scott, Edinburgh

Howard Gaskill, ed., *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*. Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004 (2005 in North America). Pp. 544.

The literary influence of James Macpherson (1736–1796) has long been obscured by entrenched British, Irish, and European assumptions about authenticity. The distinction between textual authenticity and textual influence is crucial when examining the reception of Macpherson's poetry. Ken Ruthven argues in *Faking Literature* (2001) that "literature has long been under attack because of its alliance with rhetoric (the art of persuasion) rather than with logic and ethics. One way of deflecting such attacks is to demonize literary forgery," and thereby artificially instate canons of "authentic" literature. Ruthven's discussion of Macpherson makes excellent preliminary reading for *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (2004), edited by Howard Gaskill, especially in order to appreciate why Macpherson's influence in Europe has remained largely unacknowledged.

For many years, the orthodox account of Macpherson's Ossianic poetry (frequently dispensed with superficial knowledge and hollow laughter) labeled it "counterfeit" and "fake"; why dignify Macpherson's "forgery" with informed comment? In spite of those critics, academic interest in Macpherson has not only survived, but grown steadily for the past two decades. During that period, no scholar has been more instrumental than Gaskill in making Macpherson's poetry available to modern readers and promoting contemporary Ossianic studies. His superb edition of *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works* (1996) opens with the provocation that "Macpherson's Ossian is one of the most important and influential works ever to have emerged from these islands. Its historical significance is fact, whether we like it or not."

The Reception of Ossian in Europe is necessary reading for scholars of eighteenth-century and Romantic studies; no serious research library should be without it. The ambition of this collection is rather overwhelming, but so has been our reluctance to document Macpherson's powerful influence over such luminaries as Goethe, Schiller, Klopstock, and Chateaubriand, as well as many other intriguing people evaluated in this book. Take the Reverend John Smith of Campbeltown, for example, whose own Ossianic compositions—as this text demon-

strates—both complemented and rivaled Macpherson's in France, Italy, and beyond. Gaskill notes in his introduction that Smith arguably exercised a greater Ossianic influence on Chateaubriand than Macpherson himself, and that Melchiorre Cesarotti (gifted translator and editor of *Poesie di Ossian*, 1801) referred to Smith as Macpherson's "twin brother."

"Significant as Ossian is in countries such as France and particularly Italy, there can be no comparison with Germany in terms of the depth of the impact and both quality and quantity of writers for whom the encounter with Ossian proved to be of decisive significance," Gaskill argues. The German reception of Macpherson's Ossianic poetry underpins this diverse collection, and with good reason. Ossian haunts the Sturm und Drang movement like a trope from a Gothic narrative: it has lain buried in an unmarked grave beneath the floor, or locked in a forbidden trunk, of the German canon, a lost text whose discovery solves unanswered, or even unspeakable, problems of literary nationhood. Gaskill noted in the last issue of this newsletter the "astonishing but true" point that until Wolf Gerhard Schmidt's three-volume study (2003), since augmented by a fourth volume (2004), "the only detailed and informed examination of Ossian's significance for Goethe remained an unpublished Marburg dissertation written in 1959." Furthermore, he writes, Rudolph Tombo's *Ossian in Germany* (1901) explores only one significant exemplar of German Ossianism: 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."

The Reception of Ossian in Europe maps Macpherson's literary influence in English, Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic languages throughout Britain, which enables a more extensive survey of Ossianism among significant Czech, Dutch, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish writers and movements. One could find gaps in a topic as large as the European reception of Ossian, but the book breaks so much fresh ground in these various nations and raises so many topics of debate regarding the connections of authenticity and national identity, that such a complaint would be a perfunctory critical gesture. While Paul van Tieghem's monumental *Ossian en France* (1917) and Tombo's *Ossian in Germany* are irreplaceable early twentieth-century works in the growth of Ossianic studies, no single critical study has so thoroughly demonstrated Macpherson's impact throughout Europe as the book under review.

Gaskill and his contributors have collectively produced a major literary achievement that traces Macpherson's formative influence through some of the most significant European authors from the 1760s onward. In 2004 Gaskill has put a finer point on his 1996 provocation: "no British work, apart from Shakespeare, has exerted so much influence, both literary and political, on European readers [as *The Poems of Ossian*]." Read the *Reception of Ossian in Europe* and be prepared for some surprises.

Mel Kersey, University of Otago

Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorenson, eds., *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. viii + 248.

Scott's fictional historian, Chrystal Croftangry, is a quintessential borderer. As Ina Ferris points out in her fine contribution to this new collection, Croftangry sees himself as "a borderer...between two generations," and his awareness of the changes that have occurred within his own lifetime make him "Scott's most exemplary historian." For the *Borders of Romanticism* are as much temporal as geographical, marking the lines between traditional literary and historical periods, as well as between national cultures. If Croftangry perceives the changes in terms of loss, however, the essays in this collection set out to challenge what they perceive as conventional ways of understanding the literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, arguing for new approaches that will see Scottish culture not as peripheral, but as central to the period. Rather than defining Romanticism in terms of the English poets who dominated so much critical discussion of the twentieth century, the editors of this volume emphasize the competing claims of the novel, drama, history, song, and ballad culture, and argue for continuities and connections between the Scottish Enlightenment and the literature of the latter half of the long eighteenth century. Essays by both distinguished contributors and newer voices (including Cairns Craig, Ian Duncan, Susan Manning, Ina Ferris, James Watt, Jerome McGann, John Barrell, Alyson Bardsley, Peter Manning, Penny Fielding, Leith Davis, Adriana Craciun, and Ann Weirda Rowland) combine to turn the attention of Romanticists away from lyrics or long poems and toward the writings of Hume, Smith, Scott, Baillie, and Hogg, though Burns makes a very welcome focus for two of the essays. While the interrogation of "Romanticism" and its tendency to privilege certain literary kinds is hardly revolutionary, the insistence on the relevance of Scottish writing to the historicist reclamation of the "Romantic period" is an important development.

Central to the volume, and a preoccupation shared by many of the modern scholars and those whose work they consider, is the question of the Scottish past and its representation. Ina Ferris draws attention to Croftangry's anecdote about the English tourist at Holyrood, whose reaction to being shown the bloodstained room where Rizzio

was murdered was to produce his "Detergent Elixir" and offer to clean the floor. Beneath the joke of the national stereotypes is a serious difference between the local desire to mystify and exclude, and the modern, cosmopolitan impulse to erase and progress: a tension neatly ironized by Scott, but not always easy to resolve. Images of emptiness recur in several of the essays, but the difficulty of whether the Scottish "desert" or "vacuity" can be adequately refilled is as troubling to some modern commentators as it was to Samuel Johnson. Respect for the past can render literary recreations—whether in the form of historical novels or quasi-epic poems—deeply suspect, and it is striking that the praise for Scott in this volume tends to focus on his ironies, self-consciousness, and strategies of distancing and questioning of the narratives he presents. At times, however, Scottish history refuses to be laid to rest, as John Barrell's thoughtful analysis of Hogg's imagery of upright corpses demonstrates. Even when Scottish ancestors have been firmly banished, modern scholarship may help to restore them to their rightful place, as in Cairns Craig's brilliant study of Coleridge's unacknowledged debts to Hume. Such exclusions are not always nationally influenced (and indeed, Coleridge's suspicion of Hume was probably fueled more by the latter's atheism than by his Scottish identity); both Alyson Bardsley's essay on Joanna Baillie and Adriana Craciun's chapter on Anne Bannerman argue that their critical neglect was more the result of their gender than their nationality.

The essays in this volume are presented as a "collective rethinking of the national and period categories that have structured British literary history" and, as such, they will interest many readers of this newsletter, whether for their individual insights, or for their cumulative impact. Given the ambitions of the collection, and the value of its aims, it is perhaps a little disappointing to find that its overall mood is not more optimistic. Chains, blankness, melancholy, ghosts and shadows hang over the volume, while Scottish writers are frequently presented as "cases" (medical or legal?). Despite the intrinsic interest of so many of these intelligent discussions, it came as quite a relief to find Penny Fielding commenting on Robert Burns's "rollicking celebration of Scottish history" in "Caledonia." Taking pleasure from poetry may be one of the Romantic ideals that is to be overturned by new approaches to the period, but if that's the case, then some readers may well find themselves in an unexpected border condition, glancing nostalgically on the not-too-distant past.

Fiona Stafford, University of Oxford

Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c. 1750-1800*. Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2004. Pp. viii + 271.

There was not much love lost between eighteenth-century Scots and Irish: Scots would look down upon the Irish as rebellious barbarians, while the Irish despised the Scots as greedy sectaries. With identities under constant stress, persons of both nations were given to projecting their fears at home onto counterparts abroad. Clare O'Halloran's valuable study illuminates how these projections played out in disputes over the common Gaelic heritage. There are few subjects more complicated and obscure than the early history of Ireland; in the absence of reliable information, antiquaries and historians relied upon speculative history, a genre in which projection was of the essence. Interpretations of the distant past were shaped by interpretations of the recent past, particularly the seventeenth-century sectarian conflicts that left Ireland and Scotland divided and opposed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, elites in both nations had little use for Gaels and their barbarous ways; by its close, Gaelic origins had become vital to their self-definition.

How this came to transpire is a complicated and fascinating story which O'Halloran tells from the perspective of a small but contentious group of Irish antiquaries spanning several generations. In her account of party positions on Irish history, "cultural politics" begins to seem more like tribal politics: whether pre-conquest Ireland was viewed as a golden age or a barbarous nation had everything to do with whether one was Catholic or Protestant, Irish or Scottish, Highlander or Lowlander, liberal or conservative. Historians would pick and choose from among and within the various authorities, inventing fabulous genealogies for Gaelic culture derived from Scythia, Egypt, Spain, and Scandinavia. The nascent sciences of linguistics and anthropology were deployed with reckless abandon and fulsome assertiveness, leaving the subject of Irish history, if possible, even more perplexed than it appears in the monkish annals. Yet gradually, tentatively, progress was being made on a different front.

Despite profound political and personal animosities, Irish antiquaries were forced to collaborate in order to gain access to information, patronage, and print. After 1750 Irish nationalism created a situation where Catholic and Protestant antiquaries could begin to engage on joint projects like publishing manuscripts and translations. The establishment of the Royal Irish Academy in 1785 marked a turning point, lending new respectability to antiquarian research, facilitating collaboration across sectarian lines, and disseminating information about what was by then a matter of very general concern. But Protestant commitments were shallow and Catholics deeply suspicious; the enterprise foundered amid the sectarian and political pressures of the 1790s. It was also discredited by a forgery eagerly swallowed by interested parties. O'Halloran relates her history largely through the perspective of the amiable Catholic antiquary Charles O'Connor (1710-91), in whose many publications and surviving correspondence one

can follow the devious progress of the debates and the intricate network of personal and political relationships operating behind the scenes.

Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations will be required reading for anyone interested in Ossian. James Macpherson emerges as typical, not only in his politically charged ventures into speculative history, but in his difficulties with finding and construing sources. While Gaelic manuscripts were more abundant in Ireland than in Scotland, there too they were largely inaccessible and unintelligible even to Gaelic speakers. If Irish antiquaries were outraged at the appropriation of their heritage to Scotland, they were not in a position to settle the matter. Initially at least, they held the Irish ballads in as low esteem as Macpherson; like his Scottish counterpart, O'Connor was much more interested in ancient history than medieval poetry. Where Macpherson differed was in his literary genius and capacity to present ancient history not as chronicle but as "culture." O'Halloran describes the Irish response to Ossian as "intermittent, fragmented, and characterized by ambivalence" (p. 100). I believe she underestimates his impact. Macpherson placed poetry rather than annals at the center of the enterprise, thereby enabling speculative history to be recast as literary nationalism. The consequences of this were as profound in Ireland as in Scotland: the Anglo-Irish, like lowland Scots, were suddenly proud to be regarded as Celts.

Although O'Halloran has restricted her focus to Ireland, her discussions of Macpherson, David Hume, and John Pinkerton underscore the value of comparative studies. The relationship of Edmund Burke to Irish anti-quarianism remains to be developed, and one would like to know more about how the political history she recounts helped to shape the opinions and careers of literary antiquaries like Edmond Malone and Walter Scott. Antiquarianism (like Irish history) has long been the plaything of ignorance, mythology, and prejudice. This groundbreaking book should help to change that.

David Radcliffe, Virginia Tech

Clotilde Prunier, *Anti-Catholic Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Scottish Studies International, volume 35. Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 2004. Pp. 227.

In recent years European scholarly interest in Scottish Catholicism has greatly increased, and our understanding of the eighteenth-century Scottish Catholic experience has been transformed. This book is a further major contribution to these developments. Building on the work of Mark Goldie, James Macmillan, and others, but overlooking the work of Alasdair Roberts and John Watts, Clotilde Prunier presents a comprehensive overview from largely untapped sources. Dismantling myths and stereotypes of sectarian historiography, she massively documents the complexity of Catholic-Presbyterian relations. Her presentation confirms later nineteenth-century impressions. Relations between faiths were usually marked by cordon *sanitaires*. Different localities had differing variables in religious relationships: personalities, traditions, and sensitivities. Only in periods of high political controversy did popular prejudices tend to intrude. That irreducible hard core, in place to the present day, inflamed passionate popular intensity after 1745, around proposed Catholic Relief in 1778-79 or later over Irish Home Rule. Propaganda in Rome, the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (founded 1709), and the Royal Bounty alike expected reports of conversions and advances in return for their financial support.

Although priests, catechists, and others invariably claimed great progress over invincible ignorance and sought additional support or personnel, the reality in many districts was often far removed from the picture sent back. Priests naturally stressed the need for greater resources for propaganda. Whatever the alleged difficulties in some areas, Catholic strength remained impressively resilient: overt persecution was conspicuous by its absence. In 1735 a Memorial Concerning Popery lamented the lack of Presbyterian missionary progress. In that year Eigg Catholics burned the books of the Protestant schoolmaster and catechist. By 1763 Knoydart had proved impenetrable to Presbyterianism. As late as 1767 around a third of the population of the Enzie and Crathie remained Catholic. Of Ardnamurchan's 2000 inhabitants, only 27 reportedly listened to Protestant missionaries. In Abernethy around 1778 a third of the population within the presbytery was Roman Catholic, enjoying virtually complete toleration. In 1784 only two Benbecula residents attended the talks of the disenchanted Presbyterian missionary, who soon abandoned his task. This was religious trench warfare, with minimal movement and minimal advances. Religious geography remained static. Remote localities far removed from magistrates retained independence of central authority. Bishops and priests were often related to clan chiefs. Dedicated priests won esteem in sharing the poverty of their flocks whose landlords shared that faith. Sharing a common faith, language, and culture inoculated them against any incomers. Even Irish priests—as in the nineteenth century—were viewed with suspicion.

Protestants responded with more effort. Success often followed new Protestant landlords who prevented priests from entering their lands, forced tenants to attend the local Presbyterian services, or expelled recalcitrant Catholics. A more humane method of infiltration was education: religion and secular education would be a package deal. Literacy would make the Bible accessible and undermine the authority of the priest. In spite of the educational efforts of the SSPCK, numerous parishes still had no schools. In Uig the minister found that only eight of his

1247 parishioners could read the Bible, while in Uig and Barra only one in seven could read the Bible in any language. Distance from settlements, climate, poor attendance, and proselytizing teachers militated against marked successes.

Many areas already had popular Catholic schools which Protestants attended: Kirkmichael maintained a successful school, while availability of Latin in South Uist was especially attractive to Protestants. Some Catholics and former Catholics taught in SSPCK schools. If Protestant teachers were proselytizers, parents withdrew their children. Popular consent was crucial to any success. Goodwill of prominent Presbyterians was not enough to win Catholic support. Thomas Chalmers may have preached in support of Catholic schools in Glasgow, but when in 1823 Principal Baird proposed joint schools, Bishop Alexander Cameron refused to cooperate: unfortunate experiences had dissuaded pastors and people from participation. Rather than reflecting self-confidence, as Prunier suggests, the decision indicates a more ultramontane response to emerging militant evangelical Protestantism: the long protected culture of penniless migrant Catholics in the cities would be at their mercy. "No surrender" was the leit-motif for all.

Illiteracy persisted in spite of significant religious investments. In Harris only 108 of 2536 people were literate in 1792, and almost a decade later only 156 of 2956 could read and write. Similar conditions prevailed in South Uist. Catholic parishes in Barra and South Uist, with 85 percent illiteracy rates, starkly contrasted with their co-religionists in Kirkmichael, which had a 77 percent literacy rate. South Uist Catholics even petitioned the SSPCK for a school, established a *modus vivendi*, and then withdrew their support when the teacher proved a proselytizer. Ignorance was far from being a purely Catholic problem. The Presbytery of North Uist found massive rates of illiteracy, with as much as a third of the church elders illiterate. Some ministers indeed questioned the education of the masses: the essence of education was to inculcate submission. Ministers assumed that they were the guardians of the intellectual, moral, and religious cultivation of the Scottish people: parochial schools seemed dangerously independent.

Approaches to schooling, then, were complex to say the least. As Prunier shows, the assumed success and quality of Scottish education is extremely tendentious. Anti-Catholic strategies foundered on several rocks; Enlightenment and embarrassing, counter-productive legal and social discrimination undermined old certainties. Bishops John Geddes and George Hay, and the remarkable Rev. Alexander Geddes, made their mark in influential Edinburgh circles. Personal contacts blunted potential Protestant excesses. Catholic converts like Bishops William Ballantine, Thomas Nicolson (1645–1718), John Wallace, and Hay had established a pattern of restrained convert dominance which continued in the following century. The influential convert is a neglected element in interpretations of Catholic realities. Catholicism was a Scottish phenomenon, not simply an Irish import. To pretend otherwise is a reversion to the wearisome sectarianism of an earlier day. Such Protestant strategies reflected a more democratic, populist, often evangelical mind-set of the nineteenth century. Amid the eighteenth-century dominance of property and patrons, vulgar excess, disorder, and enthusiasm were considered ungentlemanly. In the wake of the popular anti-Catholic disturbances of 1779–80, gentle persuasion, enlightened discourse, and exemplary conduct were more conducive to civic order. Prunier hints at Highlanders being compared to the primitivism of South Sea islanders, but that view suggests "the noble savage" was more a Romantic curiosity than a serious danger. With the almost simultaneous suppression of the Jesuits, Catholicism seemed toothless. The disorderly French Revolution made atheistic demagogues appear far more dangerous than Popery. Catholics were vital allies of godliness and supported the provision of Highland troops.

Only after the rapid influx of the poor Irish Catholic masses, and social and industrial change, would Catholics again prove to be useful scapegoats for the agendas of self-interested parties. Genteel considerations, prominent Catholic converts, and political calculation prevented any legal persecution even though vulgar bigotry was commonplace, particularly on fiercely contested Irish issues. Even so, as here at the local level, good will and cooperation often persisted. As French liberal Catholics were aware, the Church in Rome might condemn atheists, Jews, and liberals, but preferred to dine with them. The past is never simple.

This study is an excellent addition to the literature. Prunier demonstrates, and shows to advantage, the variety and complexity of attitudes, the militants and the moderates, the good neighbors and the impolite intruders. Some quotes might have been cut, but the book is a solid achievement, well argued and well documented, with an invaluable collection of documents in the appendices. With this book, Scottish Catholics have entered the mainstream of Scottish history. We await Prunier's next stimulating book with interest.

Bernard Aspinwall, University of Glasgow

Lee Holcombe, *Ancient Animosity: The Appin Murder and the End of the Scottish Rebellion*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2004. Pp. xix + 617.

Ancient Animosity is a gripping tale of murder and vengeance—of political assassination and retribution

in the aftermath of the '45. It is also a remarkable example of scholarly research—of the historian as detective. The sleuth in this case is the late Lee Holcombe, who retired in 1994 as distinguished professor of history at the University of South Carolina at Spartanburg. Holcombe painstakingly sifted through a huge body of evidence—including court records, private papers, and government documents in Scotland and England—to write this definitive account of an important episode in eighteenth-century Highland history.

On one level, this is micro history that explores the complex relationships among the Highland clans—relationships that were turbulent and more than occasionally violent, but were tempered by interlocking family ties and a measure of cooperation. While providing valuable insight about clan dynamics, this work skillfully weaves together a wealth of detail to reveal much about the Jacobite movement, Hanoverian policy, and the evolving ties between Scotland and the London authorities.

The murder in question—generally called the Appin murder after the area in the western Highlands where it occurred—brought to a head simmering tensions among the clans arrayed largely on opposite sides at Culloden. We know now there would not be another '45, but Holcombe reminds us that was not the case in the early 1750s. She takes us back to the time when the Hanoverian political and military authorities continued to doubt the loyalty of their staunchest Scottish supporters—and tended to see all Highlanders as savages and rebels. Thus, when Colin Campbell of Glenure—a gentleman and agent on the king's business—was shot and killed while riding his horse in the vale of Lettermore in May 1752, the authorities reacted swiftly. Suspicion for the deed fell on one James Stewart, a member of an ardent Jacobite family whose lands, having been forfeited to the crown, were being administered by the murdered man. In short order James Stewart was arrested, placed on trial as an accessory to murder, found guilty, and hanged. His body was left to swing from the gallows for two years, until the last bones fell to earth.

Was James's trial and execution a thinly disguised political murder, as Jacobite sympathizers believed at the time—and as more than a few have continued to believe to our day? Holcombe unravels the mystery behind these bloody events, which have found their way into lore and literature through writers as eminent as Sir Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson. She summons the facts to dispel various myths, leading convincingly to the conclusion that there was a conspiracy to kill Colin Campbell among certain disaffected members of the Stewart and Cameron clans. The hero who emerges from Holcombe's story is the Campbell third duke of Argyll, the crown's chief supporter in the Highlands, who presided at James Stewart's trial in his capacity as lord justice general of Scotland. A man of moderate disposition and a patron of learning, Argyll is credited for his influential role in helping the Highlands enter a new, more prosperous period in which ancient clan animosities were no longer the center of all things.

Lee Holcombe died in 2002 before putting the final touches on her book. Her son Tim Breen, a journalist, completed the work as she had hoped. He added a "Cast of Characters" section—a true aid to the reader who encounters no fewer than fifteen Campbells (including four Johns) and twenty-two Stewarts (including four Duncans) in the book. An editor's note provides a touching tribute from son to mother—and there is also a fine biographical note about Holcombe's life and scholarship.

Zachary Narrett, New Jersey Council for the Humanities

Norman Scarfe, *To the Highlands in 1786: The Inquisitive Journey of a Young French Aristocrat*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001. Pp. xxiv + 276.

This is the third in a trilogy of travel journals of Britain written by Alexandre de La Rochefoucauld, his brother François, and their tutor Maximilien de Lazowski, and meticulously edited by Norman Scarfe. François and Alexandre's father, the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, engaged Lazowski to travel with his sons for the purposes of studying agriculture, trade, and manufacturing. The first two volumes detail time spent in England in 1784 and 1785. *To the Highlands* is Alexandre's journal of his tour of northern England and Scotland with Lazowski, whose own journal entries occasionally make an appearance. The two spent five weeks in Scotland, traveling up the east coast as far as Banff, across to Fort George and down the Great Glen, then along the west coast to Glasgow, departing from Port Patrick to Ireland.

Alexandre and Lazowski occasionally made forays to some of the scenes which were already becoming well-known attractions on the developing tourist circuit of Scotland: the Falls of Foyers, for instance, and Loch Lomond. Lazowski was sorely tempted to visit Staffa, but did not have enough time. Their main interest, however, was not scenery but Scotland's economic development. They visited cotton mills and improved farms, making note of any novel mechanical or agricultural techniques they observed. They were especially impressed with the busy mills of Paisley and Perth. In Edinburgh they socialized with several leaders of the Enlightenment; in Glasgow they visited with leading merchants. Alexandre enjoyed chatting with farm workers they met along the road, getting their opinions about farming methods, economic conditions, or simply their thoughts on the state of the country. His

overall assessment was that Scotland was a poor, wild, and uncivilized land whose people were working their hardest to transform their conditions, often with considerable success. In some parts of Scotland, he asserted, the people "have proved themselves" and were on the verge of becoming serious economic rivals to the English (p. 223). In comparison with the English, Scots were a "new" people, not yet very polished, but "freer" as a result (p. 226).

Such was not the case with Highlanders, a lazy "race," he concluded, "born to hunting, not husbandry" (p. 223). Despite the emphasis on the Highlands in the title of this book, Alexandre and Lazowski actually spent little time there. Nonetheless, they were intrigued by "these aboriginal people," and the contrast they posed to the rest of Britain. Like others of the era, these two travelers understood the Highlands as part of the state of nature. The "pattern of ancient ways of living" which still existed there made evident the extent of the changes wrought by civilization elsewhere (p. 197). Despite their lack of industriousness, Highlanders possessed many virtues, not least, Alexandre believed, a great love of freedom. He, like many others, feared the unique culture of the Highlands would soon be "spoiled" by the imminent coming of civilization (p. 226). The Frenchmen also became convinced, through their conversations with Highlanders, of the continuing strength of Jacobitism.

Scarfe has done a considerable amount of editorial work to this travel journal. A short introduction provides background on the two travelers. Each chapter begins with a brief synopsis of its main points. Most notably, Scarfe includes extensive footnotes which contextualize the journal. He explains whether the inns his travelers describe are still in existence, compares comments in this journal to those of other contemporary visitors, and uses Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* to round out the picture of Scotland provided by the two Frenchmen. The length of these notes might be disconcerting to the general reader, and some might find Scarfe's opinions regarding the modern state of towns and cities visited by Alexandre and Lazowski a bit intrusive. Still, this work provides a charming and intriguing picture of late eighteenth-century Scotland, made more accessible by a knowledgeable and careful editor.

Katherine Haldane Grenier, *The Citadel*

David I. Harvie, *Limeys: The True Story of One Man's War against Ignorance, the Establishment, and the Deadly Scurvy*. Thrupp, Stroud, Glos.: Sutton Publishing, 2002. Pp. vi + 314 pp. The following websites are also reviewed: <http://www.jameslindlibrary.org/> (The James Lind Library); <http://www.rcpe.ac.uk/publications/abstracts/lind/lind.html> (James Lind Symposium, 2003); <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/> (South Seas exploration)

As David Harvie makes clear in his entertaining and informative book, to have scurvy was not a pleasant experience. Gums swelled, teeth loosened, muscles ached and atrophied, open sores broke out, and old wounds reopened. Observers often noted the terrible stench exuded by sufferers—this in an era of many noxious odors. Early modern commentators often referred to scurvy as one of the diseases from which many others developed. But scurvy was already recognized in the sixteenth century as a distinct disease, one suffered especially by seamen. Even the connection between scurvy and diet was noted early on, but as Harvie details, the full explanation of this relationship, and its application to sea voyages and other long expeditions, did not occur until the twentieth century.

As is well known, the Scottish naval physician James Lind (1716–1794) championed the use of citrus fruits as a preventive against and cure for scurvy in his 1753 book *Treatise of the Scurvy*. As Harvie's rather overwrought subtitle indicates, Lind is definitely the hero of this book, and the author gives a good account of Lind's life and work in the context of eighteenth-century sea voyaging and the experience of scurvy. As a naval surgeon between 1739 and 1748, Lind had plenty of experience of the disease, as well as of the appalling conditions on naval ships, where poor food and poorer hygiene made rampant disease a matter of course. Harvie's detailed account of Anson's circumnavigation between 1740 and 1744—which lost 1400 out of 2000 seamen, most from disease—vividly illustrates the fatal combination of ignorance, politics, and patronage. Lind's own experiences as well as the numerous accounts of Anson's voyage (deemed wildly successful because of the amount of Spanish treasure seized) led to his decision to investigate scurvy. He collected historical evidence and, most importantly, performed an experiment at sea in 1747 with twelve scurvy victims. He divided the group into pairs, giving each pair one of the popular scurvy "remedies" of the day, ranging from "elixir vitriol" to sea water. Two of the sailors were given oranges and lemons to eat, and a number of others served as controls and were not treated at all. In only six days, the citrus-eaters were on the way to recovery, while the others, except those who drank cider, showed no change. While, by modern standards, this was a very small sample, nonetheless Lind has been rightly extolled as the first to employ a systematic experimental trial in a medical context.

Yet even with this clinical evidence, Lind's recommendations in his *Treatise* were not immediately followed. Harvie attributes most of this neglect to the vagaries of patronage, but he admits that Lind was ambiguous in his presentation, discussing ventilation and noxious odors at length as well as citrus. In addition, his method of preserving citrus at sea, which involved lengthy boiling, robbed the juice of most of its anti-scorbutic qualities.

Even though Lind was appointed Physician-in-Charge at the new Royal Naval Hospital at Haslar, Portsmouth, in 1758, he did not seem to wield enough influence in the right places for his ideas to be adopted by the navy. James Cook disdained the use of citrus, although he was a fan of sauerkraut, which also had anti-scorbutic qualities.

The Scot Gilbert Blane (1749–1834) is usually credited with making the provision of citrus mandatory for the Royal Navy. However, as Harvie shows, this was not a straightforward process; only with the Merchant Shipping Act of 1867 were merchant ships required to carry lime juice. At that time, the enterprising Lauchlan Rose of Leith developed the process which made Rose's Lime Juice the first commercially produced soft drink as well as a major naval store. However, the definitive explanation of scurvy—and the end of “experimental” remedies—did not occur until the discovery of vitamins in the early twentieth century.

Lind in particular has been the subject of much study over the past few years. The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh commemorated the 250th anniversary of the publication of the *Treatise of the Scurvy* with a symposium in the autumn of 2003. The website www.rcpe.ac.uk/publications/abstracts/lind/lind.html presents abstracts of the papers given, which range from historical studies to current concerns about clinical trials and medical decision-making. The latter is the topic of the James Lind Library, www.jameslindlibrary.org, which makes available a variety of texts “illustrating the evolution of fair tests of medical treatment.” The site is intended for practitioners and patients, and the more than one hundred texts excerpted range from the Bible through Lind himself, up to the present. Since full texts of the cited articles are not available on this site, it is of limited usefulness for historians, but the references form a good bibliography, and the explanatory essays give helpful context.

The context of eighteenth-century voyaging is well displayed in the South Seas website, <http://southseas.nla.gov.au>, assembled by two Australians, Paul Turnbull and Chris Blackall. Still under construction, the site centers on Cook's journals from his first voyage, presented with much ancillary material about South Sea voyaging in Cook's era, including maps, other texts (such as the journals of Banks and Parkinson), and reference works such as Falconer's 1780 *Dictionary of the Marine*. Upon its completion, this will be a very useful resource both for teaching and for research.

Anita Guerrini, University of California, Santa Barbara

Briefly Noted

T. J. Dowds, *The Forth and Clyde Canal: A History*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003. Pp. xvi + 128.

Until now there has been no readable account of the making of the Forth and Clyde Canal, which took twenty-two years to complete (1768–1790) and “represents the greatest single venture undertaken in Scotland up to that time” (p. 13). T. J. Dowds presents this engineering feat as the product of a creative tension between two forms of the Enlightenment: an Edinburgh version, which was predominantly aristocratic, stressing traditional notions of civic humanism by the landed elite, and a Glasgow version, which reflected the views of the commercial classes based there. As Dowds tells the story, the initiative for the canal came from Glasgow merchants, but Edinburgh interests soon took control with a more ambitious vision of what the canal should be. By the mid-1770s, however, administrative and financial problems brought construction to a halt, and Glasgow regained control. When the project was finally bailed out by government money, a third city, London, took charge. This book is clearly written, inexpensively priced, and suitable for undergraduates, although it may be hard to find outside the United Kingdom.

Robert D. Anderson, Michael Lynch, and Nicholas Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003. Pp. viii + 216.

Besides Nicholas Phillipson's essay on “The Making of an Enlightened University” during the long eighteenth century, this volume features some fine illustrations, including color shots of Francis Hutcheson, Adam Ferguson, John Robison, John Playfair, the earl of Ilay, and (more recently) Molly the cloned sheep.

Donny O'Rourke, ed., *Ae fond kiss: The Love Letters of Robert Burns and Clarinda*. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2000. Pp. xxxviii + 131.

This is not a scholarly book, and it was published a number of years ago. Nevertheless, readers should know that it is a lovely and inexpensive little volume, reprinting the 1843 text of the marvelous correspondence of Burns (Sylvander) with Agnes M'Lehose (Clarinda, or sometimes Nancy), including the original preface and introduction and the memoir of Mrs. M'Lehose by her grandson, to which the editor has added a popular introduction and some other materials.

REVIEW ESSAY

Scotland and The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century

by Esther Mijers, University of Aberdeen

Douglas Catterall, *Community Without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2002. Pp. x + 411.

Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2004. Pp. xiii + 258.

The field of Scottish-Dutch studies is growing. After years of merely stating that there were close connections between the two countries, scholars are now uncovering them. Culminating in Grant G. Simpson's edited volume, *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124–1994* (1996) and the ECSSS conference on "Scotland, the Netherlands and the Atlantic," held at the University of Utrecht in the summer of 1998, several different aspects of the early modern relationship between Scotland and The Netherlands have recently received attention. Law, medicine, art, and the military have all been explored as fields of exchange and/or cooperation. Scottish law students at the Dutch universities have been studied in articles by Robert Feenstra (in T. C. Smout's 1986 volume, *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850*) and John Cairns (in Simpson's *Scotland and the Low Countries* and in *Bibliothek*, 1997). Scottish medical students have been covered in publications on Herman Boerhaave and his students—G. A. Lindeboom, *Herman Boerhaave: The Man and his Work* (1968) and *Boerhaave and Great Britain* (Leiden 1974); E. Ashworth Underwood, *Boerhaave's Men at Leiden and After* (1977); and Helen M. Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries: Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh* (1995)—while the later impact of the Dutch on Enlightenment medicine has been treated in Antonie M. Luyendijk-Elshout, "The Edinburgh Connection: William Cullen's Students and the Leiden Medical School," *Studia Historica Gandensia* 273 (1989): 47–63, and Lisa Rosner, *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement: Edinburgh Students and Apprentices 1760–1826* (1991). Several individual accounts of students have also been published, notably C. D. van Strien and Margreet Ahsmann's discussion of John Clerk of Penicuik's correspondence from 1694 to 1697 (in *Lias*, 1992 and 1993), T. C. Smout's article on Adam Murray's days as a medical student at Leyden and Paris in the mid-1720s (*Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 1994), and *The Diaries and Travels of Lord John Hope* (n.d.). The Scottish taste for Dutch art has been examined in Julia Lloyd Williams's catalogue, *Dutch Art and Scotland: A Reflection of Taste* (1992), which accompanied the exposition in the National Galleries of Scotland by the same name. C. D. Van Strien's *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke in the United Provinces* (1993) and *De Ontdekking van de Nederlanden: Britse en Franse Reizigers in Holland en Vlaanderen, 1750–1795* (2001) are valuable works on British, though not exclusively Scottish, travelers and tourists and what they saw and did in The Netherlands. Articles by Hugh Dunthorne on Scots in the wars of the Low Countries from 1572 to 1648 (in Simpson's *Scotland and the Low Countries*) and by Jochem Miggelbrink on the end of the Scots Brigade (in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop's 2002 collection, *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1550–1900*), offer a continuation of James Ferguson's three-volume *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands* (1899). T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union 1660–1707* (1963) and a chapter in Charles Wilson, *The Dutch Republic and the Civilization of the Seventeenth Century World* (1986) have explored one key aspect of the origins of the Scottish-Dutch relationship: trade. The other key aspect, religion, has been studied by Keith Sprunger in *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1982).

Ginny Gardner's *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands* and Douglas Catterall's *Community without Borders* are welcome additions to this historiography. Both works deal with the Scottish experience within communities in The Netherlands, as opposed to Scottish-Dutch exchange. Gardner looks at the community of some four hundred exiles who left Scotland during the Restoration period and who were, in the words of Patrick Hume of Polwarth, "shaken together...in the bag of affliction." Her book is divided into two sections, the first describing and defining the community and its interactions with other Scottish communities in The Netherlands as well as with Dutch society. The second part examines the political development of the exile community, culminating in the events surrounding the end of James VII and II's reign: the 1687 Indulgences, the Revolution that took place a year later, and the return of the exiles. Gardner's main interest lies with the prosopography and infrastructure of her group of exiles, which she painstakingly divides into three different groups—exile ministers, "definite" exiles

(mainly the members of the congregation that followed their ministers into exile), and "possible" exiles—Scots who involved themselves with the first two groups but who were not necessarily in exile themselves. It is this composition which determined and influenced both the role of the individual members and the course of events, leading up to the Revolution and the return of the group.

The scope of Catterall's book is wider. *Community Without Borders* tells the story of a different community, namely that of the Scots in seventeenth-century Rotterdam, which included exiles. Whereas Gardner's work is largely political, Catterall focuses on the social aspects of this community. His central theme is that of identity, told through the issues and institutions of power and discipline that faced the well established, yet ever-changing and growing, community of migrants. This identity, Catterall argues, was shaped by the fact that Rotterdam, like any immigrant community, was an adopted home, in which the Scots had to adjust to a new social order but also had to establish new rules of behavior. As a result, attention is focused on public conduct, local conflict, and judicial authority.

Because both books are based on Ph.D. theses, they lack a certain ease in both their style and their approach. Gardner's work provides a wonderful insight into the making and functioning of the exile community. It would, however, have benefited from the use of a model. While the descriptions in the first section of the book are richly illustrated with detailed individual accounts and examples, the analysis sometimes seems to lose focus. The second part of Gardner's book is much stronger. Without the need for introductions or explanations, the political events progress naturally and the book gains considerably in strength. Catterall's work suffers from similar problems, in that the balance between narrative and illustration is at times awkward. Moreover, the reliance of this author on such social theorists as Foucault and Bourdieu provides a model that is too narrow for such a dynamic community as the one he describes. These are just small points of criticism, however. Both works show an impressive amount of research and offer a wealth of information. They provide welcome and long-overdue insights into the workings of the Scottish community in the west of The Netherlands. Read together, they complement each other very well. When these books are augmented by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch's forthcoming edited volume on overseas Scottish communities, we will finally have a clearer understanding of the dynamic world of the early modern Scottish diaspora.

IN MEMORIAM Paul-Gabriel Boucé

Our friend Paul-Gabriel Boucé died of leukaemia last July. The first symptoms of his illness, the same which by a cruel irony of fate had also been fatal to his wife Hélène four years earlier, appeared in the summer of 2003. He fought bravely and lucidly down to the end, always keeping in touch with his friends and colleagues, showing keen interest in academic affairs, both teaching and research. During his illness, his wife Elisabeth taught his favorite translation course at the Sorbonne Nouvelle for the Agrégation students (the highest French national competitive exam), allowing him to keep an eye on a course he had supervised for over thirty years.

Paul-Gabriel Boucé was first of all the world-known expert on Tobias Smollett. He was one of the few French academics whose doctoral dissertation was translated into English, appearing in 1976 as *The Novels of Tobias Smollett*. He subsequently became a leading editor of English-language editions of Smollett's novels, including the 1979 Oxford University Press edition of *Roderick Random* and the 1990 Penguin edition of *Ferdinand Count Fatham*. To him, teaching and research were not only a profession, they were also a heartfelt vocation. He regularly spent his summers in Cambridge. The long hours in the famous English university library were always for him the delightful vacation time of a man whose life was entirely devoted to research. Hard work and study were far from making him a solitary man. His colleagues and students highly appreciated his amiability, his keen sense of friendship, and his open-mindedness. The students who had the privilege of writing their doctoral dissertations under his supervision will never forget the conscientious professor, at once demanding and helpful, who remained afterwards a close friend and advisor throughout their academic careers.

Paul-Gabriel was also a pioneer as one of the founding fathers of *Radio Sorbonne* in the 1960s. He was one of the first French scholars who understood that the duty of universities is not only to welcome students but also to be easily accessible to the greatest number of them, even at home if they cannot attend classes owing to professional obligations, the demands of family, or other reasons. We will finally remember Paul-Gabriel Boucé as editor from 1980 to 1985 of *Etudes Anglaises*, which has remained a national and international standard reference for English-language studies in France.

Those of us who attended ECSSS's Grenoble conference on "Scotland and France in the 18th Century" in 1996 will remember Paul-Gabriel's warmth and "joie de vivre," as well as his last lecture on Smollett's *The*

Present State of All Nations. Fortunately, that lecture is now available for all to read in the Society's latest publication, *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment*.

Pierre Morère, Emeritus Professor, University Stendhal-Grenoble 3

Charles E. Peterson

Charles Peterson, the elder statesman of scholarship on early architectural connections between Scotland and Philadelphia, died of an aneurysm last August, less than a week before his 98th birthday. Peterson's long and varied career was the stuff of legend, and probably of future book-length biography. He originally intended to make his contribution to preserving wilderness lands in the American West, and I have seen a picture of him at Glacier National Park in Montana in the summer of 1925, riding a horse and wearing a cowboy hat. Yet almost from the time he began working for the National Park Service in 1929, he played a major role in preserving and restoring the historic buildings of the original thirteen American colonies in the East. His early achievements included saving the Moore House in Yorktown, Virginia, where the British surrendered at the end of the Revolutionary War, and founding the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1933. He helped to engineer American naval operations in the Pacific during World War II as a high-level member of the staff of Admiral Nimitz at Pearl Harbor.

But Charles Peterson's greatest achievements date from the second half-century of his life. In the early 1950s he moved to Philadelphia, which became his adopted home, as the Scots became his adopted people. First in the service of the National Park Service, and then as head of his own architectural restoration firm, which he founded in 1962, he was instrumental in transforming the city's historic district from a virtual slum into an upscale community known as Society Hill, with restored eighteenth-century buildings and tourist attractions such as the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall subsumed under the rubric Independence National Historical Park. In 1954 Charles himself purchased two houses on Spruce Street (for a total of \$16,000!), where he continued to live until his death, assisted for much of the last part of his life by his devoted assistant, Hilda Sanchez.

It was in the course of his work on historic Philadelphia that Charles encountered the eighteenth-century architect and builder whose accomplishments would become the centerpiece of his historical research: Robert Smith (1722–1777). As a result of architectural and historical research, he was able to establish that Smith was a Scot from Dalkeith who turned up in America in his late twenties and then proceeded to design, and sometimes also build, an astonishing number of important buildings throughout the colonies, including Nassau Hall at the College of New Jersey (Princeton), the madhouse at Williamsburg, Virginia, and approximately three-dozen structures in Philadelphia. The first volume in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series, *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* (1990), contained an article by Charles on some of Smith's achievements, and ten years later his scholarship culminated with the publication of *Robert Smith: Architect, Builder, Patriot, 1722–1777*, which was written with Constance M. Greiff and Maria M. Thompson. Charles also began organizing annual celebrations on Smith's birthday, based at the Carpenters' Company on Chestnut Street, with which he was closely connected for many years.

He remained active to the end. In June 2003 he wrote to me: "I don't expect to see Scotland again but am still interested in it and its people." His last letter to me, dated 15 June 2004, not only speaks volumes about his intellectual vitality at age 97 but also gives the society a project to undertake next year:

Dear Rick:

We have your *Eighteenth-Century Scotland Newsletter No. 18* (Spring 2004). In that we note Williamsburg will be the scene in 2006 for the ECSSS 20th anniversary meeting. I doubt whether I'll be around that late but want to suggest that Robert Smith be remembered for his design of the Eastern State Hospital already reconstructed.

Also, I suspect that the James City County Courthouse—which is of that period—may be RS's design, too. Unfortunately, the original county documents were moved up to Richmond during the Civil War to be preserved. But they burnt up along with much of that city. Anyway, I'd like to see RS's contribution remembered, if that's possible.

In spite of my years of study to revive Robert Smith, new information relating to his career continues to emerge. At the moment, based on brand new discoveries, they're digging in the middle of Independence Square to see if there are any remains of the 1769 wooden tower for the Transit of Venus (taken down 1783).

Glad to note that your Enlightenment Studies are multiplying and prospering.

Sincerely yours,
Charles E. Peterson

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

Recent Articles by ECSSS Members

The items below have been brought to the attention of the editor by our members, many of whom submitted off-prints 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 2004, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous issues.

Sharon ALKER, "The Geography of Negotiation: Wales, Anglo-Scottish Sympathy, and Tobias Smollett," *Lumen* 21 (2002): 87–103.

Karl Graf Ballestrem and Daniel BRÜHLMEIER, "Adam Smith," in *GGP*, 556–88 and 627–30.

Christopher J. BERRY, "Smith under Strain," *European Journal of Political Theory* 3:455–63.

Christopher J. BERRY, "Poverty" and "Wealth" in *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. M. C. Horowitz et al. (Detroit: Scribner), 5:1870–76 and 6:2460–66.

Christopher J. BERRY, "Hume" and "Scottish Enlightenment" in *Social Science Encyclopedia*, 3rd edn., ed. A. Kuper (London: Routledge).

Paul-Gabriel BOUCÉ, "Scotland and France in Smollett's *Present State of All Nations, 1768–69*," in *SFE*, 35–60.

M. A. BOX et al., "A Diplomatic Transcription of Hume's 'volunteer pamphlet' for Archibald Stewart: Political Whigs, Religious Whigs, and Jacobites," *Hume Studies* 29 (2003): 223–66.

Alexander BROADIE, "Reid in Context," in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Reid*, ed. Terence Cuneo and René van Woudenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 31–52.

Pierre CARBONI, "Ossian and Belles Lettres: Scottish Influence on J.-B.-A. Suard and Late-Eighteenth-Century French Taste and Criticism," in *SFE*, 74–89.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Alexander Geddes," in *The Dictionary of British Classicists 1500–1960*, vol. 1, ed. Robert B. Todd (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum).

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Problems with Pseudonyms in the Burns 'Lost Poems'" and "Robert Burns's 'Epigram on Edmund Burke' Published in Politics for the People, October 1794," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 33–34: 97–106, 469–71.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "The Return of Alexander Geddes," in *The Drouth*, no. 12, 22–24.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Scattered Remains: The Literary Career of Alexander Geddes," in *A Case-Study in the Bible and the Enlightenment*, ed. William Johnstone (London: J. & T. Clark), 61–77.

Jeng-Guo S. CHEN, "William Lothian and the Belles Lettres Society of Edinburgh: Leaning to Be a Luminary in Scotland," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27: 173–87.

B. Barnett COCHRANE, "Enlightenment and Its Discontents: Robert Wallace and Rousseau on the Republic of Virtue," in *SFE*, 284–304.

Deidre DAWSON, "From Moral Philosophy to Public Policy: Sophie de Grouchy's Translation and Critique of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*," in *SFE*, 264–83.

Kathleen Hardesty DOIG, "The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the French Revolution," in *SFE*, 175–91.

Ian DUNCAN, "The Pathos of Abstraction: Adam Smith, Ossian, and Samuel Johnson," in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, ed. Leith Davis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 38–56.

Roger L. EMERSON, "The Founding of the Edinburgh Medical School," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 59:183–218.

Evan GOTTLIEB, "'To Be at Once Another and the Same': Walter Scott and the End(s) of Sympathetic Britishness," *Studies in Romanticism* 43:187–207.

Eric J. GRAHAM and Tom Barclay, "The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr: The West Indies 1640–1680," *History Scotland* 3 (2003): 41–47.

Eric J. GRAHAM and Sue Mowat, "The Slaving Voyage of the *Hannover* of Port Glasgow 1719–1720," *History Scotland* 3 (2003): 26–34.

Eric J. GRAHAM and Tom Barclay, "Ayr & the 'Scots Lots' in the America 1682–1707," *History Scotland* 3 (2003): 23–31.

Eric J. GRAHAM and Tom Barclay, "The Covenanter's Colony in Carolina 1682–1686," *History Scotland* 4:18–27.

Anita GUERRINI, "Anatomists and Entrepreneurs in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 59:219–39.

Ronald HAMOWY, "Two Whig Views of the American Revolution: Adam Ferguson's Response to Richard Price," *Interpretation* 31 (2003): 3–35.

Maureen HARKIN, "Natives and Nostalgia: The Problem of the 'North American Savage' in Adam Smith's Historiography," *Scottish Studies Review* 3 (2002): 21–32.

Maureen HARKIN, "Theorizing Popular Practice in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics: Lord Kames and Alexander Gerard," in *Aesthetic Subjects*, ed. Pamela R. Matthews and David McWhirter (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Andrew HOOK, "The French Taste for Scottish Literary Romanticism," in *SFE*, 90–107.

Allan INGRAM, "Identifying the Insane: Madness and Marginality in the Eighteenth Century," *Lumen* 21 (2002): 143–47.

Frank A. KAFKER, "The Tortoise and the Hare: A Comparison of the Longevity of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* with the *Encyclopédie*," in *SFE*, 161–74.

Colin KIDD, "Subscription, the Scottish Enlightenment and the Moderate Interpretation of History," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55: 502–19.

Colin KIDD, "Ethnicity in the British Atlantic World, 1688–1830," in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and in Empire 1660–1890*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Colin KIDD, "Sovereignty and the Scottish Constitution before 1707," *Juridical Review*, 225–36.

László KONTLER, "Beauty or Beast, or Monstrous Regiments? Robertson and Burke on Women and the Public Scene," *Modern Intellectual History* 1: 305–30.

Manfred Kuehn and Heiner F. KLEMME, "Die schottische Common Sense Philosophie (Thomas Reid, James Beattie, James Oswald, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, William Hamilton)," in *GGP*, 641–88 and 703–9.

Manfred Kuehn and Heiner F. KLEMME, "Weitere Autoren der Aberdeen School (George Campbell, David Fordyce, John Gregory)," in *GGP*, 689–702.

Jeff LOVELAND, "Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* in English 1775–1815," *Archives of Natural History* 31: 214–35.

Jeff LOVELAND, "French Thought in William Smellie's Natural History: A Scottish Reception of Buffon and Condillac," in *SFE*, 192–217.

Susan MANNING, "'Peine forte et dure': Scott and France," in *SFE*, 108–27.

Susan MANNING, "Antiquarianism, the Scottish Science of Man, and the Emergence of Modern Disciplinarity," in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, ed. Leith Davis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 57–76.

Annette MEYER and Otto Dann, "Cabinets de Lecture," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Charles Kors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1:188.

Pierre MORÈRE and Deidre DAWSON, "Introduction: A New Incarnation of the Auld Alliance: 'Franco-Scottish Studies'," in *SFE*, 13–29.

Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Robert Burns and British Poetry," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 121 (2003): 191–211.

Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "John Law's Theory of Money and Its Roots in Scottish Culture," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 113: 391–403.

Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Enlightenment Historiography and Its Legacy: Plurality, Authority and Power," in *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain*, ed. Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Phillips (Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan), 30–37.

Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Johnson, Boswell and Their Circle," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740–1830*, ed. Tom Keymer and Jon Mee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 157–73.

Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "The Complaint of Caledonia: Scotland and the Female Voice," in *Archipelagic Identities: Literature and Identity in the Atlantic Archipelago, 1550–1800*, ed. Philip Schwyzer and Simon Meador (Aldershot: Ashgate), 141–52.

Murray G.H. PITTOCK, "British Romanticism: Four Nations or One?," *BARS Bulletin* (spring), 6–7.

Jane RENDALL, "'Friends of Liberty and Virtue': Women Radicals and Transatlantic Correspondence 1789–1848," in *Gender and Politics in the Age of Letter-Writing, 1750–2000*, ed. Caroline Bland and Máire Cross (Aldershot: Ashgate), 77–92.

Jane RENDALL, "Bluestockings and Reviewers: Gender, Power and Culture in Britain, c. 1800–1830," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 26:355–74.

Jane RENDALL, "The 'Political Reveries' of Alexander Jardine (1739?–1799)," in *Enlightenment and Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Crook et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate), 91–113.

Jane RENDALL, "Feminizing the Enlightenment: The Problem of Sensibility," in *The Enlightenment World*, ed. Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (London: Taylor and Francis), 253–71.

Lisa ROSNER, "Ants in the Academy: Formic Acid and the University Dissemination of Enlightenment Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Thought* 2: 207–31. [deals with Joseph Black among others]

Ian Simpson ROSS, "'Great Works upon the Anvil' in 1785: Adam Smith's Projected Corpus of Philosophy," *Adam Smith Review* 1: 40–59.

Richard B. SHER, "New Light on the Publication and Reception of the *Wealth of Nations*," *Adam Smith Review* 1: 3–29.

M. A. STEWART, "Reid and Personal Identity: A Study in Sources," in *Thomas Reid: Context, Influence and Significance*, ed. Joseph Houston (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press), 9–28.

M. A. STEWART, "Rational Religion and Common Sense," *ibid.*, 123–60.

M. A. STEWART, articles on Lord Monboddo, Colin Drummond, Alexander Dunlop, John Hunter, John Mair, Archibald Pitcairne, and Francis Pringle in *The Dictionary of British Classicists 1500–1960*, ed. Robert B. Todd (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum).

Hideo TANAKA, "Enlightenment and Barbarism," *The Economic Review* (Kyoto University), 173:1–24 (in Japanese).

Hideo TANAKA, "Characteristics and Significance of Hume's Idea of Labour, or Industry," *The Economic Review* (Kyoto University), 174:1–18 (in Japanese).

Norbert WASZEK, "Grundlinien der schottischen Aufklärung," in *GGP*, 513–24 and 619–22.

Norbert WASZEK, "James Steuart," in *GGP*, 589–96 and 630–31.

Norbert WASZEK, "John Millar," in *GGP*, 596–602 and 631–32.

Norbert WASZEK, "Adam Ferguson," in *GGP*, 603–18 and 632–35.

Norbert WASZEK, "Ossian et Hume: deux références écossaises dans le *Traité sur l'origine de la langue*," in *Herder et Lumières*, ed. Pierre Pénisson and Norbert Waszek (*Revue germanique internationale* no. 20) (2003), 109–19.

Paul WOOD, "Thomas Reid and the Tree of the Sciences," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 2:119–36.

Key to Abbreviations

GGP = *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie: Die Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts. Volume 1: Grossbritannien und Nordamerika, Niederlande*, ed. Helmut Holzhey and Vilem Mudroch (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2004).

SFE = *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment*, ed. Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associate University Presses, 2004).

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Balance 1 Jan. 2004: £17,054.23

Income: + £1535.39 (dues and book orders: £1002.15; Interest (after taxes): £224.71; Dublin conference reimbursement: £308.53)

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Expenses: -\$2973.58 (printing: \$1340; supplies: \$43.30; Dublin conference: \$1225.78 [board dinner: \$456.36; gifts to organizers & other conference expenses: \$769.42]; Dublin conference travel grant: \$300; postage: \$9.50; NJ non-profit registration: \$50; bank fee: \$5)

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