

# EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the  
Eighteenth-Century Scottish  
Studies Society

## THE CHARMS OF BUDAPEST

From 23 to 26 June 2005 ECSSS held one of its best conferences ever at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. Jointly sponsored by the Hungarian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (HSECS), this conference on "Empire, Philosophy and Religion: Scotland and Central-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth Century" was brilliantly organized by László Kontler of CEU, who is a member of the ECSSS Board as well as an officer of HSECS.

The conference got off to a fine start with a plenary lecture on "The Emulation of Nations: The Jealousy and Envy Debate in the Scottish Enlightenment" by István Hont (King's College, Cambridge), whose new book, *Jealousy of Trade*, will be reviewed in next spring's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. There followed twenty-two fascinating panels, most of which explored aspects of the conference theme. Talks by ECSSS members included (in order of delivery) David Raynor on Hume versus Montesquieu; Silvia Sebastiani on race and progress in the Scottish Enlightenment; Jane Rendall on the orientalism of Maria Graham (1785–1842); Katherine Glover on women in the Elliot of Minto family; David Radcliffe on imitations of the poetry of James Thomson and James Beattie; Adam Budd on the bookseller Andrew Millar; Richard Sher on the publishers William Strahan and Thomas Cadell; John Dwyer on Scottish moral philosophy and literary criticism; Geoff Parker on Hume's philosophy of culture; Vincenzo Merolle on Adam Ferguson's move from Stoicism to Enlightenment; Ozlem Caykent on Jacobitism and feudalism; Johanna Geyer-Kordesch on place as self-definition; Catherine Jones on biography and universal nature; Susan Manning on biography, the science of man, and Romantic fiction; Philipp Roessner on Scottish overseas trade; Thomas Ahnert on religion and the Moderates' Enlightenment; Moritz Baumstark on set-piece political debates in Hume's *History of England*; Alexander Du Toit on William Robertson on empire; Mark Wallace on Scottish free-

masonry; Natalie Bayer on Scottish influences on freemasonry in Russia; Barbara Benedict on the dwarf Count Bukowski; Gabriella Hartvig on János Batsányi's early translations of Ossian; Roger Emerson on Hume and art; and Oscar Kenshur on the Scottish standard and the demography of taste. Others contributed by chairing panels, including Howard Gaskill, Nick Phillipson, and Ned Landsman.

One of the many highlights of this conference was the excursion to the palace of Gödöllő, near Budapest, on Saturday 25 June. Besides a tour of the chateau and plenary talks on Hungarian architecture and landscape, the participants enjoyed a magnificent meal. Pictures of the Budapest conference (including the Gödöllő excursion) are posted on the ECSSS website, [www.ecsss.org](http://www.ecsss.org). The society is tremendously grateful to László Kontler and his hard-working assistant, Zsuzanna Macht, for making this conference so successful.

Unfortunately, we were saddened to hear that István György Tóth of Central European University, who had presented a paper on "Reading the Enlightenment: Books and Readers in Eighteenth Century Hungary" in one panel and had chaired another panel, passed away suddenly just a few days after the conference.

## ECSSS TURNS 20 AT WILLIAMSBURG

ECSSS was founded at an ASECS meeting at the Williamsburg Hospitality House in March 1986, so it was only fitting that the society should return to the scene of its birth for its twentieth-anniversary celebration from 27 to 30 April 2006, hosted by the College of William and Mary. We were very fortunate to have Robert Maccubbin as the conference organizer of this fabulous event. It began on the evening of Thursday the 27<sup>th</sup>, when ECSSS president Jane Rendall welcomed the assembled multitudes and Derek Alexander of the National Trust for Scotland delivered a fascinating plenary talk on "Enlightened Archaeology and

Archaeology of the Enlightenment." A reception followed.

Over the next three days there were seventeen regular panels with two or three speakers each, covering a wide variety of topics having to do with eighteenth-century Scotland, including American connections. New this year was a panel of reviews of recent works, with Roger Emerson speaking on Roderick Graham's biography of Hume and Adam Potkay addressing Mark Spencer's book on Hume and America (reviewed in this issue).

There were special events and plenaries galore! At the buffet lunch on Friday the 28<sup>th</sup>, the conference-goers were treated to the music of long-time ECSSS member John Turner, ten-time National Scottish Fiddling Champion, performing works by the great eighteenth-century Scottish fiddler Niel Gow and others. In the afternoon two curators at Colonial Williamsburg, John Austin (emeritus) and John A. Hyman, spoke at the second plenary event, featuring talks on Scottish Delft and Scottish silver in eighteenth-century Virginia. That evening gourmet chef John R. Gonzales put on a virtuoso demonstration of Scottish cooking that resulted in a very special meal for those who signed up for this event. Late the next morning Bruce P. Lenman, professor of modern history emeritus at St. Andrews University, gave a talk in the third plenary session: "Enlightened Identities? Or, Did 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Scots and Virginians Know that the 'Enlightenment' Existed?"

In the afternoon there was time to stroll through Colonial Williamsburg. Then came the fourth plenary session, in the new Special Collections Reading Room at Swem Library at the College of William & Mary: "The Present and Future State of Scottish Studies," in which current ECSSS president Jane Rendall and six past-presidents—Roger Emerson, Andrew Hook, Ned Landsman, James Moore, Ian Simpson Ross, and M. A. Stewart—discussed the major changes in eighteenth-century Scottish studies since the society was founded twenty years ago. Founding president Ian Ross spoke of the importance of ECSSS in opening up the field during the last twenty years. Roger Emerson stressed the enormous strides that have been made in the study of eighteenth-century religion and especially science, as well as some gaps and future needs. Andrew Hook celebrated the decline of two older approaches to Scottish history: popular, romantic history centering on Jacobitism and an approach to the Scottish past that emphasized power and politics at the expense of culture and that showed little interest in the period after the Union of 1707. For Jim Moore, the defining feature of Scottish thought and culture during the past two decades has been the focus on virtue, rights, and manners, in which sentiment has

emerged as the key concept. Sandy Stewart took a more pessimistic view, noting that the study of eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy has remained fundamentally ahistorical. Ned Landsman emphasized the importance of studying Scottish history in a manner that is honest rather than celebratory, as well as the necessity of exploring fields that have not received adequate scholarly attention, such as the evangelical Enlightenment.

The splendid presidential panel led straight to the sumptuous conference banquet. As the dinner drew to a close, Ian Simpson Ross, the society's founding president and one of the five recipients of its Lifetime Achievement Award, commemorated the life of the society's first recipient of that award, David Daiches, who died last summer. Next, Jane Rendall presented the conference organizer, Bob Maccubbin, with two marks of the society's appreciation: a bottle of malt whiskey and an early nineteenth-century engraving of the University of Virginia (not quite William & Mary, but close enough!). Then Jane surprised Richard Sher, the society's founding executive secretary, by presenting him with a Lifetime Achievement Award, as well as a fine eighteenth-century edition of Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* and a gift certificate. In a state close to shock, Rick could only babble some heartfelt words of gratitude to the Board and the membership for this unexpected honor.

The conference reached a climax with a concert and ceilidh featuring Poisoned Dwarf, an excellent seven-piece band whose Scottish- and Irish-influenced music can be heard at their website, [www.poisoneddwarf.com](http://www.poisoneddwarf.com). Much dancing occurred, led by Michael Newton, who also sang a Jacobite song in Gaelic. Then Ruth Perry performed a number of Scottish songs, accompanied by Kevin Berland, and they were joined for some of them by Ian Ross and Bruce Lenman. In the wee hours Ian Ross danced a hornpipe, daring the other revelers to try to keep up with a Dundee man in his seventies (none could). The sight reminded other old-timers of the society's very first conference, in 1987, when Ian and David Daiches put on a display of Scottish dancing.

This was one of ECSSS's most memorable conferences, thanks mainly to the vision and hard work of Bob Maccubbin. We are also grateful to Carl J. Strikwerda, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the College of William & Mary; the program committee that helped Bob in Williamsburg; and Joyce Davis and Erin Borry at NJIT.

### CAIRNS TO HEAD ECSSS

At the annual membership meeting at the Williamsburg conference, held on 28 April, the society unanimously elected a slate of officers and trustees nomi-

nated by the Board. The new president of the society is John W. Cairns, who holds the chair of legal history in the School of Law at the University of Edinburgh. Also elected for two-year terms were Janet Sorensen (English) of Indiana University, vice-president; Johanna Geyer-Kordesch (history of science) of Glasgow University, member-at-large, and Iris Flessenkaemper (history) of the University of Augsburg, graduate student member-at-large. The membership also reelected Ned Landsman and Susan Manning to four-year terms on the Board. They will be joined by outgoing president Jane Rendall and outgoing vice president David Radcliffe, both of whom have two more years of Board service remaining. Jane and David were thanked for their service as officers with thunderous applause.

In other developments, the membership discussed plans for the 2008 conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia, under the leadership of Fiona Black of Dalhousie University (see enclosed circular), and it also approved the plan for a conference at St. Andrews University in 2009, to be organized by David Allan and the St. Andrews Scottish Studies Centre. There was also a favorable response to a proposal for holding a conference in Princeton, New Jersey, in 2010, pending further negotiations.

### **MONTPELLIER IN 2007!**

Plans are underway for ECSSS to hold its 2007 conference with the Twelfth International Enlightenment Congress in Montpellier, France. The theme of this congress is "Knowledge, Techniques and Cultures in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century," and the dates are 8–15 July 2007. Through the labors of our liaison in Montpellier, Clotilde Prunier of Université Paul Valéry de Montpellier (one of the three Montpellier universities that are co-sponsoring the congress), ECSSS has secured space for two and a half days of conferencing right in the middle of the congress—from the afternoon of 10 July through 12 July. Clotilde is also arranging for the society to have a dinner at a local restaurant.

A Call for Papers is enclosed with this mailing, but those who encounter this issue without the CFP may submit proposals for 20-minute papers (or complete 3-paper panels) to the executive secretary of ECSSS, Richard Sher ([sher@njit.edu](mailto:sher@njit.edu)). Proposals may deal with any topic relating to eighteenth-century Scotland, but the congress organizers are particularly interested in papers and panels having to do with medicine and science and their relations with other forms of knowledge and culture. We are exploring the possibility of a roundtable on the history of Scottish and French medicine with members of the faculty of medicine at Montpellier, as well as at least one panel commemorating the 300th anniversary of the Union of

1707. Of course, papers and panels exploring all aspects of Scotland's relations with France will also be particularly appropriate at this conference. Please submit your proposals as soon as possible but no later than 1 October 2006. All participants must also register with the Congress; for details on registration and accommodations, check the Congress website at [www.congreslumieres2007.org/gb/index\\_gb.htm](http://www.congreslumieres2007.org/gb/index_gb.htm).

### **ECSSS AT ASECS**

ECSSS was well represented at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Montreal, 30 March–2 April 2006. The official ECSSS panel, "Imagining Scotland in Eighteenth-Century Verse," occurred on Saturday 1 April. Organized and chaired by ECSSS vice president David Radcliffe, the panel featured talks by Leith Davis (Simon Fraser U.) on the representation of Scotland around the time of the Union, as articulated by James Watson and George Mackenzie; Don Nichol (Memorial U. of Newfoundland) on images of Scots in *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit* (1768–73), which Don has just edited for Pickering & Chatto; JoEllen DeLucia (Indiana U.) on the English bluestocking Catherine Talbot's posthumous *Imitations of Ossian* (1772); and Carol McGuirk (Florida Atlantic U.) on the contrast between the erotic poetry of Burns and that of Byron. Immediately after the panel, a dozen members and guests gathered for an ECSSS luncheon. Among the members who took part in the panel, the luncheon, and/or other sessions at the conference were Barbara Benedict, Kevin Berland, Toni Bowers, John Burke, Joyce Chaplin, Greg Clingham, Kathleen Doig, Henry Fulton, Anita Guerrini, Margaret Jacob, Jeff Loveland, George McElroy, John Radner, David Raynor, Rick Sher, Jeff Smitten, Janet Sorenson, Mark Spencer, Gordon Turnbull, Tara Wallace, Jennifer Watson, and Howard Weinbrot.

At the 2007 ASECS meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, ECSSS will sponsor a panel commemorating the Union of 1707, organized by David Radcliffe.

### **BURNS AT THE MITCHELL**

The Mitchell Library in Glasgow played host to the annual Burns Conference for the second year in a row, after moving from its previous home at Strathclyde University. And where better to hold such an event than in the library's very own Burns Room, which houses one of the world's most extensive collections of material relating to the Bard? Unlike previous conferences, which usually took place on one day, this year's event was split into three afternoons on 14, 21 and 28 January 2006. The changes to the familiar format did not adversely affect attendance, however, and those who ventured forth were not disappointed by the



quality and the variety of the papers delivered.

Indeed, there appeared to be a unity amidst variety in the papers of this year's contributors. Hamish Whyte spoke eloquently about Burns's letter in Scots to William Nicol and reminded us of its importance as a source of his Scots vocabulary. Carl MacDougall inquired into the Bard's achievement with that language and whether Scots and English could interact with each other in the future. Both Ian Reid, speaking on William Yates of Airdrie, and Carol Baranuik, on James Orr: the Bard of Ballycarry, demonstrated the importance of Burns in influencing local poets, while at the same time emphasizing their own poetic achievements in their respective localities. The visual power of Burns was captured by R.D.S. Jack in an entertaining collection of slides depicting the tale of "Tam o' Shanter," and Nigel Leask used several pictures by Gainsborough to illustrate pastoral idealism while suggesting that Burns was ultimately attacking a world entering its twilight.

Conference veterans and event organizers Ken Simpson and Gerry Carruthers also provided papers. Gerry held court on what he promised would be his last word concerning the Canongate Burns and the problems associated with that volume, while Ken concentrated on the Sylvander-Clarinda correspondence, drawing attention to the extensive variety of Burns's literary influences.

No self-respecting Burns conference would be complete without strong musical representation, and this year there was an embarrassment of riches on display. Pete Clark performed a variety of Strathspeys and Reels and still found time to deliver a talk on Niel Gow, which also covered the lesser-known eighteenth-century fiddlers William Marshall and John Bruce. Kevin Walsh played music from Clarinda's Reply, and "The Court of Equity," returning for a second consecutive year, also provided a lively set. On the final day Alison McNeill performed a packed set of Burns songs, including one of Niel Gow's Laments; she will return next year to give a more modern take on the works of Burns.

As if this was not enough, Colin Hunter McQueen kindly put on three separate exhibitions about Burns from his extensive collection. Each one, including a Burns in Brass display, did not look out of place among the rare collections on show in the Burns Room, nor did any of the speakers or performers at the 2006 conference.

from **Ralph R. McLean**, University of Glasgow

### SE & THE CLASSICS

In October 2005 several ECSSS members took part in a conference on "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Classics" at St. Andrews University. Thomas Ahnert

opened the event with a talk on "Epicureanism and the Use of Classical Sources in the Scottish Enlightenment," followed by Moritz Baumstark speaking on "In Search of Strabo: Hume's Reading of the Classics at Ninewells, 1749-51." Conference organizer James A. Harris presented a paper on "Hume's Four Essays on Happiness." After lunch there were talks by Alexander Broadie on "Thomas Reid: New Rhetoric for Old," by Iain McDaniel on "Adam Ferguson and the History of Classical Republics," and by M. A. Stewart on "The Publication of Classical Texts and Textbooks in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." The conference concluded with a roundtable session chaired by Christopher Smith.

### SCOTS IDENTITY AT GERMERSHEIM

A conference on "Scotland's Cultural Standing and Identity" was held at Mainz University in Germersheim from 25 to 27 February 2005. The conference discussed ways that Scotland has been presented in various media; different constructions and concepts of Scotland; and ideas about how media and cultural contexts have influenced different notions of Scotland's identity in various historical periods. Speakers included Robert Crawford (St. Andrews) on Scotland and nostalgia; Sigrid Rieuwerts' (Mainz) on Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders*; Stuart Gillespie (Glasgow) on the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT), which contains more than 4200 translated works of Scottish writings; Ian Campbell (Edinburgh) on the social and psychological effects of the expansion of the Scottish railway system in the nineteenth century; Bill Bell (Edinburgh) on the golden age of the Scottish book market in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; James Holloway (SNPG, Edinburgh) on the rise of Scottish tourism; George Dalgleish (NMS, Edinburgh) on the representation of the Scottish past in the Museum of Scotland; Ronald Walker (Germersheim) on psychological aspects of John Galt's fictional characters; and Douglas Gifford (Glasgow) on a virtual tour through eight periods of Scottish poetry.

from **Katrin Bosse, Lothar Görke, Germersheim**

### GEORGE BUCHANAN AT 500

St. Andrews University is hosting a conference, 10-12 July 2006, to mark the 500th anniversary of the birth of George Buchanan (1506-82). Under the title "History and Politics in Early Modern Europe and the Atlantic World," the conference will be focused mainly on the subsequent influence of Buchanan's political and historical writings in Britain and Europe and the different ways in which subsequent generations of authors engaged with his ideas. Organized by ECSSS member Roger Mason, the conference will

feature among its contributors ECSSS members Claire Jackson, Colin Kidd, and Esther Mijers. Full details can be obtained by visiting the conference website at [www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/history/buchanan](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/history/buchanan).

Two weeks later, on 26–29 July, the same event will be commemorated in a very different way in Glasgow, where the emphasis will fall on Buchanan's secular poetry, psalm paraphrases, and tragedies. The conference will begin on 26 July in the Senate Room of the University of Glasgow with a plenary paper by Robert Crawford of St. Andrews University. After two further days of papers in Glasgow, the conference will move on the 29<sup>th</sup> to Buchanan's birthplace at Killearn and to Stirling, where Buchanan spent time while tutoring King James VI. Another highlight of the conference will be a performance on the 27<sup>th</sup> in the Glasgow University Chapel of the multi-voice settings of Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases by the French Huguenot composer Jean Servin, published in Geneva in 1579. For further information, contact Professor Roger P. H. Green of the Classics Dept. at Glasgow University ([r.green@classics.arts.gla.ac.uk](mailto:r.green@classics.arts.gla.ac.uk)).

### McGILL'S HUME COLLECTION

Thanks to the generosity of David Fate Norton and Mary Norton, the Rare Books and Special Collections Division of the McGill University Library has established the McGill David Hume Collection Research Grant. The David Hume Collection held at McGill is the most important collection of Hume materials outside Edinburgh. In addition to fifty manuscript letters by Hume, the collection includes a nearly complete set of the lifetime editions of Hume's works and translations of them. The collection also includes many later eighteenth-century editions of these works, a wide range of the known eighteenth-century commentaries on Hume, and significant holdings of nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions and commentaries, including many nineteenth- and twentieth-century theses devoted to Hume. The McGill Library also supports Hume scholarship by systematic acquisition of relevant recent publications, particularly those in English, French, German, and Italian.

The McGill David Hume Collection Research Grant, with a value to \$5000 (Canadian), is open to established scholars carrying out research on any aspect of the work of David Hume, philosopher, essayist, and historian. The grant will provide financial support to assist scholars to spend one three-month term (fall or winter) utilizing the David Hume Collection and other relevant resources of the Rare Books Division and the McGill Library. Grantees will be provided an office with a computer and internet access within the Rare Books Division and ample opportunity to discuss their work with members of the

lively academic community encompassing McGill and the three other universities located in Montreal. The deadline for applications for the 2007–8 academic year is 15 November 2006. For further information please visit the Hume Collection website at <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/hume>.

### SIMON FRASER SCOTTISH CENTRE

The Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University celebrated the university's fortieth anniversary with a lecture series on "Scottish Enlightenment and Emigration." The series began in September 2005 with a discussion by Carl MacDougall (novelist, dramatist, critic and BBC television writer and presenter) on "Scotland's Enlightenment in Scottish Eyes: Inspiration or Historical Lumber?" His talk took the audience on a whirlwind tour of Scottish writing from the eighteenth century to the present, arguing that Scotland is again becoming "educated about itself" and its past and that it is using that knowledge "as a springboard into the future."

The series continued in January 2006 with Tom Devine (Sir William Fraser Chair of Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh) exploring "Scotland in 1773: The Dynamics of Emigration." Devine's talk took as its starting point the emigration of Simon Fraser's parents to North America, relating the Frasers' decision to leave Scotland to socio-economic changes in the Highlands in the late eighteenth century.

In February 2006 Roger Emerson (professor emeritus of history, University of Western Ontario) discussed that major figure of the Scottish Enlightenment, "David Hume: Our Excellent and Never to Be Forgotten Friend." Emerson discussed Hume's philosophical and political beliefs in relation to his own biography and his participation in eighteenth-century social and intellectual circles.

Duncan Macmillan, professor emeritus of the history of Scottish art, University of Edinburgh, delivered the March lecture on "The Study of Human Nature: Portraiture in the Scottish Enlightenment," concentrating on the work of Allan Ramsay the younger and Sir Henry Raeburn. Macmillan argued for a distinctly Scottish concern with scenes of domestic and ordinary life.

The series ended in the beginning of April with two events featuring Kirsteen McCue (lecturer in Scottish literature and honorary research fellow in music, Glasgow University). The first was an informal ceilidh including eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century songs and pipe music celebrating women. The second was a lecture on "Songs by and About Women in Scotland," beginning with the figure of Peggy from Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd" and

ending with songs by Anne Grant. McCue was ably accompanied by David Hamilton (Lecturer, Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama; Instructor in Music, Douglas Academy).

For more information, see the centre's website: [www.sfu.ca/scottish](http://www.sfu.ca/scottish).

from Leith Davis, Simon Fraser University

### SCOTS PHILOSOPHY AT PRINCETON

On 1 January 2006 the Centre (now Center) for the Study of Scottish Philosophy moved from the University of Aberdeen to Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton, New Jersey. The move followed the appointment of Gordon Graham, who had founded CSSP at Aberdeen, as the Henry Luce III Professor of Philosophy and the Arts at PTS. Under Graham's direction, CSSP will continue its publishing activities, including *The Journal of Scottish Philosophy* (published by Edinburgh University Press) and *The Library of Scottish Philosophy* book series (six volumes currently are available and four others are expected to be published by Imprint Academic in spring 2007).

The center has also put out a call for papers for a symposium in September 2007 on the theme of "Philosophy, Theology, Education: Scottish Foundations to American Tradition," which aims "to explore historically and critically Scottish foundations to American traditions in philosophy, theology and education" ([www.ptsem.edu/cssp/callforpapers.php](http://www.ptsem.edu/cssp/callforpapers.php)). Specific sub-themes of the conference include "common sense" philosophy and its impact on American philosophy; the philosophical foundations of American theology; and Scottish philosophical foundations of American education, politics, and economics. Those interested in presenting a paper of 35 minutes should send a 250–300 word abstract as an e-mail attachment to [cssp@ptsem.edu](mailto:cssp@ptsem.edu) by 31 December 2006. Offers to act as a commentator or chair will also be welcomed.

Of course, the papers of Thomas Reid remain at the University of Aberdeen, where interest in Scottish philosophy is expected to continue under the banner of the Research Institute for Irish-Scottish Studies, now under the direction of Cairns Craig.

### NEW CENTRE AT GLASGOW U.

A range of one-year taught MLitt degrees in Scottish Studies is now available at the University of Glasgow through its new Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies. Launched in 2005–6, the new centre draws together leading scholars in Scottish and Celtic history and literature to offer cutting edge, research-led teaching on medieval and modern Scotland. Instruction in Gaelic can be included at varying levels from introduction to immersion.

The MLitt programs provide an introduction

to key themes through a core course. Students can explore particular questions through a choice of additional modules. For eighteenth-century Scotland, these include "Culture and Identity in the Age of Ossian," "Burns and Scott" and, new for next year, "Revolution and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Literature, 1688–1745." In addition, a dissertation allows students to produce an original piece of research supported with appropriate training in research methods.

Applications for 2006–7 are invited. Students can consult the Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies website for more information at [www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scottishstudies](http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scottishstudies). For further information, contact Christelle LeRigueur at [c.lerigueur@arts.gla.ac.uk](mailto:c.lerigueur@arts.gla.ac.uk).

### NEW GU RESEARCH FOUNDATION

The newly established Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences at Glasgow University (composed of ten departments including Economic and Social History, Economics, Politics, and Law) has announced the formation of the Adam Smith Research Foundation. Co-directed by ECSSS member Christopher J. Berry, who is also associate dean of the graduate school, the foundation will be offering up to ten fully funded postgraduate scholarships and two postgraduate awards for 2006–7. Research may be in a variety of general areas, including legal and political thought; people, places and change; and work, ethics and technology. For further information, visit the website at [www.gla.ac.uk/faculties/lbss](http://www.gla.ac.uk/faculties/lbss).

### INTELL HIST CENTRE AT SUSSEX

A new Centre for Intellectual History has been founded at the University of Sussex for the purpose of fostering graduate studies and research in the Sussex tradition of scholars such as John Burrow, Stefan Collini, and Donald Winch. Since the centre is under the directorship of renowned Scottish Enlightenment scholar Knud Haakonssen, it is hardly surprising that the Enlightenment in general and Scotland in particular will be a central concern. This was reflected in the centre's first two-day symposium, 26–27 May 2006, on Istvan Hont's *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation State in Historical Perspective* (Harvard University Press, 2005) and John Robertson's *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). As we were informed at press time, before the event, the meeting was to be based exclusively on participants' reading of the two books, with no papers presented. Discussion sessions were to be opened by Hans Blom (Rotterdam), Edward Hundert (British Columbia), Girolamo Imbruglia (Naples), and James Moore (Concordia), and Istvan Hont and John Robertson were to take part in the discussion.



Information about the centre, including its graduate degree program (MA, MPhil, and D.Phil), can be found at [www.sussex.ac.uk/cih](http://www.sussex.ac.uk/cih). Or contact Knud Haakonssen at [K.Haakonssen@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:K.Haakonssen@sussex.ac.uk).

### HAAKONSSSEN SERIES ONLINE

One of the most exciting recent developments in Scottish Enlightenment studies is the Natural Law and Enlightenment series being produced by Liberty Fund under the general editorship of Knud Haakonssen of the University of Sussex. Many of the titles in this series, by authors such as Francis Hutcheson, George Turnbull, Gershom Carmichael, David Fordyce, John Millar, and Henry Home, Lord Kames, have already appeared and been reviewed in this periodical (including several in this issue), and many more are forthcoming. Most have been edited and introduced by ECSSS members. Since the majority of the titles in the series have formerly been inaccessible except to scholars and students working at a handful of outstanding libraries, these handsome, inexpensive editions are already having a dramatic effect on accessibility to some of the prime texts of eighteenth-century Scotland.

Now Liberty Fund is making things easier by putting all of these editions online, as well as the Glasgow Edition of the Works of Adam Smith, Eugene F. Miller's edition of David Hume's *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, Hume's *History of England*, and many other titles. These are E-Book PDF files that include the text of the entire book as published by Liberty Fund. In addition, Liberty Fund plans to include html versions that are smaller and more easily searchable and a facsimile PDF version of the copytext used for the Liberty edition. Everything is provided free of charge.

To access Scottish Enlightenment books online, go to [www.libertyfund.org](http://www.libertyfund.org) and select (1) The Online Library of Liberty and (2) Scottish Enlightenment (in the category Schools of Thought).

### SESH GETS MAKEOVER

*Scottish Economic and Social History* has become *The Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*. An editorial note at the beginning of the issue for July 2005 explains that the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland (which produces the journal for Edinburgh University Press) decided to make the change for three main reasons: first, a decline in subscriptions to the society and the journal in recent years, stemming from a breakdown in the traditional barriers between economic and social history on the one hand and traditional history programs on the other; second, the rise of more theoretical, cultural, and interdisciplinary approaches to history, due to closer connections with

historical geography, cultural anthropology, the new sociology, and other disciplines. In its new form, the journal is intended to show that "those with an investment in Scotland's past now inhabit departments across all the faculties of the modern academy, much more than used to be the case. So, without losing its commitment to economic and social history, the *Journal* aims to be a venue to which those with an intellectual investment in Scotland's past, and who inhabit the frontline of research into new themes, issues and events, will bring their articles and reports;" third, an attempt to experiment with new forms, including "symposia on key books; news of societies and events; themed issues; appreciations and reflections on incidents, sources and ideas; reviews of Scottish historiography and its place in the wider academy outwith the limits of 'Scotland' (wherever those may rest); and interviews with leading historians."

The editor of the *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* is Professor Callum G. Brown of the Department of History at the University of Dundee ([c.g.brown@dundee.ac.uk](mailto:c.g.brown@dundee.ac.uk)). Requests for sample copies and subscription inquiries should be addressed to the Journals Dept., Edinburgh University Press, 22 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LF, UK.

### AGE OF JOHNSON REVIVAL

The recent death of Paul Korshin, founder of the journal *The Age of Johnson*, has raised questions about that journal's future. Fortunately, the multi-talented Jack Lynch has taken it over. "Remember," Jack writes, "that *The Age of Johnson* puts the emphasis on 'Age' and not necessarily on 'Johnson'," and contributions are therefore welcome on "pretty much every topic in the long eighteenth century," including "the novel, the history of scholarship, the history of science, politics, education, history of the book, religion, abolition, women's studies, and so on." Jack can be contacted at [jlynch@andromeda.rutgers.edu](mailto:jlynch@andromeda.rutgers.edu).

### STUDIES IN BURKE RETURNS

*Studies in Burke and His Time* resumed publication in summer 2004 after a long period of inactivity. As in the past, the journal emphasizes all aspects of Edmund Burke's thought, life, and influence but also publishes articles on other figures of Burke's time, such as David Hume and Adam Smith, "especially as they relate to the study of Burke, but also in their own right."

Submissions should be sent to Joseph Pappin III, Editor, *Studies in Burke and His Time*, 605B Byrnes Building, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208, USA. Subscriptions may be obtained from the managing editor at 3901 Centerville Road, P.O. Box 4431, Wilmington, DE 19807-0431

USA (email: subs@isi.org), for \$17 (\$22 outside the USA). But a subscription to the journal is included in a membership in the Edmund Burke Society for almost the same price.

### NEW IN THE ARCHIVES

The availability of the following manuscripts relating to eighteenth-century Scotland was announced in the autumn 2005 issue of *Retour*, the newsletter of the Scottish Records Association:

*National Library of Scotland:* Graham family of Airth family papers (Acc. 12290); papers of Robert Waterston, printer and stationer (Acc. 12330).

*Ayrshire Archives Centre:* Hunter Blair family and legal papers (Accession 884); Houison-Craufurd family of Craufurdland papers (Accession 942); kirk session minutes of the Ayr Secession Church 1772–1825 (Accession 867); minutes, letter books and library catalogue of the Ayr Faculty of Solicitors 1710–1974 (Accession 1046); financial records, correspondence, and ephemera relating to Robert Burns from the Burns Monument Trust (Accession 1007); kirk session records of Maybole Parish Church 1777–1896 (Accession 827); records of the Orr Memorial United Free Church 1782–1927 (Accession 978).

*Dumfries and Galloway Archives, Dumfries:* business and family papers of Drumohr Knitwear 1731–2003 (GGD538); minutes of the Dumfries United Presbyterian Church 1787–1865 (RH10).

*Edinburgh City Archives:* letter books of Robert Walker, surgeon and apothecary and Dr. John Walker, surgeon 1779–1816 (Acc 699); records of the Incorporation of Coopers of Leith 1550–1862 (Acc 668); minutes of the Magdalene Asylum, Edinburgh 1798–1938 (Acc 673).

*Highland Council Archive, Inverness:* papers of the North Carolina loyalist Soirle Macdonald 1770–1827 (D928).

*North Lanarkshire Archives, Cumbernauld:* additional coal mining records of the Carrick-Buchanan family of Drumpellier.

*Stirling Council Archive Service, Stirling:* additional records of the Graham family of Rednock and Duchray 1755–1885.

*Aberdeen University Library:* Wolrige-Gordon family and estate papers c. 1650–1990; Gordon of Letterfourie estate papers 1508–1819 (MS 3745); additional papers of Robert Wilson, physician and traveler (1779–1867).

*Dundee University Archive:* minutes of Dundee Royal Infirmary 1793–1948 (2004/140).

For more details on summaries of materials held in Scottish archives, visit the helpful SRA website at [www.scottishrecordsassociation.org](http://www.scottishrecordsassociation.org).

### MURRAY ARCHIVE OPENS AT NLS

The magnificent John Murray Archive, formerly owned by the Murray family in London and recently purchased by the National Library of Scotland, became accessible to NLS researchers on 2 May 2006 (by appointment only until 30 September). Although the most famous parts of the archive concern nineteenth-century authors such as Lord Byron, Jane Austen, Sir Walter Scott, and Charles Darwin, there are also rich materials relating to late eighteenth-century Scottish authors. The papers of the Scottish-born John Murray, who set himself up as a bookseller in London in 1768, include letter books and other materials having to do with Murray's publishing activities, many of which involved Scottish Enlightenment authors such as John Millar and Gilbert Stuart. These materials were the basis of William Zachs's important book, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (1998). Murray's son, John Murray II, married the daughter of the Edinburgh bookseller Charles Elliot, who published works by William Cullen and other Scottish authors; as a result, Elliot's letter books and account books are also in the archive.

Those wishing to consult portions of the archive should contact the manuscripts department at [manuscripts@nls.uk](mailto:manuscripts@nls.uk) before visiting the library.

### RELOCATION AT EU LIBRARY

Sheila Noble of the Special Collections Department at Edinburgh University Library reports that the Special Collections Department will be temporarily relocated during the summer of 2006, probably beginning in early July. Some services will be disrupted, and some collections will be temporarily unavailable. Users are encouraged to watch the Special Collections website ([www.lib.ed.ac.uk/resources/collections/specdivision](http://www.lib.ed.ac.uk/resources/collections/specdivision)) for the latest information.

### FREE ACCESS TO ESTC!

Although the English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC) is indispensable to many scholars of eighteenth-century Scottish thought and culture, access to ESTC has not always been easy. However, help is on the way. According to an article in the February 2006 issue of the always-informative *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* edited by James E. May for the East-Central American Society for 18th-Century Studies, plans are underway for ESTC to become freely accessible via the British Library's website ([www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)) as of late October 2006, when the International ESTC Board of Directors holds its annual meeting. The new website will be updated every 24 hours by the ESTC offices at the British Library and at University of California, Riverside in the USA.



## MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

**Corey Andrews** is now assistant professor of English at Youngstown State U. in Youngstown, Ohio . . . **Karin Bowie** completed her doctorate in history at Glasgow U. in 2004 with a thesis titled "Scottish Public Opinion and the Making of the Union of 1707" . . . after serving as interim provost and academic vice president at Rocky Mountain College (Billings, Montana) in 2003–4 and interim vice president for academic affairs at New England College (Henniker, New Hampshire) in 2004–5, **Leslie Ellen Brown** has returned to her position as professor of music at Ripon College in Wisconsin . . . after completing a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities at Edinburgh U., **Adam Budd** took up the position of fellow in bibliography in EU's Graduate School of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures . . . in September 2005 **Jeng-Guo Chen** organized a conference on Chinese and European characteristics at the National Taiwan U., where he gave a paper on "Scottish Discourse of India: Debates of Virtue and Luxury Displaced" (**David Armitage** and **Nicholas Phillipson** were among the other speakers, and both also spoke at Chen's own institution, Academia Sinica); in spring 2006 Chen has been a visiting fellow in the Philosophy Department at Boston U. . . . **Martin Clagett** has been awarded a Gilder-Lehrman Fellowship at the International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello, Virginia, for fall 2006 . . . **Leith Davis** has been promoted to professor of English at Simon Fraser U. . . . **Aaron Garrett** has been promoted to associate professor with tenure at Boston U. and has taken over the office of secretary-treasurer of the International Adam Smith Society from **Ryan Hanley** . . . in January **William Gibson** began a three-year position as an assistant professor of English at the National Institute of Education in Nanyang Technical U. in China . . . **Ryan Hanley**, **Eugene Heath**, and **Neven Leddy** were among the ECSSS members who spoke at a conference on Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* at Rochester Institute of Technology on 4–6 May . . . **Ryan Hanley** and **Adam Potkay** have received NEH fellowships for 2006–7 . . . **Lore Hisky** presented a lecture on "Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Royal House of Stuart, 1688–1788: Works of Art from the Drambuie Collection" based on the exhibition at the Dixon Gallery and Gardens in Memphis, Tennessee . . . in November 2005 **Andrew Hook** took part in the celebrations in London for the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs at Princeton University . . . from late 2005 until early 2006 **Colin Kidd** delivered the prestigious Carlyle Lectures in the History of Political Thought at Oxford U. on "The Varieties of Unionism in Scottish Political Thought, 1707–1974" . . . citing his

"influential and creative contributions to the history of analytical aesthetics," Rutgers U. has named **Peter Kivy** a Board of Governors Professor . . . in April **Heiner Klemme** assumed a new position as professor of philosophy at Bergische Universität Wuppertal . . . **László Kontler** spent the 2005–6 academic year on leave at the European U. Institute in Florence, Italy . . . **Kevin McGinley** will spend summer 2006 studying the plays of John Home as a short-term research fellow at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC . . . **Geoff Parker** was visiting research fellow in the Centre for the History of Ideas in Scotland at IASH, Edinburgh U., where he spoke on the first *Edinburgh Review* and the *Critical Review* . . . **Clotilde Prunier** gave birth to a son, Théotime, in 2005 and also received the David Rogers Research Fund Award for her research on Scottish Catholics in the context of European Roman Catholic networks . . . **John Radner** has retired from the English Department at George Mason U., giving him more time to make final revisions on his important book on the Boswell–Johnson relationship . . . **Ian Simpson Ross** taught a course on Adam Smith at Simon Fraser U. and then a 5-week course on David Hume and Adam Smith as leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment with Hisashi Shinohara at Kwansai Gakuin U. in Nishinomiya, Japan; also, in November he lectured at the Huntington Library on Samuel Johnson and Gaelic culture . . . **Silvia Sebastiani** spent some months at the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen, revising her Ph.D. thesis on "Race, Women, and Progress in the Scottish Enlightenment" for publication in Italian . . . as of September 2006 **Juliet Shields** moves from Ohio State U. to the State U. of New York at Binghamton . . . **David Spadafora** of Lake Forest College is now the president of the Newberry Library in Chicago . . . **Hideo Tanaka** has completed a two-year term as president of the Japanese Society for British Philosophy; in December 2005 he held seminars at Kyoto U. with **Istvan Hont** and **J.G.A. Pocock** . . . **Paul Tonks** spent the 2005–6 academic year as a visiting assistant professor of history at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania; in autumn 2006 he moves to a new position teaching in Seoul, South Korea . . . **Frits van Holthoorn** has published a dialogue on the rewriting of Hume's *Treatise* (2005) titled *De revisionis Causa: A Dialogue on the Rewriting of the Treatise of Human Nature*; it can be read at [www.shaker.nl/catalogus/boekencatalogus.asp](http://www.shaker.nl/catalogus/boekencatalogus.asp) . . . **Paul Wood** has been appointed the first Hugh Campbell and Marion Alice Small Faculty Fellow in Scottish Studies at the University of Victoria. During the two-year fellowship, which begins on 1 July 2006, Paul will be giving public lectures in the community and teaching two new courses, one on the Scottish Enlightenment and one on Scottish historical thought.

## Hutcheson's LL.D.

by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne

On the title page of *A System of Moral Philosophy* (Glasgow and London, 1755), the author is identified as "The Late Francis Hutcheson, LL.D. Professor of Philosophy in the University of Glasgow." The circumstances surrounding the award of an LL.D. to Hutcheson may be of interest to readers of this newsletter. It is a story that biographers of Hutcheson seem to have left untold.

William Leechman, Hutcheson's friend and colleague, made no mention of the matter in his biographical preface to Hutcheson's *System*. W. R. Scott also maintained silence on the subject in his still indispensable biography and study of Hutcheson's philosophy, *Francis Hutcheson* (Cambridge, 1900). Although a contemporary author of a memorial to Hutcheson (Gabriel Cornwall) supposed that the degree had been awarded by Hutcheson's own university, there are no references to such an award in the minutes of meetings of the faculty in the Glasgow University Archives.

In October 2005, the authors of this note attended a conference convened by Dr. James Harris at the University of St. Andrews on "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Classics." We took the opportunity afforded by the conference to search in the bound volumes of the library's catalogue of printed books for an edition of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus published by Robert and Andrew Foulis in 1744, in which the Greek text and the Latin translation by Thomas Gataker are printed on facing pages. We found the book described in the catalogue as follows: "Bound in crimson leather, gilt ornaments on spine Presented to the University Library in 1746 by Francis Hutchinson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, LLD St. Andrews, 1746."

The curiosity of this entry prompted us to request a clarification. Our request elicited a generous response from the reference librarian (Moira Mackenzie), who enlisted the assistance of the rare books librarian (Elizabeth Henderson) and the former keeper of rare books (Christine Gascoigne). We were presented with a record of the meetings of the University Senate. At a meeting held on 6 May, 1746, attended by the "Rector [James Hadow, principal of St. Mary's College], profr Shaw [Andrew Shaw, professor of divinity, St. Mary's College], Messrs. Pringle [Francis Pringle, professor of Greek, St. Leonard's College], Tho. Craigie [Thomas Craigie, professor of Hebrew, St. Mary's College], Jo. Craigie [John Craigie, regent in St. Leonard's College], Da. and Jo. Youngs [David Young, regent in St. Salvator's College and John Young, regent in St. Leonard's College], Hen. Rymer [Henry Rymer, regent in St. Leonard's College], J. Kemp [James Kemp, professor of Greek in St. Salvator's College], W. Vilant [William Vilant, professor of humanity in St. Salvator's College], Dr. Simson [Thomas Simson, professor of medicine]," the following motion was approved: "The Universitie unanimously agreed to conferr on Mr Francis Hutcheson, professor of Moral philosophy in the College of Glasgow, the Degree of Doctor in Laws, And on Mr Robert Simson professor of Mathematicks in the s[ai]d Colledge the Degree of Doctor in Medicine, and order their Diplomas to be expedie" (University Minutes, 5:76).

It was not uncommon for Scottish universities to award honorary degrees in law and medicine in the eighteenth century, and Hutcheson and Simson were both widely respected teachers and writers. Hutcheson's field of expertise, moreover, included jurisprudence. In the 1745 edition of his teaching manual in moral philosophy, *Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria* and in *A System of Moral Philosophy*, private or natural jurisprudence occupies a substantial portion of the texts.

Among the faculty members of the University of St. Andrews at that time, the presence of Thomas Craigie is particularly notable. According to W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858* (Glasgow, 1913), p. 38, Thomas Craigie, professor of Hebrew at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, from 1741 to 1746, was the son of Rev. John Craigie, minister of the parish church at St. Monance, Fife. Although there is no formal record of Thomas Craigie's admission as a student at the University of Glasgow (Addison's entry was for the year 1747, when Craigie was already a professor), it seems likely that Craigie had attended Hutcheson's lectures when he was a student, perhaps as one of the many divinity students who, according to Leechman's preface to Hutcheson's *System*, did so even though they were not "immediately under his care" (xxxvii).

Certainly Hutcheson had a very good opinion of Craigie. In a letter to Lord Minto of 4 July 1744 (National Library of Scotland, MS 11004, fol. 57-58), he had placed Craigie's name at the head of a short list of seven candidates recommended by him for the position of professor of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, a list that was most remarkable for the absence from it of David Hume. At the end of this letter, after declining the offer of the Edinburgh professorship, Hutcheson again returned to his first choices for the position: "Craigie and Moore are the two of my acquaintance for whose success I could best venture to promise."

James Moor had collaborated with Hutcheson on a translation from the Greek of *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (Glasgow, 1742) and would become professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow. Thomas Craigie would succeed Hutcheson as the Glasgow professor of moral philosophy in the autumn of 1746, but he was also in communication with Hutcheson during the preceding summer. At a meeting of the University Senate of St. Andrews on 13 August 1746 (University Minutes, 5:81–82):

Mr Tho. Craigie reported that he had in Commission from Mr Hutcheson to offer in his name the following Books in a present, which he hop'd the University would accept as a testimony of his Regard for the Honour they had done him; The Books were Demetrius Phalerius de Elocutione Sophoclis Tragoediae 2 Vols. Marcus Antoninus Gr. and Lat. Aristoteles de poetica and de Mundo. Aeschyli Tragoediae 2 Vols. Pindarus and Anacreon Gr. and Lat. 2 Tomes, Ciceronis Quaestiones Tusculanae, Horatii Carmina, Xenophontis Hiero sive de Regno, and Theophrasti Characteres, Epicteti Enchiridion and Cebetis Tabula, all neatly bound in Red Turkie Leather and guilt [sic!] on the back. The University appoint a Letter of thanks to be writ to Mr Hutcheson and the Books to be entered in the Library, none of them to be lent out without the Universitie's order.

All of the books cited in this minute were printed in Glasgow by Robert and Andrew Foulis and appear in Philip Gaskell, *A Bibliography of the Foulis Press*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1986). They are listed below in the order in which they appear in the minute. All but two of them (Cicero, no. 9, and Horace, no. 10) contain Greek as well as Latin titles (consult Gaskell for the full Greek titles), with Greek and Latin texts printed in one of several formats: Latin and Greek texts on facing pages (nos. 1, 2, 3, and 6), Latin text in footnotes to the Greek text (nos. 7 and 8), or Latin text following the Greek text (nos. 4, 5, 11, 12 and 13).

1. *Demetrii Phalerei De Elocutione, Sive, Dictione Rhetorica* (1743; Gaskell, no. 31).
2. *Sophoclis Tragoediae Quae Extant Septem; Cum Versione Latina* (1745; Gaskell, no. 68).
3. *Marci Antonini Imperatoris Eorum Quae Ad Seipsum Libri XII* (1744; Gaskell, no. 44).
4. *Aristotelis De Poetica. Accedunt Versio Latina Theodori Goulstoni et insigniores Lectiones variantes* (1745; Gaskell, no. 58).
5. *Aristotelis De Mundo Liber, Ad Alexandrum. Cum Versione Latina* (1745; Gaskell, no. 59). In the copy given to St. Andrews, items 4 and 5 are bound together in a single volume. At the back of *De Mundo* there is a list of other classical texts recently published or about to be published by Robert Foulis, including all of the other volumes that Hutcheson donated to the University of St. Andrews.
6. *Aeschyli Tragoediae Quae Extant Septem. Cum Versione Latina. Et Lectiones Variantibus* (1746; Gaskell, no. 71).
7. *Omnia Pindari Quae Extant. Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia. Cum Interpretatione Latina.* (1744; Gaskell, no. 54).
8. *Anacreontis Et Sapphonis Carmina.* (1744; Gaskell, no. 43). In the copies given to St. Andrews by Hutcheson, items 7 and 8 are bound together in one volume.
9. *M. Tullii Ciceronis, Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri Quinque. Accedunt Lectiones Variantes, Et Doctorum, Praecipue Cl. Bouherii Conjecturae* (1744; Gaskell, no. 45).
10. *Quintus Horatius Flaccus Ad lectiones probatiores diligenter emendatus, et interpunctione nova saepius illustratus* (1744; Gaskell, no. 50). This octavo volume was the only work of Horace published by the Foulis Press in the 1740s. It is the work referred to as "Horatii Carmina" in the faculty minutes.
11. *Xenophontis Hiero, sive De Regno* (1745; Gaskell, no. 70).
12. *Theophrasti Characteres Ethici* (1743; Gaskell, no. 40).
13. *Epicteti Enchiridion, Cebetis Tabula, Prolici Hercules, Et Cleanthis Hymnus* (1744; Gaskell, no. 47).

Neither Craigie nor his colleagues at the University of St. Andrews could have known that Hutcheson had died in Dublin on 8 August 1746 (Registry Book of St. Mary's Church, Dublin, in the Representative Church Library, Dublin), five days before their meeting. Leechman remarked in his preface to the *System* that Hutcheson had fallen into "an uncertain state of health" in the last months of his life. Before then he had enjoyed "a pretty uniform state of good health, except some few attacks of the gout, till some months before his death" (xli–xlii). Hutcheson's last recorded attendance at a meeting of the faculty of the University of Glasgow was on 11 June 1746 (Glasgow University Archives, 26648, fol. 13). He was still in Glasgow on 30 June, when he drew up his last will and testament, witnessed by James Moor and Robert and Andrew Foulis (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D/971/34/D/1).

It is appropriate that one of Hutcheson's last acts should have been to promote the study of Greek and Latin texts. Leechman recorded that besides his regular lectures, five days of the week, "he had another lecture



three days of the week, in which some of the finest writers of antiquity, both Greek and Latin, on the subject of Morals, were interpreted, and the language as well as the sentiment explained in a very masterly manner" (xxxvi). Hutcheson's students would recall the same late morning classes when Cicero's works were read and discussed. As Hutcheson's former student Rev. James Wodrow wrote to the Earl of Buchan on 28 May 1808: "This gave the Prof'r an occasion of entering more deeply into the subject, and introducing some Account, not only of the different sects and schools of the Greek Philosophers, referred to by his Author, but very entertaining Anecdotes of many of the principal Characters that figured in the Roman Republic, enlivened with fine passages from their best Poets which he had quite on his memory" (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, MS Baillie 32225, fol. 54).

In another letter to Buchan, written in June 1808, Wodrow compared Hutcheson's class on classical texts with the class of his successor, Thomas Craigie. Although Craigie was "Not quite up to Hut'n in the modern Systems of Philosophy, he came very near him in his accurate knowledge of the ancient ones, especially of the opinions of the later Platonists of the Alexandrian School, reading at his forenoons diet instead of Cicero's works, greek books, such as Hierocles Commentary etc." Like Hutcheson, Craigie lectured without notes in his regular classes but, unlike Hutcheson, who walked up and down the room while speaking, Craigie spoke sitting down, "in his Desk or Pulpit" and without "the warm and strong feeling of his Predecessor, who spoke both in public and private from the heart, to the hearts of his hearers" (*ibid.*, fol. 49).

Craigie's health declined within a few years of his appointment at Glasgow. On 8 March 1751 he advised the faculty that "it is necessary for his health that he go to the Country for some weeks" (Glasgow University Archives, 26648, fol. 123). But life in the Scottish countryside did not agree with him; the country he eventually chose for his retreat was Portugal, where he died, in Lisbon, on 27 November 1751 (Addison, *Matriculation Albums*, 38).

The authors are much indebted to Sandy Stewart for assistance in the preparation of this article.

### **"Two Essays on Self Deceit & Good Humour," 1738: An Unpublished Text by Henry Home, Lord Kames**

**Edited by Rory G. Cunningham ([RoryGCunningham@aol.com](mailto:RoryGCunningham@aol.com))**

**Introduced by Ian S. Ross ([IanSimpson\\_Ross@telus.net](mailto:IanSimpson_Ross@telus.net))**

"One more thing, if I may distract you—in the same box of letters that I found in my father's flat after he passed away in the summer [of 2005]—which contained a number exchanged between the family of David Douglas—there is a manuscript entitled 'Two Essays on Self Deceit and Good humour to Mrs Dalrymple by Henry Hume 1738'." This was the intriguing opening of an email sent to me on 22 December 2005 by Rory G. Cunningham of Harrow, Middlesex, which initiated study of the text presented here.

Rory Cunningham is the great-great-grandson of Cecilia (Celie) Margaret Douglas (1813–98), second daughter of David Douglas (1769–1819), Adam Smith's cousin and heir. Genealogical details in this communication are taken from a table provided by Mr. Cunningham: Descendants of Sir William Douglas, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Morton (1539/40–1606). Celie shared with her younger sister, David (Davie) Anne Douglas (1819–79), Adam Smith's library (which her father had inherited) and papers from the Smith and Douglas side of their family. Celie married Rev. William Bruce Cunningham (1806–78), who became a Free Kirk minister at Prestonpans, and Davie married Rev. James Bannerman (1807–68), who became a Free Kirk minister at Ormiston. A letter survives in the Douglas–Cunningham papers from Celie to her mother, Elizabeth née Craigie, dated late in 1839, discussing the division of Smith's books with her sister Davie. Their father was a judge in Scotland's highest civil and criminal courts, sitting as Lord Reston, who took his life at his home at Glenduich, in a depression before having to sentence a criminal to die at the Perth Circuit Court. Smith's books were neglected afterwards until Reston's daughters married ministers, who presumably realized their value.

Late in the nineteenth century, the Bannerman share of Smith's books, approximately 850 works, was given intact to the library of New College, Edinburgh University, and then became part of Edinburgh University Library, as discussed in M.C.T. Simpson, "Books Belonging to Adam Smith in EUL," *Bibliothek* 9 (1979): 187–99. The Cunningham books have had a more checkered career. Shortly after her husband died in 1878, Celie sold some of Smith's books through James Stillie, bookseller, 19 George Street, Edinburgh, and they passed on to li-

braries and some private owners across the globe, chiefly in Britain, the United States, Canada, Italy, and Japan. Other works originally from the Cunningham stock, which were sold in the early twentieth century to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, had been picked up seriatim in the book market by the London firm of Stevens Son and Stiles, and a few with the date stamp 1912 by the Museum Bookstore, London. Celie's second son, Dr. Robert Oliver Cunningham (1841–1918), became professor of natural history in Queen's College, Belfast (1869–1904), and he presented to that institution about 150 items from his family's share of Smith's books. After his death, his family sold a further portion of Smith's books to Dulau of London, and of these 151 items were purchased in 1920 by Professor Inazo Nitobe (1862–1933), assistant director general of the League of Nations, 1920–26, who arranged for all but one to be placed in the library of the Faculty of Economics, Tokyo University, where they survived the earthquake of the 1920s and the firebombing of the 1940s. The Cunningham family gave Glasgow University Library in the 1960s their copy of the first volume of the first German translation of the *Wealth of Nations* (Leipzig, 1776), prepared by J. F. Schiller and C. A. Wichmann, which has the monogram of George III on the cover. This was said to be the last of Smith's book owned by them. Some details of the dispersal of Smith's library are found in Hiroshi Mizuta's introduction to his book, *Adam Smith's Library: A Catalogue* (Oxford, 2000), xx–xxi. Though owning books is not equivalent to reading and studying them, reconstructing the contents of Smith's library is an invaluable help for probing his thought, and his extended family members are much to be commended for their efforts to preserve his books and provide information about them.

As for Smith's papers, some of them passed on to Celie and Davie. Their descendants, Miss Olive Cunningham and J. D. Cunningham (two of Celie's grandchildren—J. D. being Rory Cunningham's grandfather), also Mrs. Helen Bannerman (née Watson: 1862–1946, author of *Little Black Sambo*, 1898; married to Davie's son Dr. William Burney Bannerman, 1858–1924, army surgeon in India), were applied to by W. R. Scott for help when he was writing his major biographical source book, *Adam Smith as Student and Professor* (Glasgow, 1937). They provided Scott with documents and information about memorabilia they possessed. In particular, Helen Bannerman sent him four cardboard boxes of papers, and in one of them he found a fragment of a lecture on justice and Fragments A and B relating to the *Wealth of Nations* (see I. S. Ross, *Life of Adam Smith* [Oxford, 1995], 277).

Rory Cunningham has not found anything quite as significant, perhaps, as the fragments from Smith's desk, but the two essays published here are extremely interesting. Since I have only seen a colored photocopy of its six pages, and the outside cover with the title, I cannot provide a physical description. Rory Cunningham found the manuscript in a bundle of mainly legal papers relevant to the Cunningham family, next to Douglas family letters, in a box containing a variety of family documentation from the mid-eighteenth century. He thinks placement of the manuscript among the Cunningham papers arose because of a size consideration, and he has not worked out any connection between a Mrs. Dalrymple referred to in the title of the manuscript and the Douglas or Cunningham sides of his family, but I have something to say below about that lady.

Rory Cunningham wondered if this text could be by Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782), well known to the readers of this periodical as a jurist, man of letters, and improver at the local and national levels and, through robustness and longevity, a driving force in the Scottish Enlightenment. I compared photocopies I possess of early samples of Henry Home's handwriting and confirmed that the "Two Essays" manuscript was in his hand. As for the spelling of "Hume" rather than "Home" in the identification of the manuscript, Mr. Cunningham pointed out to me that this is written on the cover in a different hand, and its writer may have gone more on phonetics than on Henry's family usage.

In addition, I reviewed a microfilm I possess of manuscripts by Kames that form part of the Abercairnry Collection in the National Archives of Scotland, including item GD24/1/550, a commonplace book compiled by Henry Home. This has miscellaneous entries from the 1730s, including a letter by the poet William Hamilton of Bangour, dated 5 January 1732, and others written by Home himself from the house of Kames, and from Ballencrief Castle, home of the Elibank family; an entry dated 1 May 1733, in which Home praises extempore Presbyterian worship; an account of a young traveler in the Highlands in 1734; and a series of undated essays: "on Characters," "The Enchanted Cup" (with an annotation it was taken into a late book by Kames: *Loose Hints on Education*, 1781), "Upon the Liking We have to Tragedy," which has some points in common with Hume's "dissertation," "Of Tragedy" (1757), including reference to Dubos, *Réflexions critiques . . . sur la poésie et la peinture* (1719–33), and the pieces constituting the "Two Essays," namely, "An Officer of the Revenue" and "A fat English Parson."

The contents of this commonplace book represent some of the literary activities of Henry Home during the 1730s when, amid a busy professional life as a successful advocate and productive legal scholar, he gathered round him a group of talented young men, whom he encouraged to write and share their work. The aim was to promote literary and philosophical creativity in enlightened Scotland (I. S. Ross, *Lord Kames and the Scotland of His Day* [Oxford, 1972], 76–77, 81–82). David Hume was a member of this group, and he exchanged "Papers" with Henry Home in June and July 1739, an activity mentioned in letters he sent to Home on 4 June and 1 July (*New*

*Letters of David Hume*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and Ernest C. Mossner [Oxford, 1954], 5–6). The first two volumes of *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739), which Hume hoped would revolutionize philosophy, were not being well received, and Hume was highly anxious about the fate of the third volume, due out in 1740. He believed his lack of success arose from the expression of his philosophy rather than its ideas, and he was turning to the essay form to win the attention of the reading public. He seems to have been inspired in part by Addison's statement in *Spectator* no. 10: "It was said of Socrates, that he brought Philosophy down from Heaven, to inhabit among Men; and I shall be ambitious to have it said of me, that I have brought Philosophy out of Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-Tables and in Coffee-Houses." Thus, in "Of Essay Writing," which he published in *Essays, Moral and Political*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1742), Hume adopts the same stance: "I cannot but consider myself a kind of Resident or Ambassador from the Dominions of Learning to those of Conversation; and shall think it my constant Duty to promote a good Correspondence betwixt these two States." In a question, he sketches the gain to be made by this exchange between the "Learned" and "conversible World": "what Possibility is there of finding Topics of Conversation fit for the entertainment of rational Creatures, without having Recourse sometimes to History, Poetry, Politics, and the more obvious Principles, at least, of Philosophy?" (Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller, rev. ed. [Indianapolis, 1987], 534–35).

On his side, Henry Home seems to have hoped that Hume would collaborate in a scheme of his for bringing out a periodical at Edinburgh, "to comprehend the Designs of both the *Spectator* and the *Craftsman*," that is, one dealing chiefly with morals and literary criticism in the fashion pioneered by Addison and Steele, on the one hand; and, on the other, dealing with politics as handled by Bolingbroke, Pulteney, and their Country Party friends. Henry Home (now Lord Kames) reported this scheme to James Boswell in 1762, mentioning that he still had a "couple of dozen of Essays which he intended for that purpose" (*The Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle*, ed. Geoffrey Scott and F. A. Pottle [New York, 1928–34], 1:101). The scheme was dropped, according to Kames, because of a "want of witty and humorous writers," while Hume claimed in the advertisement to his *Essays Moral and Political* (1741) that this occurred "partly from Laziness, partly from Want of Leisure."

However, there are in this volume and its successor of 1742 essays subsequently withdrawn, which Hume described to his printer William Strahan, in a letter of 7 February 1772, as "bad Imitations of the agreeable *Trifling* of Addison" (*Letters of David Hume*, ed. J.Y.T. Greig [Oxford, 1932], 2:257). More important to Hume and his readers, probably, than following the example of Addison in polite letters was the emulation of Bolingbroke and Pulteney in the *Craftsman*, through drawing arguments from history and contemporary events to support a "patriot" view of government and to undermine Walpole's power exercised through corruption. In any event, Hume was pleased to report to Henry Home on 13 June 1742 that his essays had been favorably received in London, where they had apparently sold out. As well, he comments on the fact that a lady acquainted with Agatha Home, Henry's wife of a year, had done him an "Honour," presumably by praising his essays and, lo! and behold, this is a "Miss Dalrymple" (*New Hume Letters*, 9–10). In a subsequent letter to Alexander Home of 11 December 1743, Hume refers to "my Flame, Betty Dalrymple," and his editor, J.Y.T. Greig, reckoned on undisclosed grounds that this was Elizabeth Dalrymple (1713–81), youngest daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castlehill (*Hume Letters*, 1:55). The "Mrs." attached to Dalrymple in the title of the manuscript is honorific, I think, equivalent to "Mistress" and not indicative of the married state; see Lady Nairne's song, "The Laird o' Cockpen," in which the heroine, Miss M'Clish, is referred to as "Mistress Jean."

Putting all this together, it may be submitted that Rory Cunningham's manuscript of the "Two Essays" bears an original text presented to Hume's "Flame," Betty Dalrymple, in 1738, or a copy thereof, and that it presents a text close to the one found in Henry Home's commonplace book of the earlier 1730s in the Abercairny Papers. Mr. Cunningham has compared a scan of the commonplace book text with that of his manuscript and finds only minor differences. Moreover, the "Two Essays" themselves are connected with the *Spectator* rather than the *Craftsman* side of the periodical projected by Home, in that they deal with manners and morals through anecdote and social commentary, although there is no Mr. Spectator persona or a club interaction controlling the viewpoint. Addison has a paper on fathers and sons (*Spectator* no. 189, 6 October 1711), but in development it is unlike Home's example in his first essay, which is of a more subtle moral cast and ends with something like the idea of putting ourselves in the shoes of others, or seeing ourselves as others see us, if we are to make moral progress—an idea found in Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and picked up by Robert Burns in "To a Louse." The second essay is the kind of robust moral exemplum one might associate with Swift or Fielding rather than the more fastidious Addison. As to the finding of the manuscript of the "Two Essays" in the Cunningham–Douglas papers and any connection with Adam Smith, these matters remain enigmas at present.

Ian Simpson Ross



'Two Essays on Self Deceit and Good humour to Mrs Dalrymple by Henry Hume 1738'  
[First Essay]

An Officer of the Revenue, grown Rich by Oppression, had a Son and a Servant, intimate Comerades. They would pass the live long Day in conversing about Masters and Fathers. Masters now a dayes are meer Turks sayes Martin the Valet, no regard for Us, no Compassion. Do they take Us for Dogs, and that they only have the Priviledge of Humanity? Labour intollerable, Threatenings, Blows—these alwayes ready, but of Wages? not a word. All true sayes the son, but my Dear Martin are Fathers less hard-hearted? Constant chiding, Vexatious Admonitions and tedious Lessons of Morality; Fools, to expect we shou'd have all the dull Gravity of old Age. Does a Young Man incline to the Army? the long Robe must be his Fate. Crosst he must be in all his Inclinations, as if the Old Dottard was to taste and feel for Him not He for himself. No! sayes the Scholar, there is not a Race of Men more intollerable than these Fathers. Martin on his side stood to his Text, and this was their constant Theme. Separated at last they were each in his several way. Martin, employ'd in the Finances, succeeded, and at last became a Tax gatherer, got Houses, what do I say? Palaces, a well appointed Table, a Grand Equipage, and a Nation of Valets. The Scholar on the other Hand improv'd his Fathers Stock, took a Wife, had Children. Martin was now a reputeable Companion, for he was Rich. Their Friendship continued. But what was now their Theme? Why, Children & Servants. Oh the Cross of Domesticks says Monsieur Martiniere (for Martin's Name was grown at least three Inches) Thoughtless & lazy; Threats and Blows are in Vain; Thieves, Traytors, Lyars, They eat our Bread and laugh at us to the Bargain. Ah sayes the Father of the Family, talk to Me of Children, there's the real Cross. Good for nothing, Girl or Boy, no Obedience. We fatigue Ourselves to Death for them; but for Gratitude, your Servant; They long for our Death and watch the Instant and then hou happy when reliev'd of a Burden.

A Man makes but a bad Judge in his own Cause. Full of Himself, he is apt to lose sight of what He owes to Others, shuts his Eyes, dreams of his fancied Worth, supposes He is, or ought to be a Monarch, mounts his Throne, and to him all must bend the Knee[.] This Partiality corrupts our Judgement, makes us blind to our own Littleness, and convinces Us positively there is none such. The Deceit is universall Kind Reader; flatter not yourself as if you were the Single Exception. Two Persons are not more different from one another than the same Person in different Circumstances of Life. The Bondslaves we are of Fortune, and it wou'd make one smile, nay laugh outright to observe what ridiculous Monkey Shapes She can mould us into. Yet in this we are out of the reach of Fortune, in this only invariable, Blind Prejudice to our dear, present little Self. An Inferiour rails at his Superiors. He is exalted, loses Sight of what He was, and now rails directly against himself in his former Character. The Poor intent upon the Obligation of Benevolence, due by Men of ample Fortunes, never cease wondring at the narrow views and contracted Mind of the Opulent. But no sooner is a Man grown Rich, than the Scene changes, and now he considers nothing but the Respect due to one of his Condition. What can be expected of one born a Prince, who has never felt Adversity, nor ever been led to consider the Duties of the Great to People of lower Rank. Kings naturally are no worse than other Men; And, but for this Partiality, it wou'd be difficult to account that they shou'd universally run into narrow Contracted Views, indulging low & gross Appetites, arrogating every thing to themselves, giving no quarter to others, which must render them mean even in their own eyes, utter strangers to the Higher and more manly Gratifications, the Exercise of Justice and Benevolence in which the Perfection of our Nature does consist.

This Partiality, where prevalent in the Constitution is hard to cure. It is an ugly Disease that renders Us loathsome to others, and if allow'd to gather Strength will at long run make us loathsome even to Ourselves. I know of no better Regimen than to have the following and such like Considerations ever in view. 1<sup>mo</sup>) To take it for granted as a certain Truth, that this Weakness and Partiality runs through the whole Species, and none of Us free from the Infection. For which Reason when we Judge betwixt ourselves and Others, we ought to give large allowances upon this head; without which our Judgements will certainly be erroneous, and never in any measure fair or candid. To this end before coming to any Determination, what if we should accustom ourselves to take up the opposite Argument, put ourselves in place of the Party with whom Our Concern is, assume his Character, and then consider faithfully what may be said for Him. And if by Practice one can bring himself thus to personate a Character, and be a good and Just Actor, the Partiality that weighs for himself may be brought to weigh in favours of the assum'd Character. And indeed this wou'd be to pervert a Byass'd Mind into Rectitude, and betray a Great Vice into it's opposite Virtue. *This is the Lesson* shortly summ'd up in a Golden Rule, Do as you wou'd be done by [Note: occurrence of this phrase here predates earliest reference cited by the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*: Earl of Chesterfield, 1747]. (2<sup>do</sup>) Let us reflect, that this Vice does necessarily expose us to the hatred and ill will of all around, and if we have any Passion for the Esteem of others, that Self Partiality is inconsisten[t] with it. This is a weighty Consideration: Let us even be in the Right, yet the world is a terrible Antagonist, for who can bear to be look'd down upon? What must he then feel who is conscious of deserv'd Contempt, and the merited

Indignation of his fellow Creatures. "What Ground must this afford for Horror and Dismay. To such a creature "every thing around must appear Ghastly and menacing; every thing hostile, and as it "were bent against a Private and Single Being, who is thus divided from every thing, and "at Defiance and war with the rest of Nature. Now if Banishment from One's Country, "Removal to a foreign Place, or any thing which looks like Solitude or Desertion, be so "heavy to endure; what must it be to find this inward Banishment, this real Estrangement "from Humane Commerce; And to be after this manner in a Desert, and in the horridest "of Solitudes, even when in the midst of Society". (3<sup>rd</sup>) Suppose the World equal and fair, and if possible even our Friend, yet in our own Imagination, this vice will expose us to abundance of bad Treatment. One of this Temper will still be apt to conceive, that he does not meet with Justice, or that Sufficient Respect is not paid him, which must be an everlasting Fund of Vexation and Heartburning. It was a Problem agitated among the Sages of Antiquity "Hou comes it that Man is generally so much satisfied with himself, "and is so little with his Condition"? This very Consideration explains it. A Proud or Selfish Mind; never sayeth it is enough. Hou then can he be satisfied with his Condition, who is in his own Estimation meets with Disrespect from every Quarter: This is a Dismal Situation: Better far out of the world than live in such Spleen & Rancour. Hou different the Modest Man, amiable and Benign, yeilding in his Temper, moderate in desire: Is he Partial? it must be against himself, Severe? upon his own Conduct. Unconscious of Guilt, he walks along, and dreads no Mischieff; Chearfulness & Benevolence his Companions; Charity his faithfull Guide; He vaunteth not himself, is not puffed up; seeketh not his own, is not easily provok'd, Thinketh no Evil. This is the Man who possesses himself, and enjoys Life in its Purity and Perfection. (4<sup>th</sup>) As Partiality and selfishness of Temper is the direct opposite Character to diffusive Benevolence and Openness of Heart, the great Avenues by which every noble Enjoyment makes its entry into the Soul, the indulging such a Diseased Temper tends to introduce a habite of bitterness and Malignity, grating, surely in the present feeling; but hou much more, when it becomes by a Reflex Act, the Ghastly Object of a distemper'd and perpetually irritated Remembrance. This must make us an Object of Contempt even to ourselves, worse far to *bear*, than the united Reproach of the whole World besides. Reverence thy self, sayes the Moralist, and a Divine Lesson it is; But what must he be, who wages a perpetual War against himself, who has no feeling but of Pain & anguish, who has no Consciousness but of Perverse views, and who therefor has and must have the most solid Distaste at himself.

What think you of this flight? Have I been able to raise you along with Me, or was you dropt by the way? For truely so wrapt up was I in my Contemplation that I quite lost Sight of my Reader. If you have been mounting all this while, I must contrive to bere you down in some easy way, that I may restore you safe & sound to the Regions of Common Sense again. And behold here is our little peice to releive you from the deep tragical scene

[Second Essay]

A fat English Parson, who had long doz'd over Sermons in the Pulpit and strong Beer in his Parlour, happen'd one Sunday after a plentiful Crompt of Tythes to exert himself beyond ordinary. His Text was the Patience of Job: Quite satisfied with his performance, he told his Spouse at Supper, his Text had made him a thorough Convert, and he was resolv'd to practise himself what he had preach'd to Others [Note: first use of this phrase according to CODQ: Dr John Armstrong, 1744]. But now my Jewel, sayes he, let us refresh ourselves with a bottle of the best. Remember the favourite Barrell, may this not be a proper time to give it Vent? What do you think? The good woman flew to the Cellar ravish'd with her Husbands good Humour. But alas the Barrell was staved, and the Beer all run out. What should she do? there was no hiding. My Dear said she, with Despair in her Eyes, what a sad Accident has happen'd? I am sorry said the Parson gravely, if any one has met with a Misfortune, For my part, if it has happen'd to Me, I am resolv'd to bear it with a Christian Deportment.—But where is our beer all this while? A lack a day, that is the very thing; Hou it has happen'd, I cannot understand, but it is all swimming upon the Ground. What do pious Resolutions avail, when the hour of Temptation comes? The Parson fell into an immoderate fit of Passion, rav'd, exclaim'd. My Life sayes She, do but reflect upon your Sermon; Do but think of the Patience of Job, Job, said he, don't talk to Me of Jobs Patience, Job never had a Barrell of such Beer in his Cellar.

**In Leviathan's Defense:  
Adam Anderson, John Campbell, and the Case for  
Centralized, Commercial Empire in the Eighteenth Century**

by Paul Tonks

This article explores the published views of Adam Anderson and John Campbell, two influential London-based Scottish commentators who sought to defend the expansion and consolidation of Britain's empire in the early reign

of George III. Adam Anderson (1692–1765), a native of Aberdeen, was the author of one of the most influential eighteenth-century tracts on British commercial empire. First published in London in 1764 as *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time. Containing, an History of the Great Commercial Interests of the British Empire*, the work was favorably received and had an enduring influence. Anderson had extensive knowledge of commercial and imperial affairs as chief clerk of the South Sea Company, whose office he worked in for four decades. He was particularly interested in the American colonies and had been one of the original twenty-one trustees of the charter company that settled the colony of Georgia. John Campbell (1708–75), a native of Edinburgh and long-time resident of London, was a prolific professional writer and bookseller who wrote many popular pieces over the course of a long career. He was sufficiently esteemed in Scotland to be awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Glasgow in 1754. Anderson focused on the crucial importance of commercial development in shaping human society. In a fashion strikingly echoed by Campbell, Anderson's avowed purpose was to trace the engines of commercial development in order to see how Britain and its empire could build on its historical record of evolving commercial success. His historical methodology, shared with Campbell, demonstrated a marked affinity with the approach of leading Scottish Enlightenment authors. He attempted to integrate analysis of domestic and colonial commercial relationships. History was the key framework of economic and political discourse for Campbell, as for Anderson. Campbell played a prominent role during the ferment that took place after the accession of George III in 1760, when hostility to the perceived Scottish threat to English liberty at home in the metropole and in the American colonies erupted viciously and formed a key element of opposition discourse that continued through the American Revolution. Campbell was secretary to the prime minister, the Scottish third Earl of Bute, and was the administration's leading defender in print. His contributions were particularly important in the hugely controversial sphere of imperial policy and the terms of the peace treaty negotiated to end the Seven Years' War. Campbell's influential pamphlet *Candid and Impartial Considerations on the Nature of the Sugar Trade* (1763) helps us to understand his impact during this vital period. Campbell wrote this pamphlet at the behest of Bute, and the copy in the British Library was presented to the king. The core of this substantial text focused on the contrasted histories of English/British and French commercial colonialism. Interestingly, Campbell echoed Hume in his argument that support for government was based on interest. He demonstrated a clear affinity for central tenets of Scottish political economy and anticipated Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) in his skepticism about attempts to monopolize trade.

For Campbell, trade, particularly since the European colonization of the Americas, was fundamental in shaping the course of international relations. Campbell shared this crucial concern with other prominent eighteenth-century Scottish commentators, of course. International commerce and the balance of power between rival nation-states and empires was the focus of one of Campbell's most influential (and most frequently reprinted) books, *The Present State of Europe. Explaining the Interests, Connections, Political and Commercial Views of Its Several Powers* (1750). His view of commerce, like Anderson's, was fundamentally optimistic. The modern competitive international state-system that was evolving in Europe was interpreted in terms of the evolution of overseas trade and European colonial expansion. The changes that had occurred since the European "discovery" of the Americas had produced a revolution in the political and strategic map of Europe. It was absolutely vital that the British, as the exemplary modern commercial nation, understand correctly the basis of Britain's national interest and therefore act as a key arbiter of the balance of power.

Campbell's magnum opus was *A Political Survey of Britain: Being a Series of Reflections on the Situation, Lands, Inhabitants, Revenues, Colonies, and Commerce of This Island* (1774). This was a project that Campbell had worked on for years. In fact, in 1755 he had first set out before the public *Proposals for Printing by Subscription, Britannia Elucidata: A Political Survey of Britain*. The leitmotif of Campbell's *Political Survey*, in common with many of his earlier efforts, was the drive for improvement—that key value of eighteenth-century Britons, and particularly Enlightenment Scots. Like the leading thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, Campbell viewed improvement as a motor and a gauge of historical change. The desire for bettering one's condition, and that of one's family and, ultimately, society, propelled historical progress. In line also with the central facets of Court Whig argument, Campbell possessed a profoundly optimistic perspective on recent British history, and particularly on the period from the Glorious Revolution and the Parliamentary Union. Crucial to his historical vision of British, and British imperial, progress was his conservative Court Whig stress on the ordered liberty embodied in post-Glorious Revolution governance.

We can understand Campbell's political stance in terms of the classic historical struggle to balance liberty and authority, highlighted in Hume's famous essay, "Of the Origin of Government." Campbell's historical account of the evolution and contemporary pattern of British governance was one that emphasized progress, in line with the central thrust of Court argument, but it was by no means a simplistic linear progress. He stressed that there were cycles and periods of regression because the balance of power in the constitution, like the balance of power be-



tween competing nations, was fragile and subject to alteration. Overall, however, his arguments reflected the celebratory conception of Hanoverian imperial Britain as the greatest period in British history, with the best conditions for its subjects. Improvement went hand in hand with a beneficial pattern of governance. The proper legal and constitutional framework was vital so that development could occur under the protective umbrella of security.

Both Campbell and Anderson adopted an explicitly Baconian epistemological conception of their endeavor to analyze the prospects of national power, which they framed in the idiom of historical geography and statistical analysis. Anderson drew attention to Francis Bacon's special relevance as a colonial thinker, noting "his excellent Instructions concerning New Colonies" (*Origin of Commerce*, 2:229; all references are to the 4-volume edition, London, 1787–89). History was the great guide for the inquirer into a people's present condition and future prospects because evidence was obtained from historical research and analysis. "As in regard to natural Knowledge, the surest Principles are those deduced from Experiments," Campbell asserted, "so in reference to political Researches, the clearest Lights are such as we derive from Facts" (*Political Survey*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 2:3). He believed that history bolstered the Court conception of conservative, evolutionary Anglo-British constitutionalism. A historical and comparative approach allowed one to assess which institutions and policies were best adapted to a population. Campbell spelled out an essentially utilitarian view of governance. In his mind, "the Excellence of a Government is to be discerned and determined from the Condition of the Subjects who live under it." His Court conception of the precarious relationship of liberty and authority was far from crude authoritarianism: "It hath been laid down as a just Position, that the most perfect System of Rule is that which makes the most People happy" (*Political Survey*, 2:558–59). Genuine freedom in civil society, as best guaranteed by the institutions of contemporary Hanoverian governance, allowed the subject to strive for improvement, and thus to benefit both himself and the community at large. This utilitarian yardstick was at the very heart of Campbell and Anderson's approach.

I have noted that in this period Scots were a target of virulent antipathy in England and the American colonies. Campbell, although a long-time resident of England, demonstrated a deep attachment to Scotland and its cultural identity, including that of the Gaelic Highlanders. Campbell was very mindful of English attitudes, which he viewed as the product of ignorance and prejudice, and he sought to inform his readers about the society and culture of the Scottish Highlanders in order to place them in a more positive light. He wished to defuse national tensions between the different peoples of the British Isles by asserting their common (Celtic) cultural heritage. He praised the Gaelic cultural tradition in a fashion that echoed the mind-set behind many Scots' celebration of James Macpherson's Ossianic poetry. Campbell attacked the cultural insularity and arrogance of the inhabitants of the southern English core of the British imperial state in London and its environs and praised the Celtic periphery as the embodiment, in the cultural sphere, of the ancient British character. This sentiment can be interpreted as the other side of the coin of his skeptical modern whiggism in the sphere of political and economic thought, and it was a trait shared with many of the leading Scottish literati.

The recent history of Scotland proved that Union was a crucial vehicle for positive growth and achievements in socio-economic development. Campbell, aware of the fears widely felt in England about the apparently growing influence of Scots in government, both in the seat of power in London and in the colonies, was anxious that the fulfillment of Union might be frustrated by English Scotophobia. What were the key means of achieving the promise of integrating Union? The answer for both Anderson and Campbell was the proper empowerment and exertion of the authority of Westminster. The British state, and many in the population at large, had been shaken by the crisis of the last Jacobite Rising in 1745–46. Although the rebellion had been a disaster and a tragedy, it had provided the spur to the most important transformation in governance since the two kingdoms of England and Scotland had created the new British state in 1707: the abolition of heritable jurisdictions by Westminster in 1747. These were the extensive judicial powers retained by Scottish feudal landowners, which were identified as a dangerous set of powers in the hands of private subjects in the aftermath of the 1745 rebellion.

Anderson explained in some detail the meaning and application of the British Parliament's legal reforms that followed the Jacobite Rebellion in the extension of centralized authority which abrogated the traditional local institutions in Scotland, and which were explicitly designed to integrate Scotland into a British Union under the unchallengeable authority of a sovereign Crown-in-Parliament at Westminster. "The legislature at length wisely determined to enact what should undoubtedly have been made an essential preliminary of the consolidating union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, concluded forty years before, whereby, and not till now, the true and solid liberties of the people of Scotland were established" (*Origin of Commerce*, 3:258). In Anderson's view, there was a direct relationship between a society's legal and constitutional framework and the progress of improvement. The fundamental security that Anderson associated with the model of post-Glorious Revolution English governance was intimately bound up with the success of commerce, which acted in turn further to underpin freedom and progress. The legislation of 1747 represented the accession of Scotland to the genuine modern liberty that depended on the supreme legal and constitutional authority of empowered central institutions in Westminster.

Campbell shared Anderson's view of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion and the measures taken in response by London authorities. Demonstrating his clear affinity with the historical sociology that lay at the heart of Scottish Enlightenment thought, Campbell linked political and constitutional structures, particularly in terms of the role of law, to the condition of the economy and society. Commercialization went hand in hand with the development of the law of property, and in particular was intertwined with the process of de-feudalization. The English had led the way in this historical process, and the exertion of the centralized authority of Westminster was crucial to the pattern of progress first in England and then in Scotland. Britain's progress was thus dependent on the attainment and preservation of Union, itself a fundamental guarantor and reinforcement of the modern liberty made available in the commercial society that characterized and underpinned Hanoverian governance.

Both stressed also the importance of empire and the development of the American colonies in particular. Anderson was especially interested in the historical evolution of colonial-metropolitan relations and particularly in the regulation of trade by the Navigation Acts. He wished to set these in their appropriate context, in order to trace the origins and growth of the institutions and mechanisms of imperial regulation and administration. Campbell, like Anderson, explored the historical origins and development of political economy, and was also especially drawn to the influence of "that great master in commercial science, Sir Josiah Child" (*Candid and Impartial Considerations on the Nature of the Sugar Trade*, 31). Anderson highlighted the growing autonomy of the American colonies, which he attributed in significant measure to the ad hoc system of metropolitan administration and the fitful (largely unsuccessful) efforts of the metropole to establish greater oversight and authority. Like Campbell, Anderson, as we have seen, stressed the extension of centralized authority from Westminster as the appropriate vehicle for progress in Scotland. In similar fashion, Anderson was anxious to see Westminster exert authority over the different constituent territories of the British Empire in North America, in which there was such fragmented local authority and extensive autonomy from London.

Anderson was confident that Parliament would learn the valuable lesson of its successful curbing of Scottish jurisdictional autonomy. It was imperative that Westminster act decisively because only the metropolitan Crown-in-Parliament could act with legitimacy to enhance the unity of the empire, under the requisite control of the center. Echoing the earlier concerns of prominent Scots in the colonies such as Archibald Kennedy, Cadwalader Colden, William Douglass, and Sir William Keith, he argued that Parliament should exert its authority in the interests of the empire as a whole. He advocated much fuller subjection of all the New World colonies to metropolitan authority. Anderson thought that it would be possible to achieve the necessary transformation in colonial-metropolitan relations if Crown-in-Parliament would pay the necessary attention that it had, sadly, so often failed to do in the past.

Evaluating the growth of financial innovation and its enormous impact on government and society was a crucial priority for Anderson and Campbell. Both framed their analysis of the key financial mechanisms that shaped the opportunities of individuals and the state in the terms of historical sociology. Again, we see clearly an affinity with the central themes of eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment thought. Property, money in particular, was crucial to the relationship between governments and the governed because governments required means of finance in order to carry out the duties for which they had been created, that is, the protection of those who lived under them. Campbell used the phrase "public revenue" as a series of chapter headings in his *Political Survey* in order to trace the progress of British society. A detailed examination of the composition and role of the public revenue was essential because insights into public finances made it possible to understand their interdependence with political and constitutional evolution and the shaping of people's day-to-day lives. The appropriate mode of governance, particularly in terms of suitable laws and fiscal mechanisms, facilitated the fulfillment of a nation's potential, based as it was on individuals' pursuit of betterment. Progress in economy and society were dependent on effective government. Britain in the period after the Glorious Revolution and the Union of 1707 possessed the very embodiment of such a mode of governance. What were the key institutions, structures, and protocols of contemporary British governance that allowed improvement to occur? For both Campbell and Anderson, the true late seventeenth-century revolution had been in the finances of the state. The solid foundation of public credit was the central achievement of the Revolution of 1688 and its aftermath.

Campbell believed that it was vital to trace the history of financial mechanisms and institutions, particularly those that had become essential to modern government in eighteenth-century Britain, such as the central bank, the Bank of England. This should convince contemporaries to appreciate that profound progress had occurred. Even though the size of the national debt had been increased massively since its establishment at the end of the seventeenth century, this increase had been managed very successfully by fiscal innovation, economic growth, and most importantly the political will and structures to undertake proper and effective management of such a national burden: "The Facility of increasing it arose from the Augmentation of national Wealth, the Opinion entertained of Parliamentary Security and that strict Regard which hath been always paid to public Faith" (*Political Survey*,



2:554). The state of the public finances, and in particular the public credit, should be understood as, “the truest and best Criterion of the State of the Nation” (557). The impact of this financial revolution had been deep and far-reaching and was best understood in terms of the Scottish Enlightenment historical sociology of manners. Some problems were associated with these fiscal mechanisms, particularly in the initial period of financial experimentation, but history demonstrated that they had been increasingly well managed and useful across the eighteenth century.

For Anderson also, money and the mechanisms of innovation in private and public credit were central to the fabric of commercial modernity and were thus crucial to the future prospects of the British Empire. Anderson articulated sophisticated monetary conceptions based on a carefully constructed historical view of the evolution of finance. He was aware that there could be tremendous problems and terrible mistakes; this awareness was a reflection of his own administrative position that had commenced in the era of the South Sea Bubble. Anderson noted contemporary anxieties about the character and impact of financial revolution: “some will nevertheless plausibly, as they think, object, that our immense paper credit is a principal cause of the specious appearance of wealth, more especially in our great metropolis; where, say they, there is not so great a plenty of real money or coin as many would have us believe. By which the objectors would seem to insinuate, that paper credit may be arbitrarily, and perhaps some might go so far as to say unlimitedly, created in any nation: than which nothing is more absurd and false in fact” (*Origin of Commerce*, 1:xxxix).

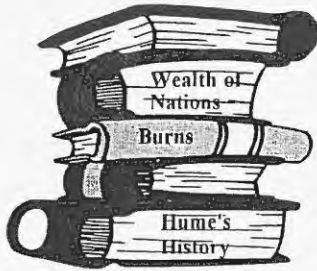
Anderson stressed that the catastrophe of the South Sea Bubble and its French contemporary the Mississippi Scheme (directed by the expatriate Scot John Law) proved that money ultimately must be dependable, and indeed that it constituted the essential definition of modern credit. “For, were there no other demonstrative evidence thereof than the famous, or rather infamous year 1720, both with regard to the transactions in England and in France, that alone is sufficient to evince, that the national paper credit in every country, that is, its public assignable debts or funds, as well as that of every bank and banker, in order to its permanent duration and support, must ever bear, at least, a due proportion to the real intrinsic ability or wealth of such nation, bank, or banker,” he explained. “Or, in other words, with particular regard to national credit, that such paper credit can no longer possess a solid duration than whilst men are persuaded that proportionable or sufficient realities exist or remain for circulating or answering the same” (xxxix–xl). Put simply, “National, or public paper credit, therefore, is not the cause, but purely the effect of national ability or wealth” (xl).

Anderson shared Campbell’s understanding of the financial revolution that had accompanied and underpinned the Glorious Revolution. He emphasized the crucial role of the Bank of England in establishing and sustaining public credit in Britain on a solid foundation. Anderson stressed the peculiar strength of Britain, dependent on its system of governance and its character as a great commercial nation. “National, as well as more private paper credit, therefore, doing the office of real money or coin, is in that respect so far from being a misfortune, as some have insinuated, that it is a real and very considerable benefit to commerce,” he argued, “but this can never be the case for any considerable duration, or in any eminent degree, but in opulent commercial countries, and in such only where the liberties of the whole people are inviolably established” (xl–xli).

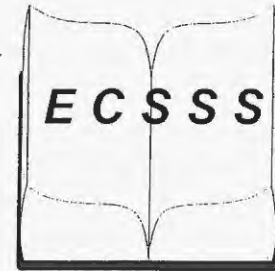
As we have seen, Adam Anderson and John Campbell put forward a sophisticated set of historical arguments to bolster the Court perspective on Hanoverian governance. Although they did not view their positions as authoritarian, they did focus crucially on the key role that should be played by the centralized authority of Westminster, both in the British Isles and throughout the extended empire. Crucially, in the sphere of public finance, the authority of Westminster had allowed Britain to undertake and preserve a financial revolution that was the vital prop of its past, present, and future success. The happiness of all parts of Britain and its colonies must rest on the unchallengeable unitary sovereignty and authority of Parliament. The supremacy of Westminster, which Campbell encapsulated as “the Force and Plentitude of Parliamentary Authority, which extends to all Things, and to all Persons Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military, within the Limits of the British Dominions,” was essential to the stability and success of the British Empire (*Political Survey*, 2:282). The utility of this supremacy was in no sphere more obvious than in that of public finance because “the publick Credit of this Country, by which she hath attracted the Confidence of her Neighbours, was originally established, and hath been in every Instance steadily and honourably maintained by Parliament”(283). Others, however, did not share this perspective on the authority of Parliament and the nature of metropolitan British governance, particularly in terms of its status vis-à-vis the American colonies. This clash over the historical interpretation of the development of the British Empire, and in particular over the locus of authority within it, erupted in the crisis of the American Revolution.

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# BOOKS in REVIEW



Mark G. Spencer, *David Hume and Eighteenth-Century America*. Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2005. Pp. ix + 534.

Except for Douglas Adair's seminal 1950s articles on James Madison's debt to David Hume's political essays in writing *Federalist No. 10* and a number of later scholars who supported or rejected Adair's interpretation, most commentators on the impact of early modern European political thinkers on American political thought during the American Revolution and the early national period have not treated Hume kindly. While Locke, Montesquieu, and a host of other political writers have received a great deal of attention for their respective roles in shaping early American ideas on politics, Hume's role has been downplayed or disregarded altogether. As Mark G. Spencer notes in the foreword to his excellent book: "Scholars have long assumed that Hume's books had insignificant influence on American political writers . . . This book explores the reception of David Hume's thought by drawing upon a wide assortment of evidence. The story revealed in those sources presents a challenge to standard interpretations that assume Americans rejected Hume's works" (ix). This is a tall order even for a seasoned scholar, let alone a young author writing his first book, but Spencer fulfills his goal admirably. Based on his outstanding doctoral dissertation and his fine edited collection, *Hume's Reception in Early America* (2002), this book is a superb revisionist historical and historiographical study of how and why Hume's political ideas in his *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, and especially in his *History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, had an impact on American political thought from the pre-Revolutionary era through the first years of the Early Republic.

Spencer's documentation and explanation of the growing influence and power of Hume's political ideas in shaping the successive stages of early American political thought is thorough and nuanced. In the first chapter, the exhaustive research and the analysis of the general availability of books in colonial America, of eighteenth-century American book catalogs, of Hume's works in those catalogs, and of the early publishing of Hume works in America reveal that, contrary to accepted scholarship, Hume's works were actually well known. The "availability and dissemination of Hume's works there" is essential "to investigate the reception and impact of Hume's thought in eighteenth-century America" (1). The second chapter brilliantly situates Hume's ideas in the context of the existing historiography on American political thought in that era. Spencer's detailed discussion of how deficient, and even outright wrong, earlier scholars were on Hume's impact in shaping early American ideas on politics is one of the book's major strengths. Chapters 3–9 constitute the heart of the book, where the author explores the numerous ways in which Hume's philosophical politics shaped American political thought. Chapters 3–5 analyze the increasing importance of Hume's ideas during the colonial, pre-Revolutionary, and Revolutionary periods. Chapter 6, "Hume and Madison on Faction," is the most important in the entire work. Spencer argues convincingly that James Madison's adoption of Hume's concept of faction as the linchpin for creating and maintaining republican government over a large and expanding geographical territory such as America came not only from Hume's famous essay "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth," as Adair had argued, but even more importantly, from Hume's *History of England*. Chapter 7 evaluates whether or not Hume's political ideas were a liability in late eighteenth-century America and concludes that they were not. In chapter 8, "Explaining 'Publius's' Silent Use of Hume," the author shows why Alexander Hamilton and especially James Madison did not recognize publicly the role played by Hume's idea of faction in creating the extended republic in their *Federalist* during the debate between Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the ratification of the Constitution of 1787. Chapter 9 takes Spencer's analysis into the 1790s by focusing on Thomas Jefferson's and John Adams's early acceptance and later rejection of Hume's political thought in the *History of England* in the context of the ideological war between the Federalist and Democratic-Republican parties in their struggle for political power. Spencer concludes the volume with an afterword, a brief coda detailing

how and why Hume's political writings continued to be influential in early nineteenth-century American thought.

Spencer's documentation of his sources is impressive, most notably in his extensive use of explanatory footnotes that add further depth to his arguments and additional citations of sources for the reader to explore and ponder. Additionally, he provides two excellent appendices from his research. Appendix A consists of tables documenting Hume's writings in early American book catalogues, while Appendix B lists the subscribers to the first American edition of Hume's *History of England*, with extensive biographical information on each one. Spencer even includes "A Note On Sources For Appendix B"! An extensive bibliography and detailed index complete the work.

My only criticism is that Spencer's title is somewhat misleading. It gives the reader the impression that the work is a comprehensive treatment of the impact of Hume's ideas about aspects of eighteenth-century American thought. Although there are short passages examining Hume's influence on American economic, literary, philosophical, religious, and social thought, the overwhelming emphasis is on political ideas. Thus, it would have been better to have retained the original title of his doctoral dissertation, "The Reception of David Hume's Political Thought in Eighteenth-Century America" (University of Western Ontario, 2001).

But that is a minor flaw in this fine study, which makes a major contribution to the body of recent scholarly literature reevaluating Hume's impact on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American intellectual culture. It complements nicely Susan Manning's book on Hume's epistemology in his *Treatise of Human Nature* in shaping American and Scottish literature, *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing* (2002), and Adam Potkay's article on Hume's essay "Of Eloquence" in determining the course of American rhetorical and oratorical theory, "Theorizing Civic Eloquence in the Early Republic: The Road from David Hume to John Quincy Adams" (1999). Spencer's book should be in the libraries not only of experts on eighteenth-century American and Scottish political thought but also of all scholars of Scotland's cultural and intellectual impact on American thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Roger J. Fechner, Adrian College, Emeritus

Jeffrey H. Morrison, *John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2005. Pp. x + 220.

Jeffrey H. Morrison's book is a brief overview (the actual text is only 135 pages) of John Witherspoon's political thought and career in the American Revolution and Early Republic, most of which is already well known to Witherspoon scholars. It covers much of the same ground that Varnum Lansing Collins, Witherspoon's best twentieth-century biographer, did eighty years ago in over three hundred pages of his *President Witherspoon: A Biography* (1925). Thus, it is surprising to find the author making the following claim in his preface: "So far as I know, this is the first comprehensive treatment of Witherspoon's political thought and career" (xiv). Morrison's claim is highly questionable, especially in light of his own admission on the same page that "the best book on Witherspoon is still . . . Collins's." The strength of Morrison's study, on the other hand, lies in the number of perceptive inferences he makes about the reciprocal connections regarding education, politics, and religion in Witherspoon's life and thought from 1768 to 1794.

A serious problem with Morrison's account is his decision to disregard, for the most part, Witherspoon's "pre-American life in Scotland from 1723 to 1768" and "focus instead on Witherspoon as an American political thinker and have relatively little to say about his Scottish career" (xiv-xv). Bypassing Witherspoon's intertwined careers in Scotland as a minister, theologian, and ecclesiastical politician and concentrating solely on his various roles in America—as if the two can be neatly separated in an account of someone who left Scotland in his mid-40s—strikes this reviewer as a major omission. Indeed, it is impossible to understand fully Witherspoon's thought and behavior in America without explaining their origins in his Scottish period. The two simply cannot be separated. Furthermore, by not examining their relationships, the author fails to give his discussion of Witherspoon's multiple American careers the comprehension and depth they rightly deserve.

There are other significant problems with the work. The topical organization of the chapters not only results in a number of repetitions in Morrison's arguments but also fails to provide the reader with a sense of the increasing interaction and momentum of Witherspoon's political ideas and actions over time. Yet another problem is the scant attention paid to critical topics. Although the author, in reviewing past works on Witherspoon, concludes that "usually . . . he has merited pages rather than chapters" (xiv), he makes the same error. Key topics in this book concerning the life and works of Witherspoon—the *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, the theoretical basis of his political thought; political economy, most notably his *Essay on Money*; congressional service, especially on diplomatic, financial, and military matters; and *Lectures on Divinity* and *Lectures on Eloquence*, where solid advice was given to his students on "speaking well" in the counsels of church and state—require at least a chapter rather than the paragraphs Morrison devotes to each of them. Finally, the author misses altogether, or else does not make good

use of, a number of standard primary sources and secondary works on the founding era.

Morrison's work is a succinct, readable account of his subject, but it is by no means a comprehensive study of John Witherspoon's American political thought and career. That work has yet to be written.

Roger J. Fechner, Adrian College, Emeritus

Vincenzo Merolle, ed., *The Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006. Pp. cx + 354.

Vincenzo Merolle's new edition of the unpublished manuscripts of Adam Ferguson is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarly work on Ferguson. Like Merolle's previous volume of Ferguson's *Correspondence* (1995), the present volume collects and renders accessible an important resource for students of Ferguson's thought. The handwritten manuscripts, held in Edinburgh University Library, have previously appeared in a rare edition by Winifred Phillip (1986) and in a Japanese edition edited by Yasuo Amoh (1996). In his new edition, Merolle aims "to set the essays more fully in the history of western philosophy, to which they make an important contribution" (vii).

To this end, the volume includes introductory essays by Merolle on Ferguson's political philosophy, by Eugene Heath on Ferguson's moral philosophy, and by Robin Dix on Ferguson's aesthetic thought. The main thrust of these essays is an attempt to highlight the importance, indeed the overwhelming influence, of Stoic thought on Ferguson's outlook. The manuscripts themselves come from late in Ferguson's life (1799–1810), and there is some value in Merolle and Heath's observation that they represent his attempt to clarify unresolved points from his earlier work, to illuminate the principles that underlie the body of his work, and to provide a partial riposte to critics of his published writings. Merolle provides helpful textual and contextual notes to each essay that frequently illustrate references to Stoic thinkers and allow easy cross-referencing with Ferguson's other works.

The essays are more expressly "philosophical" than the bulk of Ferguson's more sociological, historical, and moralistic published work. Some essays are clearly exercises in clarification of points raised in his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792)—for example XXVI on "Liberty and Necessity" and XXVIII on "Nature and Art"—while others contain meditations on the method and scope of history (III) and moral science (XXIX) produced at the end of his career. The familiar concerns with the division of labor and martial virtue are well represented in XV, "Of the Separation of Departments Professions and Tasks Resulting from the Progress of Arts in Society," and IV, "Of Statesmen and Warriours," demonstrating that these concerns stayed with Ferguson throughout his life.

On a more enjoyable note, there are two fictionalized discourses in which Ferguson "reports" discussions between contemporary figures. "An Excursion in the Highlands: Discourse on Various Subjects" (V) represents a knockabout discussion of ideas of perfection and beauty undertaken on a Highland jaunt where Ferguson, Robert Adam, William Cleghorn, William Wilkie, David Hume, and a longsuffering Ghillie pretend to go hunting as an excuse for hill-walking. Hume is the main "target" of this piece, and this is also the case in XXV, where he is joined by Adam Smith and both are criticized (and insulted) by General Robert Clerk; for example Clerk informs Smith that "Your Book to me is a Heap of absolute Nonsense" (210). While the objections to Hume and Smith, together with the ruminations on beauty in these discourses, rarely stray from the standard, they represent delightful character sketches of Ferguson's contemporaries, ranging from Smith talking to himself to the urban literati's conspicuous failure to secure lunch from the hunt.

Of more explicitly philosophical interest are the numerous essays expounding Ferguson's belief in the perfectibility of man and the identity of virtue, beauty, and happiness. The well-known Fergusonian theme of man's "active" nature is developed through the repeated assertion that the purpose of the universe is to provide the material for the exercise and instruction of the human mind. Intellectual progress from active engagement becomes the leitmotif that runs through the essays and provides the "end" discovered in virtue and happiness. The argument is often coupled with an assertion of the benevolent design of an ordered universe to allow man's progression as a proof for the existence of God and as a refutation of atheism. This is interesting given the relative absence of developed religious arguments (especially in the *Essay*) in the thought of a philosopher who was, by training at least, a Presbyterian minister.

Merolle closes the volume with a collection of critical responses to Ferguson's work ranging from Hume's letters to more recent discussions by Duncan Forbes and David Kettler. Interspersed with these extracts is Merolle's own assessment of their value as responses to Ferguson. The chief theme here appears to be that serious critical appreciation of Ferguson's project is impossible without a clear view of all of his writings, including the unpublished essays. As a result, Merolle's Ferguson is engaged in a "modern" working through of Stoic thought. This perhaps "over-eggs the pudding" on the Stoicism front. Ferguson himself responded to those who identified him as a latter-day Stoic by observing that he was "not conscious of having warped the truth to suit any system whatever" (*Principles*, 1:7), and this comment reveals that, in terms of method, he was perhaps more a man of the



(Scottish) Enlightenment than Merolle's focus on his place in Western philosophy would lead us to believe. Having said this, I should add that the volume is a high-quality contribution to Ferguson and eighteenth-century studies that demonstrates careful scholarship and a clear affection for its subject.

Craig Smith, University of Glasgow

*Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts: Papers on the Culture of the Mind.* Edited by Alexander Broadie. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004. Pp. 1 + 350.

*Thomas Reid on Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, edited by Alexander Broadie, is the fifth of ten projected volumes of The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid, under the general editorship of Knud Haakonssen. The project is now half way to completion, and it will stand, when completed, as a fitting monument to a philosopher of the first rank whose true worth has been too long forgotten.

"The lecture material published in this volume," Broadie tells us, "all of it either written for or at least closely related to, Thomas Reid's advanced course 'The culture of the mind' delivered annually in Glasgow, would ideally have the same order as the lectures themselves. But," he adds, "it is rarely possible to say with assurance which lecture notes were used first, since most of the MSS are undated and there are few clues whether physical or intellectual" (xiii). The material is organized into three major sections: The Culture of the Mind; Logic; and Rhetoric and the Fine Arts. And to a degree the title of the volume is misleading. For those who have a particular interest in eighteenth-century aesthetics, as do I, and who open this volume with the expectation of finding a rich mine of new Reid manuscripts on the fine arts, will be much disappointed, since of the 289 pages of text, only 5 are devoted to what we would construe as "philosophy of art." Nevertheless, what little there is we should be thankful for. It does, to some extent anyway, help us to place what other materials we already have, in particular, the *Lectures on the Fine Arts* of 1774, and Essay VIII of the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, in the context of Reid's philosophical career and development. Broadie remarks that Reid "appears to believe that the authors he has read on aesthetics have exhausted the subject, so that he himself had nothing new to contribute" (xlvi). In this regard, recent scholarship has proved Reid mistaken about his overly harsh self-estimation.

What Reid means by "culture," in the phrase "culture of the mind," is "cultivation;" thus, Broadie writes, "in the public class Reid lectured on the powers of the mind, and in the private class he lectured on the cultivation of those powers" (xiv). On 1 November 1766 Reid opened the term, and his lectures on the cultivation of the mind, in this wise: "I hope you all come here with a serious intention to improve in useful knowledge, and to acquire those Qualifications that may fit you to pass through Life with honour to yourselves and to your Relations and with advantage to your Country & to Mankind. This is the purpose of Education in the Liberal Arts and Sciences" (5). I cannot remember ever having read a better characterization of what a liberal education, ideally, is for. And surely we all hope that our students will come to us with the same serious intent that Reid hoped his students would bring to the enterprise. But, apparently, then as now, except for the precious few, it was just a *hope*.

Broadie's volume is rich indeed in materials for our further understanding of Reid and his century. Both the sections on logic and on rhetoric provide deep insights into the evolution of these ancient subjects in the age of science and enlightenment. As well, Broadie's introduction to the volume is a model of what such an introduction should be, written with admirable clarity of style, conveying a remarkable amount of information in easily assimilable form.

As Broadie's introduction is a model of what such an introduction should be, the volume itself is a model of what such a volume should be. The critical apparatus is thorough without being intrusive, thus making the reading easy, as well as satisfying all of the scholarly requirements that most of its readers will bring to it. I do not know how many such readers will read the book from cover to cover (I did not), but it is a wonderful book for anyone interested in the Scottish Enlightenment to browse in, which is what I did, with great interest and satisfaction. Broadie should be complimented on a splendid piece of work.

Peter Kivy, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

George Turnbull, *The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy*. 2 vols. Edited by Alexander Broadie. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005. Vol. 1: Pp. xx + 1-462; Vol. 2: Pp. xvi + 463-935.

It is commonplace that David Hume set out in his *Treatise of Human Nature* to become "the Newton of the moral sciences." However, nowhere in the *Treatise* did he refer to Newton, and it was only in an appendix that he discussed the Newtonian philosophy—in connection with his claim that we have no genuine idea of absolute space. In the introduction to the *Treatise*, Hume identified Bacon rather than Newton as "the father of experimental physics," and he regarded himself as following the lead of Locke and others in applying the experimental method to moral subjects. There is reason to think that Hume would not have considered himself to be the Newton of the

moral sciences. Unlike his contemporary George Turnbull, Hume conceived of a very different relation between the natural and moral sciences than did Newton himself.

Turnbull advocated the use of the Newtonian method in moral philosophy from his earliest publications of 1723 and 1726, when he was regent at Marischal College and teacher of the young Thomas Reid. The motto on the title page of the first volume of his *Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy* (published in 1740, the same year as Book 3 of Hume's *Treatise*) is from Newton's *Optics*, where Newton wrote that if natural philosophy is perfected through his method "the Bounds of Moral Philosophy will also be enlarged" (1:1). Turnbull took seriously Newton's own understanding of the relation between natural and moral philosophy, that it is by teaching us about "the first Cause . . . and what Benefits we receive from him" that natural philosophy will lead us to understand "our Duty towards him, as well as that towards one another." In his preface to *The Principles of Moral Philosophy* (i.e., volume 1 of *The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy*), Turnbull makes it clear that by extending the experimental method to the human mind he was adopting Newton's belief in a Divine Providence and was arguing that the same wisdom prevails in the moral as in the physical sphere (1:8–9). Moral philosophy or philosophy of mind is not for Turnbull a foundation for the other sciences; as suggested by Newton, it is an extension and completion of it.

Alexander Broadie's edition of this work, the most comprehensive statement of Turnbull's philosophy, is a welcome addition to the Liberty Fund series of Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Broadie has written illuminating introductions to each of the two volumes of the *Principles*. In the introduction to volume 1, he stresses Turnbull's doctrine of liberty, according to which laws of nature are a condition for, rather than an impediment to, our free will (xv–xvi). According to Turnbull, it is only by understanding the general laws governing ourselves, as well as those governing corporeal nature, that we are able to guide our actions toward our own moral improvement. Broadie stresses the relation of Turnbull's writing to that of other major thinkers of the day to whom he frequently refers, including Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Pope, Berkeley, and Butler.

In his introduction to volume 2, *Christian Philosophy*, Broadie argues that Turnbull is presenting a work in rational rather than revealed religion, in spite of the fact that he is here concerned with the relationship between this world and the next (xiii and following). Turnbull begins by presenting a rational proof of a good and wise deity and then goes on to argue that the creation only appears to us to contain evil because of our partial perspective. The laws of human nature are so constituted that we can use any situation that we find ourselves in to improve our moral character.

In addition to his introductions to each volume, Broadie supplies translations throughout for Turnbull's frequent footnote quotations from Roman and Greek writers. These are supplemented by the editor's own notes, which are most useful in identifying Turnbull's sources in readily accessible contemporary editions. The editorial principles are sound and easy to understand.

**John P. Wright, Central Michigan University and the University of Edinburgh**

John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*. Edited by Aaron Garrett. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2006. Pp. xix + 316.

Aaron Garrett has produced an excellent and incisively introduced edition of John Millar's *Ranks* for Knud Haakonssen's Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics series. Garrett's edition reproduces the posthumously published fourth edition of Millar's book. Published in 1806, the fourth edition was essentially a reprinting of Millar's third edition, which was the final lifetime edition of the author. It contains a life of Millar by his nephew, John Craig, which offers, as Garrett points out, a "fascinating portrait" of the intellectual milieu of Glasgow in the 1770s: "the teaching of law at the University, the great regard in which Millar was held, and his rare personal qualities" (xvii). Garrett has also helpfully included appendices of Millar's own preface to the first edition and his Lectures on Government.

Garrett's introduction also provides a helpful synopsis of Millar's arguments, emphasizing the historical dimensions of Millar's thought. What emerges is a concise description of Millar's theory of authority, or what Garrett describes as "an empirical account of how rights arise and how they change" as well as a "means to understand the historical discrepancies in the scope of authority" (x). Setting Millar's arguments for the moral foundations of cultural differences against the historical and stadial assumptions of Smith and Hume, Garrett emphasizes the elements of Millar's work that focused on familial rights. It was this emphasis which allowed Millar to set the problem of natural rights in sharp focus. "The right of father over child," for example, when examined "comparatively and historically," revealed "drastic differences" from ancient Rome to Georgian Glasgow in the "authority appropriate to the exercise of the right" (x). As Garrett poses it, the question for Millar is in essence this: "If the most basic social rights are mutable and artificial, and if man is social, what is man to make of natural rights at all?" (xv). Millar addresses the problem of rights by pushing them in a "single-minded way" within an aggres-

sively historical theoretical framework. Garrett efficiently contextualizes Millar's work against the writings of those contemporary proponents of stadial theory, placing central importance on the influence of Smith's views of rights and justice. These Millar gleaned from attending Smith's lectures on moral philosophy in 1751. Other sources for Millar's *Ranks* include Lord Kames's *Historical Law Tracts* (1758) which, Garrett contends, suggested a variant historical evolution of different aspects of the law, including criminal and property law.

Garrett's edition is a welcome contribution to the ever-widening debate on the historical and juridical sociology of the Scottish Enlightenment. It provides an accessible and provocative text from which to observe more carefully the complexities and subtleties of the new Scientific Whig and his efforts to qualify and situate natural law arguments within the contradictory tensions of a historically contingent and expansively divergent commercial society.

Pamela Edwards, Syracuse University

Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*. 2 vols. Edited by Peter Jones. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005. Pp. xxiv + 822.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*. Edited by Mary Catherine Moran. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005. Pp. xx + 280.

Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism* (1762) was a notable success with readers in the decades after its first publication, going through eight editions within twenty years; and, like the slightly later lectures on rhetoric of Hugh Blair, it went on to a considerable afterlife (in abridgments) with nineteenth-century students of rhetoric in the United States. Over the last century or so, however, the text has had far less currency. The only editions printed in the last few decades have been the 1993 Thoemmes Press version (in fact a photographic reprint of the sixth edition of 1785) and a more recent paperback put out by the University Press of the Pacific. Similarly, *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751) has not been available for thirty years, except for the 1999 Thoemmes reprint. Both of these new editions are therefore welcome and highly useful additions to the range of Scottish Enlightenment texts available to students of the period.

*Elements of Criticism* is impressive as an attempt to furnish both a psychology of aesthetic response and a series of descriptions and rules of successful composition, what Helen Whitcomb Randall described many years ago as the "analytic" and "synthetic" parts of the work. Its formulation of the concept of "ideal presence" (in chap. 2, "Emotions and Passions") to describe absorption in a remembered or represented (fictive) scene is an important contribution to contemporary debates on the value of reading history vs. fiction. However, Kames's book is not without its problems, nor has it lacked for detractors, then or now. Boswell records Oliver Goldsmith remarking of *Elements* to Johnson: "It is easier to write that book than to read it"—an opinion that foreshadows the response of many a modern reader faced with the book's 800-odd pages and its long stretches of sample extracts from literary works linked by brief critical glosses (see for example chap. 19, "Comparisons"). There is also what Walter Hipple diagnosed in 1957 as Kames's "philosophical vice" of discovering providential design everywhere. A manifestation of this tendency may be seen in Kames's notorious argument that aesthetic works support the current social order through the "sympathetic emotion of virtue," produced "in a spectator, or in a reader, by virtuous actions of every kind, and by no other sort. When we contemplate a virtuous action . . . our propensity at the same time to such actions is so much enlivened, as to become for a time an actual emotion. But no man hath a propensity to vice . . . on the contrary, a wicked deed disgusts him" (chap. 2, "Emotions and Passions"). Such a position leads Kames to assert the instrumental value of the arts, as indeed a virtual arm of government, for instance in his dedication to George III, where he comments that the fine arts are to be encouraged because "by cherishing love of order, they enforce submission to government." This combination of unruffled serenity with a hint of the more brutal forms of repressive state apparatuses is pure Kames.

The *Elements'* main argument on aesthetic experience is given in outline in that comment. Unlike Alexander Gerard and other contemporaries who worried about the impact of literature and other aesthetic productions on susceptible populations (lower-class novel-readers, for example), Kames argues that such works do not provide a means to challenge or re-imagine the subject's position in social hierarchies. Rather, they add to the support for that hierarchy. This argument is given perhaps its most fascinating articulation in Kames's late chapter on "Gardening and Architecture," where he uses public architecture and Highland road-building projects as exemplary instances of political intervention, displays of state power serving to dazzle, distract, reform or, in the last instance, threaten restive local "plebeians" and "low people" with a show of resources and state organization.

Peter Jones's introduction to *Elements* effectively situates Kames in his cultural and intellectual context, sketching his education, legal career, and important friendships with David Hume and Adam Smith. More particularly, the essay makes clear the significance and impact of Kames's discussions of gardening, architecture, and



painting in particular, in a period when, as Jones notes, there were “barely a dozen” private art collections in the whole of Scotland. Jones establishes the context and virtual necessity of Kames’s habit of giving extensive lists and descriptions of his aesthetic sources: the “relative inaccessibility to most Scots of notable paintings, architecture or music” (xii).

Similarly, Mary Catherine Moran’s introduction to the less widely circulated but important *Essays* gives a short biography followed by a well-sketched overview of Kames’s project to construct a moral system “on the principles of natural law” (ix), summarizing the arguments on morality, justice, necessity, and natural theology that he gives in the separate discussions comprising the work. Moran’s comparison of the more or less static concept of human nature given in *Essays* with the better-known savage-to-civilization progress theory of Kames’s *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774) illuminates the significant tension in Kames’s work between historicism and commitment to a notion of a providential system.

Both works include, in addition to well-judged footnotes, new indexes and short bibliographies of recent secondary literature. These volumes will now make it significantly easier to give Kames his full due as a major figure of the Scottish Enlightenment in the classroom.

Maureen Harkin, Reed College

Gauti Kristmannsson, *Literary Diplomacy: The Role of Translation in the Constitution of National Literatures in Britain and Germany 1750–1830*. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005. Pp. 316, 188.

*Literary Diplomacy* is an eccentrically brilliant study of philology in eighteenth-century Scotland, England, France, and Germany, where in various ways and for various purposes historians promoted conceptions of national literatures based on primitive origins, organic holism, and progressive development, conceptions underlying modern thinking about culture. Gauti Kristmannsson traces this development through a series of writers extending from Macpherson to Herder—or would have, had this been a more conventional book. As it is, *Literary Diplomacy* begins and ends *in medias res*, consists of a maze of digressive and seemingly uncoordinated essays, and refuses to adopt a thesis or draw conclusions. Its iconoclastic form seems in part to reflect a studied resistance to received ideas about national culture.

To the verities of cultural discourse Kristmannsson opposes translation. He opens his first volume with a twelve-part translation-typology that among other things makes a persuasive case that where literatures are concerned translation is a primary rather than a secondary phenomenon: while all strive for autonomy, ancient, renaissance, and romantic literatures all *begin* with translation. This gives rise to what Kristmannsson describes as “translation without an original,” a post-structuralist notion he develops with remorselessly empirical analysis. One way in which writers translate without an original is to appropriate forms, as opposed to language and sentiments, from their source texts, which is what Macpherson did in creating a Scottish epic out of Erse ballads. There are many analogues for this in ancient and modern literature, though of course Macpherson’s translation and its reception were shaped by local circumstances.

Kristmannsson regards Ossian as a foundational work for literary nationalism less for what it says (Macpherson was a clumsy philologist) than for what it is, a successful translation that inspired emulation in others. Thomas Percy emerges as a particularly skillful (and guileful) translator, shadowing Macpherson his *Runic Odes*, *Northern Antiquities*, and *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. Kristmannsson’s patient philological exposition and rhetorical analysis of the historical and linguistic issues involved in the “matter of Britain” controversies of the 1760s and 70s is most impressive. The remainder of the first volume shifts to Germany, where Klopstock, Goethe, the Schlegels, and others appropriated the Britons for the purpose of making war on French neoclassicism. There is a remarkable excursus on the haunting presence of old Hamlet’s ghost in the invention of German literature. In Germany translation created a united nation from divided states; in Britain translation divided nations within a united state.

The second volume shifts from poetry to prose with extended essays on cross-national appropriations of Rousseau by Adam Smith and of Adam Ferguson by Herder—four participants in a century-old, many-sided conversation on the origins of language and society. Rather than influence, *Literary Diplomacy* invites readers to regard translation as the basis for the (often silent) appropriations of foreign writers in the run-up to literary nationalism. These essays operate as a kind of palimpsest: superimposed upon the analysis of Smith and Herder are discussions of how their writings have been misappropriated by twentieth-century readers, among them Robert Crawford. Beneath, Kristmannsson continues his train of reflections: was language the precondition for society, or vice versa? The philosophers’ question cannot be resolved in terms of primal origins and developmental narrative; better to think of linguistic and cultural identities as products of translation—multivalent, indeterminate, and recursive.

If Kristmannsson’s predilection for digression and resistance to synthesis render *Literary Diplomacy* a difficult book to summarize, they also bear silent witness to the lateral, often multi-lateral, slippage that character-

izes creative translation. Translating the history of nationalist discourses out of nationalist discourse presents formal as well as linguistic and semantic challenges. With a dash of wry humor, Kristmannsson rises to the occasion by appropriating some of the more indigestible aspects of eighteenth-century philology in one of the more learned and thoughtful books ever written about literary history, Scotland, and nationality.

David Radcliffe, Virginia Institute of Technology

Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*. Edited by Maureen Harkin. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Editions, 2005. Pp. 223.

It is useful to have a crisp new paperback edition of Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*, considered by many scholars to be one of the high points of sentimental literature. The utility is increased considerably by the addition of a rich variety of appendices that supplement the text and provide valuable insights into eighteenth-century sentimentalism. These include excerpts from David Hume and Adam Smith on sympathy, selections from Mackenzie's other fiction and journalism, and correspondence related to, and reviews of, *The Man of Feeling*. All this will help readers to place this important novel in its eighteenth-century context.

The introduction to the text by Maureen Harkin appears to be aimed primarily at undergraduate students. In addition to a brief description of sentimentalism, it is divided primarily into sections that contrast the sentimental and the realistic novel, compare historical and sentimental writings in terms of their common educational function, and explore the potentially sinister relationship between colonialism and sentimentalism. Although an editor can never please everyone, scholars of sentimental philosophy and the novel may well wonder why Harkin has adopted these particular emphases rather than others. The most remarkable errors of omission are "all these explanations" for the rise of sentimentalism that relate to developments in philosophy, religion, and European culture generally. Harkin's explicit rationale here is that "these explanations have little to say" about the "sentimental novels distinguishing feature" (i.e., educating or cultivating readers' response) (25–26). But even if this assessment were accurate, would it absolve literary scholars from exploring such a critical and oft-cited connection?

The relationship between the introduction and the appendices might have been tighter. While the excerpt from *Julia de Roubigné* does reinforce Harkin's gesture to the new literature of postcolonialism, the inclusion of philosophical passages on sympathy from Hume and Smith seems to be at odds with the editor's unwillingness to explore those connections. Smith's important and original book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, is excerpted as an appendix, but the introduction uses Smith's minor and derivative work, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, to underline the pedagogical connection between history and sentimentalism. Three of Mackenzie's most famous essays from the periodical *The Mirror* ("The Story of La Roche"), included as appendices, are never mentioned in the introduction; yet arguably they provide critical literary evidence for the transformation of philosophical sympathy into the cultivation of sentiment. For it is here that Mackenzie, who as a young man served as literary page to David Hume's circle, critiques and transforms Hume (the "English philosopher" who is the essay's central character).

Given the inclusion of material from *Julia de Roubigné*, I am surprised that Harkin does not say more about that work and Mackenzie's other novel, *The Man of the World*, specifically with respect to his sentimental agenda. Whatever the merits of postcolonial theory, its application to eighteenth-century sentimentalism is ambiguous. But *The Man of the World* illuminates the complex relationship between sentiment and self-control, while its successor *Julia de Roubigné* documents the strategic shift from male to female sensibility that eventually resulted in highly gendered separate spheres. Some comparison of, and dialogue between, the three novels would have helped readers to avoid the trap of viewing characters like Harley either as authorial spokesmen or as evidence that sentimentalism was always already undermined from within. Sentimentalism may have lost its respectability within the genre of the novel but, even today, it is more than a signpost *en route* to individualization. It remains a pervasive cultural force.

John Dwyer, York University

Ronan Deazley, *On the Origin of the Right to Copy: Charting the Movement of Copyright Law in Eighteenth-Century Britain (1695-1775)*. Oxford and Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2004. Pp. xvi + 261.

The Copyright Act of 1710, the first legislation of its kind anywhere in Europe, required British booksellers to record their titles in the Stationers' Register to secure protection of their newly acquired "literary property." Paradoxically, those protections were designed "to encourage learning" by ensuring that every right to literary property would eventually die, enabling protected books to circulate in an affordable afterlife. Yet many London-based booksellers were eager to maintain their "right to copy" in perpetuity—far longer than the fourteen years guaranteed by the act, a "right" they had long assumed. They thus drew up private contracts between themselves and their authors, many of which survive. Many years ago, Hugh Amory pointed to the paranoia integral to

these contracts: one melodramatically defines a bookseller's property as "to have and to hold . . . for ever, notwithstanding any Law or Act to the contrary" (*TLS*, 30 June 1995).

Recent scholars have suggested that these claims to perpetual literary property played a decisive role in the formation of the British literary canon. William St. Clair argues in *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004) that since those claims defined the business dealings of a small group of London booksellers, they enabled this "cartel" to control the trade in popular works by keeping certain prices high—and thus determining the accessibility of the nation's favorite books. Indeed, when the Scottish bookseller Alexander Donaldson set up shop in the Strand in 1762, where he proudly announced in a circular that he was offering reprints of statutorily expired London titles "from thirty to fifty per cent under the usual London prices," the legal quibble became a court battle of national intellectual importance. After initial suits in the monopolists' favor, the Lords settled the matter once and for all in 1774, upholding the original humanist spirit and provisions of the act in language that could finally account for a book trade that had changed dramatically since 1710.

Given this historical background, and current scholarly interest, Ronan Deazley's cogent survey of the dozens of legal events leading to that watershed decision is considerably useful. Deazley's painstaking focus on the many legal arguments and decisions of this period enables him to look back to the early years of the century when, he argues, the new act "struck an economic, social, and cultural bargain" (46). Under the terms of the Licensing Act of 1662, which was allowed to expire in 1695, the state rewarded the Company of Stationers with literary property for their role as political censors. While the more humanist Act of 1710 was designed to foster the circulation of ideas by providing only limited remuneration to booksellers, in fact the booksellers exploited the act's provisions for the laboring author in order to promote their own interests. Deazley also shows that it was the act's own poorly drafted provisions which invited six succeeding decades of circumvention, challenge, and misreading. Literary scholars have long attended to the major decisions that defined the parameters of this period. Now Deazley has shown that the decisions from inside those parameters drew on many decades of fascinating and yet neglected case law, involving some of the century's most prominent authors, booksellers, and jurors.

As Deazley points out, the Act of 1710 sought copyright protection only for books printed in England, enabling Scottish booksellers to market English works according to market demand rather than private contracts. Despite Deazley's impressive fluency with the Georgian legal climate on both sides of the Tweed, he fails to integrate elemental facts concerning the eighteenth-century book trade into his argument concerning the relationship between booksellers in London and Scotland. Pointing to 1743 as the year in which the London booksellers started to litigate against the producers of cheap Scottish reprints, Deazley states that this was also the year in which the Glasgow-based Foulis brothers began to produce some of the country's finest books. He then concludes that a leading London monopolist, Andrew Millar, saw the first-rate Foulis enterprise as a rival to his own, thus further motivating him to take legal action against the Scots—a notion first advanced by Warren McDougall back in 1988 (116). But this view fails to account for the long history of collaboration between Millar and Foulis (and, incidentally, between Millar and his longtime defendant Alexander Kincaid) which can be seen on their numerous joint imprints. Millar was a London agent for the Foulis brothers for a period that covered nearly the entire lifespan of their firm, and he did not litigate against them.

Deazley is correct to characterize certain London booksellers as monopolists and certain Scottish printers as their plucky competition, but these legal terms cannot always accommodate the complex commercial relationships that existed between these players in the increasingly sophisticated social context. Moreover, the complex social relations among booksellers and authors troubles St. Clair's thesis too, for the private practice of booksellers negotiating extralegal contracts with authors—and with each other—started before 1774 and carried on afterward.

Since most of the materials which document this fascinating legal history have survived only in scarce legal reports, they have long lain neglected. By presenting nearly one hundred of them in a directory that indicates their archival locations, and by exploring their gradually influential precedents, this learned book performs a valuable but ultimately limited service. We await a history of copyright which brings together findings from studies in literary, bibliographical, and political history, as well as the law.

Adam Budd, University of Edinburgh

Julian Meldon D'Arcy, *Subversive Scott: The Waverley Novels and Scottish Nationalism*. Reykjavík: The Vigdís Finbógaðóttir Institute of Foreign Languages and the University of Iceland Press, 2005. Pp. 294.

Caroline McCracken-Flesher, *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. xvi + 225.

Despite their differences, these two new studies of Scott's Waverley Novels have at least one important



thing in common: both are predicated on the idea that the time has come to re-evaluate Scott's political legacy. D'Arcy's intention, stated forthrightly in his title, is to recover a "subversive Scott," whose political agenda goes beyond the "heart of a Jacobite, head of a Hanoverian" formula accepted by most critics. According to the author, this conventional understanding of Scott's divided loyalties (which D'Arcy labels the "Daichean paradigm" after the late David Daiches) has led commentators to ignore or marginalize the "dissonant" elements of Scott's fictions in order to find that they always ultimately support the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 and its implications. In opposition, D'Arcy sets out the alternative argument "that, despite his apparently 'politically correct' fiction and lifestyle, Walter Scott's Waverley Novels implicitly reveal a Scotsman's passionate concern with the issues of national identity, dignity, and independence" (19). He backs up this statement with a series of deft readings of Scott's major novels, each of which unearths a variety of narrative details that, D'Arcy argues, subtly undermine each novel's apparently pro-Union conclusions. *The Antiquary's* ending, for example—in which the lost heir Lovel returns to claim his inheritance as Lord Glenallan—is usually understood to confirm British unity in the face of supposed French aggression. Through a combination of re-emphasis on discordant details (such as the well-known falsity of Oldbuck the antiquary's reading of Scottish history) and speculation on narrative lacunae (could Lady Glenallan, the novel's apparent villainess, have been forced to marry into the English Neville family because her father was killed at Culloden?), D'Arcy suggests a very different conclusion: "The lands of Knockwinnock and Glenallan have now indeed been 'lost and won': lost by the Scots, and won by the English" (101). Similarly, he reinterprets the ending of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, not as the far-fetched idyll of most commentators but rather as "a more grimly pessimistic picture of eighteenth-century Scotland" in which "the individual Scotsman could gain all the profits of the British Empire, but the Scottish nation had lost its soul" (162).

As these examples demonstrate, D'Arcy's readings of Scott's novels, while generally convincingly constructed and delivered, tend to be purposefully polemical. They also depend heavily on his overarching hypothesis that Scott writes for two implied readers simultaneously: an "English" or "British" reader (and here the confusion of terms already signals one of the difficulties of this approach) who is duped into accepting the novels' superficially optimistic resolutions, and a "Scottish" reader (either actually Scottish or sympathetic to Scottish independence) who decodes the narratives' secret messages of discontent. Accepting this thesis, however, entails rejecting not only the "Daichean paradigm" but also Scott's own descriptions of his fictions, frequently expressed in his private and first-person writings, as primarily designed to encourage understanding and sympathy between the English and the Scots. Of course, if literary critics accepted at face value every statement made by authors about the meaning of their texts, there would be little left for us to do. Nevertheless, in this case the extra-textual evidence—including, most publicly, his supportive stage-managing of the first Hanoverian visit to Edinburgh since the '45—is also strongly in favor of Scott's support of the Union. As for the novels themselves, while there is no denying that they frequently ask more questions than they answer about Anglo-Scottish relations, to jump from these productive ambiguities to conclude that Scott is on all points a crypto-nationalist seems a tad reductive, albeit undeniably provocative. If *Subversive Scott* does not succeed in convincing all readers that Scott is actually a Jacobite in Hanoverian clothing, it should certainly prompt those of us inclined to see Scott as pragmatically pro-Union to reconsider our assumptions and return to the Waverley Novels with fresh eyes—goals that the book's friendly pugilism clearly desires.

McCracken-Flesher also wants us to revise what we thought we knew about Scott's novels, but the Scott that she proposes is not so much subversive as insubordinate. The Scott of *Possible Scotlands*, in other words, is an author who refuses to meet our expectations, especially the expectations of the Scots themselves, who have been consistently disappointed to find that "Scott is either the great historian or great romanticizer of Scotland, and in both cases he has defined the nation and pushed it into the past" (5). Not so fast, says McCracken-Flesher, who encourages us to put aside these well-worn labels and instead pay more attention to "Scott's extensive vision that pitches the present toward a multiple, unpredictable, and thus creative future" (28). By focusing repeatedly on the ways in which the Waverley Novels are oriented toward the process of meaning-making rather than the finished product, the author consistently finds in favor of a Scott whose "deconstructive potentiality" leaves open the question of interpretation, both of his fictions and of Scotland as a nation (186). Although this approach does not produce the radically nationalist Scott favored by D'Arcy, neither does it automatically fall back into the default account of Scott as resigned Hanoverian. Accordingly, McCracken-Flesher concludes a stimulating reading of *Waverley's* highly self-conscious introductory chapter, in which Scott withdraws his authority from the work that follows by casting himself as a variety of weak or illegitimate figures, as follows: "Further, because the role to determine value depends on repeated substitution to maintain the absence that functions as excess and casts a lure in the direction of ultimate valuation, the tale of telling itself must be repeated and risk becoming tale that is told" (23).

As this quotation suggests, *Possible Scotlands* is not for the theoretically faint of heart. While

McCracken-Flesher provides fine synopses of the critical methodologies she employs, a previous familiarity with deconstruction, especially with the “symbolic economies” theory of Jean-Joseph Goux, will help readers orient themselves. Those who are able to do so will find that McCracken-Flesher puts forward a view of Scott that is neither dogmatic nor overly determined but rather is sensitive to Scott’s own narrative strategies of differentiation, self-citation, and repetition with a difference. By refusing to be either a Jacobite or a Hanoverian, by refusing to write either romance or history, Scott attempted to step outside the “game” of valuation through circulation by playing according to his own rules. And although the “Author of Waverley” eventually fell prey to economic forces that required the capitulation of his anonymity, even his final works—McCracken-Flesher spends the better part of a chapter on such fascinating last novels as *Castle Dangerous* and *Count Robert of Paris*—demonstrate the desire to “mak[e] meaning beyond the ending” (164). After all, as both D’Arcy and McCracken-Flesher point out, the resumption of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 means that Scott’s body of work is now in the unique position of being the most influential meditation on Scotland’s nearly 300-year hiatus from self-government. That the two texts under consideration come to rather different conclusions about the nature of Scott’s contribution to Scotland’s political self-image does not take away from their considerable accomplishments; rather, it reinforces the need to continue to read and study the Waverley Novels in all their multilayered glory.

Evan Gottlieb, Oregon State University

Christian Isobel Johnstone, *Clan-Albin: A National Tale*. Edited by Andrew Monnickendam. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2003. Pp. xxi + 596.

Recent literary criticism, including Katie Trumpener’s *Bardic Nationalism* (1997), Mary Jean Corbett’s *Allegories of Union in Irish and English Writing* (2000), and Ina Ferris’s *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (2002), has generated a resurgence of interest in the national tale, a late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century genre of fiction that examined the political, economic, and ethnic relationships between Britain’s Celtic peripheries and metropolitan southern England. However, these critics’ valuable investigations of the national tale’s role in British nation formation have focused primarily on the works of Irish writers like Maria Edgeworth, Charles Maturin, and Sidney Owenson. Accordingly, they have tended to either homogenize Celtic culture and literature or neglect the Scottish national tale entirely. Andrew Monnickendam’s edition of Christian Isobel Johnstone’s *Clan-Albin: A National Tale* responds to this critical bias by making available a distinctively Scottish example of the genre. *Clan-Albin* describes the clearance of the Macalbin clan from its home in Glenalbin, and the ultimate repopulation of the glen through the efforts of its chief, Norman. Both clearance and repopulation are interwoven with, and in fact enabled by, British imperialism, and particularly by the lengthy war with France, which had just ended when the novel first was published in 1815. Whereas Irish national tales frequently use the trope of marriage to comment on the Anglo-Irish Union of 1800, *Clan-Albin* uses Norman’s marriage to Monimia Montagu, an Irishwoman, to envision a Celtic cooperation that would allow the Highlands and Ireland to resist the exploitative power of metropolitan England. Johnstone’s adaptations of the conventions of the Irish national tale do not simply question the economic and political conditions of England’s unions with Scotland and Ireland. As Monnickendam points out in his introduction, they also challenge the very concept of nationhood.

Monnickendam describes *Clan-Albin* as “an argumentative novel in the best possible sense of the word, willing to engage with controversy at any moment, but at the same time, humane and even-handed” (vi). The many issues with which Johnstone’s narrative engages—religious, military, political, ethnographic, and economic—will interest a broad readership of historians and literary critics. At close to 600 pages, *Clan-Albin* is probably too long to assign to undergraduates; yet despite its length, the ASLS edition’s textual apparatus ensures that it will be accessible to students and instructors alike. The survey of previous scholarship on *Clan-Albin* and suggestions for further research and reading make this edition a potentially productive choice for graduate courses.

Monnickendam’s comprehensive introduction and notes situate the novel and its author in their literary and historical contexts. The introduction briefly surveys Johnstone’s works, including her didactic tales for children; her extensive contributions to *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, which she edited from 1834 until 1846; and her best-selling publication, *The Cook and Housewife’s Manual* (1824), written under the pseudonym of Mrs. Margaret Dods. It also locates *Clan-Albin*’s place in a growing canon of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scottish writers including Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Mary Brunton, and Anne Grant, among many others. Finally, it explores ideological connections between Johnstone and her English contemporaries including Hannah More, Mary Wollstonecraft, and George Eliot, focusing specifically on these writers’ views concerning women and education. Monnickendam recognizes Johnstone’s literary contributions both as a Scottish writer and a woman writer while avoiding the defensive and condescending tones that too frequently characterize efforts to introduce these marginalized groups of writers into a predominantly male English literary canon.

Juliet Shields, Ohio State University at Marion

Richard Hills, *James Watt, volume 1: His time in Scotland, 1736–1774*. Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing, 2002. Pp. 480

Ben Marsden, *Watt's Perfect Engine: Steam and the Age of Invention*. Royston: Icon Books, and New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. Pp. 213.

We live in an age of demythification, and yet (or perhaps because of this) it seems we have never needed heroes more. It is within the space created by this tension that these two books take their place. The first is part one of a three-volume biography of James Watt, written by the renowned expert on steam engine history, Richard Hills. (Ben Marsden refers to Hills's work in his bibliography as "indispensable.") While there seems no doubt in Hills's mind about the appropriateness of dedicating almost 1200 pages of print to the life of James Watt, what makes this first volume so interesting is that it paints a detailed image of Watt before he became the man we have learned to revere. Based on extensive archival research, this book documents the details of Watt's path to inventive adulthood and places the context of his journey in relief. Though the goal of Watt's biographical trajectory is never in doubt, Hills does his best to present a mundanely human portrayal of his subject. We read about Watt's generous wardrobe and his generosity in deferring to the intellectual powers of friends. We read about his depressive headaches and the sweet intimacy he shared with his wife. We follow Watt through his childhood years, at play with a brother who floundered in the increasingly competitive world that Watt would learn to manage. We travel with him to London where he procured an unofficial position as an instrument maker's apprentice.

When young Watt returned from London, however, it was not only with acquired dexterity and knowledge of instrument making. He returned to Scotland with a drive to establish himself in a number of ways that revealingly reflect the environment he sought to master. Watt adapted his skills to the opportunities he sensed. He repaired musical instruments and provided local surveyors and university professors with the tools of their trade. He stocked his shop with lenses and measuring devices and further put his instrumental knowledge to work as an engineer, involving himself in contemporary efforts to reconstruct Scotland's landscape for the economic and industrial tasks that its entrepreneurial population was beginning to take on. This meant mapping and canal building, but it also meant involving himself in chemical manufacture and machine building.

This period of Watt's life, then, saw him struggling to make his way in that particularly eighteenth-century context of combined manual and mental dexterity—a context that makes Watt so symbolic of what has come to be called the "industrial enlightenment." This was not a question of applying theory to practice or science to technology but of living in a world that rewarded those who were smart with both their head and hands. We see Watt, during these years, developing a pattern that he repeated throughout his career, ultimately leading to the steam engine design that bears his name.

Hills can be faulted, perhaps, for trying to capture Watt's mental states as an explanation for how and why he proceeded as he did. For those who have read (too much) literary criticism, this form of biographical analysis can be disquieting. But it is understandable that such close examination of another person's life might give an author the sense of emotional familiarity that Hills seems to have with Watt.

While Hills's book is a large, richly illustrated tome written for specialists, Ben Marsden's is an engagingly written little book that aims at a more general audience. It is nonetheless the more analytical of the two works in the sense of focusing on what it took for Watt to "invent" his steam engine rather than offering a straight biographical narrative. Watt, of course, didn't actually invent the steam engine, but he did modify its design in crucial ways. What Marsden so clearly brings out, however, is that the success of Watt's steam engines did not rest solely on design modification in a technical sense. He shows in detail how Watt's technical practices were inseparably embedded in a much broader fabric of commercial, social, and cultural practices. Watt's dogged experimentation was coupled with the technological efforts and advice of both friends and competitors (Watt was one of a number of contemporaries engaged in steam engine design and production), financial support by friends and backers, the commercial genius of Matthew Boulton as well as his political clout. In fact, without Boulton's partnership and the intervention of friendly supporters, Watt would neither have had sufficient capital nor have been able to lobby Parliament for the patent protection that gave his work an edge over the competition. Chroniclers of the Industrial Revolution would have had to construct a different hero.

This brings me back to my introductory point. Marsden implicitly justifies his book with statements about the centrality of steam power to the Industrial Revolution and Watt's centrality to the invention of steam engines that drove it; though he does not use the word, Watt and his "perfect engine" are the heroes of Marsden's book. But recently historians have shown that the role of steam has been overrated and have more generally questioned the appropriateness of the term "Industrial Revolution." Such debates, however, detract little from what this book accomplishes. As Marsden reconstructs Watt's drive to bring his model of a "perfect engine" to life through laboratory experimentation, workshop tinkering, commercial negotiating, social networking, and political lobbying, we



see a detailed history of the “industrial enlightenment” unfold. We learn that this is not a story of the application of scientific theory to technical practice nor of a lone inventor’s heroic struggle. The industrial enlightenment was marked by sociability, entrepreneurship, and political influence as much as by learning and technical know-how. It was an age of relatively open social and geographical borders across which the son of a minor Scottish merchant and shipbuilder could stride with sufficient effect to warrant a commemorative statue in Westminster Abbey.

Lissa Roberts, University of Twente (The Netherlands)

Wendy Moore, *The Knife Man: The Extraordinary Life and Times of John Hunter, Father of Modern Surgery*. New York: Broadway Books, 2005. Pp. 341.

In *The Knife Man*, the eminent, irascible, and almost unbelievably skillful surgeon John Hunter (1728–93) is brought to life by a sympathetic biographer. Wendy Moore, a journalist with an interest in medical issues, immersed herself in research at the Wellcome Library for the History of Medicine in London as well as in modern dissecting rooms. The result might be characterized as *Roderick Random* meets Mary Roach’s *Stiff* as Moore uses Hunter’s anatomical work as the frame story for a cheerfully gruesome portrayal of the life and times of an eighteenth-century London anatomist.

John Hunter (Jack to his friends) was the younger brother of the London surgeon and accoucheur William Hunter, and it was as the elder man’s assistant at his school that John first took up anatomical dissection and surgical practice. In the twelve years that the two men worked together, John later calculated that he dissected over one thousand human corpses. He became noted for his excellent technique, and the dissections he carried out between 1750 and 1754 on pregnant women and fetuses formed the basis of brother William’s pathbreaking *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures*, a detailed depiction of foetal development in thirty-four plates.

But William was often sparing in awarding credit where it was due to his collaborators, and in 1761 John Hunter left London to become an army surgeon. He used his appointment on the strategically placed island of Belle-Ile to pursue comparative anatomy, developing an extensive set of preparations which he carefully transported home to London at the end of the war in 1763. For the next thirty years, Hunter presided over an establishment in Leicester Square that included a menagerie, a museum of comparative anatomy, and a dissecting school, maintained by a staff of fifty. He was the most prominent surgeon attached to St. George’s Hospital and had an extensive, fashionable practice. He became surgeon extraordinary to George III and numbered Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Joseph Banks as his friends. His collection, later known as the Hunterian Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons of London, inspired anatomists and naturalists for the next one hundred years.

Yet as Moore shows, the story of John Hunter had a sad ending in personal terms. He died of heart failure, having suffered from angina for many years, leaving his family in comparative poverty. His brother-in-law, Everard Home, who had been one of his early disciples, commandeered his manuscripts and later burned them to hide his own plagiarism. And though Hunter was responsible for the many prominent medical men of the next generation, such as Edward Jenner and Astley Cooper, his vision of an integrated comparative and human anatomy was not fully appreciated until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Moore simplifies Hunter’s many controversies, presenting him invariably as the sole voice of reason and progress. In fact, he was far from the only scientific surgeon in London, where anatomical teaching and experimentation thrived. Nor were all his colleagues and opponents the hidebound traditionalists they are portrayed as here. Moore has borrowed for her subject the Grand Narrative of the history of science, which always pits the modernist who trusts to his own experiments against those who rely on books and the teaching of the ages. Students would hardly have flocked to London dissecting rooms if that had been the case. But never mind these caveats. The book is a joy to read and a fund of information, and no eighteenth-century scholar should be without it.

Lisa Rosner, Richard Stockton College

Reginald Passmore, *Fellows of Edinburgh’s College of Physicians during the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 2001. Pp. 132.

Reginald Passmore was well known and well respected in Edinburgh medical circles and among historians of Scottish medicine. Following his retirement from his university post as reader in physiology, he took the opportunity to develop his historical interests, as well as being active in the affairs of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. The generous coverage given to the history of medicine in the pages of the College’s *Proceedings* was largely his doing. In 1996 Passmore was appointed Honorary Historian to the College and, upon the suggestion of the then president, he began to write a book on the activities of its fellows during the Scottish Enlightenment. The idea behind the project was to produce a text that would be readily accessible to physicians with little prior knowledge of history; what Passmore termed, quoting a French colleague, a “*bonne vulgarisation*.” Passmore died in 1998 with the book not yet quite finished. His manuscript was, however, carefully edited and brought to

publication by his colleague, Andrew Doig.

The first part of the volume consists of sixteen short essays on individual physicians. Many of these are familiar names, William Cullen and Alexander Munro, *primus* and *secundus*, for example. But some are less famous. The career of Sir Stuart Thriepland, medical attendant to the Young Pretender, was new to me, at any rate. Overall, the list is a reminder of the dazzling array of talent that characterized Edinburgh medicine in the eighteenth century and a convincing demonstration of the importance of the College of Physicians within the intellectual life of Enlightenment Scotland. The quality of the essays is, however, uneven. Some are very brief and barely adequate—that on Joseph Black, for instance—but others are models of short biography, neatly complementing the similar, but more formal, accounts of these men to be found in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

The book's second part is devoted to what are termed "collective achievements," meaning medical or scientific advances that cannot be wholly credited to a single individual. Again, one or two of the essays are excessively concise, barely more than notes. However, the chapter on chemistry is an interesting, if understandably presentist, account of the achievements of Scottish workers in this field before the Chemical Revolution. The description of Black's work here somewhat makes up for the shortness of the essay devoted to him in the first section. The essay on the origins of clinical teaching in the Royal Infirmary can also be recommended as an accessible condensation of Guenter Risse's more detailed study, *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland: Care and Teaching at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh* (1986).

One of the chapters, on the *Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia*, is not by Passmore but by Henry Adam. While Adam's essay is heavily dependent, as is acknowledged, on the published work of D. L. Cowen, there is a considerable amount of new material. Of particular note are the translations (by Deborah Adlam) of the Latin prefaces to several of the early *Pharmacopoeia*, which shed valuable light on the interests and intentions of their compilers. Overall, Passmore, together with Doig and Adam, have fulfilled the original commission. *Fellows of Edinburgh's College of Physicians* provides a readable, popular account of its subject matter but one that is not wholly without interest to the more specialist reader.

Malcolm Nicolson, University of Glasgow

Ulrich Tröhler, *"To Improve the Evidence of Medicine": The 18<sup>th</sup> Century British Origins of a Critical Approach*. Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 2000. Pp. xi + 147.

In the mid-1980s I was a research fellow in the Wellcome Institute in London. For a student of eighteenth-century medicine, one of the many advantages of having privileged access to that institution's great library was to be able to refer freely and regularly to Ulrich Tröhler's thesis, which he had completed in the Institute in 1978. "Quantification in British Medicine and Surgery, 1750–1830," as it was titled, convincingly challenged the then-accepted view that the numerical method was first applied to the improvement of therapeutics by Pierre Louis in the 1830s. I was puzzled, however, that this important material should be languishing in the relatively inaccessible form of a doctoral dissertation, albeit a well-thumbed one. Twenty years later, Tröhler's work has finally appeared in book form. The question that the reviewer must now address is whether, in this case, late is better than never? Is there sufficient material in the text that is still of real value to historians for us to welcome its publication more than twenty years after the fact?

"*To Improve the Evidence of Medicine*" is not the complete text of the thesis, nor has it been substantially rewritten in the light of more recent scholarship. What we get is more in the way of "edited highlights," with occasional reference to material published in the meantime. However, the full text of the thesis has also been made available on the website of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. The edited version is certainly more readable as well as more accessible than the original. It might be said the main arguments are not quite so carefully developed. But if a certain accumulation of detail has been lost, thought-provoking ideas are thereby rendered more salient. The central thesis is that a quantitative method, derived from a combination of Bacon's notion of "ordered experience" and numerical techniques derived from "shop arithmetic" (bookkeeping), was applied to several therapeutic problems in the second half of the eighteenth century. Tröhler gives particular attention to the management of fevers, but there are also shorter essays on the treatment of scurvy, dropsy, and palsy. The section on James Lind and the equivocal reception of his results is probably the best short analysis available. Surgery is not excluded, with sections on amputation and on cutting for the stone.

There is some danger of anachronism in Tröhler's identification, within eighteenth-century practice, of techniques that came to be known, in the twentieth century, by terms such as "alternate allocation," "historical control," "single blind," and so on. However, his explanation of why the numerical method was adopted by some, but not all, eighteenth-century commentators is a thoroughly contextual one. He argues that quantitative empiricism functioned as a challenge to the authority of a traditional medical elite. The older, case-based clinical culture was predicated upon the knowledge and skill of the individual doctor. A commitment to quantification amounted to an

assertion that the knowledge of even the most experienced physician could be subjected to an impersonal, objective assessment. Tröhler notes that the pioneers of quantitative methods tended to have backgrounds in surgery or be graduates, if they had a degree, of Edinburgh University, rather than members of the London College of Physicians. They were not, in other words, members of the elite. Tröhler also points to the importance of the military context, in which the surgeon, with the rank of an officer, had a greater degree of authority and control over his patients than was possible in civilian private practice. This is not to say, however, that ethical issues were ignored. Eighteenth-century commentators were conscious, for example, of the moral dubiety of denying a patient a treatment that was believed to be efficacious, simply in order that its effectiveness might be properly tested. Tröhler emphasizes the centrality of issues of trust, honesty, and personal integrity to the process of the therapeutic trial.

So, to answer the question posed above, in this case, late is certainly better than never. The Royal College of Physicians is to be warmly congratulated on making Tröhler's thesis accessible to a wider audience, in both the book and the electronic formats. But why, one might ask, has the College been so interested in sponsoring this work? The foreword, newly written by James Petrie and Sir Iain Chalmers, provides the answer. Tröhler's thesis has been read as providing modern "evidence-based medicine," of which these two men are eminent proponents, with a distinguished historical pedigree. History of medicine is still of value, evidently, to the medical profession. I suppose that we should be grateful for this—or, at least, observe the phenomenon with interest.

Malcolm Nicolson, University of Glasgow

Helen M. Dingwall, *A Famous and Flourishing Society: The History of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 1505–2005*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005. Pp. xx + 336.

Helen Dingwall, senior lecturer in history at Stirling University and a historian of Scottish medicine, took some twelve years to write the history of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, "a famous and flourishing society." Her goal was to produce a "fully contextualized analytic account" rather than a glossy celebratory souvenir volume. And indeed Dingwall has succeeded in writing a history that will illuminate Edinburgh's complex medical history for Enlightenment scholars, add to the knowledge of busy clinician historians and academic historians of medicine, and gratify the members of the Royal College who commissioned the work.

A dozen years of percolation paid off, as Dingwall plowed through five centuries of primary and secondary sources to produce a fine blend of medical, national, municipal, social, cultural, scientific, and professional histories. Clinicians will be gratified to know that Dingwall includes numerous vignettes of medical practice and does not shrink from celebrating the contributions of key individuals (the "great man" school of medical history is out of fashion now among historians, and Dingwall is a bit apologetic). Illustrations, some in color, are carefully chosen and do not overwhelm the text. Dingwall deftly and succinctly brings readers unfamiliar with Scottish history up to speed at key junctures. She performs the same service for Enlightenment scholars who need a refresher on medical practice and medical culture. The book is arranged chronologically, with a long chapter devoted to the years of the Scottish Enlightenment.

As Dingwall explains in the early chapters of the book, the guild of barbers and surgeons was incorporated by the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1505, although no society records prior to 1581 survive. Dingwall locates the founding of the College in the political and medical landscape of late medieval Scotland. Most importantly, she explains the guild structure and patronage systems that governed the trades, including surgery, in Edinburgh. The founding document, the Seal of Cause, is notable for its emphasis on literacy among apprentices, prescribed requirements for anatomical (and astrological) teaching, and the administration of examinations.

In time, the barbers became increasingly marginalized by the surgeons, both professionally and geographically (much to their chagrin, the barbers were exiled to the "fringes of the burgh"). Barber-surgeons became barber-periwigmakers and, in 1722, the Society of Barbers was incorporated in Edinburgh. With the founding of the increasingly prestigious Edinburgh Medical School in 1726, the teaching of anatomy, formerly the province of the surgeons, became a source of friction. By the end of the eighteenth century, the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries of Edinburgh were engaged in interprofessional disputes over turf and power. As the scientific and cultural riches of the Enlightenment unfolded, the surgeons, writes Dingwall, "were ideally placed to take advantage of both the intellectual debate and the application of scientific progress" (84). The Enlightenment created an atmosphere conducive to anatomical and physiological study. During that same period, however, the surgeons weathered professional and financial crises. The library and museum collections were given over to the university in 1763. The Royal College of Surgeons (a royal charter was granted in 1778) struggled to define its role in the medical education and practice marketplaces of Edinburgh, as institutions such as the university and the Royal Infirmary grew in power and prestige.

Later chapters deal rather conventionally with wartime activities, internationalization of the membership, common interest with other British medical and surgical societies, standardization of medical training, licensure



and registration, and the coming of the National Health Service. Of interest is the creation in 1895 of a formal extramural medical school in Edinburgh (informal extramural teaching had gone on since the founding of the medical school); the School of Medicine of the Royal Colleges trained hundreds of Scottish physicians until 1945, when university-based medical education eclipsed the extramural schools in Britain. For those with a warm spot for the internal geography of Edinburgh and an interest in its architecture, a final chapter on the evolution of the College buildings provides a satisfying coda.

Sandra Moss, M.D., Medical History Society of New Jersey

Jenny Wormald, ed. *Scotland: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. 380.

It is MacDuff, with great dread, who asks Ross in the Scottish play, "Stands Scotland where it did?" This question is also the one that is posed by the writers of this new history of Scotland.

In the introduction to these ten essays on dimensions of the Scottish past, Jenny Wormald reminds us that, "historiographically Scotland has had to fight hard against the normal instinct of marginalisation," even during the time of the "English succession crisis when Scotland was centre-stage." Referring to the work of Scottish historians of the last half-century in particular, Wormald is confident of her answer to MacDuff's question: her response is an unequivocal "no." This answer is amplified by each of the historians who, in their short essays on Scottish history and national identity, ably demonstrate both their expertise in their specialist periods and, equally importantly, their facility to communicate to a general readership their learning and their enthusiasm.

Of necessity, each chapter is brief, none longer than forty pages. Each writer combines a survey of the social, political, economic and cultural conditions of their period with a discussion of the challenges and developments of that age. Nor does it feel that concision is achieved at the expense of argument or analysis.

The early periods are treated by Katherine Forsyth in "Origins: Scotland to 1100" and by Keith Stringer in "The Emergence of a Nation-State." Michael Brown and Steve Boardman contribute jointly the chapter on late medieval Scotland. Roger Mason in his chapter "Renaissance and Reformation" writes: "Scotland's sixteenth century is usually characterised as the era of the Reformation, but it was equally—perhaps above all—the era of the Renaissance." Mason discusses the earlier part of this period as Scotland's high point of involvement with Europe, "culturally as well as politically." Paradoxically, Mason adds, it was the educational revolution inspired by Renaissance humanism that "transformed the manners and mores of the landed elite just as it had fuelled calls for religious reform" and the "crisis created by Mary queen of Scots and the trauma of Reformation."

In many respects, the seventeenth century represents Scotland's low point: Jenny Wormald writes, "Scotland, especially after 1625, was a disturbed and horrible place." The descriptive catalogue can be read as follows: a marginalized nation; loss of independent political status; suspicion and hostility from England; divisions within the Presbyterian Kirk; uncertainty, stagnation, confusion, fear, and resentment; the disastrous Charles I; the National Covenant; political chaos; Cromwell; military rule imposed from England; the killing times; anti-popery riots; the Massacre of Glencoe; the Darien Disaster; failed harvests and starvation; severe economic distress, and so on. Yet it was not entirely "a whole Land polluted with sin." There were vital signs: some intellectual and cultural vibrancy—the codification of Scots law, the creation of the Advocates' Library, the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and the "tounis college."

In "Scotland Transformed: The Eighteenth century," Richard B. Sher discusses the various conditions that were to make the Enlightenment possible, though he does not over-state Scotland's "Risorgimento": "not every region and group in the nation benefited from the so-called awakening." In his discussion of those various conditions, he concentrates on values and attitudes, pointing out that as "religious differences became less confrontational, they also became a less destructive force in social, economic and political life." The attitudes and energies that derived from the change in the religious climate were often "channelled into socially creative activities," so "vital to the nation's transformation." This transformation was subsequently to include the "improving spirit" of the age in agricultural modernization and the resultant economic changes, including rural depopulation and urbanization. Eventual post-Union political stability, a kind of religious pluralism or peaceful co-existence among the Presbyterian factions, agricultural improvement, and economic growth were all to lead to a new age. Of the Union, Sher writes most penetratingly that "perhaps its most productive effect was to stimulate a new dynamic mind-set . . . a psychological drive to succeed rooted partly in traditional Scottish attitudes, partly in new opportunities. An enduring tradition of national self-doubt and uncertainty became a creative force, as Scots struggled to overcome real and imagined shortcomings by demonstrating their own worth to themselves and others." This is evidently one of those instances of what has been termed the eighteenth-century paradox. Had it known that political union with Scotland would help create a set of conditions that would give rise to the Enlightenment, England might, more wisely, have left Scotland well alone.

The account of nineteenth-century Scotland's phenomenal industrialization is discussed in I.G.C. Hutchi-

son's "Workshop of Empire." With "rapid population growth, combined with the move from countryside to town," there was of course a downside to industrial success: new levels of social and economic hardship. "Social conditions"—appalling housing standards, contagious and infectious diseases, high infant mortality rates, and low life expectancy—"for the vast majority were extremely harsh for most of the century." Hutchison adds that "this degree of deprivation far exceeded English levels." This was the age of "capital, rather than culture . . . when Scottish identity became associated with the new romantic nonsense associated with tartan and when Scotland teetered on the edge of the comic." Yet, the counterbalance to this was the Scottish educational system. Since the seventeenth century, Scotland had provided "democratic egalitarian schooling," which was "open to anyone to proceed as far as his ability—and not as in England, money or status—would permit." As a result, Scottish universities were less socially exclusive, though after 1888, with the introduction of the Scottish Leaving Certificate, working-class participation in higher education began to be limited.

Richard Finlay's essay "The Turbulent Century" provides an account of the conditions and climate that would bring about devolved government and deliver Scotland into another new age. Again it is paradoxical that out of the pretty gloomy situation Scotland found herself in for the greater part of the twentieth century, it was only in "the last twenty years [that Scotland has] witnessed a degree of political, social, economic and cultural change . . . that has perhaps been unprecedented since the Industrial Revolution." But in this new age, all is of course not glorious. Finlay adds that "in the last twenty years, the wealth gap [has] increased greatly, so leading to the creation of an underclass. . . . Multinationals, the ideology of the free market, the scourge of drugs, urban deprivation and an increasingly global popular culture, all of which affect Scotland, are features common to most modern societies."

Two chapters that might appear supplementary to this chronological survey are David Armitage's "The Scottish Diaspora" and Sally Mapstone's "Scotland's Stories," in which the "matter of Scotland" is chronicled. Both prove, in effect, to be integral to any history of Scotland. Writing about "the ubiquitous Scots," Armitage quotes the charming mediaeval proverb, "rats, lice and Scotsmen: you find them the whole world over." Making a distinction between "mobility" and "migration," Armitage argues that "the abiding reputation of the Scots for mobility and ubiquity has been well deserved; Scots emigrants' reputation for poverty less so" and discusses in some detail the "dimensions, the diversity, and the varying causes of Scottish migration over time." Armitage also reminds us that because of the long tradition of migration, "Scotland's history is a transnational history . . . with an estimated 25 million people of Scottish descent now living outside Scotland."

In "Scotland's Stories," Mapstone examines some aspects of Scotland's literary history, particularly those narratives that retell the past with an eye to the future. Poetic narratives such as Barbour's *Brus* and Hary's *Wallace*, which argue that kingship and community, unity and political stability are civilizing conditions for and civilized characteristics of "national" well-being, are discussed as examples of history writing that helped create a formative sense of Scottish nationhood and identity. As historical writing developed, the purpose to which these writings could be put also changed, and by the time of the Reformation, the writing of history becomes much more politically focused, if not overtly propagandist.

This new history of Scotland is as erudite as it is accessible. This combination of learning and lucid writing will, I hope, influence the way future historical surveys of Scotland for the general reader are to be written.

Michael Lister, Edinburgh

Hector MacMillan, *Handful of Rogues: Thomas Muir's Enemies of the People*. Glendaruel: Argyll, 2005. Pp. 288.

The influence of Thomas Muir on the eighteenth-century democratic reform movement in Scotland cannot be overstated. Most interpretations of Muir's involvement in Scottish radicalism during the 1790s, however, emphasize the links between political diatribe and its effects on a nation sympathetic to religious turmoil in Ireland, as well as revolutionary upheaval in France. As such, Muir and associates, such as Fyshe Palmer and William Skirving, are frequently described in unsympathetic terms and branded as advocates of violence and sedition to facilitate government change. To this end, perceptions of Scottish radicalism are sometimes based on broad social definitions that ignore the individual achievements and influence of leaders such as Muir.

With Hector MacMillan's *Handful of Rogues*, the conventional analyses of Muir are disputed in a wide-ranging discussion of his personal life, family history, friendships, and political career. Its style is consistently engaging, and MacMillan compels the reader to question the relationship between political power and justice. Maintaining an effective balance between poetic license and historical fact, the story is a significant undertaking and offers a considerable reassessment of Muir's motivations, his objectives, and how he proposed to accomplish them. Whatever the views on Muir—lionized or demonized—MacMillan confronts the "talismanic political mantra" that is Thomas Muir and reconsiders the "unweighed baggage heaped on the head" of the infamous Scottish radical.

The structure of *Handful of Rogues* is tailored to address these issues, and MacMillan's methodology is

clearly evident throughout the thirteen chapters of the book. Creating a strong intellectual and political background for his main character, MacMillan portrays Muir as a well-educated, thoughtful, yet revolutionary thinker who stressed the importance of “political education of the Scottish working class and the closest possible political alliance with Ireland” (25). Implicit in this portrayal of Muir, however, is an emphasis on non-violent means of reform, or revolution. Following the opening chapters, MacMillan weaves a narrative that is impressive for the detail of the material, the cast of characters, and the geographic scope. Beginning in Edinburgh and detailing the climate of radicalism, the heart of MacMillan’s story commences with the arrest and trial of Muir. Drawing heavily on eighteenth-century records and incorporating a lively although sometimes imaginative plot, Muir’s battle with Henry and Robert Dundas in an Edinburgh courtroom effectively establishes him as a flamboyant yet sympathetic character, one with a flair for the dramatic epitomized by “the back of the hand to the forehead and a wee stagger to one side” (84). From the vivid portrayal of Muir’s early political battles to his arrest and subsequent brave, yet futile, attempt to defend himself in court, MacMillan lays his cards on the table by stating that “once accepted by the Lord, nothing that an elect and justified person does can every be really sinful” (102). Certainly, such sentiments are echoed throughout the book. From this revealing comment, MacMillan diligently documents the transportation of Muir to Botany Bay and his long, circuitous, and problem-laden journey to France. As a subplot to Muir, MacMillan discusses the reasons for the downfall of his handful of rogues. Sabotaged by a network of informants loyal to money and the Dundas Duo, and undone by flagging conviction for the revolutionary cause, Muir was the unfortunate victim of a “corrupt self-government” which was “bartered beyond reach” (228).

The value of research is demonstrated throughout the book, with each chapter offering interesting insights into a unique Scottish era. The major strengths of the book are its emphasis on the historical importance of Muir to broader events and the presentation of official correspondence and court records which, for the most part, offer insightful perceptions on the history, transformation, and adaptation of Thomas Muir to the ever-changing political landscape. The reassessment of Muir as a tragic hero is problematic, however, as is the overall influence of Scottish radicalism in the 1790s. Indeed, one suspects that some academic readers at least will feel that MacMillan’s own opinions are over-prominent. This lends itself to a satirical, whimsical, and anecdotal account of Muir’s rise to prominence as a leading advocate of parliamentary reform, and a less-than-favorable description of the political elite. The book succeeds, however, in its original intent of offering a fresh approach to Muir. Ambitious in scope and nature, it raises thought-provoking questions which necessitate further exploration of topics discussed.

Mark C. Wallace, Southside Virginia Community College

Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland 1770–1914: Creating Caledonia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Pp. x + 249.

Katherine Grenier’s new study is a significant contribution to the expanding recent literature on tourism and identity in Scotland, and raises issues which as she points out still have a significant cultural resonance today, for Scots and for visitors to Scotland. She focuses on the cultural meanings of Scotland for English—and also Scottish—tourists in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a way of understanding the complex nature of British identities in this period. One of the strengths of her work is her suggestion that though tourism undoubtedly demonstrated an imperialist, appropriating, outlook, it was also effectively “a dialogue, not a monologue” (5), in which Scots exercised agency, as guides and writers of guidebooks, as imaginative writers, and of course also as tourists themselves.

Grenier draws on a most impressive range of sources, including a very thorough survey of guidebooks and of published and unpublished diaries, journals, and travel accounts of visits to Scotland. She also synthesizes recent work on the history of expanding travel and tourism from the late eighteenth century onward. Readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* may find the first chapter of her work most directly relevant to their interests, but they will find much to stimulate them throughout. In the chapter “Mapping North Britain 1770–1810,” Grenier writes of a period in which travelers could still cast themselves as explorers, and of the dual attractions of “improvement and romance,” following Peter Womack’s pioneering work of 1989, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands (Language, Discourse, Society)*. Travelers might be motivated by a curiosity which was also an act of British patriotism, and which sought a greater understanding of Scotland’s contribution to the Union through visits to country houses, antique sites, and a landscape both picturesque and sublime. But they were also drawn by the signs of a modernizing and progressive economy, the ironworks and cotton mills, canals, bridges, and roads across Scotland. The sites of Enlightenment in Edinburgh and Glasgow were themselves substantial tourist attractions. Modernization was, however, clearly still only in progress, and the poverty and sometimes apparent destitution of the Highlands was proof of that, as was the disregard of “the delicacy of the female sex” shown in the labor required of Scotswomen. Both English and Scottish travelers and tourists worked with a notion of England as having already achieved the standard Scotland still strove to reach, even if many Scots



also asserted a distinctive Scottish patriotism. Grenier traces the routes recommended to such travelers, both the short (preferably including Loch Lomond, Loch Awe, and perhaps Ossian's Hall and Blair Atholl), and the long, which would take visitors deep into the Highlands and ideally to Iona and Staffa.

Grenier identifies a significant break around 1810, following the publication of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* in that year, and in her second chapter on "The Development of Mass Tourism, 1810–1914" suggests that the image of North Britain as a place of progressive learning and industry came to be displaced by an increasingly romanticized Scotland as the symbol of a conservative and "traditional" society, exemplified in the Highlands. This is not a new argument, but Grenier usefully examines how the works of Burns and Scott, and later of Robert Louis Stevenson and William Black, became the guidebooks of the new tourism, allowing the nineteenth-century middle classes temporarily to escape modern industrialism through their encounter, in particular, with the Highlands. They did so, as subsequent chapters show, through their vision of a "natural" landscape, through a tourism oriented toward what appeared the accessible historic heritage of the Highlands, and through a necessarily superficial view of the contemporary way of life of men and women of the Highlands and Islands. In considering these themes, Grenier has particularly interesting comments to make on the gendered nature of such encounters, and also on those who resisted the romantic vision, as in the incredulous reaction of the American visitors Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell to the poverty of Highlandcrofting communities in the late nineteenth century.

The book is also strongest where Grenier engages most closely with her sources, as in her discussion of the very influential representation of the "total desolation" (100) of Lochs Coruisk and Scavaig in the work of the early nineteenth-century geologist and correspondent of Scott, John Macculloch; it might have been strengthened by more specific engagement with the impressive variety of source-materials used, both published and unpublished. Nevertheless most readers will find much to appreciate in this rich and detailed study of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cultural encounters and conflicts, with its well-chosen illustrations.

Jane Rendall, University of York

## IN MEMORIAM David Daiches

I knew David Daiches only in the last few years of his life and used to visit him almost every week in his flat in the west end of Edinburgh, where we would discuss books and writers and writing. My visits began after I had compiled a small publication to accompany an exhibition of portrait-drawings of him, when I was asked to interview him for a publication of memoirs of the "spirits of the age"—those modern Scots who have helped build the new Scotland. Indeed, the cultural commentator P. H. Scott has remarked elsewhere, "whether people realize it not, Daiches was one of the creators of the new atmosphere in Scotland."

David Daiches spent the greater part of his life furth of this country, and his first contributions to creating the new Scotland began on the other side of the world, when as "a youngster from Oxford" he went to the United States with his wife Isobel in 1937, to take up a teaching post at the University of Chicago, at the invitation of Robert Hutchins. "Distance lends enchantment to the view," and it was in Chicago that David began to realize the deep emotional feeling he had toward Scotland; "its appeal rose to an extraordinary level within me." And it was there that the conviction came upon him that "whatever else I would do in the way of literary scholarship, I would become an expert on Scottish literature and re-interpret it in my own way."

His birthplace was in the north of England, but his home from the age of seven was Edinburgh, where he had his schooling at George Watson's College and a brilliant career at the university. His Edinburgh had not much changed since the time of Stevenson's, and both he and RLS had a very deep love of that city. And there were other, more personal, similarities that Stevenson and Daiches shared. Both had difficult relationships with their fathers, expressed in their divergent attitudes toward religion and their differences about the wisdom of a career in writing; and for the same personal reasons, both felt forced to go to America and into a kind of exile. Both, of course, became chroniclers of Edinburgh.

David's first involvement with Scottish literature began with the gift from his mother of *A Child's Garden of Verses* on his seventh birthday. After the verses, the romances, and the adventure tales, then the essays, and by the age of sixteen he was a committed Stevensonian. While at Chicago, Daiches gave a graduate seminar on Stevenson, presenting him as a "modern" writer, and he was invited by New Directions to write a book about him for the Makers of Modern Literature series. (Five years earlier, he had written for this series his study of Virginia Woolf. This "patient and sympathetic" book was considered "by far the best introduction to her work, until it was replaced by more specialised studies.") His *Robert Louis Stevenson* (1947) had a most peculiar gestation. This pioneering critical interpretation of Stevenson's writings was "written largely in the train as I travelled back and forth

between Chappaqua, N.Y. and the offices of the British Information Services in New York City." Offered as "a humble contribution to that modern History of Scottish Literature on which, alas, no Scottish writer has yet thought of embarking," the success of his book brought him into contact with the Stevenson biographer J. C. Furnas and, through him, with the wealthy bibliophile E. J. Beinecke, who was to donate his incomparable collection of Stevenson books and manuscripts to Yale. David was invited to inaugurate the Beinecke Stevenson Library in 1951 with a lecture on "Stevenson and the Art of Fiction," which was published in the same year.

It was also in the U.S. that David began to write, in "a mood of pure self-indulgence," his first volume of autobiography, *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood* (1957), as well as his pioneering critical examination of Burns as poet (1950), crucially "in the context of the social and cultural forces of the Scotland of his day." His seminal critical approach was to influence Burns scholarship and criticism, as he was later to write, "in ways I had hoped for but could not foresee;" and his radical paper on Scott, redefining his achievement as a novelist, was also to set Scott studies on a wholly new course. According to C. M. Grieve, the work David had produced by 1951 had already established him as "the foremost living authority on Scottish literature."

Still regretting that no Scottish writer had "yet thought of embarking on a modern History of Scottish Literature," (pace John Speirs's *The Scots Literary Tradition*, but this was not quite what David had in mind, nor did he think Kurt Wittig's later study, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature*, "good enough"), in a lecture to the Edinburgh branch of the Saltire Society in 1954, David raised fundamental questions that would precede the writing of any new critical history of Scottish literary history. Acknowledging that "we have not had in Scotland a really lively critical tradition since the rhetorical school of Hugh Blair and Lord Kames," he argued that "critical studies of individual authors are now of great necessity" and that "it is these on which the new historians of Scottish literature will depend." Not putting himself forward as that historian, David suggested lines of approach.

By the age of forty, David Daiches could be said to have fulfilled his early aspirations to become an expert on Scottish literature, and he was also establishing himself as an authority on English, American, and Anglo-Jewish literature. (He was also considered a first-rate teacher and communicator, having won at Chicago the Quantrell Award of \$1000 for excellence in undergraduate teaching.) His *Critical Approaches to Literature* (1956) and *Milton* (1957) were still to appear, as was his *Critical History of English Literature* (1960). Seamus Heaney was to describe the first of these works as "a class of a Bible to us when we were undergraduates." David's prodigious output was to continue for more than another thirty years, both within the mainstream of English literary studies and within eighteenth-century Scottish literary studies.

With its consideration of the broader social and cultural contexts of the eighteenth century, his critical examination of Burns as poet had been welcomed as pioneering. In *The Paradox of Scottish Culture* (1964), Daiches brilliantly argued "that the problems and paradoxes of Scottish culture in the eighteenth-century were not only bound up with the past but also prefigured the future," most notably in relation to the question of cultural identity. The relationship between politics and poetry and the effects that the loss of the royal court had on the Scottish poetic tradition were among some of the issues he was to take up in his *Literature and Gentility in Scotland* (1982). Other scholarly works included one of the few extended studies of Robert Fergusson and his *Fletcher of Saltoun: Selected Political Writings and Speeches* (1979). But for the omission of one short pamphlet, this would have been the first complete modern edition of Fletcher's works. In addition to his scholarly publications, David wrote highly readable works about Charles Edward Stuart, Boswell, Burns, Scott, Scotland and the Union, three books about whisky, and a remarkable pamphlet on *The Scottish Enlightenment* (1986). Among his last publications were papers on the influence of eighteenth-century Scottish rhetoric on the development of American political writing, published in early volumes in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series. The first of those papers, on Hugh Blair and the Scottish Rhetoric of American Independence, was originally presented in 1988 at ECSSS's first conference, in Virginia Beach, Virginia, where the society presented David with its first Lifetime Achievement Award for contributions to the field of eighteenth-century Scottish studies.

His distinguished university career had taken him from Edinburgh, via Oxford, to the universities at Chicago, Cornell, Cambridge, and Sussex, of which he was one of the co-founders and its inaugural professor of English and dean of English and American studies. On retirement from Sussex, he returned home to Scotland and was appointed director of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at Edinburgh, where he oversaw the university's project on the Scottish Enlightenment, co-editing to mark the occasion *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-1790* (1986).

His retirement from active literary scholarship was gradual. He continued to write into his eighties, publishing a collection of poems and reviewing books. He especially appreciated being asked to write prefaces, forewords, and introductions to many local histories of Edinburgh. His encouragement to those chroniclers who "shared a sensibility of experiencing a remarkable city" was typically generous. And he remained modest about his own achievements. He acknowledged that he had taken Burns out of the Burns' Supper tradition, and he liked to

think that he was instrumental in reinstating the reputation of “the unread landmark, Scott, who had fallen into total disrepute. No-one seemed to read him anymore, so I thought I would try to revive his reputation, and I think I succeeded.” No literary historian in the twentieth century did more than David Daiches “to regenerate engagement with Scottish literature and the wider Scottish cultural context,” particularly in the field of eighteenth-century studies.

David Daiches died on 15 July 2005 at the age of 92. The life and work of David Daiches are to be commemorated by a memorial stone set in the paving at Makars’ Court, Scotland’s national literary monument, which lies between the Mound and the Lawnmarket in Edinburgh. The stone will carry a quotation from his work. Anyone wishing to contribute to the appeal may send a donation to The Saltire Society, 9 Fountain Court, 22 High Street, Edinburgh EH1 1TF, Scotland, UK.

Michael Lister, Edinburgh, February 2006

### John Simpson

John M. Simpson, honorary fellow and former senior lecturer in Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh, died suddenly on 15 April 2005 at the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. John will be best known to readers of this newsletter as the author of “Who Steered the Gravy Train, 1707–1766?,” published in the seminal collection of essays edited by N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison in 1970, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (reissued by Edinburgh University Press in 1996 and still in print). John supervised more than twenty Ph.D. students carrying out research on a wide variety of subjects in Scottish History at Edinburgh, the last of whom finished in 1997. He contributed the entries on the first Duke of Roxburghe and John Maule of Inverkeilor in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

Alexander J. Murdoch, University of Edinburgh

### 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 2005, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous issues.

David ARMITAGE, “The Scottish Diaspora,” in *SAH*, 272–303.

Karin BOWIE, “Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707,” *Scottish Historical Review* 82 (2003): 226–60.

Adam BUDD, “Mourn Not a Change: The Moralizing Consolations of Samuel Richardson,” *Times Literary Supplement* (8 April 2005): 14. [On Andrew Millar and Richardson]

Adam BUDD, “Moral Correction: The Refusal of Revision in Henry Fielding’s *Amelia*,” *Lumen* 22 (2001): 1–27. [Argues that Fielding wrote his final novel under the influence of Hume’s first *Enquiry*]

John W. CAIRNS, “The First Edinburgh Chair in Law: Grotius and the Scottish Enlightenment,” in *Ex iusta causa traditum: Essays in Honour of Eric H. Pool*, ed. Rena van den Bergh (Pretoria: Unisa, 2005), 32–58.

John W. CAIRNS, “Droit ecossaise, *ius commune* et le développement du droit privé européen,” in *Le Code civil entre ius commune et droit privé européen*, ed. Alain Wijffels (Brussels: Bruylant, 2005), 117–47.

John W. CAIRNS, “*Ius Civile* in Scotland ca. 1600,” *Roman Legal Tradition* 136 (2004): 135–70 (also published in *Law for All Times: Essays in Memory of David Daube*, ed. E. Metzger, 2004).

John W. CAIRNS, “Stoicism, Slavery, and Law: Grotian Jurisprudence and Its Reception,” *Grotiana* 22/23 (2001–2002 [i.e., 2004]): 197–232 (also published in *Grotius and the Stoa*, ed. Hans W. Blom and Laurens C. Winkel, 2004).

John W. CAIRNS, “The Face That Did Not Fit: Race, Appearance, and Exclusion from the Bar in Eighteenth-Century Scotland,” *Fundamina: A Journal of Legal History* 9 (2003 [i.e., 2004]): 11–43.

James J. CAUDLE, “James Boswell and the Bi-Confessional State,” in *Religious Identities in Britain, 1660–1832*, ed. William Gibson and Robert G. Ingram (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 119–46.

Andrew S. CUNNINGHAM, “The Strength of Hume’s ‘Weak’ Sympathy,” *Hume Studies* 30 (2004): 237–56.



- Deidre DAWSON, "English, Welsh, and Elvish: Language, Loss, and Cultural Recovery in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*," in *Tolkien's Modern Middle Ages*, ed. Jane Chance and Alfred K. Siewers (New York and Basingstoke, UK, 2005), 105–20. [treats Macpherson's *Ossian*]
- John DWYER, "Ethics and Economics: Bridging Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Wealth of Nations*," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005): 662–88.
- Howard GASKILL, "J. M. R. Lenz und Ossian," *Lenz-Jahrbuch: Sturm-und-Drang-Studien* 8/9 (2003): 51–82.
- Howard GASKILL, "Ossian, Herder and the Idea of Folk-Song," in *Literature of the Sturm und Drang*, ed. David Hill (New York: Camden House, 2003), 95–116.
- Evan GOTTLIEB, "'Fools of Prejudice': Sympathy and National Identity in the Scottish Enlightenment and *Humphry Clinker*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 18 (2005): 81–106.
- Maureen HARKIN, "Adam Smith's Missing History: Primitives, Progress and Problems of Genre," *English Literary History* 72 (2005): 429–51.
- Andrew HOOK, "Princeton's Great Debt to Scotland," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 19 October 2005.
- Andrew HOOK, "Troubling Times in the Scottish–American Relationship," in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 215–31.
- Colin KIDD, "Eighteenth-Century Scotland and the Three Unions," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 127 (2005): 171–87.
- Colin KIDD, "Lord Dacre and the Politics of the Scottish Enlightenment," *Scottish Historical Review* 84 (2005): 202–20.
- Willem LEMMENS, "The Melancholy of the Philosopher: Spinoza and Hume on Emotions and Wisdom," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 3 (2005): 47–65.
- Bruce LENMAN, "Lusty Beggars, Dissolute Women, Somers, Gipsies and Vagabonds for Virginia," *Colonial Williamsburg* (2005): 64–69
- Susan MANNING, "Scott and France," in *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment*, ed. Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2004), 108–28.
- Susan MANNING, "Sensibility," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740–1830*, ed. Tom Keymer and Jon Mee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 80–99.
- ROGER MASON, "Renaissance and Reformation: The Sixteenth Century," in *SAH*, 107–42.
- Vincent MORLEY, "'Do Shagartaibh agus do mhinistirí': Léargas ar mheon na *Rightboys*," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 18 (2004): 111–25.
- Vincent MORLEY, "The Idea of Britain in Eighteenth-Century Ireland and Scotland," *Studia Hibernica* 33 (2004–5): 101–24.
- Emanuele Levi MORTERA, "Reid, Stewart and the Association of Ideas," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 3 (2005): 157–70.
- Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Charles Edward Stuart," *Etudes Ecossoises*, no. 10 (2005): 57–71.
- Jane RENDALL, "Women and the Enlightenment in Britain c. 1690–1800," in *Women's History: Britain, 1700–1850*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Routledge, 2005), 9–32.
- Jane RENDALL, "'Women That Would Plague Me with Rational Conversation': Aspiring Women and Scottish Whigs c. 1790–1830," in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (London: Palgrave, 2005), 326–48.
- Ian Simpson ROSS, "Aspects of Hume's Treatment of the Problem of Evil," in "*But Vindicate the Ways of God to Man*": *Literature and Theodicy*, ed. Rudolf Freiburg and Susanne Gruss, *ZAA Studies: A Quarterly of Language, Literature, Culture* 20 (2005): 141–52.
- Ian Simpson ROSS, "A 'Good Tale & a Bonnie Tune': Reflections on 'The Yellow Rose of Texas' & Other Songs from Texas," *Studies in the Western* 10 (2002): 156–67.
- Ian Simpson ROSS, "James Dalrymple, First Viscount Stair," in *GGP*, 525–31.
- Ian Simpson ROSS, "Henry Home, Lord Kames," in *GGP*, 531–42.
- Ian Simpson ROSS, "James Burnett, Lord Monboddo," in *GGP*, 543–54.
- Richard B. SHER, "Scotland Transformed: The Eighteenth Century," in *SAH*, 177–208.
- Juliet SHIELDS, "From Family Roots to the Routes of Empire: National Tales and the Domestication of the Scottish Highlands," *ELH* 72 (2005): 919–40.
- Fiona STAFFORD, "Striking Resemblances: National Identity and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 18 (2004): 138–62.
- M. A. STEWART, "The Early British Reception of Hume's Writings in Religion," in *RDHE*, 30–42.

- M. A. STEWART, "Hume's Reception in Ireland," in *RDHE*, 12–29.
- M. A. STEWART, "Hume's Intellectual Development 1711–1752," in *Impressions of Hume*, ed. M. Frasca-Spada and P.J.E. Kail (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 11–58.
- John P. WRIGHT, "The Treatise: Composition, Reception and Response," in *The Blackwell Guide to Hume's Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. Saul Traiger (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 5–25.
- John P. WRIGHT, "The Scientific Reception of Hume's Theory of Causality: Establishing the Positivist Interpretation in Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland," in *RDHE*, 327–47, 396–98.
- John P. WRIGHT, "Reid's Answer to Hume's Scepticism: Turning Science into Common Sense," in *Instruction and amusement: le ragioni dell'Illuminismo britannico*, ed. Emilio Mazza and Emanuele Ronchetti (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2005), 143–163.
- John P. WRIGHT, "Die Debatte über die Seele," in *GGP*, 249–69.
- Stefan ZABIEGLIK, "Adam Smith's Political Economy in Poland: Review of the Problem," *Argumenta Oeconomica* 2 (2002): 29–66.
- Stefan ZABIEGLIK, "Adama Smitha filozofia moralnosci," *Pieniqdze I Wiesz* 2 (2003): 27–37.
- Stefan ZABIEGLIK, "Adama Smitha rozprawa o jezykach," *Filozofia VII* (2003): 77–83.
- Stefan ZABIEGLIK, "Scottish Philosophy in Poland (18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries)," *Polish Anglo-Saxon Studies* 10/11 (2003): 5–20.

#### Key to Abbreviations

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

*RDHE* = *The Reception of David Hume in Europe*, ed. Peter Jones (New York and London: Continuum, 2005)

*SAH* = *Scotland: A History*, ed. Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

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