

# **EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND**

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

## **MONTPELLIER OUI!**

The International Enlightenment Congress happens just once every four years, and ECSSS has a tradition of holding its annual meeting at alternate sessions of the Congress. Thus, we met at the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress in Bristol in 1991 and at the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress in Dublin in 1999. In keeping with this tradition, the Society held its 20<sup>th</sup> annual conference at the 12<sup>th</sup> International Enlightenment Congress in Montpellier, from 10 to 12 July 2007. With our own room in the spacious Corum, the society held nine successful and well-attended sessions. It began with Smollett on the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup> (Ronnie Young, Ralph McLean, and Ken Simpson) and then moved on in the afternoon to the arts (Stana Nenadic, Vicky Coltman, and Arnold Burkart) and the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of John Home's tragedy of *Douglas* (Roger Fechner, Andrew Hook, and Kevin McGinley). On the first evening, the Society held its twentieth conference dinner at Brasserie du Théâtre, where Ian Simpson Ross presented an ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Andrew Hook. The 11<sup>th</sup> was a very full day of conferencing, with morning sessions on poetry (Sandro Jung, Adam Budd, and Janet Sorensen) and union and empire (Clare Jackson, Ned Landsman, and Paul Tonks); an AGM/lunch chaired by ECSSS president John Cairns; and afternoon panels on philosophy (Colin Heydt, Frederick Whelan, and Eugene Heath) and Adam Smith and the French Enlightenment (Ian Simpson Ross, Ryan Hanley, Neven Leddy, and Deidre Dawson). We wrapped up on the 12<sup>th</sup> with panels on the making of the Scottish Enlightenment (Michael Brown, Bill Zachs, and Cairns Craig) and Adam Ferguson (Craig Smith, Vincenzo Merolle, and Jengo-Guo Chen).

Conferences always depend on local organizers to one degree or another, but in this case there would have been no ECSSS conference at all without the heroic efforts of Clotilde Prunier of Université Paul-Valéry in Montpellier, who overcame numerous bureaucratic obstacles and made the conference work.

## **HALIFAX UPON US**

At press time in late May, excitement was building for ECSSS's 21st annual conference, hosted by Dalhousie University in Halifax on 26–29 June 2008. In addition to plenary lectures by John Reid and Leith Davis, the conference is to feature 15 panels, including many on the conference theme: "The Scottish Cultural Diaspora." Conference organizer Fiona Black has planned a considerable number of excursions, receptions, and musical performances, and at the conference banquet on Saturday 28 June, Paul Wood will present Roger Emerson with a Lifetime Achievement Award. A fuller account will appear in next spring's issue.

## **ST. ANDREWS AWAITS**

Next year ECSSS will return to Scotland for its first-ever conference in St. Andrews. Running from 2 to 5 July 2009, the conference will be held at the University of St. Andrews, where the organizer, Dr. David Allan, has reserved space in The Gateway, the university's newest facility. We expect a number of distinctive features, including a musical evening, a conference dinner, a library exhibit, and an excursion to a major historical site as well as a tour of the historic town and colleges of St. Andrews itself.

Plenary lectures will be presented by Knud Haakkonssen, Professor and Director of the Centre for Intellectual History at the University of Sussex, and T. C. Smout, Professor Emeritus at St. Andrews and Historiographer Royal in Scotland. A Call for Papers accompanies this mailing and will also be available on the ECSSS website. In addition to the usual ECSSS sessions on any and all subjects connected with Scotland in the long eighteenth century, panels related to figures linked with the town and university, such as Adam Ferguson and Robert Fergusson, will be particularly welcome. For additional information about the conference, contact David Allan ([da2@st-and.ac.uk](mailto:da2@st-and.ac.uk)). For program information, contact Richard Sher ([sher@njit.edu](mailto:sher@njit.edu)).

### FUTURE PLANS

The June 2010 meeting of ECSSS will be hosted by the Center for Scottish Philosophy, Princeton Theological Seminary, in Princeton, New Jersey, and co-sponsored by the International Adam Smith Society. Celebrating the 300<sup>th</sup> birthdays of the philosopher Thomas Reid (1710–1796) and the physician William Cullen (1710–1790), the conference will be titled “Reid, Cullen, and Smith: The Science of Mind and Body in the Scottish Enlightenment.”

The 2011 ECSSS annual meeting will be hosted by the King’s College Conference Center at the University of Aberdeen in late June or July.

### ECSSS AT ASECS

At the 2008 annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Portland, Oregon, ECSSS sponsored a session on 29 March on “Material Culture and the Object in Eighteenth-Century Scotland.” Organized and chaired by Maureen Harkin of Reed College, the panel featured talks by Stana Nenadic of the University of Edinburgh on “Collecting and the Construction of ‘Enlightened’ Identities among Scottish Professionals in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh and London”; Mark Phillips of Carleton University on “Two Modes of Historical Distance in Sir John Sinclair’s *Statistical Account of Scotland*”; and Steve Newman of Temple University on “Scots Songs as Dangerous Objects: Smith, Ramsay, Burns, and Their Complex Use of Ballads.”

At next year’s ASECS meeting in Richmond, Virginia, 26–29 March 2009, Mark Wallace of Danville Community College is organizing a panel on “A Cheerful Glass and Song’: Enlightenment Sociability in Scotland.” Anyone interested in participating should contact Mark at [mwallace@dcc.vccs.edu](mailto:mwallace@dcc.vccs.edu).

### G. P. JOHNSTON PRIZE

Graduate students and recent Ph.D.s who work in the field of Scottish book history are eligible to compete for the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society’s annual G. P. Johnston Prize in Scottish Book History and Bibliography. Essays may be on any topic or period of book history or bibliography as long as they have a Scottish focus. Essays should be no more than 8,000 words and should not have been published previously. Each winning essay will be published in the *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, and its author will receive an award of £200. For more information, contact Dr. Joseph Marshall of Edinburgh University Library at [joseph.marshall@ed.ac.uk](mailto:joseph.marshall@ed.ac.uk).

### WATT WINS HUME BROWN PRIZE

Douglas Watt’s *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (reviewed in this issue) has

won the prestigious Hume Brown Prize, which awards a cash prize of £4000 to the best first book in Scottish history by a recent graduate of a Scottish university. The award was announced by Tom Devine, the Fraser Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh, who served as the chair of the panel of judges.

### NEW IN THE ARCHIVES

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

*National Archives of Scotland*: Dick Lauder family, baronets of Fountainhall, 16th–19th centuries (GD41); Robert Brown of Edinburgh 18th-century account book (GD1/1401); Gillespie, Macandrew & Co., solicitors, additional clients’ papers, 16th–20th centuries (GD246).

*National Library of Scotland*: Cathcart family papers, 1387–1905 (Acc. 12686); Peter Mark Roget, physician and philologist, Highland travel journal 1795 (Acc. 12610); London Missionary Society, Glasgow committee minutes 1796–1803 (Acc. 12590).

*Aberdeen University*: King’s College deeds, papers, and accounts, 17th–20th centuries.

*Ayrshire Archives*: Mauchline Parish Church kirk session minutes 1787–1811 (ACCN 1207).

*Dumfries and Galloway Archives*: Laurie family of Redcastle titles and correspondence 1604–1829 (GGD583); John Gibson, Dumfries auctioneer, commonplace book 1679–1837 (GGD607).

*Stirling Council Archive Service*: Graham family of Rednock and Duchray, additional accounts, correspondence, and legal papers from 1700 to 1870 (A1277); Incorporation of Skinners, Stirling papers c. 1650–1854 (A1299).

### EUL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DOWN

On 26 May 2008 the special collections reading room at Edinburgh University Library closed down to allow for the relocation of the entire special collections department to its new quarters in the Centre for Research Collections on the fifth and sixth floors of the main library. The projected date for the reopening is 29 September 2008.

### ISHR FOUNDED AT ST. ANDREWS

On 3 October 2007 the University of St. Andrews launched its Institute of Scottish Historical Research as a major focus for research into Scotland’s past, from the early Middle Ages to the present. The launch began with the inaugural lecture of the Institute’s founding director—Professor Roger Mason—on “Lineages of Unionism: Early Modern Scots and the Idea of Britain.” The following day (4 October) the

Institute hosted a workshop on migration settlement and cultural interaction of Scots in England.

Besides serving as a center for historical research for St. Andrews University faculty and post-graduate students, the Institute hosts workshops, conferences, and an annual research seminar. Future plans include a research monograph series. The Institute also draws upon the expertise of its emeritus professor, T. C. Smout, the Historiographer Royal for Scotland.

At present, the Institute is engaged with several major research projects. First, the History of the University Project examines the history of St. Andrews and the other Scottish universities in their local, national, and international contexts. Directed by Roger Mason and David Allan, the project invites students wishing to undertake Ph.D. research in this area to apply for studentships. A second major project, on Scotland and the Wider World, is directed by Steve Murdoch, with the assistance of Alexia Grosjean. The cornerstone of this project is an online biographical database on Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580–1707. Finally, the Institute sponsors the remarkable Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707 (RPS), another major online database.

For further information, contact the director at [ishrmail@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:ishrmail@st-andrews.ac.uk) or visit the Institute's website at [www.st-andrews.ac.uk/ishr](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/ishr).

#### NEW JOURNALS AT AU

Two new journals launched by the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen are likely to be of much interest to ECSSS members. Billing itself as "the only journal devoted to scholarly work in the languages, history, literature and cultures of both countries," the *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* promises to examine thematic issues on topics such as Cultural Exchange from Middle Ages to Modernity; Jacobitism and Modernity; and Ireland, Scotland and the Enlightenment. The first issue includes articles by Vincent Morley on "Irish Political Verse and the American Revolutionary War," Jim Kelly on "The Oral Tradition and Literature in Ireland and Scotland: Popular Culture in Robert Burns and Charles Maturin," Michael Brown on "Dugald Stewart and the Problem of Teaching Politics in the 1790s," and Murray Pittock on "Dissolving the Dream of Empire: Fratritism, Boswell, Byron and Moore." In addition, this journal has an online book review section that can be accessed publicly, with several reviews of books on eighteenth-century Ireland and/or Scotland already available.

The second new journal is the *Journal of Scottish Thought*, which has also produced one issue so far.

More information on these journals can be found at the RISS website, [www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss).

#### BURNS AT THE MITCHELL

The 19<sup>th</sup> annual Burns International Conference was held on 19 January 2008 at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow with the support of the AHRC funded Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow. The day was co-chaired by Ken Simpson and Archie Fleming and featured an exhibition of materials from the extensive collection of Colin Hunter McQueen and the Mitchell Library Burns Collection.

Lisa Harrison, a doctoral candidate from the Scottish Literature Department at the University of Glasgow, started off the day with a paper on "The Bard's Cultural Legacy: Burns and Contemporary Fiction." She examined Margaret Thomson Davis's *A Darkening of the Heart* (2005), Alistair Campsie's *The Clarinda Conspiracy* (1989), and Eric Linklater's *The Merry Muse* (1959) as imaginative literary attempts to work out curiosity about the bard as both a man and a myth and his place in the rich iconographic context that surrounds his persona. Harrison was honored by the presence of Margaret Thomson Davis in the audience. Andrew Noble followed with a paper on "Robert Burns and Henry Dundas: Scotland and the British Question," in which he examined the tension between pan-British radicalism and Scottish nationalism in Burns's letters and poetry and stressed the importance of further historical study of British and Scottish imperialism and radicalism in the 1790s.

Anne Fawbert and Margaret Kane of the Greenock Burns Club celebrated Burns with a lively recitation of a selection of his poetry. Kirsteen McCue, who is currently co-editing the Stirling/South Carolina edition of James Hogg's *Songs by the Ettrick Shepherd* (1831), gave a paper on "Who Writes Better Songs: the Ploughman or the Shepherd? An Exploration of the Songs of Burns and Hogg." McCue pinpointed the connection between melody and lyric for both authors but revealed that, according to the existing textual evidence, Hogg was most probably more naturally musically talented than Burns. However, Burns certainly exceeds Hogg in popularity.

McCue's paper was appropriately followed by a musical performance of Burns's songs by Aly Macrae. Macrae was brought up in Ayr, singing in his family's band, the Macrazies, and, interestingly, he learned many of the songs he performed at the conference from his mother. Thus, Old Margaret Laidlaw's prediction of the demise of Scottish oral song tradition happily proves yet unfulfilled.

Rab Wilson recited poems from his collection, *Accent o the Mind: Poems, Chiefly in the Scots Language* (2006), as part of his paper on "Rabbie and



Rab: Writing Scots Poetry in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” Wilson discussed Burns as a creative influence and, more particularly, Burns’s utilization of a literary language that incorporates both English and Scots vocabularies as an excellent model for Scottish writers today. Judging from the overwhelmingly positive reception Wilson’s poetry received from the audience, he seems to be hitting the mark.

Roy Scott, in a paper on “Burns and Medicine” (featuring quotations read by Dick Duncan), explored the connection between impoverished conditions in rural Scotland and ill health and argued that Burns probably suffered from chronic sub-acute scurvy due to vitamin C deficiency. Scott is the first physician to speak at a Burns International Conference, and his extensive knowledge of both the history of medicine and modern medical literature enabled him to provide keen insight into the controversies surrounding Burns’s physical and mental health.

John Fowler read an imaginative piece exploring the possible trajectory of Burns’s life and cultural legacy if he had indeed emigrated to Jamaica in 1786. Fowler’s story kept Burns true to form with all the appropriate Caribbean replacements (i.e., drams of rum, dark-skinned lovers, and a poignant critique of slavery and planter society) and exemplified the fruitfulness of experimenting with the “what ifs” of Burns’s life, as discussed by Lisa Harrison in her opening paper.

The diverse backgrounds and productions of the conference delegates evidence the continuing universality of Burns’s poetry and song and the importance of examining our own perceptions and appropriations of the bard in both scholarly and creative work. Gerard Carruthers and Ken Simpson co-directed this year’s event. At the end of the day, Simpson was honored for his nineteen years of dedication, as he officially handed the torch to Carruthers.

Next year’s conference will be a three-day event at the University of Glasgow in celebration of the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the bard’s birth (see below). Carrying on from the successful contributions to this year’s event, the 20<sup>th</sup> annual Burns International Conference is sure to be a very special event.

Megan Coyer, University of Glasgow

### ROY COLLECTION OF BURNS MSS

On the birthday of Robert Burns, 25 January 2007, the G. Ross Roy Collection of Burns manuscript material was transferred to the University of South Carolina, to join the major collection of printed Burns and Burnsiana that has been in the university library since 1989. This transfer will make the manuscripts available when the Thomas Cooper Library and the Department of English host a conference in the first weekend of

April 2009 (further details are given below). ECSSS members are encouraged to attend the conference and to consider submitting papers.

The manuscript collection includes poetic manuscripts in Burns’s hand for “Leslie Baillie,” “Lonely Night Comes On” (“Au Waukin”), “As I Walk’d by mysel’,” and “To Mr. Syme—with a present of a dozen of Porter,” significant early transcripts of Burns’s elegy on Sir James Hunter Blair and his reply to the “epistle from a Tailor,” and the only known manuscript of Thomas Blacklock’s poem to Burns published in the Edinburgh edition.

Among the newly transferred letters are two addressed to Agnes M’Lehose from Burns using their pseudonyms Clarinda and Sylvander. In one of them the poet wrote: “You talk of weeping Clarinda; some involuntary drops wet your lines as I read them.” At this point there is a smudge in Burns’s letter—from a teardrop? The collection includes a letter to Robert Cleghorn, an Edinburgh friend of the poet, with which Burns sent a proofsheets of his poem “The Whistle.” The Roy Collection also contains a copy of the chapbook printing of the poem, of which there are only three other known copies. Among other letters are two to the Glasgow bookseller John Smith, and the collection also has autograph material from Burns’s work for the excise and from the glossary for the Edinburgh edition.

The collection contains a proof sheet of “Tam o’ Shanter,” which Burns sent to Alexander Fraser Tytler. Tytler admired the poem greatly but wrote on the proof that Burns should remove these four lines:

Three Lawyers’ tongues, turn’d inside out,  
Wi’ lies seam’d like a beggar’s clout;  
Three Priests’ hearts, rotten, black as muck,  
Lay stinking, vile, in every neuk.

The proof sheet was for Francis Grose’s *Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. 2 (1791). The lines did appear in Grose, but Burns removed them in subsequent editions of his poetry.

Any scholar of the eighteenth century knows how poets suppressed the proper names of people mentioned in poems, replacing all letters but the first and the last with asterisks or underlining. These names might be known to locals but probably not to anyone else. The new collection contains a copy of the 1787 (second) edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* which belonged to Robert Ainslie, who had subscribed for two copies. In one of these copies, Burns has filled in the asterisks in about thirty places, the most important being the identification of the Dr. Hornbook in Burns’s poem “Death and Dr Hornbook” as John Wilson, the schoolmaster at Tarbolton, near the farm of Lochlea where the poet spent several years.

Along with other important Burns-related manuscripts from Henry Mackenzie, George Thomson, Alexander Fraser Tytler, Agnes M'Lehose, Allan Cunningham, and others, the collection also includes Burns's porridge bowl, which was last seen publicly in the great Glasgow exhibition of 1896.

Research in the Roy Collection is supported with the W. Ormiston Roy Memorial Fellowship, administered through the Thomas Cooper Library.

**G. Ross Roy, U. of South Carolina, Emeritus**

### **MORE ON BURNS AT 250**

#### **Robert Burns in Glasgow: 15–17 January 2009**

On the occasion of the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns, the newly established Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow will host a three-day conference celebrating all aspects of Burns's life and works. Possible subjects include Burns and slavery, America, Adam Smith, Ireland, media, the Enlightenment, music, biography, the body, and the Kilmarnock volume of his poems. Although the deadline for paper proposals passed in April, those interested in participating should contact the director of the centre, Gerry Carruthers, or the associate director, Kirsteen McCue, at the conference email address: [Burns2009@scotlit.arts.gla.ac.uk](mailto:Burns2009@scotlit.arts.gla.ac.uk).

#### **Burns in Edinburgh: 22–23 Jan 2009**

As one of a series of AHRC-supported events to celebrate Burns, the Royal Society of Edinburgh—Scotland's national academy—will hold a major one-day conference on "Robert Burns and Global Culture" in January 2009. The conference will reflect on issues such as the global reputation of Burns, the translation and reception of Burns in world literatures, the influence of Burns on the image of Scotland abroad, and the continuing celebration of Burns in global culture in statues, music, and Burns Supper events. Neal Ascherson will open the conference on the evening of 22 January, followed by a Burns Supper. Speakers the following day will include Murray Pittock (convener of the 2009 Global Burns Project), Robert Crawford, Leith Davis, and Gerry Carruthers. Kirsteen McCue and Sheena Wellington will perform at a musical lunch, and the event will conclude with a concert at St. Cecilia's Hall. For further information and conference registration details, go to [www.royalsoced.org.uk/events/conf2009/burns\\_flyer1.pdf](http://www.royalsoced.org.uk/events/conf2009/burns_flyer1.pdf).

#### **Burns in South Carolina: 2–4 April 2009**

The conference at the University of South Carolina on "Robert Burns: Contemporaries, Contexts, and Cultural Forms," which was announced in our spring 2007 issue, has begun to take shape. With new dates, and the added bonus of the G. Ross Roy manuscript

collection (see above), this multidisciplinary conference promises to be the major American event in next year's celebrations to mark the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Burns's birth.

Most events will be held in the university's Thomas Cooper Library, home to the G. Ross Roy Collection of Robert Burns & Scottish Poetry, one of the world's premier Burns collections. Proposals are invited for papers and sessions on Burns in relation to his contemporaries, and the organizers hope also for papers on such characteristic cultural forms of Burns's time as chapbooks, newspaper poetry, periodical essays, letters, poetical epistles, and engraved music collections. Other events planned are an opening reception and exhibition on Thursday afternoon (2 April), a special session on manuscripts and rare printed material in the Roy Collection, a Burns concert and discussion session with Jean Redpath, and a concluding conference dinner on Saturday evening.

Proposals for papers of 20–25 minutes should include the proposer's name, paper title, a 1–2 page abstract, a 2–3 line biographical note, and contact information. Proposals should be submitted by 15 October 2008, either by email to [scottp@gwm.sc.edu](mailto:scottp@gwm.sc.edu) or by mail to: Patrick Scott & G. Ross Roy, Robert Burns Conference, Rare Books & Special Collections, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208, USA.

### **THOMAS REID AT 300**

ECSSS will celebrate the 300<sup>th</sup> birthdays of Thomas Reid and William Cullen at its annual conference in Princeton, New Jersey, in June 2010. Earlier that year, Reid's anniversary will also be celebrated at an innovative conference held at the two universities where Reid taught: Aberdeen and Glasgow. Sponsored jointly by the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at Aberdeen and the Department of History at Glasgow—and under the direction of a six-member management committee consisting of Alexander Broadie, Rebecca Copenhaver, Cairns Craig, Knud Haakonssen, M. A. Stewart, and Paul Wood—"Reid In His Time and Ours" will begin at King's College, Aberdeen, on 21–22 March and conclude at the University of Glasgow on 24–26 March. The plenary speakers will include James Harris and Paul Wood. For more information, contact Jon Cameron at [jon.cameron@abdn.ac.uk](mailto:jon.cameron@abdn.ac.uk).

### **MORE ON TMS IN GLASGOW**

The preliminary program for the Smith in Glasgow conference, to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the publication of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, is now online at [www.gla.ac.uk/faculties/lbss/asrf/smith2009](http://www.gla.ac.uk/faculties/lbss/asrf/smith2009). The conference will begin on the evening of 31 March

2009 and continue with sessions on 1 and 2 April. Highlights include plenary lectures by Nicholas Philipson on "Smith, Scotland and Enlightenment," James Chandler on "Smith Culture, Arts and Literature," Tom Campbell on "Smith and Moral Philosophy," and Amartya Sen on "Smith and Social Sciences."

### GEORGE DAVIE MEMORIAL PLAQUE

Last year we reported the death of beloved Scottish philosopher George Davie in March 2007, at the age of 95 (no. 21, Spring 2007: 7). The letter that follows from GD's son-in-law, Julian Wiltshire, relates to a plan for creating a memorial plaque for George in Edinburgh:

Cold Kitchen Cottage  
33, Kingston Deverill  
Warminster, Wiltshire BA12 7HE, UK  
9th May 2008

At the memorial event for my father-in-law, held in the Raeburn Room at Old College, Edinburgh University last July, John Llewelyn mentioned the possibility of setting up a fund for a commemorative plaque. All the various necessary permissions have been obtained, and the style and materials for the plaque agreed with the City of Edinburgh Council. The wording of the plaque has also been agreed, as follows:

**GEORGE DAVIE** (1912–2007), philosopher and author of *The Democratic Intellect*, introduced to each other **HUGH MACDIARMID** (1892–1978), author of the Scots poem *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, and **SORLEY MACLEAN** (1911–1996), author of *Dàin do Eimhir*, in Rutherford's Bar in 1934.

The plan is to fix a plaque with this inscription near Rutherford's Bar in Drummond Street, Edinburgh, opposite the Old College, close to the plaque which commemorates Robert Louis Stevenson's association with the same bar. Given the restraints on the composition and positioning of the plaque imposed by the Council, the cost of manufacture and installation is £2,150 + VAT.

John, Murdo Macdonald and I ... have set up an account, 'The Drummond Street Plaque Fund' at the Royal Bank of Scotland at 36, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, and would welcome your contribution, if you deem the project to be worthwhile. Should you wish to contribute, could you please do so by cheque, made payable to 'The Drummond Street Plaque Fund' and sent either to myself (at the above address) or to John Llewelyn at 36, South Oswald Road, Edinburgh EH9 2HG, Scotland, UK, together with the form be-

low, duly completed. Alternatively, should you wish your contribution to remain anonymous, please make payment through any bank to the Drummond Street Plaque Fund, A/c no. 11448502, held at the Royal Bank of Scotland, 36, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh EH2 2YB, Scotland, UK, sort code 83-06-08. Please complete the form below, however, so that we can invite you to the unveiling.

Name (please print):

Signature:

Address (please print):

Post Code:

Email Address and Telephone:

### ECSSS MEMBERS IN THE RSE

The Royal Society of Edinburgh, founded in 1783 as an Enlightenment institution, now functions as Scotland's national academy. Originally divided into a Physical class and a Literary class, it has tilted toward the former throughout most of its history. However, in recent years the Society has welcomed more fellows from the liberal arts as well as from the professions, industry, and commerce, and this unusual mix "makes it unique amongst learned Societies in the UK" ([www.rse.org.uk](http://www.rse.org.uk)).

Listed below are the fifteen ECSSS members who have recently joined Joseph Black, Hugh Blair, James Hutton, William Robertson, Adam Smith, and so many other eighteenth-century literati (as well as Alexander Broadie, the late David Daiches, and perhaps other ECSSS members who were elected before 2000) as fellows (or corresponding fellows\*) of the RSE. They represent a variety of academic disciplines—geography, history, law, literature, philosophy, and religion—and include two past presidents, as well as our current president.

2000: Andrew Hook

2002: Knud Haakonssen, Colin Kidd

2003: Cairns Craig, Christopher Whatley

2004: Murray Pittock, Bruce Lenman

2005: Christopher Berry, Susan Manning

2006: Fiona Stafford, Daniel Szechi\*,  
Charles Wlthers

2007: Stewart J. Brown, John Cairns, Ian  
Duncan\*

Congratulations to all!

### MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

**David Armitage's** new book, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*, is attracting rave notices . . . **David Brown** has moved from head of private records to head of outreach services at the National Archives of Scotland . . . **Leslie Ellen Brown** was one of 15 participants selected for the NEH summer 2007 seminar on aesthetics in the Scottish



Enlightenment, held in St. Andrews . . . this summer Routledge will publish *The Modern Historiography Reader*, edited by **Adam Budd**, lecturer in history and director of postgraduate scholarly methods training at the U. of Edinburgh . . . **Gerry Carruthers** is the true director of the Burns Centre at Glasgow U. (apologies!) . . . thanks to a Government of Ireland Fellowship, **Dan Carey** is a visiting scholar at Columbia U. for 2007–9, working on cross-cultural exchange . . . **Cairns Craig**, Glucksman Professor and director of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at the U. of Aberdeen, has been awarded an OBE for his services to literature and education . . . **Deidre Dawson** has a new position as professor of language, literature and culture in the new Residential College in the Arts and Humanities at Michigan State U. . . . last year **John Dixon**, now at Cal State U. Channel Islands, received his Ph.D. in history at UCLA with a dissertation on “Cadwallader Colden and the Rise of Public Dissension: Politics and Science in Pre-Revolutionary New York” . . . **Kay Doig**, promoted to professor in 2005, returned in summer 2007 to what she calls “a true life” after completing a three-year term as chair of modern and classical languages at Georgia State U. . . **Amanda Epperson** spent 2007–8 as visiting assistant professor of history at the U. of Akron . . . **Christopher Finlay** has moved to the political science department at the U. of Birmingham . . . in 2007 **Iris Fleßenkämper** received her Ph.D. from the U. of Augsburg and started a new job teaching at the University of Münster . . . with funding from the British Academy, **James Harris** organized a one-day conference on “Epicureanism in the Moral Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment,” held at St. Andrews U. on 13 Oct 2007 (the speakers included **Neven Leddy** and **John Robertson**) . . . **Tom Kennedy** is now dean of the Evans School of Humanities and the Social Sciences at Berry College in Mt. Berry, Georgia . . . **Heiner Klemme**, author of *David Hume zur Einführung* (Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 2007), has been appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Mainz . . . in June 2007 **JoEllen Lucia** (now assistant professor of English at John Jay College in New York City) received her Ph.D. in English lit at Indiana U. under the supervision of ECSSS vice president **Janet Sorensen**, with a dissertation on the responses of British women writers to the Scottish Enlightenment’s feminist theory of social development . . . in April 2008 **Susan Manning** returned to her proper place as director of the Edinburgh U. Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities . . . **Peter McCandless** has retired from the History Department at the College of Charleston . . . **Esther Mijers** is now lecturer in British history at the U. of Reading . . . **Andrew Noble** spoke in Oct. 2007 at an RIISS

seminar at Aberdeen U. on Scottish and Irish radical poetry 1790–1820 . . . in 2007 **Murray Pittock** took up the Bradley Chair at the U. of Glasgow . . . the recent work of **John Pocock** was discussed at a one-day conference at the Sussex Centre for Intellectual History on 22 May 2008; the speakers included John himself on “Gibbon and the Invention of Gibbon: Chapters 15 and 16 Revisited” and **John Robertson** (who also organized a successful conference at Oxford U. on the intellectual consequences of religious heterodoxy, 1650–1750) on Pietro Giannone . . . **Richard Sher’s** *The Enlightenment and the Book* won the 2007 Frank Watson Prize (U. of Guelph) and the AHA’s 2007 Leo Gershoy Award; in Nov. 2007 Rick gave the third annual Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade at the Clark Library, UCLA, and a plenary lecture on William Buchan’s *Domestic Medicine* at the annual meeting of the East Central branch of ASECS in Atlantic City, NJ . . . **Juliet Shields** was the James M. Osborn Postdoctoral Fellow at the Beinecke Library, Yale U., during 2007–8 . . . **Craig Smith** has moved from postdoctoral fellow at Glasgow U. to lecturer in philosophy at St. Andrews U. . . **Janet Sorensen** has moved to the English Dept. at U. of California, Berkeley . . . **Mark Spencer** has been promoted to associate professor of history with tenure, as well as head of a new graduate history program, at Brock U. in Ontario . . . in Dec 2007 **M. A. Stewart** spoke on “Church and Trade: The Two Lives of James McEuen” at a joint meeting of the Scottish Church History Society and the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society . . . **Jan Swearingen** of Texas A & M U. has been awarded a 2008–9 National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship for work on the Scottish Enlightenment and the “Rhetorical Education” of the American Founding Fathers in Virginia; four months of the fellowship will be spent as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at Edinburgh U. . . **Paul Tonks** of Yonsei U., Korea, spoke on “An Anglo–Scottish Vision of Union and Empire” at the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at the U. of Aberdeen in Jan. 2008 . . . **Mark Towsey** received his Ph.D. in history from the U. of St. Andrews in 2007 with a thesis titled “Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Libraries, Readers and Intellectual Culture in Provincial Scotland c.1750–c.1850”; currently a postdoctoral fellow at the same university’s Institute for Historical Research, Mark won the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland’s 2007 prize essay award for an article on Enlightenment books in Scottish subscription library catalogs . . . **Norbert Waszek** has been promoted to “la première classe des professeurs” at the U. of Paris VIII . . . **Karina Williamson** spelled Susan Manning as director of IASH when Susan was on leave.

## The Select Society of Edinburgh, 1754–1764: Social Structure and Communicative Practice

by Iris Fleßenkämper, University of Münster

It is generally accepted that the Enlightenment could not have achieved its widespread impact without modes of communication that corresponded to the need of the enlightened for talk, friendship, and propagation of their ideas. Even if Enlightenment research today has often retained its focus on intellectual history, individual biography, and social history, these approaches have been usefully expanded, and sometimes re-designed, through the perspective of communication history. This is the approach that I take in this article, which is based on my 2007 dissertation on the history of the Select Society of Edinburgh (1754–1764), “Die Select Society in Edinburgh 1754–1764. Soziale Zusammensetzung und kommunikative Praxis.” Developed within the research training group “Knowledge Fields of Modern History” at the Institute for European Cultural History at Augsburg University, the dissertation is based on the recognition that the Scottish Enlightenment must be viewed not only as the achievement of great thinkers but also as the product of a particular collective organization and specific forms of communication.

The membership of the Select Society was among the most varied and at the same time socially prominent of the many learned societies that flourished in Enlightenment Scotland. Almost all the great Scottish minds of the time were among its members, including David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson, Adam Ferguson, and Henry Home, Lord Kames. Thus, the reconstruction of the Select’s modes of communication and social role provides access to the general forms of scholarly interaction in eighteenth-century Scotland. The high degree of the society’s formal organization offers many sources: membership lists, minutes, and publications but also extensive correspondence and autobiographical evidence. Yet the Select Society has never been subjected to a systematic monographic examination. One reason for this neglect is the current dominance of the viewpoint of the history of ideas. After all, the minutes of the Select’s meetings include neither statements by its members nor the results of their debates. The focus of my approach, however, is not on the history of ideas, narrowly defined, but rather on the social and communicative conditions—social structures, organizational forms, and communicative practices—under which intellectual cooperation within the society could work and new knowledge could be produced, acquired, and legitimated in Enlightenment Scotland.

This study is based on the premise that learned societies are constituted within a specific social and political system, and therefore cannot be examined in isolation. Edinburgh was the meeting place of the annual General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the seat of independent legal institutions, newly founded administrative bodies, and a self-governed university. Since Edinburgh remained a metropolitan center even after the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707, its learned societies could recruit—to a degree unmatched by any other Scottish town—from a vast pool of highly qualified men from the professional ranks as well as high-ranking nobles. Consistent with the findings in Roger Emerson’s 1973 article on the Select Society in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, detailed prosopographical analysis of members and rejected candidates shows that the Select was mainly made up of men who held, or would hold, prominent positions in politics, education, administration, the church, or the military. The country’s elite—in terms of both function and birth—was represented in the society, including greater and lesser nobles, higher administrative officers, clerics, professionals (lawyers, physicians, university professors), soldiers, financiers, and merchants. There was no “socially free-floating intelligentsia” (Karl Mannheim) that acted independently of social factors. The members of the professional classes and bourgeois Enlightenment thinkers who joined the Select Society were drawn in part from vocational fields with close ties to government and were linked to the aristocracy by birth, marriage, or property. It was a thoroughly conservative elite, and although it aimed to advance cultural and economic progress through discussions and targeted measures, it did not ultimately strive for radical political changes within society. As a collective made up of the middle class and the nobility, the Select Society did not contribute to creating an exclusively bourgeois counter-public, yet it played an important part in the mutual rapprochement of the higher classes, the nobility, and the middle class. In its ten years of existence, the Select Society was much like a productive syndicate enabling nobles and learned professionals to achieve their status-related goals in mutual dependency. While its predominantly middle-class founding members created a learned society that had the power to legitimate anew the privileged standing of the members of the nobility who had remained in Scotland after 1707, the nobility in turn helped legitimate and subsidize the joint activities and projects of the Select Society and its affiliates. Furthermore, the nobles’ attendance increased the credibility of the society’s intellectual debates. A noble membership gave the society legitimacy, social recognition, and regional prestige, as well as a certain degree of protection from criticism and persecution. Therefore, cooperation



within the society depended largely on the status-based needs of its members.

The Select Society's elitist and exclusive nature was emphasized by its strict membership criteria in the context of achievement, power, and values. Although the size of its membership was not officially limited, the society did not grant access to everybody who applied. The successful candidate had to show a range of skills and qualifications that corresponded to the group's profile. Ideally, these included higher education, personal ambition toward achievement and career, a moderately religious and progressive intellectual attitude, and an active involvement in regional projects involving politics, culture, and the economy. The candidate also needed to have social contacts with the members and, if possible, several supporters within the society. Since the members were closely tied through friendship, kinship, and patronage, it can be assumed that the social contacts of the candidates played an important role in the society's recruitment policy, apart from specific qualifications and values.

Social relations between the participants, however, were not only a prerequisite for, but also a result of, their membership in the society. Members obtained access to an exclusive social network. Ambitious professionals, in particular, gained opportunities to make contact with high-ranking patrons and influential brokers, to renew existing patronage relations, and to advance their careers in politics or administration, the military, the church, or the university. Although only a few exemplary patronage relations can be reconstructed from the scarce source material, the overall picture is sufficient to describe the fundamental logic behind the dynamics of Scottish patronage. The example of Sir Gilbert Elliot (1722–1777)—a member of Parliament, a lord of admiralty, and a particularly influential patron—shows how social barter between the Scottish province and London worked: Elliot arranged for profitable and influential posts in London and Edinburgh and in return received regional support in elections and politically useful information. This system worked, despite the criticisms of individual members such as Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (1726–1792). Another pattern is represented by the wealthy patron Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782), who sponsored young scholars, granting them financial independence and at the same time boosting the social acceptance of their research.

Finally, the Select Society enabled scholars to form new friendships, which they hoped would tangibly support their careers as writers or scientists. Friendship was in practice oriented toward the principle of mutual usefulness. The tension between this practical view of friendship and the new sentimental ideal of friendship, which was also prominently represented in the writings of several members of the Select Society, appears in the correspondence of some of the members. Thus, the Select Society was more than a community of intellectuals; it was a social space that allowed its members to activate and mobilize numerous relationships that promised to yield advantages sooner or later. As members of an exclusive society, middle-class professionals in particular had the opportunity to accumulate social capital—capital that, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, could be transformed into economic or symbolic capital.

Although the Select Society was sometimes perceived as elitist and “dictatorial” from the outside, the principle of equality prevailed within. The society had a democratic design in which all members had the same rights and duties and in which the power to make decisions lay with the whole community. Thus, the names of the members were registered in the membership lists—published in print or written by hand in the minute book—in the order of their date of entry instead of their social standing. Ideas of equality and equal rights stood in fundamental opposition to the socio-political reality of the Ancien Régime but were by no means a novelty in Enlightenment Scotland. Even before the Select Society was founded, several of its members had participated in a number of Edinburgh societies and clubs that possessed egalitarian structures.

Like most learned societies of its time, and in accordance with the scientific utopia of Francis Bacon, the Select Society strove for a form of communication that was not guided by birth, politics, or religion. In their constituent meeting on 23 May 1754, the founding members devised specific rules that allowed for the society's work to be based on the principles of equality, discipline, respect, and order. By providing the members with guidelines on how to behave within the community and in their debates, the Select Society acted as a moral authority. The ideal was to create an independent dialogue free of conflict, in the service of science alone. In order to avoid ideological conflicts, the society set a ground rule that explicitly excluded from their discourse two controversial subjects: revealed religion and Jacobitism. The proceedings confirm that, throughout the ten years of its existence, the Select Society adhered strictly to this rule, and to a large extent followed the guideline of equality. The strict admission procedure, however, ensured that from the start the membership was relatively homogeneous, thus reducing the potential for controversy.

On the other hand, the minutes also reveal that the society's relatively strict regulations on calling and conducting meetings were not rigorously observed. Warnings, sanctions, and proposals about the reorganization of the society's program prove that norms and practice, regulations and actual behavior, sometimes diverged considerably. Members fulfilled their duties of attendance and payment irregularly, refused to act as chairmen and to assume the corresponding responsibilities, and hardly ever proposed topics for debate. In addition, some of the mem-

bers did not actively participate in discussions, were frequently late for meetings, and sometimes improperly criticized and provoked speakers. The society reacted to these frequent breaches of the rules by establishing new rules and regulations. It repeatedly admonished punctuality, subjected its members to more discipline, courtesy, and commitment, and in 1757 decided that the task of heading the sessions should be assigned exclusively to a group of six members. Furthermore, the society threatened to impose fines or even to revoke membership status if members repeatedly failed to appear at meetings or to pay their fees.

This divergence between principle and practice was not unusual. Studies of the *Respublica Litteraria* and the Royal Society of London, for example, have shown that the reality of communication could differ considerably from educational and social ideals. Similarly, historians of law have pointed to the grave disparity between "norm setting" and "norm enforcement" that existed in the eighteenth-century socio-political spheres of power. When researching authoritarian (police) legislation in territories and cities and its influence on the social behavior and actions of those subject to the law, historians increasingly face a problem that has recently been termed the "paradox of early modern statehood." Although the authorities produced innumerable laws and regulations, supposedly aiming at "social discipline" and, thus, significantly accelerating the formation of early modern states, these laws were rarely obeyed in practice. In order to explain this contradiction of the "failing-successful state," historians have recently started using a method that may be called "historical implementation research." This approach maintains that the importance of an authority's norm-giving should be measured not by its success, i.e., by its absolute enforcement, but by its implementation. Enacting laws is seen as part of a communicative dispute between the rulers and the ruled about norms and is accordingly placed within the context of creating an awareness of norms. Norms should, therefore, be tested for their possible, mainly discursive, impact rather than for their actual effectiveness. When we research the communicative practice of a learned society, therefore, the concept of communication should not only be applied to the mutual exchange of knowledge and information but also to the joint establishment and negotiation of the norms and regulations of social life.

If this new approach is applied to the Select Society, the importance of its practice of norm-giving is seen less in the direct and often failed realization than in the implementation of self-imposed norms. For although the members often did not meet their social duties and frequently breached the society's code of conduct, this does not necessarily mean that they did not admit the rules as part of a collectively accepted behavior pattern. A breach of the rules was perceived as such; it was openly criticized, and more often than not the society attempted to overcome it by introducing new norms. The frequency with which the members changed the society's charter, supplemented it with new regulations, and reassessed its validity and feasibility shows the degree and intensity of their concern about the society's self-imposed rules. Thus, the importance of the Select Society and the function of its constitution lay not in the enforcement of its norms but in the communicative debate about norms, which raised the awareness of what was and was not considered legitimate in scholarly dealings and social cooperation.

Apart from organizational matters, learned debates were central to the Select Society's sessions. Between 1754 and 1763, the members discussed a total of 84 questions on a wide range of subjects, including politics and law, the humanities and culture, and economics and political theory. These questions reflected the complex mix of the membership's technical-academic, professional, and status group-related interests. The discussion topics are not surprising: the best possible form of government, the correlation between geography and society, the possibilities for advancement of economic development and its moral effects, the role of women and nature of marriage, the supposedly eternal model provided by the ancient world—interest in these subjects was not limited to the philosophers of the Enlightenment in Scotland. Here again, the Select Society appears to be a component of a pan-European Enlightenment.

While the Select Society continued to assert its claim to be a closed discussion forum, exclusively reserved for its duly elected members, it was at the same time taking pains to develop and organize socio-economic projects that were intended for participation by the general public. In order to keep the exchange of scholarly knowledge separate from these practical and useful reform activities, the society founded two affiliates in 1755 and 1761. These were dedicated to the advancement of the domestic economy and industry on the one hand, and to the advancement of the English language in Scotland on the other. Here, the society could again draw on social development processes that were widespread in Europe. Around the middle of the century, for example, a growing number of patriotic and economic societies were forming in Europe. Dedicated to national-territorial economic development, these societies were the first to examine the natural and social resources of human existence and activity. They usually consisted of a privileged group of administrative officers, landowners, and men of letters who discussed, and attempted to implement, measures for the advancement of agriculture and business. Their motivation was both the prevention of future famines and the increased domestic production of convenience goods. In addition to new theoretical concepts of Cameralism, these societies were primarily inspired by the Baconian idea that material progress and economic growth can be achieved only through comprehensive knowledge and control of nature.



Therefore, in order to generate and disseminate useful knowledge, they used a variety of communication media ranging from commercial and agricultural prize contests to topographic descriptions and periodicals. Compared to its "predecessor literature" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the so-called "Hausväterliteratur" in Germany, which suggested agricultural improvements that usually referred to a specific manor or estate—the work of the economic philosophers of the Enlightenment was mainly directed at the economic power of their territory. Their goal was to advance national affluence, which in turn was inextricably linked to the well-being of the individual.

The first of these offshoot societies, the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture in Scotland, was founded in 1755 to increase agricultural and commercial productivity, particularly through appropriate discussion and competition. Although the Edinburgh Society offered a total of 1,127 innovative prize questions, primarily concerning commerce and agricultural economics, over the course of only ten years, its immediate influence on Scotland's economic development was nevertheless slight. Systematic analysis of the prize winners reveals that the vast majority of participants came from Midlothian (Edinburghshire) and the rest mainly from the other Lowland regions. Even though the sources do not allow us to determine fully where the applicants hailed from, these findings suggest that people from southern Scotland probably predominated among the contestants. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Edinburgh Society's prize lists were principally published in the Edinburgh press. Thus, although the Edinburgh Society aimed at strengthening both the economic position and individual productive forces of the whole nation, the improvements it achieved were mainly confined to the Edinburgh region. Furthermore, its sphere of influence was limited not only locally but also temporally: as early as 1765, the Edinburgh Society ceased all its activities for financial reasons.

Nevertheless, the Edinburgh Society's activities were important in a pre-industrial context. The impact of the Edinburgh Society is to be seen less in its direct economic success than in its contribution to the creation of a culture of innovation, which made possible industrialization and its effects in the first place. By awarding a wide variety of prizes, the Edinburgh Society not only managed to encourage the individual participants' sense of competition and will to success but also embedded the concept of vocational commitment in the minds of a large segment of the population. By its own standards, the Edinburgh Society wanted to condition the "inhabitants of Scotland" to a purposeful and productive type of work, which would benefit society as a whole beyond immediate demand. Work was no longer considered only as a productive activity to satisfy one's personal needs; it was increasingly interpreted as a social dictum and a patriotic duty.

The Edinburgh Society was also an important medium for creating and diffusing useful knowledge. Its members were aware that scientific and economic progress could be achieved only through collective cooperation with the country's productive forces. The Edinburgh Society explicitly invited farmers, artisans, and manufacturers to participate in its projects and debates in order to facilitate the communicative exchange between scholars and the general workforce. Apart from scholars, civil servants, and squires, wider social strata were encouraged to see themselves as an active part of the patriotic reform movement.

The essential contribution of the Edinburgh Society, therefore, was to bring together science and practice, to strive to overcome the social exclusiveness of knowledge, and to allow wider social strata to participate in technological discourse and economic reform projects. The Edinburgh Society not only enhanced and spread useful knowledge but also enabled and legitimated mutual communication between scholars and producers. Scientific and technological progress could develop only if scientists were willing to cooperate with the country's productive forces, and only if both parties traded their particular expertise and practical knowledge. In the European dimension, the industrialization process around the beginning of the nineteenth century cannot be explained by economic factors and phenomena alone; it was also due to new structures and strategies of diffusing and communicating knowledge, which had developed mainly through the efforts of patriotic and improving societies in the context of the "Economic Enlightenment."

Although the Select Society and its affiliates discontinued their meetings and projects after barely ten years, in the early nineteenth century they were appreciated above all for their contribution to the advancement of literature and philosophy, and in this context they were also considered a "talent pool" for young writers. The Select Society's learned debates and social contacts certainly affected the intellectual activities of the most renowned Scottish scholars, such as Smith, Hume, Robertson, Kames, and Ferguson. However, since there are no sources that can provide information on the content of the debates and the positions of their participants, other than two handwritten documents by Robert Wallace and one manuscript by William Cullen, the Select's actual degree of influence and effect is hard to ascertain, at least from the viewpoint of intellectual history.

Intellectual change, however—and this is the central thesis of this article—consists not simply in the emergence of new ideas, methods, and objects of knowledge but also in the alteration of structures and institutions that produce, exchange, and distribute knowledge. Therefore, in addition to using approaches that are rooted in



intellectual history or that focus on the criteria of “success,” studies of eighteenth-century societies must take into account questions of communication history. Taken as a whole, these societies constituted a new system of communication, which allowed for the transfer of opinion and knowledge across social barriers and considerably enlarged the circle of those participating in the communication process. A communication system that crossed social boundaries finally led to new, egalitarian behavior patterns, which in turn supported and accelerated the emancipation of traditional norms and values from the constraints of the old regime. In this sense, the improving societies in particular allowed for a mutual rapprochement of scholars and producers, thus benefiting not only intellectual but also technological and economic progress. The processes of social and economic change in eighteenth-century Europe can therefore be explained by the specific communication structure of the societies. As part of a communication history of Enlightenment, the institutionalized forms of eighteenth-century society must also be examined, in addition to aspects of media history and infrastructure. This point applies all the more to historical research into the Scottish Enlightenment, which so far has been focused mainly on textual analysis and intellectual history. The example of the Select Society of Edinburgh should make clear that the production, acquisition, spread, and legitimation of new knowledge were defined by the forms of sociability and the social networks in which they took place.

*Iris Fleßenkämper (irisfle@uni-muenster.de) is a research associate with, and coordinator for, the Cluster of Excellence “Religion and Politics in Pre-Modern and Modern Cultures” at the University of Münster. This article is drawn from her 2007 University of Augsburg Ph.D. dissertation entitled “Die Select Society in Edinburgh, 1754–1764. Soziale Zusammensetzung und kommunikative Praxis,” which is scheduled for publication in 2008 by Akademie Verlag, Berlin. The author is currently working on her habilitation project about Calvinist church discipline in Germany and Scotland in the seventeenth century.*



## **The Defense of Edinburgh during the '45: A Diary Account by Colin Maclaurin**

**by Karl W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology**

Colin Maclaurin (1698–1746), renowned mathematician and natural philosopher, was born in Kilmodan, Argyshire, the third son of Rev. John Maclaurin (1658–1698), parish minister and amateur scholar who translated the psalms into Gaelic. Losing both of his parents in childhood, he was raised by his uncle Daniel Maclaurin, also a clergyman, residing at Kilfinnan on Loch Fyne. Clearly precocious, Colin enrolled at the University of Glasgow, aged eleven, and graduated three years later with the degree of M.A. (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB], 35:737). Maclaurin’s interest in advanced mathematics was greatly influenced by his teacher, Professor Robert Simson, who introduced him to the geometry of ancient Greece, lent him books, and generally nurtured his rapid intellectual development. Maclaurin’s oral defense (1713) was “On the Power of Gravity,” a refinement of Newton’s formulations, the theoretical bases of which were at that time familiar only to a small coterie of leading mathematicians. In 1717 he became professor of mathematics at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and in 1725, after the appearance of his *Geometrica Organica* (1720), was appointed to a chair of mathematics at the University of Edinburgh on the personal recommendation of Sir Isaac Newton, whose acquaintance he had made during an earlier visit to London. (ODNB, 35:738).

Shortly before his move to Edinburgh, Maclaurin was awarded a major prize from the *Académie Royale des Sciences* in Paris for his research on the impact of bodies. In 1742 he published his magnum opus, the two-volume *Treatise of Fluxions*: the first systematic exposition of Newton’s methods, written evidently as a reply to Berkeley’s attack on infinitesimal calculus for its alleged lack of analytical rigor. His extensive treatise, as has recently been demonstrated by J. V. Grabiner (*American Mathematical Monthly* 104 [1997]: 393–410), had far-reaching influences in five critical areas: the fundamental theorem, the concepts of maxima and minima, the attraction of ellipsoids, elliptic integrals, and the Euler–Maclaurin formula. Other topics that Maclaurin explored were

tion of ellipsoids, elliptic integrals, and the Euler–Maclaurin formula. Other topics that Maclaurin explored were the annual eclipse of the sun, complex roots, and actuarial studies. His famous *Treatise of Algebra* was published in 1748, two years after his death; another work, *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries*, was left incomplete but was also published in 1748.

Less well known than his stellar accomplishments as a mathematician is Maclaurin's active role in contemporary public affairs—notably the part he played in organizing the defense of Edinburgh against the Jacobite army of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1745. Hence the document printed below, his own account of the preparations, is especially valuable as a perceptive “insider's” report on the equivocating atmosphere within the city, which inevitably affected defensive arrangements, such as they were. Specifically, it conveys the general disaffection with the Union, merging into Jacobitism rife among the leadership, that allowed Edinburgh (though not the castle) to fall into rebel hands. Maclaurin's diary, moreover, tends to confirm what some historians have long suspected: that Lord Provost Archibald Stewart (1697–1780), who was ultimately responsible for the city's safety, was a latent Jacobite sympathizer whose lame defense of the city may be explained by his allowing his private feelings to override his civic duty. However, one should remember the factiousness of Edinburgh municipal politics. Stewart's enemies on the town council (led by ex-provost George Drummond) hoped to oust him in the forthcoming elections by relentlessly publicizing his suspected Jacobitism, causing many potential volunteers to become suspicious of the provost's real intentions: a subject of continuing historical contention. Maclaurin's assertions about the provost should therefore be viewed with some skepticism, pending further, more conclusive research. Stewart was subsequently arrested and tried for neglect of duty during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh but ultimately acquitted. David Hume subsequently wrote an exonerating pamphlet, *A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart* (1748), but it must be remembered that Hume and Stewart were personal friends, and so the defense was not entirely objective or even accurate (see *Hume Studies*, 2003, 29:223–66).

Putting the document into its historical context, with the impending approach of the rebel army (after taking Perth, only 60 miles away, on the third of September 1745), Maclaurin, who had been living in the country, duly moved to Edinburgh, anxious to promote measures for defending the capital. The Town Guard, essentially an armed police force comprised of former soldiers, was negligible militarily, as were the sixteen companies of part-time militia (also known as Edinburgh Trained Bands) commanded by the provost: all were poorly trained and poorly equipped. The solution was to raise a company of four hundred middle-class volunteers—many with military experience—a task energetically directed by Maclaurin, whose patriotism and professional renown made him influential among the magistrates. Two dragoon regiments of regulars were stationed within Edinburgh, but the city authorities, unaccountably, refused their transfer to the castle in order to bolster its defenses. From the outset Maclaurin's diligent efforts were hampered by frustration, obstruction, and delay. Few of his proposals and plans for repairing the city walls, dilapidated in parts, were enacted. This emerges clearly from his diary and is reinforced in a letter he subsequently wrote to Duncan Forbes: “The care of the walls was recommended to me, in which I laboured day and night under infinite discouragement from superior powers. When I was promised hundreds of workmen, I could hardly get as many dozens. This was daily complained of, redress was promised, but till the last days no redress was made, then it was too late.” (in *The Collected Letters of Colin MacLaurin*, ed. S. Mills, 1982, p. 132).

The provost's apparent equivocation had a demoralizing effect on the city authority if not also on the governor of the castle, Lt. General Joshua Guest (1660–1747), and his equally aged predecessor General George Preston, still present in an advisory capacity. A proposal to have the dragoon regiments march out of Edinburgh to rendezvous with Col. James Gardiner's forces approaching from the north was rejected amid much dissension within the high command. This situation forced Brig. Fowke (who had replaced Gardiner) to retreat toward East Lothian in hopes of joining the commander of the government forces in Scotland, General Sir John Cope (1690–1760), thereby leaving Edinburgh to its fate. In the city, meanwhile, little progress was made in constructing the trenches and barricades necessary for defense—of vital importance if the capital was to be held long enough to allow for the arrival of government troops under Cope (whose arrival from Dunbar was expected) and Dutch auxiliaries known to have disembarked at Leith. Unknown to the defenders, Cope, anxious about the poorly trained troops at his disposal and afflicted by serious logistical problems, had made for Inverness instead of directly advancing against the Jacobite threat, giving the rebels a clear road to Edinburgh. This roused tremendous public and official criticism, and Cope eventually faced a Court of Inquiry but was acquitted (*ODNB*, 13:314–15).

On 16 September, having reached the capital, Prince Charles sent an imperious summons to the magistrates calling upon the city to surrender “and alarming them with the consequences in case any opposition was made” (H. Paton, ed., *The Lyon in Mourning* (1895), 1:249–50). After playing for time by protracting negotiations over terms, the officials “at a packed meeting,” as Maclaurin put it (*Collected Letters*, p. 32), agreed to capitulate. But before this could happen, the Highlanders—whether by chance or subterfuge—managed to enter and occupy

vigilant determination of Generals Guest and Preston, who vowed to bombard the city itself if the Jacobite insurgents attempted to starve out the castle's garrison (*Dictionary of National Biography*, 7:762–63).

Offered an indemnity if he made a submission within twenty days, Maclaurin stoutly refused and crossed the English border before the deadline expired. At Newcastle, he was offered refuge by the Archbishop of York, with whom he stayed until the rebels marched southward in early November. Returning to Edinburgh, Maclaurin—his health undermined by arduous traveling conditions and harsh winter weather—caught a serious cold from which he was unable to recover. Suffering complications, he slowly declined and died on 14 June 1746. He was buried in Greyfriar Churchyard in Edinburgh.

Maclaurin's account of his involvement in Edinburgh's defenses during the Jacobite assault is published here for the first time by permission of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, where it is classified as MS 1342, fols. 1–13. Throughout the text, common eighteenth-century abbreviations have been expanded; capitals where appropriate have been put in lower case; and spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

**Mr. McLaurin's Journal of What Passed Relating to the Defence of  
Edinburgh from Monday, September 2<sup>nd</sup> until Monday, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1745**

September 2<sup>nd</sup>

The accounts from the North becoming more and more unfavorable, above twenty gentlemen of known good affection to his Majesty and the government met at Mrs. Clark's who agreed to apply to the Lord Provost that he would give orders for putting the town in as good a state of defence as possible with all expedition. It was complained of in this meeting that an application which had been made the week before to his Lordship had not met with due encouragement but that the persons who waited on his Lordship and their zeal had been ridiculed and made the subject of insipid jokes, the company resolved that whatever discouragement they might be met with from those whose duty was to have animated them they should meet frequently and promote to the utmost of their power whatever might tend to the defence of the town. In the meantime they appointed two of their number, B [ailie] S[tuart] and Mr. M[ac]L[aurin] to wait on the Provost next morning with a general instruction to beg he would see to the defence of the town and offer their assistance and three particular instructions: 1. That he would order the making molds (or calms) for bullets, it having been found on trial that all in the shops had been bought up or late by ladies who had been sent for them. 2. That the sluice of the north loch by which the water issues from it should be shut and secured, that it might fill up. 3. That they should propose to his Lordship the making a distinction betwixt the inhabitants of known good affection and such as were suspected when he came to entrust them with the towns arms and take proper measures that the city should not be in danger from within as in 1715. Lord Provost gave a satisfactory answer to the first two of these, but as to the third he did not give the satisfaction desired, but after a good deal of reasoning he said that if the town came to be attacked he would so far make a distinction as to entrust the towns arms with the most substantial burghers and this was all could be obtained from him. He said that if 1,000 men had a mind to get into this town he could not see how they could hinder them. In answer to this the number of tradeslads in Edinburgh, or the gentlemen who would associate to save the town, the unskillfulness the Highlanders had always shown in attacking stone walls, their want of artillery and being ill armed with the assistance that would be gotten from the dragoons in all probability were urged. It was insisted our doing something was requisite to save the reputation of the town to divert the enemy from coming this way and to raise a spirit in the country. To this he answered that to pretend to do [much] when we could do little was to expose us to ridicule, other discouraging expressions were used but at the end he said he would be glad of advice from sensible Burghers and have regard to it.

Little material passed until September 5 when the same company with some addition of other gentlemen met at the same place. And now the danger appearing more imminent they entered into an association as volunteers to serve for the defence of the place at the hazard of their lives and fortunes under the direction of the Lord Provost. This was signed by all present and by 200 before twelve the next day. They appointed some of their number to present this to the Lord Provost to desire they might be allowed to choose their officers and that he would apply to General Guest for arms to them. They were likewise ordered to entreat that the parapet of the wall might be cleared which in many places had been slopped up with stone and lime to prevent smuggling that stairs should be made for getting up to it at proper distances that cannon should be got from the ships to be placed on the flanks and gates.

The Lord Provost declared now and always afterwards that he would insist on the privileges of his office and did not leave the nomination of the officers to the volunteers but allowed them to make up a list of 30 or 40 or



more from which he would choose them. He walked with some of the magistrates and volunteers about a part of the wall, he said then he could not see but if 2,000 had a mind to get into the town they must succeed. After looking at a part of the wall he desired Mr. M[ac]L[aurin] one of the volunteers to take the trouble to make a plan of it which he promised to do.

It was thought proper to draw up an article of news concerning the association to encourage others to join and rouse the lethargic spirit of the country. After it was written it was thought decent and dutiful to show it to the Provost that "this proposal was accepted by the Lord Provost" were altered by him. He would have it that the Lord Provost acquiesced in this proposal. This alteration was much regretted by those who were sincerely zealous in this cause being sensible that in so critical a time more than acquiescence was requisite in the magistrates to animate the Burghers and foreseeing as it happened that the trades would not be warm when the magistrates were so cool. The volunteers however soon rose to 400, the expenses of the works proposed were much talked and complained of at this time and afterwards.

September 7

The plan of the wall was made ready and presented to the council at 6 o'clock, the weak places were pointed out and what was most necessary to be done proposed. The Lord Provost desired an estimate might be made of the expense but it was answered that could not easily be done and would require time. It was proposed the flanks should be first taken care of as the time which the rebels would take to come to Edinburgh was uncertain. That the doing as much as we could did not hinder capitulating if necessary. That there was a double chance for relief either from Sir John Cope or the Dutch so that holding out one day or two might save the town. But that dispatch was necessary above all things and all the workmen that could be gotten ought to be employed.

September 8

The workmen cleared a part of the parapet but the number was very small for this day and indeed for the whole week until September 15. Of this complaints were made every night but to little or no purpose. Sometimes there were only two dozen when there ought to have been as many hundreds for now the rebels were at Perth. It was found that the parapet when cleared was too narrow in several places and that it was necessary to add to it by scaffolding. This was done in some places but so few men were employed that in others it was not executed.

September 9

The work went on but slowly, some of the embrasures on the flanks for the cannon and in the curtains for the musketeers were opened.

September 10

A scheme of what was most necessary to be done was drawn up by a volunteer above mentioned and shown to General Guest and at his desire to an old officer of the dragoons being approved by him. It was presented to the Lord Provost. It was insisted that a high house which takes a part of the wall near the potteraw should be possessed by a party and a communication made from the wall to the house to relieve or bring off the men as occasion might require, but this though much insisted on was not yielded until September 16 when Captain Murray [Peter Murray, ordnance officer and adjutant to General Guest] approved of it and then though it was begun there was not time to finish it.

Unhappily at this time the elections of their deacons so much employed the trades that few came to work on the wall and it never appeared that after repeated complaints proper authority was employed to oblige them to work in this time of the greatest danger.

September 11

Some cannons were gotten from ships and it having been earnestly recommended to the Lord Provost that some hand grenades should be gotten and the city guard and volunteers taught to use them. A message was sent to the general and by him to the castle but it was answered that they had not above 200 and could not spare them. Afterwards, however, one of the volunteers, surprised that there should be so few in such a garrison so well provided with stores made a visit to the castle and was told by the storekeeper that he had five times that number and was desired to tell the Provost that he had 200 at his service if he had a mind for them. The message was delivered but the grenades never appeared. We found 23 that had lain in a chest since 1715 in the Towns Armory but they were never examined.

A ditch that had been ordered at Wallaces Tower had been carried on right for some time but was after-

ward by some mistake or bad advice cast on the wrong side of the dike. This day this was stopped and a remedy proposed but not executed for want of time.

September 12

The work went on slowly.

September 13

The day of the election of the deacons. There was very little done on the wall. The deacons could not get to some of the houses in St. Mary's wynd that had large windows into the town were shown to some magistrates and afterwards to the Provost but no orders were given about them. This day the carriages of the cannon were examined and any necessary repairs ordered.

September 14

Little work on the walls and scaffoldings. The cannon were all proved and the shot got ready.

September 15

The Lord Provost brought Captain Murray to town to give his advice, and not until this day he ordered some works within the gates which were begun immediately. There was more men employed this day than ever before and everybody seemed to exert themselves. But the Lord Provost having never named the field officers to the volunteers; they were now nine independent companies and upon a motion to go out with Colonel Gardiner they unhappily divided in opinion which produced some heat among them. A most unlucky signal was pitched on to call them to their arms, the ringing of the fire bell which never fails to raise a panic in Edinburgh. This happened in time of divine service, the churches dismissed in confusion and terror and this was the first appearance of fear in the place and this signal ought not to have been proposed or allowed by the magistrate in such a time the rebels not being far from us.

This day most of the cannon were carried to the flanks and in this as much regard as possible was had to the weakest places so that there were three on St. Mary's Wynd which raked it. About six o'clock one of the volunteers with the chief of the bombardiers came to the Provost to have an order to load them, he kept them waiting until eight o'clock, and then desired another to sign the order for him. They begun, though in the night, but after they came to the Bristol port they were obliged to wait from half an hour after ten until near one o'clock for want of a sentinel to place on the loaded gun though they sent messages for sentinels to the guard and council. This put a stop to their progress that night. The guns were all loaded with small shot and as they flanked the curtains and gates it was the more dangerous to leave them without sentinels. During all that time while the rest of the wall was guarded and all is well was heard go around regularly there were not sentinels on Bristol port to the west port but one or two below.

September 16

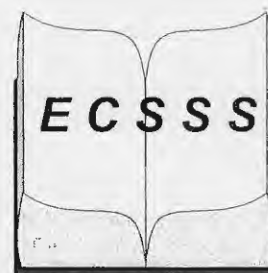
The works went on cheerfully until four or five at night—a work was thrown up to defend the Pass to Moutresay. Some gates were built up, some more cannons were gotten and carried to the bastions and gates, we were told that only five gunners were gotten at one o'clock but were promised that pains should be taken to get more.

Between two and three o'clock some Burghers were said to be carrying about a petition to the magistrate for subscriptions praying the town should capitulate. The alarm being great at the west port the guns there were loaded and the other works pressed on so that they were almost finished when an account came that a meeting in the new church had agreed to capitulate. One of the volunteers called for the Provost to know what was to be done to the cannon, but was told that his Lordship had not time to speak to him. The call of "All is well" did not go round the wall this night as the former and the town seemed to be quiet of its defence. The volunteers delivered their arms into the castle.

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## BOOKS in REVIEW



Carl Wennerlind and Margaret Schabas, eds., *David Hume's Political Economy*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008. Pp. xiii + 378.

Neil McArthur, *David Hume's Political Theory: Law, Commerce, and the Constitution of Government*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. Pp. xii + 193.

Christopher J. Finlay, *Hume's Social Philosophy: Human Nature and Commercial Sociability in A Treatise of Human Nature*. London: Continuum Studies in British Philosophy, 2007. Pp. x + 202.

Political economy is rightly considered to be one of the great legacies of the Scottish Enlightenment. In the outpouring of intellectual activity that marked the period there was a pronounced preoccupation with the nature and implications of the rise of a new form of commercial society. Though Adam Smith is given pride of place in the economist's canon of intellectual ancestors, it is often overlooked that David Hume made important early contributions to the subject of political economy. It is also often overlooked that the subject was political economy—that the study of economics and politics were closely intertwined in this period. Three recent books have set out to consider what we might broadly refer to as Hume's political economy, and in doing so they have identified a set of concerns that suggest a distinctly Humean political economy. The unifying theme is Hume's commitment to the humane and civilizing potential of economic development.

Carl Wennerlind and Margaret Schabas have edited a welcome volume focused on Hume's economic writings. The collection is the result of papers drawn from a conference on Hume's political economy held at Barnard College in 2003, and it is a measure of the quality of the volume that it makes the reader wish they had been at the conference. The quality of the papers is consistently excellent and the editors are to be commended for ensuring that the contributors reflect a variety of disciplines beyond purely historians of economics.

The volume opens with strong intellectual scene-setting. Roger Emerson and Ian Simpson Ross discuss Hume's context in Scotland and in political economy, demonstrating how political economy was a key concern of Scottish intellectual life at the time. This is followed by essays from Christopher J. Berry and Richard Boyd on the wider conceptual context of Hume's political economy. Berry notes that Hume's writings disavow the ethics of poverty and represent the detachment of luxury from its "moralistic anchorage" (p. 60) in a move that surely stands as one of Hume's major contributions to the emerging discipline of political economy. Boyd takes as his focus the wider social ramifications of Hume's economic writings, noting that the key ideas of refinement and manners in Hume's thought point toward a distinctly modern understanding of social relationships.

The volume then shifts to a detailed consideration of Hume's important but opaque writings on money. While this is perhaps the most oft-considered aspect of Hume's economic writings in the existing literature, the papers here help to clear away some of the conceptual confusions wrought by monetary theorists reading back into Hume issues that were of concern in later phases of intellectual discussion. Carl Wennerlind presents a systematic synthesis of Hume's arguments on money and manages to construct a position that banishes some of the suspicion of self-contradiction that follows a reading of the various passages on money viewed in isolation. Margaret Schabas follows with an interesting paper on the temporal dimensions of Hume's monetary theory, while C. George Caffentzis and Robert W. Dimand deal with Hume's views on metallic and paper currency and his doubts about the latter.

The second half of the volume is devoted to papers examining the relationship of Hume's political economy to the famous French political economic debates of the eighteenth century (chapters by Loïc Charles, John Shovlin, and Paul Cheney). This is followed by an extended essay by Istvan Hont that expands on his earlier work



on the "Rich country-Poor country" debate between Hume and Josiah Tucker. The question of the relative advantages in terms of potential for economic growth possessed by low-wage poor countries, against highly skilled rich countries, is an interesting aspect of the political economy of the time. Hont details how debates about the economic benefits of the proposed union with Ireland filter into Hume's economic thinking and are then taken up as part of the French discussion.

If I have any complaint about what is otherwise an excellent volume, it would be that the final essay (at 80 pages) perhaps unbalances the collection while covering some of the same ground as the earlier papers on Hume's influence from/on French economists. Similarly, while the Scottish context is handled well in setting the scene, it might have been nice to see a paper focused on the relationship between Hume's political economy and that of his good friend (and "father of economics") Adam Smith. That said *David Hume's Political Economy* is a valuable addition to Hume scholarship and to the history of economics.

The question that lies in the background of Neil McArthur's new book on Hume's political thought is one that has probably occurred to many serious readers of Hume. We "know" that Hume's writings have distinctly conservative overtones, but exactly what sort of conservative was he? McArthur presents a lucid survey of Hume's political theory that seeks to answer this question by identifying him as a "precautionary" conservative. In doing so he presents a reading of Hume that sees a coherent political vision, one going well beyond Book 3 of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, and one that can be detached from his philosophical skepticism.

The book stresses the importance of Hume's "concept of civilization" (though one wonders to what extent there are implicit nods in McArthur's reading to Edward Shils or Norbert Elias's work on the "process of civilization") and its link to the idea of the stability created by a politics bounded by general rules. This leads to a consideration of two core themes in Hume's political thinking: liberty and reform. Hume's approval of a "civilized" monarchy and desire to see the practice of politicians hedged around with divided and balanced powers and strict rules that put pay to discretionary power and its abuses, are brought together to show how he places a particular understanding of liberty at the heart of his politics. Indeed, it might be fairer to say that he places a rejection of barbarism, understood as the instability produced by arbitrary government, at the core of his politics. For Hume, civilization is to be preferred to barbarism, and in making this assertion he calls upon universal claims about the sorts of institutions that allow the advance of his indissoluble chain of Knowledge, Industry and Humanity. Along the way, we have several interesting discussions that amplify the main themes: on Hume's attitude to civic moralism and nostalgia for ancient republican virtue (despairing), on his apparent approval for some sort of "civilizing imperialism" (p.74) (guarded), and on his support for economic development and "luxury" (enthusiastic). Each of these discussions covers ground trod by others but fulfils its role in lending weight to the understanding of civilization being imputed to Hume.

It is in the closing chapter that the book advances what may be its distinctive contribution to our understanding of Hume. Building on the observation that Hume does make pronouncements that favor some political institutions and dismiss others, McArthur urges us to lay aside the idea that Hume's philosophical skepticism is the root of his conservatism and to accept that he does hold to certain universalized principles. Hume's political theory compares and judges institutional forms in the light of a principled "measuring rod" (p. 133) of liberty and convenience. These principles are not drawn from the sort of particularist, traditionalist positions that are often associated with Burkean conservatism but are instead the product of Hume's examination of the features that provide the stable social conditions that in turn allow for material, intellectual, and moral progress. At this point, the author might have said a little more connecting this position to Hume's stated desire to provide a "science of man" in the introduction to the *Treatise* (as Christopher Finlay does below).

Nonetheless, McArthur's description of Hume's precautionary conservatism is clear. The idea is that the outcome of reform is so uncertain, and the danger so great, that an attitude or disposition to preserve existing institutions through careful reform is the only prudent course of action. This allows McArthur's Hume to hold onto his liberal ideals (and Hume's "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth") while prescribing extreme care in political action. This reading of Hume also has the added advantage that it helps to outline a conservative position that can offer support for recently established governments (Britain post-1688) without recourse to implausible references to ancient constitutions. Hume's underlying universal yardsticks of stability and liberty allow him to favor a particular understanding of the rule of law while cautioning against excessive reform. This leads to a reading of Hume, as McArthur admits following Sheldon Wolin (p. 134), as a conservatized liberal whose principles have largely been secured in the British constitution and who is willing to countenance only very slow and relatively minor reforms to this settlement for fear that anything more radical will lead to disaster and, crucially, to instability.

This is an enjoyable book on Hume's political thought that takes seriously his place in the intellectual development of both liberalism and conservatism. Indeed the model of conservative liberalism that McArthur draws from across the body of Hume's work seems to come much closer to the humane spirit of his writings than

those interpretations of his political thought that dwell overlong on *Treatise* Book 3 and philosophical skepticism. Christopher Finlay's new book represents a similar attempt to advance a new interpretation of Hume. In this case the subject is the *Treatise*, and the view advanced is that Hume's philosophy is overwhelmingly social in its nature. The idea is not that Hume's social philosophy (Book 3) is paramount to understanding the *Treatise*, but rather that Hume's appreciation of the social aspect of human life is essential to understanding his philosophy as a whole. The book examines the social nature of Hume's thought, from his often-overlooked use of social examples to illustrate his causation argument, to his concern for drawing evidence from life as it is lived by everyday people and his view that philosophy must be connected to common life rather than practiced in scholastic isolation (pace Donald Livingston).

Finlay makes a solid case for Hume's philosophy being shaped by a desire to seek evidence of universal truths of human nature in the actual behavior of his contemporaries in a nascent commercial and consumer society. As a result, Hume emerges as a more sophisticated analyst of commercial modernity than suggested in the "possessive individualist" readings of C. B. MacPherson and Alasdair MacIntyre. By this reading, Hume's philosophy seeks to "methodise and correct customary beliefs and values" (p. 41), but—and this links into the "precautionary" argument made by McArthur—Hume grants custom a "presumption of innocence" (p. 41) such that reform is only attempted in the light of evident failings. Understood this way, Hume's philosophical project emerges as an attempt to rein in the more fanciful claims and ambitions of more rationalist thinkers in favor of a careful, empirical advance of human understanding. This results in a practical prescriptive position that seeks to advance virtues and institutions which fall in line with actual human experience, rather than representations of perfection—as clearly demonstrated in the opening paragraphs of "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth."

Finlay illustrates this argument with well-handled considerations of the place of pride and sympathy in Hume's thought. He also develops the role of wealth in the generation of consumer goods which manifest that pride and the sympathetic comparison between men of differing, but closely placed, ranks. The key here is Hume's appreciation of the fact that pride is an aspect of human nature that can only be fully developed in a social setting. That sociability lies at the heart of Hume's understanding of human nature is not a novel observation, but Finlay unpicks the implications of this sociability in the emulation and envy that motivate much human endeavor. Moreover, he demonstrates how Hume uses these themes as part of the basis for his science of man.

Toward the end of the book, Finlay turns to a consideration of the consequences of this social aspect of Hume's thought for his political philosophy. He rightly notes that Hume moves away from the civic tradition and downplays the significance of the political in favor of the social. Indeed, Finlay asserts that for Hume political and economic relationships are but necessary background conditions for the true arena of social flourishing: the social world of manners, conversation, civility, learning, improvement, and refinement. It is in social interaction, not political or economic interaction, that man realizes the noblest aspects of his character; and so Hume privileges the social and directs his economic and political arguments to the support of a stable and wealthy society that allows increasing social interaction.

Like the Berry and Boyd articles in *David Hume's Political Economy* and Neil McArthur's parsing of conservative liberalism, *Hume's Social Philosophy* succeeds in situating Hume's intellectual project at the start of a tradition of philosophy that rejects the civic focus on politics. Instead, the distinctly modern ideas of economic growth and the subsequent social benefits of refinement from everyday interaction are revealed as Hume's abiding concern. Hume's commitment to the "cosmopolitan ideal of civility" (Finlay, p. 142) links these three important new volumes on Hume's political economy of commercial society.

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Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler, eds., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 919.

Knud Haakonssen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 1407.

Emilio Mazza and Emanuele Ronchetti, eds., *New Essays on David Hume*. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2007. Pp. 480.

In his important introduction to *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, Knud Haakonssen argues that the history of eighteenth-century philosophy has been dominated by the "attempt to identify the philosophy of the eighteenth century as the gradual culmination of a distinctively early-modern philosophy" (p. 6) whose development stretches from Bacon and Descartes to Reid and Kant. This account of modern philosophy,



whose "Rationalists" and "Empiricists" populate many philosophy department courses, puts the theory of knowledge at "the core of all sound philosophy" (p. 6), identifies the essential problems of philosophy as those dealing with the "justification of beliefs and judgments" (p. 7), and renders the philosophical history of the period as an "ever-deepening struggle with scepticism."

For Haakonssen, though this Kantian and Reidian "epistemological paradigm" for the history of philosophy has proven useful, it is at odds with the ways in which many eighteenth-century thinkers conceived of the nature of their philosophical enterprise. It should therefore be "part of the philosophical historian's task to question it" (p. 13) and, in so doing, to reconsider what can count as philosophy. The very structure of the two volumes, which include (along with more traditional fare) seven articles on the relation of eighteenth-century religion to philosophy and four articles addressing natural philosophy, suggests important ways in which the epistemological paradigm has undergone interrogation.

Throughout the collection, philosophers and historians often set Scottish thinkers within unusual narratives. This is true not only in areas of philosophy outside the supposed epistemological core; it is also true within the history of eighteenth-century epistemology itself. An excellent illustration comes from the late Richard Popkin's article on skepticism, in which Popkin notes how Reid shaped subsequent readings of Hume as a skeptic, by isolating Hume from the modern skeptical tradition of Montaigne, Bayle, and Huet, and by painting skepticism as a germ within the Cartesian and Lockean philosophies that comes to fruition in Hume. "In so doing," writes Popkin, Reid "detached Hume from his sceptical roots and created an historical mythology that has lasted to the present—that there was an old philosophy, Aristotelianism, and a new philosophy, Cartesianism" (p. 439). Putting Hume within the context of modern Pyrrhonian and Academic scepticism, as Popkin did throughout his career, enables a better understanding of, among other things, the reception Hume's writings garnered in France and Prussia.

Another example of the new veins being mined in the history of epistemology can be found in Kenneth Winkler's chapter on "Perception and Ideas, Judgment." Locke, Reid, and Kant all play an important role, but we also hear from thinkers like James Beattie, David Hartley, William Duncan, and Henry Aldrich. In addition, the Scots are often carefully contrasted with Locke in ways that would not have been common in scholarship from a few decades ago. Winkler shows, for example, how Francis Hutcheson breaks with Locke on questions of the nature of judgment and on the manner in which ideas derive from experience.

Then there are entries that cut across our contemporary philosophical disciplines and bring out some of the strangeness and philosophical interest in the eighteenth-century debates. Aaron Garrett's chapter "Human Nature" is an outstanding example. Garrett illuminates the concept of human nature indirectly, by examining various eighteenth-century ideas about animals, race, women and, as one enticing section heading puts it, "orangutans and beavers, wild children, the blind, and the deaf." The cast of characters Garrett draws upon is impressively large, and it places Scots like Hutcheson, Hume, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, Lord Monboddo, Lord Kames, Reid, Dugald Stewart within transnational arguments with the likes of the expected (Kant, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire) and the unexpected or unusual (Buffon, Soame Jenyns, Herder, Linnaeus, Cornelius de Pauw, among many others). In all these cases, Garrett makes familiar philosophers unfamiliar by situating them within important but often ignored debates. A new way of thinking about differences between Hume and Hutcheson, for instance, arises from examining their claims about our relations to animals. While Hume, like Mandeville and Anthony Collins, described our relations to animals as arising from "shared passions, sympathies, conventions, and customs" (p. 174) (thereby rejecting theories that overlook vital affective similarities and overemphasize the importance of cognitive dissimilarity), Hutcheson revised the natural law tradition in order to make room for animal rights. Their differing accounts of the community we share with animals highlight contrasts among their respective theories of human nature and, perhaps more generally, their philosophical temperaments.

These two volumes will be a vital resource for years to come and they represent a Herculean effort of scholarship. There are an impressive number of chapters that should be essential reading for anyone interested in eighteenth-century philosophy or cognate fields (in addition to those already discussed, I would particularly recommend those by T. J. Hochstrasser, Hans Aarsleff, Simone Zurbuchen, and Phillip Sloan). As is typical in any large collection, there are also entries that disappoint. In particular, there are a handful (such as those by Werner Schneiders, Carl Henrik Koch, Reinhard Brandt, Michel Malherbe, and Heiner Klemme) that remain largely entrenched within the Rationalist/Empiricist/Kant narrative, do not offer much that is very new to people familiar with the field, and suffer, at least in the eyes of this reader, from a lack of historical subtlety. When confronted with *unqualified* statements like "In the seventeenth century, reason and science were regarded as factors possessing a stabilizing and preserving effect on the life of the community" and "In the eighteenth century...science was regarded as a dynamic social and political factor" (Koch, p. 47), one is left to wonder if some of the best scholarship of the last fifty years has been ignored.

Finally, though any project of this kind is bound to have an omission or two, and though we get very fine



chapters by Ann Thomson on "Informal Networks" and by M. A. Stewart and Hochstrasser on, respectively, British and continental academic institutions, the absence of a chapter (or chapters) on the publication, distribution, and reading of philosophical texts remains noticeable. There has been so much excellent and illuminating work on the history of the book and the history of reading that is relevant to the history of philosophy—it would seem to have merited some space.

When moving from *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy* to *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, one is struck by the differences in what counts as appropriate frameworks for interpreting texts. Whereas the large majority of entries in the former take the most relevant context to be intellectual (largely textual), the latter includes a much more fluid notion of the context relevant to understanding political works of the period. There is much greater emphasis on political, religious, cultural, and economic settings. In part, this is undoubtedly due to the differences in objects of study—political theory, political economy, and jurisprudence often engage with their contemporaries on parochial issues in a way that metaphysics or epistemology might not. But it also indicates 1) differences in disciplinary make-up between the two works (the volume on political thought is dominated by historians and history-oriented political scientists) and 2) the influence of "contextualism" in the history of political thought, as encouraged by the ground-breaking work of Quentin Skinner and J.G.A. Pocock, among others.

Nothing short of a triumph, this collection includes excellent contributions from many of the (justifiably) leading scholars in modern political thought. It includes sections on the ancien regime and its critics, "the new light of reason," natural jurisprudence and the science of legislation, political economy, the promotion of happiness, and revolution. Scots can be found throughout the work, but especially, as one would expect, in the treatments of political economy and civil society. There is also a very helpful chapter on natural rights in the Scottish Enlightenment by James Moore.

*New Essays on David Hume* is an aggregation of Hume papers, many of them interesting and well worth reading. The book is also useful for demonstrating how many different approaches there are to Hume—textual, contextual, Hume as philosophical interlocutor for contemporaries, etc. Particularly notable pieces include Annette Baier's essay concerning Hume on hypocrisy; John Wright's paper on Hume's naturalism as understood post-Kemp-Smith; James Moore and Luigi Turco's articles on the relations between Hutcheson and Hume; James Harris's treatment of the understudied four essays on happiness; Roger Emerson's essay on Hume's relative lack of interest in the arts; Mark Spencer and M. A. Stewart's essays on Hume's reception in America; and Ian Simpson Ross's piece on the friendship between Hume and Smith.

Colin Heydt, University of South Florida

David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature: A Critical Edition*. Edited by David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. xvi + x + 1173.

Husband and wife team David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton have edited the most accurate and definitive version of Hume's *Treatise*, an edition which in fact is even more reliable than Hume's original three-volume edition published in 1739 and 1740. The Nortons' critically acclaimed student edition was published in 2000 by Oxford University Press. In 2007 their long-awaited scholarly edition appeared, culminating their nearly 20 years of devotion to this project. The two-volume hardback scholarly version comes with a price tag of around \$200, as compared to the student paperback version of around \$20. What do you get for the extra money? The short answer is that you will have the inside story on the production and early reception of the *Treatise*, plus an account of the unique challenges presented in the creation of their critical edition from its disparate sources. It is part detective work, part historical drama, plus a great measure of pioneering background on one of philosophy's most important works.

Volume 1 contains the text of the *Treatise* itself, along with new and definitive editions of Hume's *Abstract* of the work and—not present in the student edition—the related pamphlet *A Letter from a Gentleman*. Beyond that, volume 1 contains only three pages of editorial introduction by the Nortons, with no editorial annotations. It is volume 2, weighing in at almost 750 pages, that contains the wealth of expository and editorial information. The volume opens with David Norton's 155-page historical survey of the composition and early reception of the *Treatise*, which is particularly valuable to scholars with broader interests in the history of ideas. Norton overturns many previous assumptions about the writing and publishing of the *Treatise*, and his narrative of the reception of the *Treatise* includes many previously undocumented items. The remaining sections of volume 2 are jointly authored by the Nortons.

The second portion consists of an account of the editing practices that went into the creation of the critical

edition. This section should be particularly appealing to scholars interested in the editing of eighteenth-century texts. The chief challenge of most critical editions is to present an apparatus of variant readings from the various editions of a work that appeared during the author's lifetime. Since the *Treatise* never went beyond its first edition during Hume's life, the Nortons have identified other types of discrepancies that required editorial judgment. Foremost among these were the changes that Hume himself made to the *Treatise* during the printing process, which produced different wording in different printed copies. In an effort to account systematically for these discrepancies, the Nortons used a book collation device that visually compares two different copies of a book, one page at a time, making obvious any differences between the two. With this technique, they compared nine complete sets of the *Treatise's* three volumes, plus four partial sets, revealing several hitherto unknown alterations. This is just one example of the length to which the Nortons went to produce the most reliable critical text possible.

Other editorial judgments involve typographical errors in the original, stylistic changes introduced by the book's typesetters, spelling and punctuation inconsistencies, errata lists, and hand-written changes to the *Treatise* that Hume made in some copies. Resolving many of these discrepancies led the Nortons to investigate the identity of the *Treatise's* printer, Hume's orthographic style as reflected in his manuscripts, typesetting conventions of the time, and the general principles of critical edition text editing. In an effort to provide consistency throughout the critical edition, the Nortons give priority to Hume's general stylistic preferences in some instances and to the conventions of the book's compositors at other times, depending largely on which is the least intrusive. In all, they consider only 75 emendations to the text to be substantive, and of these only about 15 affect the meaning of the text, and several of these are in concert with decisions made by previous editors or commentators on the *Treatise*. The result is a vastly cleaner edition of the *Treatise*, with nothing controversial added to it.

The third portion of volume 2 consists of three hundred pages of historical annotations (twice as much as the student edition), and it is here that the breadth of the Nortons' philosophical and historical knowledge shines. This section of the volume will be of most value to readers of Hume's *Treatise*, since it provides sustained clarification of terms, citations, cross references, and intellectual background. The work concludes with nearly two hundred pages of bibliographies and indexes.

On the whole, this critical edition of the *Treatise* is exactly what we would expect from David and Mary Norton, who have an enviable record of exceptionally researched historical scholarship, composed in a clear and engaging style. They have gone well beyond the call of duty in providing posterity with an outstanding edition of the *Treatise* and an authoritative account of its back story. We are all beneficiaries of their labor.

James Fieser, University of Tennessee at Martin

Francis Hutcheson, *Logic, Metaphysics, and the Natural Sociability of Mankind*. Edited by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne. Translated from the Latin by Michael Silverthorne. Introduction by James Moore. The Collected Works and Correspondence of Francis Hutcheson. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2006. Pp. xxvii + 237.

Francis Hutcheson, *Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria, with A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy*. Edited and with an Introduction by Luigi Turco. The Collected Works and Correspondence of Francis Hutcheson. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2006. Pp. xxvii + 288, 312.

*Logic, Metaphysics, and the Natural Sociability of Mankind* includes English translations of three of Francis Hutcheson's writings that originally appeared in Latin. In *A Compound of Logic To which is prefixed a Dissertation On the Origin of Philosophy And Its Principal Founders and Exponents (Logicae Compendium*, Glasgow, 1756) Hutcheson classifies philosophy into logic (rational philosophy), natural philosophy, and moral philosophy, following the prototype of the Stoa. By logic, he understands "the art which directs the mind in its acquisitions of Knowledge of things, and may also be called science (*scientia*). Others define it as 'the art of investigating and expressing truth'" (p. 9). The division of the work mainly follows the example of Antoine Arnauld's *The Art of Thinking* (concept, judgment, syllogism, method); however, Hutcheson deals with method in an appendix "on Topics, Fallacies, and Method." Regarding content, he combines Aristotelian logic with the new doctrine of ideas. Accordingly, logic is to be understood in a very wide sense, as in the early example of the *Compendium Logicae* (1729) of John Loudon, who taught philosophy in Glasgow between 1699 and 1750 (cf. p. xi). Loudon's work had an immediate impact on Hutcheson's treatise, which presumably had been written, according to James Moore, in the 1720s for the instruction of students in his Dublin academy.

Supposedly, *A Synopsis of Metaphysics Comprehending Ontology and Pneumatology (Metaphysicae Synopsis*, Glasgow, 1742; 2<sup>nd</sup>, enlarged edn., 1744) was also written in the 1720s in connection with Hutcheson's teaching at Dublin. In this tripartite work, Hutcheson deals with ontology ("On Being and the Common Attributes of



Things") and, under the notion of pneumatology, with the doctrine of the human mind and God. In Glasgow, as a professor of moral philosophy, Hutcheson only taught on the third part because ontology and pneumatology were Loudon's field of responsibility as a professor of logic. In his introduction, James Moore points out that Loudon held his lectures on metaphysics according to *Determinationes Pneumatologicae et Ontologicae* by the Dutch philosopher Gerard de Vries, and that Hutcheson designed his metaphysics as a "counterpart to the work of de Vries" (p. xiii). Hutcheson intended to replace de Vries's Aristotelianism with the new doctrine of ideas. As James Moore puts it: "Hutcheson's ontology consisted very largely in the translation of scholastic terms of being into the language of ideas" (p. xiv).

Both writings are of particular interest for the Hutcheson scholar, since they are the only writings in which Hutcheson addresses logic and metaphysics in the form of a textbook. The third work in this volume is an English translation of *On the Natural Sociability of Mankind*, Hutcheson's Glasgow inaugural oration of 1730, where he tries to defend a notion of the state of nature that is contrary to Hobbes, Mandeville, and Pufendorf—a notion that takes the natural benevolence and sociability of mankind into account. Accordingly, the state of nature signifies "either the common condition of mankind or the most perfect condition which they can attain by the resources implanted in their nature. And certainly this most perfect state rightly takes the name of natural" (p. 198; cf. p. 200). Not vices, but virtues, are what is natural to us. What Hobbes and others called the "state of nature," Hutcheson names "an *uncultivated* state, where our natural abilities have never been exercised" (p. 200). Culture and social life, then, are the keys to a virtuous life. Because of "some wonderful sympathy of nature" (p. 204), human beings find their greatest pleasure in exercising their unselfish and sociable nature.

The second volume under review contains Hutcheson's *Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria* (Glasgow, 1742; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1745) in conjunction with the English translation of it, published in 1747 with new texts and other additions. As Hutcheson points out at the very beginning, it is designed for students at the universities who had already finished their courses on logic and metaphysics. The "chief points to be enquired into in Moral Philosophy must be," according to Hutcheson, "what course of life is according to the intention of nature? Wherein consists happiness? And what is virtue?" (p. 23). The book itself contains the elements of this branch of philosophy and is divided into ethics ("*teaching the nature of virtue and regulating the internal dispositions*") and the law of nature, covering civil law ("*or the laws and rights obtaining in natural liberty*"), oeconomics ("*or the laws and rights of several members of a family*") and politics ("*showing the various plans of civil government, and the rights of states with respect to each other*").

Both volumes document in various ways Hutcheson's ties with ancient philosophy and contemporary philosophy. At the same time, they reveal the differences between Hutcheson and his compatriot Hume. Whereas Hume casts a doubt upon and applies his philosophical acumen, Hutcheson cannot see any problem: the existence of the self, the knowledge of God and his positive attributes, and in particular the order and harmony of the world as God's creation. Above all, Hutcheson's teleological way of reasoning constitutes an unbridgeable gulf between his thinking and that of Hume. What Hume conceives of as a central problem of moral philosophy, viz. the clarification of the relationship between matters of fact and values, does not constitute a philosophical problem for Hutcheson. Because if nature itself incorporates certain purposes whose pursuit promises a happy life, all we have to do is to discover those purposes in order to be able to arrange our actions. If one seeks for a reason to argue that even Hutcheson, the philosopher of moral sense, deduces an Ought from an Is, one can find it in the *Institutio*. In moral philosophy, Hutcheson claims, "we must proceed from the subjects more easily known, to those that are more obscure; and not follow the priority of nature, or the dignity of the subjects: and therefore don't deduce our first notions of duty from the divine Will; but from the constitution of our nature, which is more immediately known; that from the full knowledge of it, we may discover design, intention, and will of our Creator as to our conduct [affections and actions]" (p. 24). In another place, Hutcheson argues that conscience is implanted in us "by nature, and that thus affections and actions of themselves, and in their own nature, must appear to us right, honourable, beautiful and laudable" (pp. 33, 37).

Many things that Hutcheson declares and points out are surely due to the fact that his audience is not the learned but young university students. But at the same time, it should be clear that he always means what he writes. Both volumes reviewed here are important for everyone interested in Hutcheson and Scottish philosophy in general, although they do not contain really new and exciting philosophical arguments put forth by Hutcheson. In sum, the editors have provided very useful volumes following high editorial standards. The short introductions by James Moore and Luigi Turco are highly informative, and the translations from the Latin by Michael Silverthorne are very helpful, although it might have been a good idea to include the Latin version of Hutcheson's inaugural lecture. However, the decision to publish the Latin text of the *Institutio* together with the English translation of 1747 makes more sense because of the differences between both texts.

Heiner F. Klemme, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz



Eugene Heath, ed., *Adam Ferguson: Selected Philosophical Writings*. Exeter, UK and Charlottesville, VA: Imprint Academic, 2007. Pp. vii + 178.

Emanuele Levi Mortera, ed., *Dugald Stewart: Selected Philosophical Writings*. Exeter, UK and Charlottesville, VA: Imprint Academic, 2007. Pp. v + 198.

Shinichi Nagao, ed., *Politics and Society in Scottish Thought*. Exeter, UK and Charlottesville, VA: Imprint Academic, 2007. Pp. iv + 204.

David Fergusson, ed., *Scottish Philosophical Theology 1700–2000*. Exeter, UK and Charlottesville, VA: Imprint Academic, 2007. Pp. v + 216.

Members of this society will be familiar with *The Library of Scottish Philosophy*, a project originating in the Centre for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, formerly at Aberdeen and now at Princeton Theological Seminary. The aim of the series is to introduce general readers to the writings of Scottish philosophers in attractive yet “competitively priced” editions. Six volumes were produced in 2004, four of them exposing eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers: a selection of writings in Scottish philosophy from 1690–1950, a volume, *Art and Enlightenment*, of writings of eighteenth-century Scots on aesthetics, and volumes of Adam Smith and James Beattie.

Each volume includes an introductory essay in which the editor presents brief biographical information and contextualizes the selections that follow. Such introductory material is easier and more straightforward, of course, when the volume is a collection of excerpts from a single thinker. But even in volumes of material collected from multiple writers, the introduction can be presented in lucid and helpful and accurate ways. Or not.

Take *Scottish Philosophical Theology 1700–2000*. In introducing the excerpts from Gershom Carmichael, Thomas Halyburton, George Turnbull, Francis Hutcheson, Thomas Reid, Hugh Blair, David Hume, George Campbell, and Lord Kames, David Fergusson provides a brief account of the Simson controversy and then identifies the four major theological problems of the early Scottish Enlightenment as (1) the role of reason in establishing the existence and nature of God, (2) the relationship of faith and reason, (3) the dependence of ethics on religion, and (4) the rational status of Scriptural claims. Hume, of course, is the figure around whom the collected theological discourse of the second half of the century revolves. Now one may quibble with Fergusson about whether the texts he presents are the best at illustrating the themes he has identified and whether he has included every thinker he should have. I appreciate the Halyburton and the Turnbull, though I would have opted for a bit more Turnbull and a bit less Hutcheson. But a good case can be made that Simson’s student and professor of ecclesiastical history at St. Andrews, Archibald Campbell, should have been included, as well as John Maclaurin, brother to mathematician Colin Maclaurin and author of *Philosophical Inquiry into the Nature of Happiness*. But having quibbled, I must acknowledge the clarity and accuracy and helpfulness of this volume. David Fergusson has presented texts and introductory material that fulfill the goals of the *Library of Scottish Philosophy*. This volume is a genuine service.

The same cannot be said for Shinichi Nagao’s *Politics and Society in Scottish Thought*. The editor’s interest seems primarily to be Scottish Enlightenment reflections on commerce and the market, and so a better title might have been *Commerce and Society*. And one is justified in wondering why things begin with Hume and with Hume’s essay “Of the Original Contract.” There is important material from Hutcheson that could ably set the stage for Hume. And as rich as Hume’s essay on social contract theory is, his critique is rather tangential to the concerns that seem to unite this volume. The volume includes, naturally, Adam Smith, though from his *Lectures on Jurisprudence* rather than *The Wealth of Nations*, and Adam Ferguson, as well as James Steuart and, in a final section entitled “Utopian Imagination and Radical Reforms,” material from Robert Wallace, William Ogilvie, and Thomas Reid. The editor tells us about the Wallace piece: “It is not certain what Wallace really meant to say in this essay.” Likewise, we are told that the recovery of Reid’s “Some Thoughts on the Utopian System” (1794) “has changed our views of Reid as a social and political philosopher of the Enlightenment forever.” Two sentences later we are told that the intention of Reid in this essay “is not self-evident” (p. 19). One wonders how helpful a new generation of modern readers will find essays the meaning and aim of which it is hard even for the editor to discern.

But there are even greater problems with the introduction to *Politics and Society in Scottish Thought*, problems that should have been caught and corrected before the book was taken to press. The introduction contains claims that the intended audience should find confusing, at best: “With Steuart, Ferguson’s approach in moral philosophy was more empiricist than Hume and Smith” (p. 14). There are claims that are too misleading to have any place in the *Library of Scottish Philosophy*: “Scottish philosophy was born as the result of the efforts to construct effective counter-arguments against Hume’s philosophy” (p. 7). There are claims that really don’t belong in a series of philosophy texts: “Our task is how to proceed beyond out-dated ideas like liberalism and socialism upon different values and ethics and to find new syntheses of our belief system and science” (p. 26). And there are

claims that, arguably, really don't belong in print. Having claimed that there are "some contradictive and self-defeating remarks" in Smith's writings, the editor continues:

"Maybe his personality issues contributed to these inconsistencies. A lady once described Smith as 'ugly like a devil.' He had a sort of mental illness that haunted him all his life. Hume happily spent a bachelor's life, but Smith failed twice in his love affairs and never married. He characterized philosophy in 'the history of astronomy' as a product of human fear against irregularities and surprise that sometimes, he said, killed a man. Unlike sociable, handsome and lovely David Hume, he hid a dark side of his personality beneath the surface of his perfect narrative as an Enlightenment philosopher" (p. 11).

There are other problems with the introduction: it is T. R. Mathus, not T. H. Multhus; "young George Turnbull" was not a deist, and so on. Happily, the volumes on Adam Ferguson and Dugald Stewart rise to the normal standard of the series and achieve the aims of the series with their insightful and rewarding selection of original texts and their accurate and informative introductions. *The Library of Scottish Philosophy* is an important project. We can be grateful for such volumes as those on Ferguson, Stewart, and Scottish Philosophical Theology.

Thomas D. Kennedy, Berry College

*The Correspondence of Dr William Hunter 1740–1783*. Edited by C. Helen Brock. 2 vols. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008. Vol. 1: Pp. xli + 371; Vol. 2: Pp. 485.

Although William Hunter was one of the greatest anatomists, accoucheurs, and collectors of the eighteenth century, he has not been well served by posterity. As W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter observed over twenty years ago in their editorial introduction to *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* (1985), during the course of the nineteenth century Hunter's reputation was eclipsed by that of his younger brother John, who became an icon for surgeons keen to elevate their social status and enhance their standing as men of science. The valorization of John Hunter by the surgical profession in turn meant that his achievements were widely studied and celebrated, not least by the members of the Hunterian Society who to this day promote the image of the younger Hunter as the "Father of Scientific Surgery" (see [www.hunteriansociety.org.uk](http://www.hunteriansociety.org.uk)). By contrast, the equally significant work done by William was largely ignored by hagiographers and historians alike. When the Bynum and Porter collection appeared in the mid-1980s, there was only a limited secondary literature on the elder Hunter along with a few dated biographies. To make matters worse, there were no sound scholarly editions of his lectures, published writings, surviving papers, or correspondence.

Unfortunately, little has changed since 1985. Whereas the John Hunter industry continues apace, William remains a somewhat elusive figure in the historiography of Enlightenment Britain. *The Correspondence of Dr William Hunter* is therefore a notable contribution to the literature. The gestation period for this edition has evidently been a protracted one. Bynum and Porter refer to it as being forthcoming, and the late Helen Brock's acknowledgements are dated 1993. The gap between 1993 and 2008 is left unexplained. The correspondence itself, which consists of 543 surviving letters to and from Hunter, is a sizeable one compared to those of other Scottish contemporaries such as Adam Ferguson (419), Thomas Reid (133), and Adam Smith (324). A number of the letters were previously in print, but the majority are published here for the first time. The earliest letter was written in November 1740 to William Cullen shortly after Hunter first arrived in London, while the last from him dates from late December 1782, roughly three months before his death in March 1783. Thus the whole of Hunter's career in London is covered in the correspondence, although the coverage is uneven insofar as a large number of letters come from the 1760s and well over half of them fall within the period 1771 to 1783. The correspondence also documents the full range of Hunter's scientific and medical inquiries, as well as his activities as one of Britain's leading collectors of coins, books, and manuscripts. Since we still lack a full biography of Hunter, the correspondence will now serve as the starting point for the serious study of his life as a prosperous medic and virtuoso in the British metropolis.

When Brock passed away in 2000, she was widely recognized as the leading authority on William Hunter, and her mastery of the relevant sources is fully displayed in her annotations and commentary. However, there are a number of editorial problems which compromise the value of these volumes. First, the format is idiosyncratic. Rather than preface the correspondence with a lengthy biographical introduction along the lines of that found, for example, in the Ferguson correspondence previously published by Pickering & Chatto, individual letters are often accompanied by discursive editorial commentary as well as being annotated. While the contextualization is usually helpful, the manner in which the letters are presented in this and other respects hardly conforms to standard editorial practice. Secondly, relevant scholarship published since 1993 has not been taken into account, which means that the editorial material is not always up to date. Thirdly, the editorial matter is riddled with typographical errors. Fourthly, the transcriptions of the letters appear to be inaccurate. For this review I compared Brock's versions of

the letters between Hunter and Smollett with those in Lewis Knapp's *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*. I found both minor and significant differences between the two. Comparison of one of her texts with that in *New Letters of David Hume* also revealed a number of minor discrepancies, as well as a disagreement over the reading of the date of the letter in question. Since I could not ascertain whose transcriptions were more accurate in this sample from published sources, I then checked Brock's versions of letters between Hunter and Reid against the photocopies of the originals that I used when first preparing my edition of *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid*. I discovered that she had made numerous transcription errors. I can only conclude that the mistakes I have detected in the Hunter-Reid letters are symptomatic of a pervasive problem with her transcriptions and that, in general, they are not entirely reliable. Fifthly, the fact that Brock's edition omits one letter from Reid to Hunter dated 11 March 1780 raises concerns about its comprehensiveness.

I regret having to make these criticisms, for it would have been far better to be able simply to celebrate Helen Brock's scholarship now that *The Correspondence of Dr William Hunter* has finally been published. Brock made an enormous contribution to the study of William Hunter, and all of those interested in Hunter and his milieu continue to benefit from her work. On balance, it is probably better to have these volumes in print than not, but I can only give them a heavily qualified welcome, especially given their high price.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Guenter B. Risse, *New Medical Challenges during the Scottish Enlightenment*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005. Pp. 386.

Guenter Risse has been exploring Scottish medicine during the Enlightenment for many years, most notably in *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland* (1986). His most recent venture into this area is a collection of nine essays focusing on the ideas and work of the medical faculty and students of the University of Edinburgh, and on the experience of patients in the Edinburgh Infirmary. Their goal, as Risse puts it, is "to further enrich our understanding of the place and nature of Scottish health, science, and medicine" (p. 5), and this the book achieves. He employs a large body of printed and archival primary sources: medical treatises and manuscripts, correspondence, newspapers, and legal documents. Particularly important are the records of the Edinburgh Infirmary, an institution founded to care for the "deserving poor," and the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, an organization created for, and run by, medical students.

*New Medical Challenges* is divided into three parts, each consisting of three chapters. The first part, Medical Institutions, focuses on the new medical "public sphere." Chapter 1 is devoted to the meaning and functions of the Edinburgh Infirmary for its donors, physicians, medical students, and patients, and shows what it provided for each of them. Chapter 2 deals with the evolution of the Royal Medical Society from a club for genteel debating of existing theories into an often raucous forum, where students pushed for a new experimental approach to medical knowledge. Chapter 3 delves into one of the less genteel episodes in the history of the Society: the bitter controversy between the student advocates of the theories of two leading Edinburgh physicians, William Cullen and his pupil John Brown, which spilled into the local press and the courts, bringing medical authority under scrutiny and criticism in the broader "public sphere."

The first chapter of Part Two, "Health and Disease," discusses Edinburgh physicians' efforts to provide a guide to healthy and virtuous living. It centers primarily on the advice Cullen gave to his private, mostly wealthy patients. The popular Cullen echoed classical prescriptions on the importance of the Galenic "non-naturals": air, diet, sleep, exercise, bodily evacuations, and emotions. But he also tried to adapt this ancient advice to his new theory of nervous sensibility. Cullen, like many doctors of the day, was convinced of the value of such common sense rules for healthy living but also feared that he might turn his patients into hypochondriacs. The next chapter is an investigation into malaria or "ague" in eighteenth-century Scotland. Risse concludes that malaria was largely an import from the English fens, the colonies, and the Continent, and that it disappeared with changes in agricultural practices and work patterns in the late eighteenth century. The last chapter in Part Two examines the development of ideas about the nature, sources, and management of lead poisoning (often called "mill reek" by those involved in Scottish lead mining). With the increasing importance of lead mining in the later eighteenth century, the health of the workers became a concern for their employers and a topic of interest to physicians. Risse traces the various constructions of mill reek during the century and its gradual association with various conditions such as *colica pictorum*, painters' colic, and dry belly ache, all of which came to be recognized as the result of lead poisoning.

The third part of the book, Medical Theory and Practice, focuses on the gulf between these two aspects of medicine. The most notable example of this gulf was the persistence of humoral therapies and classical gendered explanations of disease despite the abandonment of their original rationale, humoral theory. The chapters examine



the production, dissemination, and meaning of medical knowledge through analysis of students' clinical casebooks and lecture notes on three sets of conditions: pulmonary consumption, disorders of the female reproductive system, and hysteria and hypochondriasis. The Infirmary's medical staff demonstrated inconsistencies, ambiguities, and prejudices in their discussions and decisions regarding these conditions. But the records also indicate that the patients at Edinburgh Infirmary experienced a more benign regime than Foucault's thesis about clinical medicine might lead one to expect. The poor patients provided "teaching material," of course. But the doctors and managers were keenly concerned to promote their welfare and dignity. The authorities also resisted the temptation to turn patients into "experimental material" and greatly restricted resort to autopsies. For many of Edinburgh's poor, the Infirmary was no doubt a welcome refuge, especially during cold and damp Scottish winters; it is indicative that the staff was constantly being reminded to unmask "impostors" pretending to be sick. The book's well-supported emphasis on ambiguity, uncertainty, and variety is one of its great strengths. It helps us to understand how eighteenth-century Scottish medicine could be both steeped in the past and forging the future at the same time.

Peter McCandless, College of Charleston

*Collected Works of James Wilson*. Edited by Kermit L. Hall and Mark David Hall. 2 vols. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2007. Pp. xxvii + 1262.

This is a welcome fourth edition of James Wilson's collected works. More comprehensive than its predecessors, this two-volume selection combines several speeches and essays with the important series of law lectures that Wilson gave to the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) between 1790 and 1792. Prior to his death in 1798, Wilson carefully recorded these lectures in fifty-two notebooks, hoping to publish them as the American equivalent of Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. Wilson's financial ruin prevented him from completing this plan, but his son, Bird, faithfully edited and published the notebooks in 1804. These law lectures, together with some additional material, comprised the first edition of Wilson's works. A second, less complete, collection was printed in 1896. Robert G. McCloskey then edited a third and, until now, standard selection in 1967. With McCloskey's two-volume set long out-of-print, this new Liberty Press edition, edited by Kermit L. Hall and Mark David Hall, aims "to stimulate new research and analysis of Wilson's contributions in the ongoing effort to determine accurately his rightful place in the founding era" of the United States (p. xiii). It will also encourage new scholarship on the connections between Scottish and American thought in the eighteenth century.

Wilson remains an understudied figure. Born in 1742 at Carskerdo, Fife, and educated at the University of St. Andrews, he emigrated to America in 1765 and played a critical role in the founding of the United States. After establishing himself as a lawyer in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, he was a consistent advocate of popular sovereignty, strong national government, and the separation of powers. One of only six persons to sign both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, Wilson strongly influenced the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. He subsequently became a leading proponent of ratification, powerfully shaping federalist arguments in favor of the Constitution and against the Bill of Rights. Appointed to the United States Supreme Court in 1789, he went on to write the court opinion in the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793) that prompted the Eleventh Amendment. However, his life ended in disgrace. Bankrupted by failed land and business ventures, Wilson fled Pennsylvania in 1796. He was twice arrested and jailed by his creditors. On the run, he suffered an obscure death in Edenton, North Carolina.

The earliest document in this edition is Wilson's pamphlet, *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament*, which he wrote in 1768 but did not publish until 1774. An attack on Parliamentary sovereignty, this tract helped to establish Wilson as a Whig leader. It was after the Revolution, however, that Wilson truly rose to the fore. Reflecting this fact, only three documents in this collection date from the 1770s. In contrast, five pieces focus on the 1780s debates surrounding the controversial Bank of North America and the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, two are speeches from 1789 and 1790 dealing with changes to the Pennsylvania state constitution, and five relate to Wilson's service as a federal judge. In addition, this collection includes a mid-1790s essay, "On the Improvement and Settlement of Lands in the United States," as well as an undated piece, "On the History of Property."

The bulk (two-thirds) of this edition is given over to Wilson's law lectures. In this respect, and in similar fashion to McCloskey's volumes, this collection sticks close to Bird Wilson's 1804 publication. It adds, however, a new introduction and bibliographical essay, McCloskey's translations of Latin phrases, additional annotations on individuals mentioned by Wilson, and McCloskey's bibliographical glossary. Also, some Wilson material appears here that was not printed in the previous collections. The two main additions are James Madison's notes on Wilson's contributions to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, and the "State House Yard Speech" that Wilson gave in Philadelphia on 6 October 1787. Reprinted throughout the colonies, the latter was, according to the historian

Bernard Bailyn, "the most famous, to some the most notorious, federalist statement of the time."

Many scholars will use and enjoy this accessible and elegant edition. Nevertheless, more could have been done to advance the contribution of these volumes. In particular, Wilson's notebooks, which were discovered by scholars in 2001 at the Free Library of Philadelphia, might have been more fully utilized. In his essay, Mark David Hall offers a stimulating assessment of these notebooks, concluding that Bird Wilson was a loyal editor of his father's work. But this is only a teaser. A fuller comparison of Wilson's original notes and Bird Wilson's transcription still needs to be undertaken.

John Dixon, California State University Channel Islands

Jose R. Torre, *The Political Economy of Sentiment: Paper Credit and the Scottish Enlightenment in Early Republic Boston, 1780–1820*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007. Pp. x + 251.

Jose R. Torre's *The Political Economy of Sentiment* ambitiously and skillfully puts the rise of a paper-based economy at the heart of an economic, social, cultural, and psychological transformation of early modern Britain and America. Torre argues that paper money shaped and reflected new ways of understanding value. Whereas silver coins appeared to John Locke and others at the end of the seventeenth century to hold an objective "natural" worth, the bank notes and paper credit instruments that became increasingly important during the eighteenth century were more obviously a human instrument of exchange. Founded not on the idea of an objective reality but on feelings, desires, and networks of confidence and trust, paper money helped to engender a new worldview. At a time when notions of moral and aesthetic worth were also changing, the new paper-based economy of Britain and America encouraged a turn toward subjectivity, sociability, and consumerism.

Scottish political economy and moral sense philosophy are given central roles in Torre's study. The first two chapters describe a trajectory in British economic thought from objective to subjective, and largely Scottish, theories of money. Torre initially considers how an empiricist and Calvinist faith in external and divinely ordained value structures led Locke to insist on the "intrinsic" worth of silver during the 1690s English Recoinage Crisis. According to Torre, Locke's outlook was undermined by the ideas of the English Whig, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, and subsequently by the Scottish moral sense philosophers, especially Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, and Adam Smith. Deriving many of their ideas from Scotland's innovative banking industry, which successfully replaced specie with bank notes over the course of the eighteenth century, these Scots powerfully legitimized commerce and envisioned an economic, moral, and social order based on emotions.

Having established this overriding framework, *The Political Economy of Sentiment* crosses the Atlantic and narrows its focus to the city of Boston, the financial hub of New England. In five chapters, Torre explains how Americans, particularly Bostonians, reconstructed their understandings of economic, moral, and aesthetic value by rejecting received and external authority in favor of an internal and emotional subjectivity. Taken together, these chapters make a broad argument for the far-reaching influence of the Scottish Enlightenment on the new United States. In chapter 3, by examining debates on the nature of money in America, Torre finds that early republic Americans increasingly followed Scottish political economy by accepting the abstract exchange value of paper money. Chapter 4 establishes that between 1780 and 1820 Boston bankers created a new and dominant paper economy. The subsequent chapter explores the theological position of Boston's liberal Unitarian ministers as a moral counterpart to the new economic order. Torre positions himself against Daniel Howe, arguing that Harvard's Unitarians were more strongly influenced by Francis Hutcheson and the Scottish moral sense philosophers than, as Howe has argued, Thomas Reid's Scottish common sense. The final two chapters examine debates on the novel, sentimental literature, and beauty, as well as a rising culture of consumption. In each case, Torre finds further evidence of a turn away from received value structures and toward an emotive subjectivity. He concludes that by 1820 Bostonians had come to prefer living in an imaginary "artificial" world created by humans than in a "real" world made by an all-powerful Calvinist deity.

This book cleverly combines a great deal of material. However, and perhaps inevitably in a work of this scope, it also leaves significant areas uncovered. Given that a large part of Torre's agenda appears to have been to show the influence of Scottish moral sense philosophy and political economy on early America, it would have been useful to know more about how Americans actually encountered and interpreted the Scottish ideas that Torre says they "followed," "expressed," and "widely read." Moreover, it appears, at least to this reader, that Torre fits Boston somewhat uncritically into his overarching framework of a transition from Lockean Calvinism to Scottish commercial humanism. Despite its focus on Boston, *The Political Economy of Sentiment* does not reveal how Bostonians uniquely tested or adapted the more general path taken by others in Britain and America. Finally, more attention could have been paid to the colonial period. While Torre mentions in passing that colonial debates on paper money were innovative, he avoids any meaningful discussion of colonials such as William Douglass, a Scottish physician

who settled in Boston in 1718. Douglass wrote extensively against the introduction of paper money and was cited by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*. Nevertheless, *The Political Economy of Sentiment* remains a bold, stimulating, and “valuable” book that convincingly shows how a financial revolution both reflected and stimulated fundamental change.

John Dixon, California State University Channel Islands

Lucille H. Campey, *“A Very Fine Class of Immigrants”: Prince Edward Island’s Scottish Pioneers, 1770–1850*. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2001; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 2007. Pp. xvii + 184.

Lucille H. Campey, *After the Hector: The Scottish Pioneers of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 1773–1852*. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2004. Pp xviii + 376.

Lucille H. Campey, *Les Écossais: The Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada, 1763–1855*. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2006. Pp. xix + 312.

Lucille H. Campey, *The Scottish Pioneers of Upper Canada, 1784–1855: Glengarry and Beyond*. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2005. Pp. xix + 377.

Summarizing the migration of Scots to British North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an enormous task, and for the purposes of educating a wide audience and equipping genealogists and other researchers, Lucille H. Campey has succeeded. The four books reviewed here examine Scottish–Canadian migrants one community at a time in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada. Campey has written other books on Scottish emigration—just recently completing one on New Brunswick Scots—and is now preparing a general volume on these migrants in Canada. She devotes equal attention to the well known economic reasons for leaving Scotland in this period and the less familiar factors that drew immigrants to these four British colonies.

However, for a collection derived from a recent doctoral dissertation, these books fall short of critical scholarship. There are no theses to speak of, and Scottish immigrant settlers and their leaders are usually depicted with reverence and described in sequence. We learn who settled where and when, but further analysis usually stops at the cohesion and identity of their “distinct, self-contained communities” (2005, p. 65). The emphasis is on what made them different from their neighbors and not how they fit into a larger settler society. The writing is informative and descriptive but not analytic. For example, Campey notes that several Scots had cornered the merchant trade of Montreal by 1803 (2006, p. 13) but does not explain why Scots were able to reach this position in urban Quebec. The footnotes contain similarly useful descriptions of colonial processes from making potash and exporting wheat to reforming governments, but there are few references to recent literature. Her use of primary documents from a wide array of archives is impressive and suitable, but secondary sources are unquestioned and outdated. Most monographs consulted for this research were at least twenty years old, and most of their arguments have been qualified by subsequent scholarship.

The books are organized by settlement area and chronology, but themes are not well developed between the chapters. Two recurring questions in Campey’s books are whether Scottish immigrants had means and what pushed or pulled them to Canada. Although these are important starting points, immigration historians have studied many other aspects of the immigrant experience that are not examined in these texts. Scholars are increasingly interested in transnational studies, and although Scottish–Canadian immigration seems a natural fit, we hear little about inter-colonial relationships and movements and even less about the influence of the United States and other ultimate destinations. Campey’s Scottish communities are often treated as islands in a new land and not parts of multiple movements in an age of internal and transnational migration. She ignores the ways Scottish communities influenced other Scottish groups in British North America, and how they interacted with practically any of the peoples in their milieus—Quebecois, Acadian, First Nations, or otherwise. For example, we read that emigrant Scots were “amongst the earliest to arrive in Lower Canada” (2006, p. 13), but this was in reference to the early nineteenth century when the province was home to over 200,000 French Canadians. In areas further west, where encounters with the land’s indigenous inhabitants were common, we hear nothing about a displaced people displacing others.

The many boundaries crossed by Scottish immigrants are visible in immigrant letters, one of Campey’s strongest and most frequently used sources. Research in the last two decades, including books by Royden K. Loewen, Elizabeth Jane Errington, and Wendy Cameron, Mary McDougall Maude, and Sheila Haines, and especially *Letters across Borders* by David Gerber, Bruce Elliott, and Suzanne Sinke, has used letters to show how



emigrants combined an understanding of the broader worlds they entered, the ones they left behind, and their aspirations for future migrations. Campey's emigrants wrote about their experiences in similarly interconnected ways, including a fascinating 1825 letter from Upper Canada to family in Scotland, where Arthur Stocks describes his rural neighborhood and identifies those who were neighbors before emigration. He describes one emigrant who sojourned in Nova Scotia before arriving in Upper Canada and whose experience clearing wood there was important to the new farmers around him (2005, pp. 65–66).

An immigrant's success or failure is difficult to measure, and Campey judges her subjects using little more than contemporary accounts. She recites some of the most uncritical, filiopietistic experts, and it is often difficult to differentiate her voice from theirs. For instance, one observer claimed the Scottish settlers in Zorra, Upper Canada were "eminently successful" but "not skilled in agriculture." Rather than examining the settlers' actual record of accumulation or their persistence and mobility over time, Campey echoes the expert's dubious claim that "'strength, good-will and perseverance' .... made them outstanding pioneers" (2005, p. 135). She demonstrates that Scottish immigrants were weavers and unfamiliar with farming, much less clearing the dense Canadian bush, but she does not consult the literature on this economic transition in Canada. Instead we hear that they transitioned well, and with the stylized optimism of Shakespeare's Duke Senior in Arden, they were happy to exchange the shuttle for the axe and trade confinement "to a damp shop" for the fresh Canadian air (2005, p. 60). Canadian historians have shown that leasing was more common than once thought and that the dream of owning land was so powerful that farmers would often labor away from it to pay its high cost, but Campey says little about the crucial decision to lease or buy and less about those immigrants who did not succeed.

The sheer quantity of genealogical resources in these books make them important for historians of Scots in Canada. Historians interested in writing the sort of microhistory necessary for a broad and nuanced understanding of immigrant societies will find references to a wealth of genealogical and family histories. The books are indexed and presentable, with many images of pertinent people and places. The large appendices bring many years of well-ordered research to a historian's fingertips, and the short chapters that make up the text are in some ways an introduction to these splendid documents.

These books are excellent resources for genealogists but will not satisfy those hoping to understand immigration history in these provinces and the complexities of human migration. They should be consulted by historians of Scottish emigrants or the Scots in Canada in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but not without reference to more critical literature.

**Joshua D. MacFadyen, University of Guelph**

Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699–1707*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Royal Historical Society Studies in History (Boydell & Brewer), 2007. Pp. vii + 193.

This ambitious book investigates the formation and power of public opinion from the Darien crisis to the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. Published appropriately in the tercentenary of the event, its contribution to the heated debates and historiography is innovative and original, tempting historians to reconsider the well-established view that the Union was a "political job" accomplished by politicians ignorant of, and indifferent to, the opinion of people outside Parliament. Utilizing extensive manuscript materials and printed primary sources, including hitherto unused tracts, pamphlets, and periodicals, Bowie offers a fresh analysis of the relationship between public opinion and the making of the Union.

Although drawing on recent developments in the studies of public opinion and/or the public sphere that have been influenced by Jürgen Habermas's famous interpretation of early modern England as its birthplace, Bowie carefully avoids the pitfalls inherent in some of these studies. Insisting on the importance of looking at the generation and expression of collective opinion, she argues that "the early modern public sphere will not be found in particular spaces or media, but in the encouragement of popular political participation by oppositional political groups" (p. 1). At the same time, in contrast to Habermas's interpretation of the public sphere as a place of rational debate that generates a unitary and consensual public voice, Bowie maintains that "representations of opinion ... contained a diversity of social perspectives and were unlikely to reflect a straightforward popular consensus" (p. 7). These theoretical perspectives enable Bowie to focus on the particular means by which opposition leaders encouraged grass-roots engagements in petitioning and addressing and on the dynamic process of the formation of public opinion against the Union treaty.

The originality of this book lies in part in its investigation of the development of "adversarial opinion politics" and, in particular, in its analysis of the numerous addresses flooding into Parliament that was ratifying the Union treaty. According to Bowie, opposition groups, making the most of improving political communications linking the localities with Edinburgh and taking advantage of the considerable discontent across Scotland caused

by such affairs as the Darien crisis, put the government under pressure through pamphleteering, mass addressing, and crowd action. "These developments paved the way for the significant levels of popular participation seen in the union debates of 1706–7" (pp. 43–44). During the Union Parliament, the Country party deliberately attempted to engage public opinion through instructions, petitions, and addresses against the Union. Despite Court management to reduce such pressure, they succeeded in generating enough addresses to affect voting patterns in the Scottish Parliament. Bowie concludes confidently that public opinion had an impact on the final form of the Union.

Although this book provides a thoroughly researched account of the impact of public opinion on the making of the Union, more could have been done to explore the ways that language of public discourse on the Union was used. As Mark Knights has shown in his recent book, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain* (2005), representative political culture was a linguistic battleground, making the meaning of political languages uncertain and debatable. Although both sides of the debate fought over the country's interests and independence, did the meaning of key words such as "country," "nation," or "people" remain stable? Did the addressers use the same vocabulary of public discourse in the same way?

There are some problems with the book's treatment of the crowd. Bowie sees in the crowd the local opinion being shaped by political communications and public discourse. The crowd's understanding of national affairs such as the Union was not, however, simply reflective of the public debate. For example, the anti-incorporation crowds in Glasgow in November 1706 read a proclamation against the Union at the market cross, in which they declared that they would stand with their lives and fortune against it. This suggests that, although crowds borrowed languages from public discourse and drew on political procedures at that time, they thought of the Union in terms of their own lives. The crowd's understanding of the Union could be more complex than Bowie maintains, but this is an example of how this book opens up lines of inquiry for future research. It now is the standard text on the politics of public opinion and the Union of 1707.

Hisashi Kuboyama, University of Edinburgh

Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations*. Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007. Pp. xviii + 312.

This important book revitalizes an apparently exhausted subject. The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, which will forever live in infamy as the Darien Company, was a national disaster. Its basic story was reconstructed by George Pratt Inch, who rediscovered its records, edited some of the key documents, and wrote a history of the Company. He also inadvisedly wrote an autobiographical work telling the story of his rediscovery of the records, and at the same time naively displaying his inordinate levels of vanity and self-satisfaction. It was brave of John Prebble to tackle the topic anew, and most commentators commended him for his ability to give a new twist and livelier narrative line to the story. Prebble was a former radical activist who had become a brilliant writer of adventure film scripts, as anyone who has seen the classic television film of "Culloden" he wrote for the BBC, or the movie "Zulu," will testify. His talent for concentrated action stories explains why one of his best books was on the fall of the original Tay Bridge "on the last Sabbath of 1879, which will be remembered for a very long time" (William McGonagall). Prebble never seems to have visited the site of the Scots settlement in Darien, where the archaeological remains of the settlement are visible. In his day that would have been possible. Times have changed. This reviewer, shortly after being mugged in Panama City, was advised that the concentration of armed *narcotraficantes* in Darien Province makes visiting too hazardous.

Douglas Watt did not need to go anywhere near Darien, though he does use the very important new work of I. G. Gallup-Diaz on the relationships between the Indian peoples of the Panama Isthmus and the rival European imperialisms that clashed there. What Watt does is to examine the vast range of materials that the previous historians of the Company of Scotland neglected because—although they form a very large proportion of the archive—they are, understandably for a commercial company, financial. Since he comes from a financial background himself, in the sense that he worked for nine years as an investment manager, he can handle the figures. The mathematics are not very complex, and the cash-flow story they tell is as dramatic as the fall of the Tay Bridge. Indeed, it beggars belief.

The Company of Scotland was generated by a country that under the Restoration had aspired to economic growth and cultural sophistication. When it secured its charter in 1695, it had a range of trading options open to it in Africa, Asia, and America. In fact it did trade in Africa, at a moderate profit, and it tried to break into the Asian trade that other small European nations like Denmark had contrived to penetrate, though with less success. Its folly was to choose, at a time when there was a sharp economic downturn accompanied by the terrible dearths of 1695–98, not to retrench but to gamble everything on one crazy venture in Central America. The real villain of these pages is William Paterson, the ultimate con man. This London Scot, who had helped found the Bank of England



and had then made himself so insufferable to his fellow-directors that he had to resign, combined talk about prudent management with totally irresponsible risk-taking. He also did a good line in humbugging self-righteousness and a capacity to throw away the assets of a company in which he himself never invested a penny. He talked the directors of the Company of Scotland into sending out two small fleets to the Isthmus of Panama, to establish a trading emporium in an inherently inappropriate place within striking distance of Cartagena, the main naval base of Imperial Spain in the eastern Caribbean. Even the clockwise wind systems of the Caribbean were admirably calculated to bring the Spaniards down on the Scots.

Watt shows that the central tragedy of the whole episode was the loss of the astonishing proportion of Scotland's capital that the Company managed to raise by national subscription, followed by a series of calls on subscribers. The Company brilliantly exploited unreasonable expectations and patriotic rage at the way the English East India Company and the Westminster Parliament made it impossible for the Scots to use the London capital market. John Law, the Scots architect of the future Mississippi Bubble in France, must have taken notice. Even before the follies they committed under Paterson's influence, the directors had mismanaged the £100,000 sterling they initially had at their disposal. Misguided banking activities and a ridiculously expensive shipbuilding program were only two examples. The attempt to raise further support on the Continent was blighted not just by English diplomacy but also by serious financial scandal involving a Paterson associate. The debacle was total, though the trading goods taken out were less inappropriate than is often said, and Scottish arms and Indian allies initially held the Spaniards at bay. After the final surrender, the Scottish economy faced crippling capital and liquidity loss.

The rest of Watt's book argues that even after disastrously incompetent management, the directors and shareholders contrived to be bailed out by the English government. It used funds from the Equivalent payment provided for in the Act of Union not only to refund the capital the Scots had lost but also to add an incredible 5% per annum "interest" to it. The usual government spin trumpeted the mathematical precision of an Equivalent calculated to compensate the Scots for old losses and new burdens. There was in fact absolutely no way of honestly calculating the Equivalent figure. Several thousand elite Scots who had seen their company literally run out of cash in 1701 turned, sensibly, from patriotism to prudence and to refloating their economy. Watt is surely right to say that the Equivalent, more than any other maneuver, secured the passage of a Union, which was always a pragmatic accommodation, not a visionary creation.

**Bruce P. Lenman, Universities of Dundee and St. Andrews**

Evan Gottlieb, *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing, 1707-1832*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007. Pp. 274.

Evan Gottlieb's *Feeling British* is a rewarding read. Rich in detail, acute in its analyses and theoretically informed without being weighed down by its critical apparatus, *Feeling British* offers a valuable contribution both to Scottish studies and to the larger field of British literature. While a number of previous critics have linked the interest in sympathy and society found in David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and other Enlightenment thinkers to the peculiar position of Scotland after the Union and the Jacobite rebellions, Gottlieb both extends their perspective and revises it by focusing on the ideological complications found in the writings of these philosophers and in the literary works which are partially informed by their writing. Sympathy Scottish-style is revealed to be both the oil that greases the wheel of Britishness and, at times, the spanner in the works, guaranteeing that the various parts will remain just parts rather than a homogeneous whole.

After briefly tracing the discourse on sympathy from Hobbes through Hutcheson, chapter 1 hones in on Hume, Smith, and Ferguson, the last of whom is, as Gottlieb notes several times, the only "Highland-born thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment" (p. 28). Gottlieb comments that in Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* sympathy is "a mechanism of social connection whereby people assume each other's psychological states through an occult process of the transmission of feelings" (p. 31). Extended beyond the local, this fundamental feeling of connection becomes responsible for the development of national identity. In the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith, too, identifies sympathy as a formative principle in both the individual and the nation. For Smith, however, the feeling of connection is produced in the imaginations of individuals; it is a "mental experience" (p. 33). Gottlieb suggests that both Hume's and Smith's notions of sympathy are problematic, however. In Hume, sympathy is strongest between individuals who are most similar. The formation of national identity, then, must be achieved on the backs of these more compelling forms of identification. Gottlieb notes that in the later *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, Hume reduces his expectations for sympathy, content now to focus on "benevolence and justice" as the most important "social virtues" (p. 42). For Smith, the exercise of sympathy, achieved by means of an internal "impartial spectator," reveals a splitting or doubling in the individual and, by implication, the nation. Gottlieb here turns to Homi Bhabha's notion of "colonial mimicry" to suggest that fundamental instability in the notion of Smithean national sympathy. Chapter 1 concludes with an investigation of Ferguson's *Essay on the History of*



*Civil Society*. Ferguson's rootedness in Highland society, argues Gottlieb, "leads him to recognize what is lost when nations become too large and wealthy to be held together by sympathetic social relations" (p. 54). More than Hume or Smith, Ferguson recognizes "the ways in which human communities develop shared identities on the basis of exclusionary and xenophobic impulses" (p. 56).

The chapters that follow consider how Scottish and English writers variously adopt and adapt philosophical concerns regarding sympathy and national identity. Chapter 2 considers Tobias Smollett's "literary strategies for encouraging sympathetic Britishness." While *Roderick Random* "attempts to naturalize the sympathetic limits of Britishness as an identity of humane metropolitan civility and sophistication" (with some complications), *A North Briton Extraordinary* (1765), coming after the fiasco of *The Briton*, reveals Smollett's despair over the possibility of national sympathy in Britain. *Humphry Clinker*, on the other hand, uses a hybrid form of epistolary novel and travel account to point "the way forward to a capacious, dialogic, modern conception of Britishness" (p. 95).

Examining James Boswell's *London Journal* and *Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides* as well as Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, chapter 3 rethinks the relationship between Boswell and Samuel Johnson—and Johnson and Scotland. Instead of reading Boswell as a sycophantic sidekick for his English mentor, Gottlieb proposes a model that reads Boswell's work as representative "not of mid-eighteenth-century Scotland's capitulation to English domination, but of its cultural and literary agency" (p. 102). Similarly, Gottlieb emphasizes a Johnson who is not a Scotophobe concerned with reducing the land north of the Tweed to a figure on a power/knowledge grid, but a writer who is a practicing Smithean, concerned to "put himself in the situation of the other" (p. 119). In both this and the previous chapter, Gottlieb follows a deconstructive turn, suggesting that despite the authors' attempts to write Scotland and England sympathetically together, the language of the texts themselves often refuses such neat closure.

Chapter 4 focuses on the use of Scotland in romantic poetry, tracing a trajectory from William Collins's "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland" to Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads* and "Poems written during a Tour in Scotland" to Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. While in the previous chapter Gottlieb presented a more "sympathetic" view of Johnson in Scotland than many previous critics, this chapter adopts a harsh view of English literary projects, reading them as experiments in textual colonization. Collins comes under attack for unfair use of Highland oral traditions, while Wordsworth's poems on Scotland "consistently deploy a strategically unilateral version of sympathy to attempt—with uneven success—to appropriate Scottish cultural and historical materials for a decidedly anglocentric vision of the nation" (p. 137). The English romantics, it seems, are considerably more imperial than their Enlightenment counterparts. Scott, however, emerges as the true hero of Scotland, effecting a "harmonious union" between the two nations that makes "Britishness into a sublimated form of Scottishness" (p. 157).

Chapter 5 continues the focus on Scott, examining the *Waverley* novels' bid to "encourage the formation of a shared British identity" (p. 188). Scott's anonymity, Gottlieb argues, along with "the phenomenon of the *Waverley* novels as a whole, worked together to help readers think of themselves as a unified, national audience" (p. 171). It is the *Letters of Malachi Malagrowth* that provides the most productive sympathetic model, however, as it offers a recognition of the "Otherness of one's fellow nationals" as well as reconciling "sympathetic and commercial economies" in a celebration of "diversity within unity" (pp. 206–207).

Gottlieb interrogates many of the usual suspects in examining the relationship between Scotland and England: Smollett, Boswell, Johnson, Scott. He does so in a compelling and original manner, however, making a case for the agency of Scotland within the construction of the British nation. One could wish for a little more historicizing of the notion of sympathy over the long eighteenth century: how does the notion of sympathy change between 1745 and 1832, for example? One could also wonder about the global implications of the topic. How much were Hume's, Smith's, and Ferguson's accounts of sympathy and their consequent adoption by British writers forged in a smithy of global exchange and conflict, including Britain's relationship with Ireland? To his credit, Gottlieb acknowledges the wider possibilities of his argument even as he chooses to narrow his focus to Scotland and England. Sympathy has been the subject of much critical discourse over the years, and, as Gottlieb admirably suggests, it will continue to provoke discussion.

Leith Davis, Simon Fraser University

Steven Newman, *Ballad Collection, Lyric, and the Canon: The Call of the Popular from the Restoration to the New Criticism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. Pp. 304.

Magisterial is exactly the right word for this wide-ranging survey of the ballad's importance—in several countries and across three centuries—to poem-making and canon-making as well as to the imagination of commu-

nities and nations. Steven Newman spends much of his time in Scotland in the long eighteenth century. His contrasting discussion of Allan Ramsay's use of ballads and print culture in *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) and John Home's use of the ballad "Gill Morrice" as a source for his tragedy *Douglas* (1756) is characteristic of the work as a whole in uncovering very different conceptions of Scotland's past and possible future: "Unlike [Ramsay's] Patie, [Home's] Norval does not cross over into manhood. He, like his mother, is sacrificed on the altar of pathos for the benefit of the modern Scotland that Home envisions" (p. 69). Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott are likewise approached as widely divergent figures, each defining Scotland in different ways.

Viewing the ballad as "productively liminal" (p. 4), Newman emphasizes the *diverse* ways in which popular songs have been "collected" (i.e., appropriated) by editors from Thomas D'Urfey and Allan Ramsay to Thomas Percy and Francis James Child. He incorporates readings of poets from William Shakespeare to Robert Penn Warren and surveys American professors of literature, too—from Francis Child himself, who taught at Harvard, to Katharine Lee Bates, Francis Barton Gummere, and Cleanth Brooks. Describing how English Romantic poets (including William Blake, William Wordsworth, and Felicia Hemans) incorporated balladic voicings in lyrics designed to be read rather than sung, Newman, taking Hemans's textbooks as transitional, moves on to show how popular lyrics worked themselves into school curricula—at first in textbooks for early readers, but later in college programs. He concludes with an account of the ballad's centrality to New Criticism, at least as professed by Robert Penn Warren and Cleanth Brooks. This influential mid-twentieth-century school of criticism, Newman argues, was friendlier than has been supposed to popular lyric forms.

Loosely defined as any song "commonly sung up and down the streets" (p. 8), ballads are not ranked here in order of any preferred format, whether orally collected or printed, broadside or black-letter. Newman emphasizes the genre's striking "*dynamism* of form" (p. 11; my emphasis), observing that street-sung "Ballads ... often pass in dizzying fashion back and forth between print and orality" (p. 12). What all forms of popular lyric have in common is precisely their popularity: ballads were influential because they circulated widely, often (as with the ballad of "The Children of the Wood") over several centuries (p. 11). This study shows how these songs of the social base have been put to various uses by the literary superstructure; that is, by those who define literary standards and practices. Ballads heard in the streets were indeed first embraced uncritically by the populace at large, but later they served more specialized purposes. They were taught to children, used as evidence of national "character," collected by persons of antiquarian tastes, and/or adapted by writers with antithetical conceptions of literary "value." Ballads are protean, in short, and no previous study has shown so clearly the variety of cultural work to which they have been put.

There is no one ideological tendency in song tradition. Collectors and aficionados have ranged from populists to elitists, from Royalist Jacobite sympathizers such as the Restoration songwriter Thomas D'Urfey to radical Jacobins such as the anthologist Joseph Ritson. Antiquarianism is itself a nuanced category here: editors of varying political dispositions have seen old songs as providing aural sound bytes that offer tantalizing clues to their nation's latent, former, or emerging political unconscious. Urbane Mr. Spectator (Joseph Addison) praises "The Children of the Wood" as evoking the simple virtues of the English people, who to his own day display its text on the walls of their cottages. Later in the century, a very different kind of genius, fiery William Blake, adapts the street cries of London's peddlers and watchmen in lyrics that dramatize the unheeded cries of other Londoners, from charity children and chimney sweeps to prostitutes and soldiers. Newman's discussions of Blake were for me a highlight in this study full of insights and surprises. Also of special note are his discussions of Sir Walter Scott's complex view of ballads and his chapter on eighteenth-century revisions of Shakespeare's songs by figures as different as reclusive William Collins (he of the uncompleted "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands" [1750]) and actor-entrepreneur David Garrick.

John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) receives extensive analysis, as does Allan Ramsay's songbook series, *The Tea Table Miscellany* (1724–37), which, we are reminded, recycled many neo-Scottish lyrics by London songwriter and collector Thomas D'Urfey (1653–1723). D'Urfey also furnished many of the originals parodied by Gay in *The Beggar's Opera* as well as supplying Burns with a favorite song setting, "Cold and Raw." Thomas Percy's *Reliques* (1765) was dedicated to the Countess of Northumberland; the ballads he highlighted therefore were songs of the Borders—with forceful consequences for the adolescent Walter Scott. Bishop Percy took a nostalgic and elitist approach to folk voicings, suppressing many songs and heavily editing others—a revisionist approach taken later by Scott. Joseph Ritson, in contrast, collected ballads as an extension of his sympathy for revolution; he was opposed to any retouching of folk-collected material.

Robert Burns changed everything he touched; but for him, as for Ritson, the call of the popular song was its dramatic staging of the voices of "poor bodies." Newman argues well that Burns's relationship to the Scottish Enlightenment was complex and ambivalent. Often Burns echoes the literati's optimistic emphasis on the benefits of "social union"; just as often, however, Scottish song became in his hands "a hammer to smash the assumption of



historical progress" (p. 22). Newman includes extended discussions of "To a Mountain Daisy" and "Love and Liberty." In his daisy-poem, Burns (like John Home in *Douglas*, which also receives a close reading) echoes the prevailing taste for sympathy. The sentimental novelist Henry Mackenzie so admired this elegy for a ruined flower that he quoted the poem in full to conclude his review of Burns's 1786 *Poems*. The defiant homeless people who perform songs in Burns's *Love and Liberty*, on the other hand, horrified Hugh Blair, who urged Burns to suppress the cantata. Literary uses of folk voices shifted again in the next generation: Walter Scott, under Percy's influence, re-packaged Scottish songs and border ballads as antiquarian curiosities, "proper objects of polite reading for 'the lovers and admirers of poetry' who wish for 'a glimpse of the national Muse in her cradle'" (p. 186).

Varying conceptions of the people's lyrics are drawn together here in order to re-think what popular songs have meant to the shifting imagination of national history and character—and also to document the influence of popular song on literary lyrics, represented here in excellent discussions of poets as divergent as William Wordsworth and Robert Penn Warren.

Carefully documented, accessibly written, and appropriately theorized, this study opens up the conversation on ballads to include so-called elite figures as well as local colorists such as D'Urfey and Ramsay. Newman's solid discussions of *The Gentle Shepherd* and *Tea Table Miscellany* bring Ramsay back where he belongs: the heart of any discussion of popular songs during the eighteenth century. While making clear the debt that students of ballads owe to early antiquarians and philologists—the influence of their projects on today's imagination of long ago eras has been powerful—Newman's study extends to other matters, too. It offers close readings of poets (canonical and not) who have adapted popular songs, and it shows how ballads have helped to shape the goals of literary education in our own day. Newman's discussion is not confined to eighteenth-century Scotland, but every chapter touches, directly or indirectly, on Scottish lyric tradition and its relationship to the Scottish Enlightenment. This meticulously researched study will therefore be of strong interest to serious students of eighteenth-century Scottish song.

Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

O M Brack, Jr., *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist: New Essays in Memory of Paul-Gabriel Boucé*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2007. Pp. 320.

William L. Gibson, *Art and Money in the Writings of Tobias Smollett*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007. Pp. 227.

Dramatist, novelist, occasional poet, historian, translator, editor, and sometime medical practitioner: how did Smollett manage it all? The energy which his writing exudes must have been replicated in the man. O M Brack, Jr., has gathered essays which both reflect the wide range of Smollett's activities and pay fitting tribute to the work of one of the giants of Smollett scholarship, Paul-Gabriel Boucé. Boucé's legacy pervades the contents of this fine volume, validating Serge Soupel's appreciation of "the Great Cham of Smollett Studies."

In *The Novels of Tobias Smollett* (1976), Boucé regretted the prominence of "inverted autobiography" in Smollett criticism. Brack, founding editor of the University of Georgia Press Works of Tobias Smollett, finds Howard S. Buck's argument in *A Study in Smollett, Chiefly "Peregrine Pickle"* heavily autobiographical and, challenging Buck's view of Smollett's minimal role in the "Memoirs of a Lady of Quality," argues from textual evidence that Smollett gave final form to material supplied by Lady Vane. Ian Campbell Ross shows Smollett to have been a casualty of "inverted autobiography" in that Sterne's reference to "the learned Smelfungus" has stuck, an "unjust reproach," Boucé noted. Ross suggests the term might be applied more justly to Sterne, whose letters from France, 1762–63, teem with complaints. While Sterne makes no mention of the Pont du Gard, Smollett, Ross's "indefatigably curious traveller," enthused about it, the amphitheatre of Nîmes, and the gaiety of the citizens of Montpellier. Unsurprisingly, however, the two were unanimous in their censure of the town's doctors.

Smollett's medical background underpins several contributions. In an essay both informative and witty, Allan Ingram reads Matt Bramble's twenty-seven letters to Dr. Lewis as literature and medical case-history. Cued by the work of Roy and Dorothy Porter, he observes that eighteenth-century medical consultation was often conducted by post, citing Dr. Johnson as a "physician's nightmare" and noting Bramble's acknowledging Dr. John Arbuthnot's comparable role in relation to Pope. Dove-tailing neatly is Walter H. Keithley's fascinating identification of the union of medical theory and scatological imagery in *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, which he reads astutely as Smollett's response to an anti-Scottish satirical print, "The Evacuations: An Emetic for Old England's Glory." Keithley locates Smollett in the age when, as Foucault argued in *The Birth of the Clinic*, medical discourse replaced the figurative language of diagnosis with the more specialized and esoteric; Smollett alternates, depending on his readership. It might be added that the frequency of physical analogy in Smollett's writing represents a nexus of influences, his medical training uniting with the tradition of physicality in Scottish writing.



Other essays on the fiction are a mixed bag. Elizabeth Durot-Boucé is perceptive on the extent to which *Ferdinand Count Fathom* anticipates the stock features of Gothic fiction. Her identification of Smollett's "interest in the supernatural as well as his revulsion at superstition" suggests an affinity with Burns. Noting the recurrence of water imagery in *Humphry Clinker*, Robert A. Erickson argues that the title of the novel is validated by Humphry's "expediting" the survival of Matt. Humphry, it is claimed, "has the purity and efficacy of the 'simple water element'," though its ambivalent power had earlier been stressed. This essay fluctuates between real insight and extravagant assertion. Would the unfortunate ensign Murphy recognize "the virtue of primal, genial simplicity" which Clinker allegedly shares with the Native Americans? And the importance of the Welsh pedigree of the family is missed when Erickson has them returning to "their own world in Southern England." In "Boucé, Céline, and *Roderick Random*," Gerald J. Butler uses Boucés's fondness for the work of Louis-Ferdinand Céline as explanation of his respective positions on *Roderick Random* in *The Novels of Tobias Smollett* and in the introduction to the World's Classics edition of 1979. However, the argument wanders slightly and ends less than convincingly by adducing pastoralism, "facile bio-criticism," and a recognition of the "crumminess" of life as characteristics that unite Smollett and Céline. More successful is Linda Bree's detailed charting of the rivalry between Smollett and Fielding in the "Paper Wars" of 1748–53, an essay that serves as a reminder of the intensely competitive, indeed reactive, nature of early fiction writing. However, by 1764 in his *Continuation of the Complete History of England*, Smollett felt able to pay handsome tribute to both Fielding and his patron, Lord Lyttelton.

Smollett the historian is well served by two excellent essays. James E. May's "The Authoritative Editions of Smollett's *Complete History of England*" is invaluable. Ian Simpson Ross is richly informative on the writing, publishing, and promoting of Smollett's *Continuation*. Hume's reluctance to progress beyond the accession of William and Mary gave Smollett an opportunity which he readily grasped and from which he benefited: what Hume termed "this extraordinary Run on Dr Smollett" seems to have produced a profit of £10,000.

Boucé observed that it was *Gil Blas* that "started it all." Leslie A. Chilton ably evaluates Smollett's achievements as translator. While rebutting Shebbeare's allegation that Smollett was ignorant of the languages he translated, Shilton concedes that, as was customary, he made use of existing translations ("ponies"); but he also highlights Smollett's impressive range, from Le Sage and Cervantes to Fénelon.

This fine collection of essays prompts but one major quibble: the title, factually irrefutable, misleads as to the nature of the contents. There is little engagement with the Scottish dimension to Smollett's writing and thought. Nor, Durot-Boucés's essay apart, is there much sense of his major innovations in fictional practice. Is Ian S. Ross's "ebullient but irascible all-rounder" paying the price for his versatility? Had he ranged less widely, would his status as novelist be more readily recognized?

William L. Gibson adds another string to Smollett's already weighty bow—that of fine art critic. In *Art and Money in the Writings of Tobias Smollett*, he usefully collects the fifteen articles on art in thirteen issues of the *Critical Review*, 1756–63, following James Basker in attributing them to Smollett. Smollett emerges as an enthusiastic supporter of British artistic and military endeavors, a wish for representation of "what we have almost forgot, a victory at sea" being fulfilled by two paintings by Richard Paton. If his naval service underpins his response here, so his knowledge of anatomy is evident from his observations on physical proportions. Works reviewed include paintings by Gavin Hamilton, Richard Wilson, and George Smith; sculpture by J. M. Rysbrack and Joseph Wilton; an altarpiece triptych by Hogarth; Thomas Frye's mezzotints of society ladies; and—preeminently—drawings and engravings by Robert Strange. The reviews comprise an annotated appendix and are discussed in a chapter, and there are also chapters on commerce and aesthetics; the painter Pallet in *Peregrine Pickle*; the encounters with art objects in *Travels Through France and Italy*; and the depiction of Bath in *Humphry Clinker*.

Whether they cohere is questionable. If there is a common factor, it is the evangelistic quality of Gibson's writing. Modern critics, it seems, dismiss Smollett as a "second-rate writer in the British picaresque tradition" (what this is remains unexplained). The recognition of Smollett's aesthetic sensibility "alters the surprisingly dominant and totally benighted view of Smollett as a sort of sea-born heathen turned bloody picaresque novelist." This book has villains aplenty: Sterne, for the "Smelfungus" jibe; Addison, whose enthusiasm for the Medici Venus encouraged waves of connoisseurs and tourists; Samuel Derrick, for presiding over the *embourgeoisement* of Bath; and John Wood, for the "folly" of the King's Circus at Bath. Smollett presents a problematic hero: while popularizing art through his reviews, he is antipathetic to "the mob"; fostering commercialization, yet he is at odds with the connoisseurs, as Moore noted. While Gibson recognizes "ambivalence" and "tensions" in Smollett, he never really comes to terms with them, and his writing is marred by inconsistency and, at times, a logic that is Lao-coönian. Given the subject, a puzzling feature is the reluctance to demonstrate the pictorial quality of Smollett's fiction. Jerry Beasley has done valuable work in this area, but celebration of Smollett's mastery of caricature would not have been out of place here.

Ken Simpson, University of Glasgow

Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xii + 292.

No one reading *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* can be unfamiliar with the work of Murray Pittock. He has been one of the most active contributors to historical and literary studies of eighteenth-century Scottish culture over the last two decades, developing his ideas in a remarkable series of books and essays, as well as at conferences in Scotland and around the world. His distinctive contributions to the strongly contested field of national identity in the eighteenth century have done much to counter influential arguments for any unified "British" identity, by revealing the deep-felt divisions that a "forged" nation could not quite conceal. The publication of such studies in the 1990s helped to give scholarly discussions of "British" history and literature an urgent, contemporary, political dimension. Pittock's new monograph, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, is a natural successor to his earlier works and every bit as ambitious in its scope and aims.

The study begins by proposing questions of a kind apt to strike terror in the heart of any lecturer thus confronted by an innocent student: "What is Romanticism?" and "What is a national literature?" It is only by addressing the fundamental issues fairly and squarely, however, that progress toward a new understanding of the plurality of "Romanticisms" in Scotland and Ireland, as well as in England, can be made. Although the introduction challenges older assumptions about the nature of Romanticism, it nevertheless refrains from an over-exhaustive survey of the various attempts to define the field and focuses instead on the key concepts that run throughout the book: "altermentality," "the use of hybrid language," "the taxonomy of glory," "the reclamation of the national past," "the symbolic organisation of images," "the separate public sphere," "the inflection of genre," and "fratriotism." These ideas owe as much to recent post-colonial approaches to Irish culture as to more established Anglo-American traditions of Romantic criticism and, as such, constitute a refreshingly resistant rather than correspondent breeze (the book is dedicated in part to Luke Gibbons and acknowledges his influence with gratitude).

Scottish and Irish Romanticisms are held together by recurrent concepts but braced by internal tensions. There is no overriding attempt to force the two cultures in question into mirror images of each other, nor smaller scale effort to match up individual Irish and Scottish authors in any systematic way. Whole chapters are devoted to Allan Ramsay, Robert Fergusson, and Robert Burns, while Irish poetry, whether in Gaelic or English, attracts less attention. The balance is redressed, however, by the wide-ranging account of the Irish bard and thought-provoking analysis of Maria Edgeworth's work, while frequent points of connection and contrast are made. Some kinds of literature are especially amenable to a more comparative approach—the chapter on Gothic provides strong evidence in the case for recognizing the distinctiveness of the national literatures of Scotland and Ireland and understanding their difference from English literary tradition. It also provides an effective threshold for the final chapter on fratriotism, which moves beyond the British archipelago to consider the phenomenon of Scottish and Irish travelers and their instinctive solidarity with oppressed peoples around the world.

At times, the argument might have benefited from more reference to familiar English counterparts, even if only to clarify their lack of relevance to the discussion. The Gothic temple at Stowe, for example, might merit a mention, while examples of Englishmen, such as Edward John Trelawny, who engaged in activities not dissimilar to the fratriotic figures under discussion, might provide useful points of comparison for their Scottish and Irish contemporaries. The point of the book, however, is to underline the importance of major writers who have been largely erased from standard literary histories of Romanticism and to argue for their rehabilitation. Burns is the most startling example of a great writer gradually dwindling from the literary canon, even as his popular support continues unabated. Whether the two trends are related is another matter, but the chapter, which was based on the author's British Academy Chatterton Lecture, makes sobering reading and provides abundant justification for his overall approach. Though readers of this periodical will not be unfamiliar with Ramsay, Fergusson, Burns, or Edgeworth, Pittock's handsome new book is likely to paint a very different picture of Romanticism from that being taught in many universities around the world, where Aeolian harps would not be most readily associated with Celtic tradition. If *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* introduces one new reader to the work of Burns, it will have done a great service. If it succeeds in persuading a larger body to engage seriously with the work of Ramsay, Fergusson, Macpherson, Owenson, Moore, Edgeworth, Hogg, or Maturin, and to see these writers as crucial to any proper understanding of Romanticism in the British Isles, it will have made a major contribution to Romantic studies as well as to Scottish and Irish scholarship.

Fiona Stafford, Somerville College, Oxford

David Duff and Catherine Jones, eds., *Scotland, Ireland, and the Romantic Aesthetic*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007. Pp. 294.

"Scotland and Ireland have achieved new visibility in recent scholarship on Romanticism and the eighteenth century." So claim David Duff and Catherine Jones, and their case seems eminently defensible on at least

two fronts. First, such visibility derives from the number of excellent books on the long eighteenth century which have been published in Scottish and Irish studies over the past five years. One thinks here of work by such prominent scholars as Ian Duncan, Richard Sher, Luke Gibbons, Murray Pittock, Leith Davis, and T. M. Devine, to name only a few. (And this short list does not include important books by numerous first-time authors in the field.) And second, the paradigms through which we interpret Scottish and Irish culture have evolved and multiplied, as Duff, Jones, and many of their contributors observe. “Archipelagic” and other diasporic models now permeate Scots-Irish studies, creating new archival perspectives and conceptual possibilities.

*Scotland, Ireland, and the Romantic Aesthetic* is a valuable contribution to this expansive and increasingly visible field. Consisting of an introduction and twelve additional essays, the book addresses facets of Scottish and Irish Romanticism ranging from literature, material culture, and painting to economics, politics, religion, and more. All the contributors bring something meaningful to the volume and, by extension, the field. Some of their essays reflect traditional national boundaries. On the topic of Scotland, for instance, Hamish Mathison examines Robert Burns’s role in forging a national identity through song; Nancy Moore Goslee situates an anonymous but telling poem on Wallace within the political culture of the early nineteenth century; Caroline Franklin insightfully addresses the role of the Edinburgh publishing industry in bequeathing us Romanticism; and Kenneth McNeil evokes Anne Grant as an emblem of uncanny Highland subjectivity. On the Irish front, Jane Moore reminds us of Thomas Moore’s significance as a political satirist, and Claire Connolly identifies the inextricably religious element of the public sphere through a provocative discussion of the controversy concerning miracles.

The volume’s other essays are more comparative in nature. Duff and Jones lay the groundwork for this approach in their excellent introduction, arguing on historical and theoretical grounds for a “contested,” “confrontational” Romanticism. Networks between disciplines as well as nations figure prominently here, as Timothy Webb demonstrates in revealing both the shared influence of political radicalism in Scotland and Ireland in the 1790s, and also the varying residues of that fervor in the work of Wordsworth, Keats, and Hazlitt. Cliona Ó Gallchoir reveals Macpherson’s Ossianic impact on the Irish national tale. The essays by Kevin Barry and Ian Duncan take a more dialectical turn, and perhaps for that reason seem especially systemic and far-reaching. Diverse attitudes toward paper currency account for the difference between Irish, Scottish, and English Romanticism in Barry’s argument, whereas Duncan explores “the historical and symbolic relations between Scotland and Ireland” by way of national tales by Edgeworth and Johnstone which register the violence inscribed into modernity. Fiona Stafford and Catherine Jones turn the comparative lens onto England (in Stafford’s essay on Wordsworth’s appropriation of Scottish motifs) and the Netherlands (in Jones’s illustration of the cross-currencies between Scott’s historical fiction and David Wilkie’s Dutch-influenced genre paintings).

My brief thumbnail sketches cannot do justice to a collection that is at once diverse and compelling. There truly is not a bad apple in this bunch. Granted, the book cannot help but reproduce a little of the hodgepodge effect intrinsic to edited volumes. Where the essays are most consistent is in their richness of historical and textual detail. Indeed, I would have enjoyed more pieces which strove to match such detail with equally vigorous conceptual apparatuses, like one finds in Duff and Jones’s introduction, or in Duncan’s essay. But these are quibbles. Bucknell University Press deserves commendation not only for the high quality of the book—the production staff did an outstanding job—but also for its commitment to studies of the long eighteenth century in general and to Scottish and Irish studies in particular. And Duff and Jones equally merit praise for their valuable contribution to an important and expanding field.

**Matthew Wickman, Brigham Young University**

Arthur E. Walzer, *George Campbell: Rhetoric in the Age of Enlightenment*. Rhetoric in the Modern Era. Albany: SUNY Press, 2003. Pp. viii + 175.

Stephen J. McKenna, *Adam Smith: The Rhetoric of Propriety*. Rhetoric in the Modern Era. Albany: SUNY Press, 2006. Pp. ix + 184.

It should come as no surprise that a series treating the modern era in rhetoric would focus on two significant figures from the Scottish Enlightenment, Adam Smith and George Campbell. Critics of Enlightenment thought often blame Smith, Campbell, and their contemporaries for the demise of the long classical tradition of rhetoric and the rise of the belletristic tradition and what is called in writing studies “current-traditional rhetoric.” This accusation stems in large part from the rejection by Smith, Campbell, and Hugh Blair of the ancient systems of topical invention. Although it is true that Smith and Campbell rejected much of the ancient system, both Walzer and McKenna make a convincing case that George Campbell and Adam Smith each partook deeply of the classical tradition and reworked rhetorical ideas to suit Enlightenment thought.



Acknowledging that Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* can be "a frustrating read" because of its "turgid, sometimes pompous style" (p. 1), Walzer offers his study of Campbell as a guide to readers as they work their way through the work. For this reason, after providing a brief overview of Campbell's life, Walzer organizes his book according to the sections in that book.

In his biographical overview, Walzer presents Campbell as primarily a minister, theologian, and teacher of divinity interested in the relationship of rhetoric to his work as a preacher rather than as a philosopher who also happened to preach. His first chapter provides an overview of Campbell's life, focusing in particular on those details related to his eventual writing of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Walzer situates Campbell within his intellectual context, focusing in particular on his association with the Aberdeen Philosophical Society. The subsequent chapters of Walzer's study follow closely the sections of Campbell's work. Walzer examines how Campbell expands the classical system by drawing on "the empiricist philosophy to provide an account of belief and on faculty psychology to establish the relationship of that account to the motives of audiences and the purposes of rhetoric" (p. 3). He carefully explicates Campbell's ideas on the understanding, imagination, and the passions as well as Campbell's philosophy of language and views on style. In his penultimate chapter, Walzer relates Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* to Campbell's other works, including his *Dissertation on Miracles* and *Lectures on Pulpit Eloquence*. Walzer concludes his study with a review of the available scholarship on Campbell, which is surprisingly limited, given the prominence of Campbell in the development of modern ideas about rhetoric.

As a contrast to the relatively limited work on Campbell, the scholarship on Adam Smith is vast, but most of this work has focused on Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, a work that, as Stephen McKenna acknowledges, has been "more often quoted than read" (p. 133). In his study of Smith, McKenna invites his readers to consider Smith anew, focusing on one of Smith's least studied works, his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (available only as student notes discovered as recently as 1958). McKenna subtitles his work "A Rhetoric of Propriety," although he confesses that it could have as easily been called "The Propriety of Rhetoric." McKenna argues "that Smith's approach to human society was fundamentally rhetorical in conception...and that we may only judge the ideological content of his work once we have reckoned with the rhetorical undercurrent" (pp. 1-2). The unifying idea for all of Smith's work is *propriety*.

In order to examine Smith's ideas about propriety, McKenna provides an insightful analysis of propriety in the classical rhetorical tradition up through the Renaissance. McKenna is breaking much new ground here, and this discussion will be instructive for any scholar interested in classical rhetoric, even apart from the connection of this tradition to Smith. McKenna then traces the discussion about propriety through the eighteenth-century philosophical tradition. In subsequent chapters, McKenna follows Smith's ideas about propriety from his lectures on rhetoric through his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Wealth of Nations*, making a convincing case for "propriety" as a unifying concept for Smith's writings. At the end of his study, McKenna makes the intriguing suggestion that Smith's ideas might provide a model to bridge the gap between interpersonal and public communication and possibly to solve the problems he sees with today's public discourse.

These books are both designed for non-specialists, but there is also much here for the experienced scholar. Both provide a useful overview of available scholarship and introduce some potentially fruitful areas for future research.

Gary Hatch, Brigham Young University

Gerard Carruthers, *Robert Burns*. Horndon, Devon: Northcote House Publishers, 2006. Pp. xii + 116.

Murray Pittock, *James Boswell*. Aberdeen: AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies, 2007. Pp. viii + 126.

Are you ready to take a Burns-Boswell quiz? Simply identify "B" in the seven passages below, all of which are taken from these books by Gerard Carruthers and Murray Pittock.

1. "Despite the best efforts of critics to harmonize B's attitudes into a single, cogent, coherent outlook, however, it is perhaps time to recognize that the man and his work do, indeed, represent contradictions that remain irresolvable. B...living at a time of such huge cultural ferment in the western world, adopts a range of roles and personae, both consciously and...unconsciously. Recognition of such complexity is a prerequisite to the normalization of our perception of B as neither an absolute reprobate nor an untrammelled, superhuman political animal, both tendencies that have historically afflicted commentary on him." (pp. 75-76)

2. "B's ambidexterity, though, must also be acknowledged. If... [sometimes] he is a sincere mouthpiece for the Scottish Protestant dissenting tradition, he can also be found in very different colours elsewhere...[an example is then given of a personal letter, in which B says: 'I shall remember the unfortunate Mary.' In this instance,] B clearly writes in the inflexions of Catholic piety." (p. 26)

3. "B thus knew the key Enlightenment writers and thinkers (sometimes very well) and had a good... reading knowledge of the arguments of the age." (p. 19)

4. "This [tradition of defending Scottish liberty against foreigners, dating from ancient Roman times] was the classic statement of the patriot historiographical case. It was also part of a pattern in B's sympathies for, and activities on behalf of, the oppressed..." (p. 27)

5. "B's circle of friends was also suggestive of certain sympathies, though one has to be careful here, as many Scottish Whigs had Jacobite friends whom they both liked and (sometimes) protected. It was also sometimes hard to tell the parties apart, among Scots especially." (p. 77)

6. "B...seems to have been very susceptible to 'sentimental Jacobitism'..." (p. 101)

7. "From the Enlightenment in Scotland and in Europe, B imbibed an interest in psychology and a historical sophistication, which, when taken together, help explain his alternate iconoclasm and respect towards his own cultural background (the ability...one moment to lampoon Calvinist Presbyterianism in its Puritanism, and the next to celebrate the dogged independence of this mindset)." (p. 4)

Nos. 1, 2, 6, and 7 are from Carruthers's book on Burns; nos. 3, 4, and 5 are from Pittock's book on Boswell. Surprised? Although Burns and Boswell were both Ayrshire men of the late eighteenth century, it has not previously been so easy to confuse them. These stimulating little books pay homage to two of the few literary critics who dared to put them into the same space before: Tom Crawford and Ken Simpson. Those critics are praised for examining unflinchingly the related issues of identity crisis and fragmentation of personality, as well as for recognizing the crucial role that "Scottishness" played in this process. Simpson's 1988 book, *The Protean Scot*, argued that Burns, Boswell, and other Scottish literary figures spoke in different voices according to circumstances. Speaking in different voices, however, implies that one is either unaware of what one is saying (e.g., confused or insane) or (more to the point here) artful. Artfulness, in turn, implies knowledge. Thus, both these books contend that their subjects had a deeper understanding of Enlightenment learning than is usually thought. Carruthers is obviously and openly influenced by Carol McGuirk's classic 1985 study, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era*, which demonstrated how Burns drew upon/manipulated the eighteenth-century English literary tradition that was previously thought to be unfamiliar to him. Pittock cites a "powerful essay" by Susan Manning on Boswell's debt to Hume and Smith for a "vocabulary of self-analysis" (p. 34). Both books explore their subjects' attraction to Queen Mary, sentimental Jacobitism, and Catholicism, even though they came from Whig Presbyterian stock and sometimes adopted Whig Presbyterian positions. Both explore the tensions between political extremes in their expression: sympathy for the oppressed coexisting with implicit or explicit support for Tory causes.

There is no room in Carruthers's account not only for the myth of the primitive Burns—the "heaven-taught ploughman" whom McGuirk and others had already exposed—but also for the myth of the politically subversive Burns, who is committed to a coherent radical agenda. Carruthers's Burns creates his primitive identity in "his artful preface to the Kilmarnock edition" of his *Poems* (pp. 24, 13) and is an incorrigible role-player. So, of course, is Pittock's Boswell, who constructs both Samuel Johnson and himself. His championing of the Corsican cause is viewed as a smokescreen for Scottish nationalist sentiments that could not be expressed directly (the concept of "fratriotism"), and his celebrated sexual exploits are doubted on the grounds that they are reported only by Boswell himself, in a journal that has too often been accepted—wrongly—as straightforward and artless in its presentation of the "facts" of Boswell's daily life. For both these Ayrshire B's, almost nothing is as it seems.

Precisely because these two little biographies are so inventive and complicated, they may not be the ideal texts to assign to students in an introductory course. But the rest of us should not pass them up on that account.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

#### Briefly Noted

William Baker and Michael Lister, eds., *David Daiches: A Celebration of His Life and Work*. Brighton and Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2008. Pp. xvii + 295.

It is fitting that this tribute to ECSSS's first Lifetime Achievement Award winner should contain warmly evocative essays by two other recipients of that honor: Andrew Hook on David Daiches's role in establishing Scottish literature as a respectable subject (can we even imagine that "in 1950 Walter Scott remained a totally neglected writer" [p. 74]?), and Ian Simpson Ross on DD's academic career. This collection of two dozen pieces also contains Paul Henderson Scott's recollections about DD's work to promote Scottish culture in organizations such as the Saltire Society. The volume concludes with the editors' bibliography of DD's writings: 87 pages long!

Paul Henderson Scott, *The Union of 1707: Why and How?* Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 2006. Pp. 85.

P. H. Scott's interpretation of the Union is not subtle: the Union represents the climax of England's ambition "to reduce Scotland to English domination" and the loss of Scottish independence "in a particularly humiliating and shameful manner" (p. 67). But anyone seeking a clear presentation of this point of view will find it here.

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- Ian DUNCAN, "Blackwood's and Romantic Nationalism," in *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805–1930*, ed. David Finkelstein (Toronto, 2007), 70–89.
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