

# Eighteenth-Century Scotland

The Newsletter of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society

Number 3 (Spring 1989)

## ECSSS in New Orleans

This year ECSSS joined in the annual spring meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the Sheraton New Orleans. It was the first time we had formally met with ASECS since ECSSS's founding at Williamsburg, Virginia in 1986. Back then ECSSS had just five members. By the time of the New Orleans meeting, however, membership had climbed to about 200, and it was clear to all that ASECS's youngest child was coming of age.

In keeping with the general theme of the conference, "Reflections on the Revolution," ECSSS sponsored a panel on "Scotland and Revolutions." Chaired by our president, Roger L. Emerson (Western Ontario), it featured talks by Andrew Noble (Strathclyde) on "Dissent and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Poetry"; Mark Madoff (Royal Road Military College) on "The Rhetoric of Scottish Revolutionary Apprehensions in the 1790s"; and George McElroy (Chicago, Ill.) on "The Ossianic Imagination and the American Revolution." The panel concluded with an insightful commentary by Donald Livingston (Emory).

The following day the society sponsored a very successful luncheon attended by twenty-five members. After gorging themselves on "Chicken New Orleans" and other treats, the audience heard an excellent talk by Andrew Hook (Glasgow U.) on "Rebellion Revolutions and Scottish Culture, 1745-1800." Professor Hook had kindly agreed to speak on only a few weeks notice after the scheduled speaker, Bruce Lenman (St Andrews and College of William & Mary), discovered to his dismay that he would be unable to attend. The society expressed its enormous gratitude to Professor Hook for supplementing our Creole gumbo and praline mousse with so much intellectual nourishment.

The second panel sponsored by ECSSS - "Scottish Philosophy and Culture" - met the next morning under the capable direction of Elaine G. Breslaw (Morgan State). First M. A. Stewart (Lancaster) spoke on "Greek Studies and the Scottish Philosophy Curriculum." This was followed by Thomas D. Kennedy (Austin Peay State), "David Fordyce, Moral Psychology and Presbyterian Preaching"; Kathleen Holcomb (Angelo State), "Scottish Philosophical Societies and Scottish Culture"; and finally some first-rate commentary by John Dwyer (York).

Besides the panels sponsored by ECSSS, several other papers on eighteenth-century Scottish topics were delivered elsewhere at the conference. Robert Adams Day (CUNY) chaired a particularly interesting panel on "The Other Smollett: Poet, Historian, Polemicist, Translator" that featured papers by James Basker (Barnard) on "Smollett as Literary Historian," Byron Gassman (Brigham Young) on "Smollett's *Briton*," and Maureen Mulvihill (Institute for Research in History) on "Dr. Smollett Confronts the Medical Feminists." At another panel Mary E. Green (Arizona State) compared Defoe and Johnson's accounts of industry and the poor in Scotland. ECSSS members who contributed papers to other panels included Jeffrey Smitten (Texas Tech), Henry L. Snyder (California, Riverside), O. M. Brack (Arizona State), Greg Clingham (Fordham), Jerry Beasley (Delaware), and Thomas Jemielity (Notre Dame). Robert Maccubbin was prevented from participating by illness.

Much society business was carried on at New Orleans. At a well-attended meeting of the membership, it was revealed that ECSSS has not only grown in size but also maintained its geographical and disciplinary balance. About half the members have addresses in the United States, almost a quarter in Scotland, and the rest in England, Canada, Japan, Europe, and other places around the world. The increase in Japanese members has been particularly striking this year. At the same time, ECSSS has managed to avoid the problem - common to ASECS and its regional affiliates - of a disproportionately high representation in language and literature. Just over a quarter of ECSSS's members are specialists in literature or language studies; an almost identical number are historians; another quarter have their homes in philosophy, religion, law, or the social sciences; and the remainder come from fine arts and music, history of science/technology, and unspecified fields.

ECSSS is now a registered non-profit corporation in the state of New Jersey. The membership unanimously approved the bylaws, which the president, vice-president, and executive secretary had prepared with the help of the past president (Ian Ross) and past vice-president (Roger Fechner). There was also unanimous approval for a modest increase in membership dues for 1990: from \$5 to \$10 U.S. and from £4 to £6 U.K. for individuals and twice those amounts for institutions (still

the best bargain around!). In other business, the membership approved the following plans for future meetings:

Summer 1990: U. of Strathclyde, Glasgow (see story below)

Spring 1991: Pittsburgh (with ASECS)

Fall 1992: with East Central ASECS (site to be determined)

Summer 1993: "Hume in His Scottish Setting" (with Hume Society, pending final approval; site to be determined)

Spring 1994: with ASECS (tentative)

Summer 1995: University of Aberdeen

Andrew Noble of the University of Strathclyde (English) and M. A. Stewart of the University of Lancaster (philosophy) were elected to four-year terms on the Board. The former is a prime mover behind next year's Glasgow conference, while the latter is a member of the executive committee of the Hume Society and ideally situated for helping to plan the 1993 meeting.

ECSSS members who participated in the New Orleans meeting had a marvelous time, and the society is grateful to ASECS for helping to make it all possible. Particular thanks are due to the conference director, Jim Springer Borck, who did so much to provide for our needs.

### On to Glasgow!

At a special meeting in New Orleans, the Glasgow conference planning committee sifted through the dozens of proposals the society has received for places on the program of its "Glasgow and the Enlightenment" conference. The conference will be held at the University of Strathclyde from 27 July to 4 August 1990.

This is shaping up as a very special event. Coinciding with the festivities marking Glasgow's year as cultural capital of Europe, the conference will feature a rich program of papers and excursions. There will be panels on topics such as "Glasgow and the London Literary Connection"; "Glasgow University: Philosophy and Culture"; "Glasgow University: Science and Medicine"; "Images of Glasgow"; "John Millar"; "Music in Enlightened Glasgow"; "The 1790 Edition of Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments"; "Religion in Glasgow and the West"; "Glasgow Looks East and West"; and "The Economy of Glasgow." Among the many participants are Jerry Beasley, John Burnett, John Butt, R. H. Campbell, T. M. Devine, Robert Kent Donovan, John Dwyer, Roger Emerson, Michel Faure, Simon Frith, Andrew Hook, Gordon Jackson, Ned Landsman, Bruce Lenman, Thomas Markus, D. D. Raphael, Richard Sher, Andrew Skinner, M. A. Stewart, Gordon Turnbull, and Paul Wood. A public lecture on Adam Smith will be delivered by Ian Ross under the auspices of a grant obtained by Andrew Skinner (Glasgow U.) and Peter Jones (Edinburgh U.) to commemorate the bicentennial of Smith's death in 1790.

A variety of interesting excursions are now under consideration. They include Inveraray (eighteenth-century planned village, castle of the dukes of Argyll, and dinner at a fine eighteenth-century house); Pollok House/Burrell Museum; Burns country or New Lanark; and Ross Priory - the University of Strathclyde's eighteenth-century estate on the banks of Loch Lomond. Visitors will also have opportunities to take advantage of various special events, such as the underground exhibit on the multifaceted culture of Glasgow that is being organized by a group known as The Words and the Stones. Other conferences will be going on throughout the summer, including one on "University and Society" that is being held at the University of Glasgow from 24 to 26 June (for information contact Michael Moss, Archivist, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ).

We hope many readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* will make plans to attend "Glasgow and the Enlightenment." The University of Strathclyde is going out of its way to provide a warm Glasgow welcome for conference guests. Bed-and-breakfast accommodations are being made available in the university's residence halls at the exceptionally reasonable rate of £70 per week for a limited number of ECSSS members who apply early. All members will receive further details on panels and accommodations at a later date.

### Scotland and America Volume

At press time *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*, ECSSS's first publication, had just gone off to Edinburgh University Press, which will co-publish the book with Princeton University Press in North America.

Co-edited by Richard B. Sher (NJIT) and Jeffrey Smitten (Texas Tech U.), the book features sixteen essays on three major topics: (1) "Religion and Revolution: The Two Worlds of John Witherspoon"; (2) "Philosophers and Founding Fathers"; and (3) "Scottish Thought and Culture in Early Philadelphia." The volume also includes a lengthy historiographical/bibliographical introduction to the field.

*Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* is the first major collection on this important topic. It embodies the interdisciplinary outlook of ECSSS, with contributors hailing from history, English, philosophy, political science, economics, religion, history of science, music, and architecture. Among the contributors are several eminent figures, such as David Daiches, Andrew Hook, and Andrew Skinner. Publication will be in 1990, ideally in time for the Glasgow meeting.

All royalties from the book will go to ECSSS. For this reason among others, we hope ECSSS members will make certain to purchase copies for themselves and to use their influence to have their university libraries purchase one or two also. More information about how to do this will be sent to members when further details are available.

## ECSSS Publication Series Planned

ECSSS is planning a new publication series, to be called "Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." Modeled loosely on *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, the series will consist of thematic collections of essays, and perhaps other types of volumes, that will appear irregularly. The series will provide the first dedicated forum for advanced study in this field, which will be broadly interpreted to include all aspects of eighteenth-century Scottish history and culture. Negotiations with Edinburgh University Press for publication rights to the series are now at an advanced stage.

The first volume in the series, already well under way, will consist of expanded versions of eight papers presented at last year's Virginia Beach conference, "The Social World of the Scottish Enlightenment." It will bear the title of the conference and will be co-edited by John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher.

The second volume is also far along. Tentatively titled *Ossian Revisited*, it will bring together scholars from different disciplines and countries to investigate various aspects of the Ossian story. The editor of this collection is Howard Gaskill of the German Department at Edinburgh University, whose passionate plea for a more *dispassionate* approach to Ossianic studies appeared in the last issue of this newsletter. The third volume in the series will be a collection of some of the best papers from ECSSS's "Glasgow and the Enlightenment" conference. It is anticipated that volume 4 will be the collection of essays on rhetoric that is described below.

Once again, ECSSS members are strongly encouraged to subscribe to the series themselves as well as to have their university libraries do so. Support for the series will enable the society to continue to sponsor publications and conferences while keeping our dues low. Details will be sent to members when publication arrangements have been finalized.

## Call for Rhetoric Essays

Thomas Miller is organizing a volume of essays on "Rhetorical Theory and Practice in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." The collection will focus on how the Scots' theories of culture, language, and logic were influenced by the social context of the period. It will include sections on education (particularly rhetoric, literature, grammar, logic, and moral philosophy), cultural history (including ethics, aesthetics, and epistemology), and social history (for example, studies of the Scottish literary societies, of the evolution of English usage in Scotland, or of models of argument present in political debates of the period).

Inquiries about other possible topics or requests for further information are welcome. Please submit one-page abstracts of essays by 1 October to: Thomas Miller, Dept of English, University of Arizona, Tucson AZ 85721.

## New Look at EUP

The new Secretary to Edinburgh University Press, Martin Spencer, is actively moving to enhance EUP's role in the field of eighteenth-century Scottish studies. Formerly head of Manchester University Press, Spencer would like to increase the size of EUP's list in this area as part of a general effort to raise the Press's stature as a major scholarly publisher.

EUP's involvement with publications sponsored by ECSSS is but one part of this story. Besides continuing to publish new books such as Fiona Stafford's fine study of James Macpherson (reviewed below), EUP under Spencer has taken other steps to advance its position. These include:

- \* Reprinting paperback editions of classic EUP titles that have gone out of print.

- \* Taking over the New History of Scotland series originally published by Edward Arnold.

- \* Moving to take over publication of the scholarly edition of the Papers of James Boswell now that McGraw-Hill and its British affiliate, Heinemann Ltd., have pulled out of that project.

- \* Developing the intellectual credibility of its subsidiary Polygon, particularly the *Edinburgh Review*.

- \* Strengthening the Press's relationship with its American distributor, Columbia University Press.

EUP's leadership in eighteenth-century Scottish studies began during the 1960s but underwent a kind of "take-off" during the 1980s under Spencer's predecessor Archie Turnbull. In the latter decade's first five years alone the Press produced more than a dozen titles in this field. Most of these books focused closely on Edinburgh personalities and institutions. John Bricke, *Hume's Philosophy of Mind* (1980; £15) and Peter Jones, *Hume's Sentiments: Their Ciceronian and French Context* (1982; £17.50) dealt with aspects of the city's greatest philosopher, while *Philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. V. Hope (1984; £20) treated Hume and other Scottish thinkers in essays dedicated to one of twentieth-century Edinburgh's greatest philosophical ornaments, George Davie, whose own book *The Democratic Intellect* was reissued by the Press in paperback in 1983. Knud Haakonssen's piece in the Hope volume on the Edinburgh moral philosophy professor Dugald Stewart should be read alongside Nicholas Phillipson's contribution to the same subject in the collection Phillipson edited for the Press to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the university in 1983: *Universities, Society, and the Future* (£20). The Phillipson volume in turn suggests Gordon Donaldson's more focused treatment of the university's anniversary, *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983* (1983; £14.50), though the eighteenth century is represented there only in J. B. Morrell's essay on medicine and science. Hermann A. Bruck, *The Story of Astronomy in Edinburgh* (1983; £14.50) is a more specialized study of Edinburgh science that opens with two short chapters on eighteenth-century developments.

On the Edinburgh Enlightenment in general, the first half of the 1980s saw the publication of two works originally produced by American university presses: Charles Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment* (U. of Chicago Press, 1984; £25) and Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Princeton U. Press, 1985; £30). Scottish-American studies were not neglected, for 1982 brought J. M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America* (£19.50) and William R. Brock's valuable bibliographical guide *Scotus Americanus: A Survey of the Sources for Links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century* (£16.50). In Jacobite studies the Press has tended to emphasize the French connection, as in Frank McLynn, *France and the Jacobite Rising of 1745* (1981; £19.50) and, more recently, John S. Gibson, *Playing the Scottish Card: The Franco-Jacobite Invasion of 1708* (1988; £17.50). Another recent publication is a piece of detective work that will interest social historians of Edinburgh: J. Gilhooley, ed., *A Directory of Edinburgh in 1752* (1988; £17.50), though one wishes the charts and lists it contains had been supplemented by a narrative text.

The strong suit of the Turnbull years was the production of magnificent books on the social history of architecture and the arts. In 1966 A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840* set a standard for the genre, combining as it did an excellent text on the development of the New Town with splendid black-and-white illustrations and captivating book design. These attributes were duplicated in the 1970s in Ian G. Lindsay and Mary Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* (1973) and in the next decade in A. A. Tait, *The Landscape Garden in Scotland, 1735-1835*. Though the Tait volume (which deserves to be far better known) is still available in hardcover (£18), the other two books had been out of print for some time. One of Martin Spencer's first moves after taking over the Press was to reprint both of them in paperback, and at exceptionally reasonable prices for works of this nature (1988; £14.95 and 1989; £17.50, respectively). The reprinting process raised some rather formidable technical problems. All of the original Edwin Smith photographs in the Youngson book, for example, had to be reshot from prints in the Press's files, as did all the original maps and engravings. The fact that the illustrations in the paperback edition look even sharper than those in the 1966 original is a credit to the production work of John M. Davidson.

Another 1966 original that EUP recently reprinted in paperback is Pall S. Ardal, *Passion and Value in Hume's Treatise* (1989; £7.50). Two other out-of-print volumes should receive the same treatment without delay: N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison's important collection of essays, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (1970), which is still indispensable after two decades, and A. L. Donovan's study of William Cullen and Joseph Black, *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1975). And why, one may ask, has the elegant "IPSE" volume on the Scottish Enlighten-

ment by David Daiches et al., *A Hot-Bed of Genius* (1986), disappeared so quickly from the Press's catalogue? On the other hand, it is good news indeed that the two eighteenth-century volumes in the Edward Arnold New History of Scotland series - Rosalind Mitchison's *Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745* (1983) and Bruce Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialisation: Scotland 1746-1832* (1981) - will be reprinted by EUP rather than allowed to go out of print.

Plans for EUP to take over the scholarly edition of the Papers of James Boswell are not yet finalized, but the prospect is certainly an agreeable one. It would be fitting if those papers, which Scotland allowed to escape to the New World, should now return to the city in which Boswell spent so much of his life.

Finally a word should be said about Polygon. Under the editorship of Peter Kravitz, the *Edinburgh Review* has emerged as a major literary and philosophical magazine. Like Polygon itself (which Kravitz now serves as Editorial Director), the *Edinburgh* has a contemporary focus, but a historical perspective is sometimes encouraged. The *Edinburgh* did a very interesting issue on Scottish philosophy recently, and Polygon has just published Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull's stimulating and provocative (if sometimes exaggerated) nationalist critique of the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*.

## Two Major Art Exhibits at SNPG

This summer the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh will mount two exhibits of special interest to our members. Both shows will open to the public on 14 July and run to 8 October 1989.

These SNPG exhibits have been organized to run simultaneously in order to present an absorbing panorama of Scottish painting and architecture during the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. A special admission policy will enable visitors to see both exhibits for the price of one.

### "Patrons & Painters: Art in Scotland 1650-1760"

This exhibit looks at Scottish painting from the point of view of the people who commissioned it. It identifies the leading patrons of art and asks fundamental questions about the nature and significance of their activities.

Each of the seven sections of the exhibit highlights the painting commissioned by a particular patron or family. For example, William Aikman's portraits for the Hanoverian and Anglicized dukes of Argyll constitute one segment. They form an interesting contrast with naive images of the traditional Highland 'court' of the Grants of Grant, painted by Richard Waitt during the 1720s, and with the sophisticated images of the Duffs in Banffshire. Another section of the exhibit shows work painted by Allan Ramsay in London, after the third earl of Bute arranged his appointment as the King's Painter.

Sponsored by the Royal Bank of Scotland, the exhibit was put together by ECSSS member James Holloway, Assistant Keeper of the SNP. All of the more than one hundred paintings in the exhibition are illustrated in the catalogue.

#### **"William Adam: A Tercentenary Exhibition"**

Though his son Robert has attracted the lion's share of attention, William Adam (1689-1748) was not only the patriarch of Scotland's greatest architectural family but also the leading architect of early Georgian Scotland. This exhibit, organized by James Simpson for the William Adam Trust, focuses on the senior Adam's architectural work, using original drawings, documents, portraits, and scale models to tell the story. Featured are such classic buildings as Glasgow University library, the Dundee Town House, Robert Gordon's Hospital in Aberdeen, and the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh, as well as the well known private houses built for Hopetoun, Duff, and Arniston.

A new biography of William Adam by John Gifford is scheduled for publication by Mainstream in July to coincide with the exhibit.

#### **Scottish Masters Series**

Also of interest is the Scottish Masters series published by the National Galleries of Scotland. The series presently includes ten 32-page booklets, each focusing on a particular Scottish artist deserving of greater attention. *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* has received five booklets from this series that treat artists from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: John de Medina (1659-1710) by Rosalind K. Marshall (1988); Alexander Carse (c. 1770-1843) by Lindsay Errington (1987); and William Aikman (1682-1731), Jacob More (1740-93), and James Tassie (1735-99), by James Holloway (1988, 1987, and 1986, respectively). Each consists of a brief, illustrated biographical essay incorporating some interesting primary source material, approximately a dozen pages of plates of the artist's major work, a bibliography, and a select checklist of works by the artist in the National Galleries of Scotland and, in some cases, other repositories also. The usefulness of such checklists may be illustrated by the list of Tassie's nearly one hundred portrait medallions that the NGS owns - including a score of major figures from the Scottish Enlightenment and many of their leading patrons.

Published at £2.95, plus 50p postage and packing per title, the booklets in the Scottish Masters series will be of interest to many ECSSS members. And interest will be likely to grow when forthcoming titles appear on eighteenth-century Scotland's greatest painters, Allan Ramsay (1713-84) and Henry Raeburn (1756-1823).

For further information write: Publications Department, National Galleries of Scotland, Bedford Road, Edinburgh EH4 3DR.

#### **Scottish Political Economy in Japan**

One of the most remarkable recent developments in eighteenth-century Scottish studies is the explosion of interest in this subject among Japanese scholars. Readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* will find evidence of this interest elsewhere in this issue. Other signs are also worthy of notice. In November 1986 the Society for the History of Economic Thought sponsored a two-day conference at Waseda University, Tokyo on "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Formation of Political Economy." Chaired by Toshihiro Tanaka (Kwansei Gakuin U.), the conference featured three papers: Yasuo Amoh (Kochi U.), "The Scottish Enlightenment and Moral Philosophy: The Case of Adam Ferguson" (commentary by Genaro Seki, Kyusyu U.); Toshiharu Nozawa (Chiba U.), "The Scottish Enlightenment and Smith's *Wealth of Nations*" (commentary by Shoji Tanaka, Hitotsubashi U.); and Hisashi Shinohara (Kwansei Gakuin U.), "Dugald Stewart and the Scottish Enlightenment: His *Lectures on Political Economy*" (commentary by Akio Hoshino, Kanto Gakuin U.). Also participating were Kyoji Tazoe (Fukushima U.) as general conference discussant and Satoshi Yamasaki (Kagawa U.) as co-chairman.

More recently, David G. Irwin of Aberdeen University spoke in September at the history of economics seminar at Kwansei Gakuin University. A noted art historian, Professor Irwin gave a talk on "Industry and Its Relationship to Artists." Other speakers from Europe and North America, including ECSSS past president Ian Ross, have been invited to speak in Japan on eighteenth-century Scottish topics, and there is now a constant stream of Japanese students and scholars to Scotland to study primary sources there.

A dominant force in the emergence of Scottish studies in Japan is Hiroshi Mizuta of Meijo University, Tokyo. Best known for his ongoing work on the library of Adam Smith, Professor Mizuta has participated in many conferences in Britain and North America and published articles on Smith and his circle.

ECSSS salutes its new Japanese members!

#### **Scottish History at Strathclyde**

##### **Seminar on Conflict**

The History Department at the University of Strathclyde, with a reputation as one of the leading centers of Scottish social and economic history, sponsored an exceptionally interesting Scottish Historical Studies Seminar for 1988-89 under the able direction of T. M. Devine. The topic of the seminar was "Conflict and Protest in Scottish Society 1750-1850."

Speakers included Christopher A. Whatley (St. Andrews) on popular attitudes to authority and change; Stana Nenadic (Edinburgh U.) on middle class protest; Callam Brown (Strathclyde) on religious and social conflict among Presbyterians; John Brims (St. Andrews) on the Perthshire volunteers and militia during the

mid-1790s; W. Hamish Fraser (Strathclyde) on the contrast between English and Scottish protest; and R. H. Campbell (Stirling, Emeritus) on the challenge to the landed classes. We hope to hear of publication plans soon.

#### Degree Programs

In keeping with its development as a center of excellence for Scottish history, the University of Strathclyde has been building its degree programs in this area. Undergraduates may now elect classes in "Scottish Society from before the Union to 1914" (pass degree), "Scottish Society, 1760-1830" (honors class), and "Contributions to Scottish Studies" (a principal subject within the Faculty of Arts and Social Studies), as well as "Twentieth-Century Scotland." Postgraduate students may earn the M.Phil. in the history of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, as well as the M.Phil. or Ph.D. degrees in Scottish political, economic, social, and cultural history. Approximately thirty students are now registered for these postgraduate degrees.

For further information contact the Department of History, University of Strathclyde, McCance Building, 16 Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XQ.

#### History of Glasgow Project

The History Department at Strathclyde is currently engaged in an extremely ambitious research project that will culminate in publication by Manchester University Press of a three-volume history of Glasgow from the seventeenth century to the present. Each volume has two editors drawn from the department's faculty (T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson are editing the volume on the eighteenth century.) Contributors to the volumes will include more than two dozen scholars from the United Kingdom and overseas.

Among the most interesting features of the project are the opportunities it is providing for postgraduate study. The latest quantitative techniques are being applied to topics such as housing, trade, and demography. The project is being used as a workshop on research techniques in urban history, and special evening courses are being offered to facilitate postgraduate study in this area. For further information contact T. M. Devine at the above address.

#### Summer Seminar on Industrialization

Students from North America and elsewhere may experience Scottish history at Strathclyde by participating in the five-week "STS Summer in Scotland" program sponsored jointly by the University of Strathclyde and New Jersey Institute of Technology. First offered in 1988, the program includes an honors seminar in the development of British industry and technology during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with a particular focus on Scotland and northern England. Excursions to appropriate sites make the course particularly valuable: 1989 excursions will include a guided walk along the Forth-Clyde Canal and visits to New Lanark, Summerlee Heritage Park, the Scottish Mining

Museum, Euchentoshan Whisky Distillery, Rennie MacIntoch's Hill House, as well as a three-day excursion to northern England to visit Beamish Industrial Heritage Park, Greys cotton mill, Styal, and other sites.

This year the three-credit seminar runs from 25 June to 28 July. The instructor is once again Arthur McIvor, best known for his scholarship on industrial health hazards facing nineteenth-century workers. Other participants from the Strathclyde History Department include John Butt, Callum Brown, and Jim Treble.

Also included in the program is a second three-credit honors seminar in the area of science, technology and society: "Mass Communications, Technology and Culture," co-taught by Simon Frith of the University of Strathclyde and John E. O'Connor of NJIT. For further information, contact Richard B. Sher, 504M, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark, NJ 07102.

#### Scottish Enlightenment at Canisius

This spring Henry Clark (history) and Hamilton Cochrane (English) combined forces to offer an interdisciplinary course on "The Scottish Enlightenment" at Canisius College in Buffalo, New York. The course was cross-listed in the history and English departments.

According to the course outline sent to *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, the principal theme of the course was "the interplay between primitivism and progress - between the admiration and justification of modernity and the doubt, nostalgia, and sense of loss that accompany it." Most of the first three weeks were spent on Boswell and Johnson's analyses of the land and people of Scotland in their respective accounts of their Scottish tour. After a day on Hutcheson, the class went on to read portions of Hume's *Essays* and Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Wealth of Nations*, as well as to consider the developmental theory of history put forward by Adam Ferguson. This brought the class to the midterm exam at the end of week 8.

The second half of the class began with a week on Henry MacKenzie's *The Man of Feeling*. Then came a week devoted to John Millar on the question of gender and a week on the *Mirror* and *Lounger*. In week 12 the class considered the problem of the theatre, particularly John Home's *Tragedy of Douglas* and the moral corruption issue. Then it was back to Boswell for a week on the *London Journal*, viewed as a case study of the Scottish provincial in the English metropolis. The last two weeks were devoted to the militia issue and the stirring of Scottish patriotism, the problem of religion, and the poetry of Robert Burns.

*Editor's Note: Eighteenth-Century Scotland is seeking other descriptions of courses dealing with eighteenth-century Scotland. If you offer such a course and would not mind sharing it with our readers, please send copies of your course outline and reading list to the editor, along with additional information about student reactions and other matters.*

## Folger Seminars in Political Thought

As part of the second stage of the Folger Institute Center's program of seminars and conferences on the History of British Political Thought, it is proposed to hold a series of three seminars on the British Unions. The seminars will meet at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. The directors, their working titles, and the scheduled dates of the seminars are:

Roger Mason (Scottish History, St. Andrews): "Scots and Britons: The Debate on Union in the Age of James VI and I" (Fall 1990)

John Robertson (St. Hugh's College, Oxford): "Union and Empire: The Political Identities of Britain, 1688-1750" (May-June 1991)

J.G.A. Pocock (History, Johns Hopkins): "Empire, Confederation and Republic: From Atlantic Dominion to American Union" (February-April or May-June 1992)

The planning of these seminars is still at a preliminary stage, and expressions of interest will be welcome.

Having taken responsibility for the seminar most concerned with eighteenth-century Scotland, I would be particularly grateful for comments, suggestions and offers to contribute. The object of concentrating the seminar into six intensive weeks in May and June is to attract North American scholars at the outset of the summer vacation; and it is hoped that a number of British, Irish, and continental European scholars will be able to participate for shorter periods. In preparing the program of the seminar, I have two broad priorities: to set the Union of 1707 in a broad, comparative perspective, looking particularly at the contemporary examples of the United Provinces and Ireland; and to provide an incentive and an opportunity for new work on neglected areas of Scottish intellectual history around 1700, notably Presbyterian political thinking, the law, and the Union debates themselves.

*John C. Robertson, St. Hugh's College, Oxford, UK*

## Robert Smith's Birthday

The celebration of the birthday of Robert Smith, the Scottish emigrant who became colonial America's leading architect-builder, has become a tradition in Philadelphia. This past 14 January was no exception. As always Charles Peterson was the man of the hour, hosting the event with his usual wit and charm. After convening at Carpenters' Hall, the guests were piped to a Scottish buffet luncheon at the First Bank. They were entertained by the Philadelphia Scottish Choir and heard a brief talk on the saltire by Blair Stonier of the Scottish Historic and Research Society of the Delaware Valley, co-sponsors of the event. They were even subjected to a brief pitch for ECSSS by its executive secretary.

Then it was on to Independence Park Visitor Center, where Mary Tooke played Scottish folk songs on the Celtic harp and Beatrice B. Garvan (Curator of American Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art) delivered a splendid illustrated lecture entitled "Scotland on Schuylkill: Capt. John Macpherson's Mount Pleasant" (built in 1761 from plans by Thomas Nevell, and apparently inspired by plates in William Adam's *Vitruvius Scoticus*). The day concluded with a short walk to another Robert Smith building, St. Paul's Church (built 1761-62, though later renovated beyond recognition), and a wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb of Capt. John Macpherson in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Much merriment was had by all, and thanks are due to Charles Peterson for making it possible.

## A Hume for All Seasons

A conference on "Hume and Hume's Connexions" will be held at the University of Lancaster, England, 21-25 August 1989, planned by a joint committee of the British society for the History of Philosophy and the Hume Society. The aim of the program is to promote a deeper historical understanding of Hume's thought in relation to his age and context by a close study of the interaction between Hume's ideas and those of his friends, critics, and other contemporary controversialists, and by a careful analysis of Hume's use of earlier sources and of his influence on his successors. The twenty-two sessions will include fourteen seminar papers, three public lectures (by Michel Malherbe, David Norton, and M. A. Stewart), and five twin-paper symposia (including a session on Nicholas Phillipson's newly published book on Hume). Speakers have been drawn from Britain, the United States, Canada, France, Germany, and the Netherlands; and from the disciplines of philosophy, history, political science, economics, law, and literature. Pre-booking by 1 August is required (£12 registration fee; £90 accommodation and meals, payable to "British Society for the History of Philosophy"). Write: Hume Conference Administration, Dept of Philosophy, University of Lancaster, Bowland College, Lancaster LA1 4YT, U.K.

Next year's Hume Society conference will be held at the Australian National University in Canberra, Australia, from 27 June to 1 July 1990. For further information contact Knud Haakonssen of the host university.

For scholars who cannot make it to the ECSSS conference in Glasgow next summer, Wade Robison and David Fate Norton are running a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute on "David Hume and the Enlightenment," to be held at Dartmouth College from 9 July to 10 August 1990. Stipends of \$2750 will be available for each participant. Applications may be received after 15 September of this year from Wade Robison, Dept of Philosophy, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, MI 49007.

## Book News

*Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment* is the first volume in a new series, "Oxford Studies in the History of Philosophy," edited by M. A. Stewart of Lancaster University. The volume is scheduled for publication by Oxford University Press in early autumn 1989 and will be reviewed in next spring's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. It is an interdisciplinary collection that contains major new research on the content and context of Scottish philosophy, particularly on the institutional development of moral philosophy in the eighteenth century, the scientific and medical curriculum as both cause and effect of philosophical innovation, and the particular significance of Hume's sources in natural philosophy, theology, and metaphysics for understanding his philosophy. Contributors are: Michael Barfoot, Roger L. Emerson, Knud Haakonssen, James Moore, David Raynor, Richard B. Sher, M. A. Stewart, P. B. Wood, David Wooten, John P. Wright, and John W. Yolton.

Also to be reviewed in the next issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* is Nicholas Phillipson's *Hume*, published in May by Weidenfeld and Nicolson (London) in their series "Historians on Historians." The book is an exercise in intellectual biography, which presents Hume's *History* as the natural culmination of an intellectual career that began with an investigation of the natural history of civilized man and ended with an account of the history of civilization in England. Price: £14.95 hardback, £5.95 paperback.

New and noteworthy from the same author: "Commerce and Culture: Edinburgh, Edinburgh University, and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present*, ed. Thomas Bender (Oxford, 1988), 100-16; and the articles on "The Scottish Enlightenment" and "The Sceptical Philosopher" in the *Sunday Mail's* "Story of Scotland" series, which also includes contributions by Michael Fry on Adam Smith, Owen Dudley Edwards on William Robertson, Charles McKean on the New Town of Edinburgh, Margaret Sanderson on the Adam family, and David Irwin on eighteenth-century Scottish painting.

Knud Haakonssen's excellent book, *The Science of a Legislator: The Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith* (1981), will be issued in paperback by Cambridge University Press this fall. Also later this year, Princeton University Press will publish his edition of Thomas Reid's lectures and papers on natural religion and natural jurisprudence. (The secret of this edition, he writes, is that is a "pop-up book": "I have reduced Reid's system of practical ethics to a large chart, which will appear as a fold-out." Finally, Knud has edited a volume entitled *Traditions of Liberalism* (Canberra: Centre for Independent Studies, 1988), which includes three essays of particular interest: William Letwin, "Was Adam Smith a Liberal?"; Donald Winch, "Adam Smith and the Liberal Tradition"; and Knud

Haakonssen, "Jurisprudence and Politics in Adam Smith."

The Scottish Studies Centre of the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz in Germersheim has announced two forthcoming publications of interest: the first volume of Horst W. Drescher, ed., *The Literary Correspondence and Notebooks of Henry Mackenzie, 1766-1827*, and a reissue of Paola Bono's *Radicals and Reformers in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland: An Annotated Checklist of Books, Pamphlets, and Documents Printed in Scotland 1775-1800*. Both books can be purchased at a special reduced rate until the end of June 1989 by writing to the Scottish Studies Centre, F.A.S., An der Hochschule 2, D-6728 Germersheim, W. Germany.

Several books published by John Donald, Ltd. of Edinburgh are being offered at excellent prices in the spring 1989 Barnes & Noble catalogue (126 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011). They include: Dwyer et al., eds., *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (\$12.95); P.W.J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish Politicians* (\$7.95); Julia Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland, 1660-1681* (\$7.95); Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (\$7.95); and Norman MacDougall, ed., *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (\$12.95).

Jerry Beasley (Delaware), general editor of the University of Georgia Press edition of the Works of Tobias Smollett, reports that the edition is making great progress. One volume, Beasley's own edition of *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, is already out (see review below) and has been nominated for the James Russell Lowell Prize; Robert Adam Day's edition of *The History and Adventures of an Atom* is scheduled to appear this October; and Thomas R. Preston's edition of *Humphry Clinker* should be ready by spring 1990. The Press has announced a subscription plan for the edition, with a 25% discount on all volumes. *Count Fathom* can therefore be had for just \$30, plus \$2.00 shipping and handling. Anyone interested in taking advantage of this offer should write directly to the University of Georgia Press, Terrell Hall, Athens, GA 30602.

David Dobson, *The Original Scots Colonists, 1612-1783* (1989) is the latest data resource on Scottish colonization to be published by Genealogical Publishing Co. (1001 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, MD 21202-3897). The next issue of *Eighteenth-Cent Scotland* will carry a review essay devoted to GPC's publications in this area, all of which may be purchased through ECSSS at a special discount price.

At press time GPC had just reprinted an extremely important reference work in two volumes: Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, the standard historical gazetteer of Scotland. It provides geographical information, historical accounts, and



detailed descriptions of all Scottish localities at the time of publication (1851). The coverage of large towns such as Edinburgh and Glasgow is particularly thorough, beginning with a historical sketch of the entire town and proceeding to historical accounts of particular institutions within it. *ECS* has previewed a copy of this massive work and highly recommends it for purchase by all research libraries.

John V. Price has directed our attention to two recent publications from J. Martin Stafford (3 Woodlands Bank, 67 Stockport Rd, Timperley, Altrincham, Cheshire WA15 7LH, U.K.): E. G. Braham, *The Life of David Hume: The Terrible David* (1987 limited edition reprint of 1931 original; 99 pages; £7.95) and J. A. Farrer, *Adam Smith* (limited edition reprint of 1881 original; 201 pages; £12).

R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, *Adam Smith* (1982) is now available in paperback at the discount price of \$7.95. It may be ordered (with \$3.50 shipping and handling charge) from Academic Book Collection, Suite 227, 847A 2nd Ave., New York, NY 10017, or directly from ABC's warehouse at P.O. Box 1, Porishead, Bristol BS20 8DJ, England.

### Members on the Move

Alasdair MacIntyre has moved from Vanderbilt to Notre Dame University . . . Chris Whatley has moved from Dundee to the Scottish History Department at St. Andrews University . . . Bruce Lenman (St. Andrews), while spending this academic year as the Harrison Professor of History at William and Mary College, delivered several addresses at American conferences commemorating the Glorious Revolution . . . John Dwyer has moved from the University of British Columbia to York University near Toronto and has been awarded a research grant by the Canadian government . . . Paul Bator has moved to Santa Clara U. . . . Mike Barfoot is now based in the special collections office at Edinburgh University Library, where he works as a medical archivist . . . John McManmon (English, Indiana U. of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15705-1094) has prepared a critical edition (with textual notes and annotations) of Francis Hutcheson's *Inquiry*; he invites inquiries and suggestions concerning the edition and publication prospects . . . Jane Bush Fagg, author of an unpublished 1968 Ph.D. thesis that is still the best biography we have of Adam Ferguson, has recently begun revising that study for publication; inquiries and suggestions may be sent to her at Arkansas College, Batesville, AR 72501 . . . in February Paul Wood spoke on "The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment" at a one day colloquium on the history of medicine and science at U. of Western Ontario . . . Sandy Stewart spoke on "Scottish-Dutch Intellectual Links" at a conference on Dutch philosophy in Rotterdam in November . . . Bill Zachs has successfully completed his Edinburgh

University Ph.D. thesis on Gilbert Stuart, which contains much new research that we hope will eventually be made available to a wider reading public.

### Scotland's National Library: 300 Years

This year the National Library of Scotland celebrates 300 years of its history. It was on 15 March 1689 that the Advocates' Library, the nonlegal collections of which were transferred to the newly founded National Library in 1925, was formally opened, though books had been acquired from as early as 1682. To mark the occasion the National Library is mounting a major exhibition, "300 YEARS, 300 BOOKS," and members of the curatorial staff have contributed to *For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library, 1689-1989*, a book of essays on various periods or aspects of the library's history. For a library with such relatively good records, surprisingly little detailed research had been done previously. Current work by the library's staff has revealed much that was unknown or imperfectly understood, and these discoveries should point to opportunities for further research (some additional publications by members of staff are in hand).

In the eighteenth century, the library of the Faculty of Advocates occupied an important place in the intellectual life of Scotland. Most obviously, the advocates who used its books and manuscripts and met on its premises, both formally - for example, at meetings of the Select Society - and informally, included prominent men of letters such as Lord Monboddo (James Burnett), Lord Hailes (David Dalrymple), Lord Kames (Henry Home), James Boswell, and Walter Scott, all of whom in fact served as curators of the library and could have influenced acquisitions policy. Some of the library's staff, too, were significant figures in their own right, including its most famous keepers - Thomas Ruddiman, David Hume, and Adam Ferguson - and their assistant, Walter Goodall. But the library and its collections also served the wider scholarly public. Thomas Percy, who borrowed the Bannatyne Manuscript, William Nicolson, author of the *Scottish Historical Library*, and the heraldic writer Alexander Nisbet were among its users. Nor should it be forgotten that - especially prior to the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780 - the library served as a museum. Coins and medals were acquired, most notably a large collection from James Sutherland in 1705, as also were other objects, including a mummy that arrived in 1748. This role of the library may be illustrated from George Ridpath's diary for 1757, where he describes a visit to the library during which he "saw, in company with David [Hume], the collection of Medals, Ancient and Modern, and the Mummy."

And it was in the eighteenth century that Advocates Library became Scotland's leading library. The curators saw it as having a national role as early as 1699, when they advertised for manuscripts or copies of them, and in 1700 newspapers advertising for books gone astray in

the great fire of 3 February described the library as "a public ornament." The library continued to expand in the first decade of the century, and when, in the committee stages of the 1710 Copyright Act, the House of Commons added the Advocates' Library to the list of deposit libraries (a subsequent House of Lords amendment added the four Scottish universities), this was a sign of its ever growing status in Scotland. In 1711 John Spottiswood, who was a keeper from 1703 to 1728, wrote in *The Form of Process* that the library was "already the best in North-britain, & in process of time, may come to be the best in the Isle."

In the course of the first half of the eighteenth century acquisitions, which had already from the mid-1680s extended beyond legal books, included not only British publications arriving under the Act but more and more older Scottish books, so that by the middle of the century the library, through Ruddiman, was able to play an important part in the first attempted bibliography of early Scottish printing, in an appendix to Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1749). But Ruddiman's vision extended beyond that of a student of the earliest Scottish printing, for in a letter of 1738, which has come to light since the publication of Douglas Duncan's *Thomas Ruddiman* (1965), he explains to Archibald Campbell, bishop of Aberdeen, who had offered a collection of books and medals for sale, that some of the faculty suggested "that a great many of our Scotch authors were of small or no value, & had nothing to recommend them but their bare name." "To which I answered," he writes, "that tho many of them considered singly were of small worth, yet a great collection of them together in one library made them on that account of considerable value." This view about the desirability of collecting all printed books relating in some way or other to Scotland is today considered fundamental to the concept of a Scottish national library but was not at the time accepted, for in 1819 Alexander Boswell could write to Thomas Thomson that "it is much to be lamented that the Advocates did not see the value of such a collection [of books relating to Scotland] long ago. Even now as a national library they ought to direct their attention to such books as relate to the history and progress of the literature of Scotland, for there should not be a book in existence connected with either that is not to be found in that collection."

Hume, who followed Ruddiman as keeper, is sometimes spoken of almost as though he inaugurated the library's policy of buying foreign books. In fact, foreign books, both legal and others, had been bought from the very beginning, and a close scrutiny of the records suggests that, in fact, little was purchased during Hume's keepership that would not have been bought under Ruddiman's. Hume's keepership is not easy to document because - especially after he had been rapped over the knuckles by the curators for buying indecent French books - the records became much less well kept or were not kept at all. It has always been said that use of the library for his own research was Hume's concern, and so

it should not be surprising to find that there is little evidence that he was a good or even adequate keeper.

Later in the century the keepers may have been less famous but the library's reputation seems, if anything, to have been still growing. Effort and money were spent on trying to make the collections more complete, and there were some significant gifts to match. The Auchinleck manuscript, which had arrived in 1744, was joined by the Bannatyne manuscript in 1772; the first volume of the Aberdeen Breviary (Edinburgh 1509), which had been presented in 1742, was joined by the second (1510) by 1776; and what are still the earliest known examples of Scottish printing (1508), included in the Chepman & Myllar prints, came by gift in 1788 or thereabouts. Occasional donations from abroad had been received before - for example an edition of Aelian (Leiden, 1701) from its editor, Leiden professor Jacobus Perizonius and, in 1737, Ninian Winzet's *Flagellum sectarianum* (Ingolstadt, 1582), from one of Winzet's successors as abbot of the Scottish Benedictine Abbey at Ratisbon, Bernard Baillie - but the magnificent gift of Bayardi's *Catalogo degli antichi monumenti dissotterati dalla scoperta citta di Ercolano* (Naples, 1755), by Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies, in 1765, provides evidence of the library's truly European reputation.

Brian Hillyard, National Library of Scotland

Dr. Hillyard, an Assistant Keeper in the Department of Printed Books of the National Library of Scotland, has special interests in the eighteenth century and is editor of *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*.

**Editor's Note: For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library, 1689-1989 will be published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office in September 1989, price approximately £20 (plus postage, where applicable), and will be available from the Publications Counter, National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW. Prepayment is not required. The exhibition "300 Years, 300 Books" displays a significant acquisition from each of the library's 300 years of collecting, and runs from 1 July to 11 November 1989.**

The new microfiche edition of the National Library's general catalogue of printed books has just been published. Previously available only in a cumbersome microfilm cassette edition, the new edition is not only more convenient to store and use but also considerably less expensive. For more details see the special brochure included with this newsletter.

Another valuable new resource at the NLS is *Current Foreign Theses on Scottish Subjects*, a well-indexed guide to all post-1975 acquisitions (whatever the date of the thesis). The library's collection of foreign theses has been built up intensively since the early 1980s and is particularly strong in the Scottish Enlightenment. Copies of the guide are available in the Issue Hall and in the Microform Reading Area.

Adam Ferguson

**Of the Separation of Departments, Professions and Tasks  
resulting from the Progress of Arts in Society**

**Edited by Yasuo Amoh**

*Kochi University, Kochi City, 780 Japan*

Every man in the outset of arts must do all for himself, find at once his subsistence, his shelter and his rayment.

How much his state has been improved by the recourse of different men to different employments and the mutual exchange of commerce of their several productions need not be stated.

Every accommodation will be more compleat and every supply more plentiful as this expedient advances its height: but like every thing else in human life it has its limits.

A pin we are told furnishes a separate task to no less than twenty different workmen and the implement is better and more cheaply furnishd than it could be by fewer workmen. Yet there are limits to this separation of labour. The pointing [2] of a pin can be compleated by one person; to divide that task and pass it from on <e> to another for the completion of it would be loss of time and risk of defect in the work by {by} the attempt to join effects not justly fitted to one another. [S]

Similar limits might be pointed <out> in the performance of every mechanical task. And even if we should admit that the improvement of workmanship might be advanced indefinitely by this means: yet there are other considerations to make us pause in the pursuit of it. The comparative importance of the improvement gained gradually dimin<i>shes and ceases at last to be of sufficient value to compensate the trouble of farther arrangement. Parts ceased to be equally well performd by separate hands as they would by the same hand. In masonry, for instance, suppose the stone to be placed by one person and the mortar placed by another, the work probably would be inferiour to that which one tradesman [3] could produce: besides that they would probably interfere and interrupt one another.

There is still a farther consideration of consequence in this bussiness.

This separation of tasks is intended for the better performance of each and for the benefit of mankind in general. If it should ever mar the performance or become prejudicial to human nature; in either case no doubt it ought to be stopped.

If in painting, for instance, the different shades, lights and colours were to <be> laid by different hands, the work it is probable might suffer and the artist's fancy <be> impaired by his being restrained from the scope of his conception which subsists not in parts but in the unity of a whole.

The work of man may be important: but the artist himself is still more so. It is true no doubt that altho society is intended for the good of its [4] members; yet the individual on occasion must be sacrificed to the whole.

Amidst the departments of bussiness and profession there is great <i>nequality of effect in the cultivation of intellectual faculty and moral habits and some are of so mean a tendency in these respects as to be matter of general regret, yet to be necessary for the general accommodation. And it may be difficult to fix the extent to which this may be endured and where it must be absolutely stopped. It may with confidence be said that slavery is a point to which it should never extend and yet there are voluntary stations and occupations in human society more debasing than slavery necessarily or even generally is. All we can say is that the less that there is of this sort the better, and that subordination however valuable is too dearly bought by the debasement of any order or class of the [5] people.

There is a principle of subordination in the difference of natural talents, in the distribution of property, power and dependence.

The poor must labour in order to subsist. The rich may hire the labour of others: but still find occasion on which to labour for themselves.

There is nothing debasing in {in} either condition but the vices to which both are obnoxious, envy and rapacity on the part of the poor, arrogance and licentiousness on the part of the rich.

These vices are found in the extremes and in all the intermediate orders of a people. The worst possible condition in which man can be conceived is that in which all labour were precluded or in which all power is vested in one and all dependence imposed upon another. The nearest approach to this condition is that of master and slave [6] however constituted whether as a civil relation of proprietor and property or sovereign and subject.

Of these the political servitude is debasing in the greatest de<gree> and to the greatest extent. The courtiers of Tiberius or Nero, even the senators of their time, were debased to a degree far beyond that of the slave to an ordinary master.

Such abuses however it may be said are not necessary or unavoidable in the subdivision of labour or the subordination of ranks. Here indeed it is necessary that the human faculties should be unequally cultivated in proportion as the task assigned to each tends to exercise and improve them. In a person whose task is a mere movement of the hand or the foot as is the case in the distribution of labour which is made in some branches of

manufacture may be supposed to remain in some measure of torpor, while that of a master who directs the whole or that of an artist who has many things to combine, [7] many incidents to guard against and a choice to be made amidst a variety of expedients which different occasions require is still in the very state which nature has devised for her intelligent order of being tending at once to exercise and cultivate their faculties.

The subdivision of tasks tends in some instances to mar the effects of this destination and to improve them in others. The mind of a tradesman, in many instances, is less practised in thought than that of a savage while in more liberal stations of life the mind profits by exemption from inferior cares and anxieties and the effect of more extensive views and the more arduous combinations of thought.

Men are carried along in the progress of establishments and of arts as vessels afloat in the water are carried along by the torrents to which it is subject. And it is uncertain how far information respecting the direction of their [8] movements may enable them in any degree to change that direction or modify the result.

Men certainly act from opinion as well as instinct or habit and correct opinion is desirable in itself whatever be the measure of its influence in the general affairs of men.

It has been observed that by the separation of tasks and professions the work is improved and obtained at a smaller cost. The artist also is sometimes improved in his designation of intelligence and manhood; but if neither is always the case; it is no doubt of moment to distinguish the instances in which the separation of arts and profession[s] are] is unfavourable in the result whether in respect to the character of the artist or the value of his work.

(*Illegible word*) the mass of the people it is not required of a tradesman that he be knowing in any branch but his own, nor does any collateral skill enable him the better to execute his peculiar work [9] except where different works proceed upon some common principle of science.

For those who are termed gentlemen or persons disengaged from peculiar pursuits or applications there is no peculiarity of skill required (*recast from the following original*: For those who are termed gentlemen there is no peculiarity of skill or profession). Of them it is required that they be happy, that is to say, wise, benevolent, courageous and temperate, and the less they possess any habit to the exclusion of others equally valuable so much the better. [In]

In actual profession or public station the case is different. Scholars and men of science and public functionaries of any denomination have their tasks assigned them and must devote themselves in a peculiar manner to some particular branch. It is so in mere science as well as in the learned professions of medicine or law.

To obtain what may be obtained in any branch of science, it is necessary {it is necessary} that it be made the object of peculiar study: but yet to know one branch and nothing more is to be a tradesman, not a [10] scholar. The sciences are more <or> less connected and give mutual lights to one another. To possess them all is to know the order of nature and the person whose knowledge is limited to a particular branch must know even that the less perfectly that he is ignorant of its place and connection in the general order of nature. To be a man of science on the best model thus it does not exclude all separate and peculiar pursuits <but> requires a liberal extensive view to the nature and importance of collateral studies. It is thus the scholar may avoid that narrow and illiberal contempt which professional men sometimes entertain for every branch of study but their own. The mechanic or the chymist despises the moralist and is equally treated in his turn. The mere lawyer and the mere doctor of medicine are but ungracious members of society, and but lame practitioners even in what they profess; from a defect [11] in those habits which are required in the concourse of men.

In mere manual operations the man is so<m>etimes sacrificed to his trade and separate parts are assigned to different workmen who have to perform a simple movement of the hand or the foot to save necessity of thought or of time in [passing] changing tools or of thought in [passing] from one step to another. It is evident however that the principle of subdivision which is so successful in manufacture cannot be applied with the same advantage in those operations where man himself with all his faculties is required in every step as well as in the result or combination of the whole.

In the business of state and of war there are no doubt parts that approach to mere mechanism. And in these the statesman and the warrior like the master in a counting house may have his tools or his [12] workmen to whom the principle of subdivision applies and in respect to which the profession of a statesman and warrior are materially different. The statesman must have his clerks and separate boards of commission in matters of law and revenue. The warrior must have his tacticians and leaders of division from the smallest of a platoon to the greatest of a column line or wing of an army. He too must have his clerks, his commissaries and his providers of every requisite to an army. But the greatest error that can be committed in the affairs of men is to suppose that the genius or art of a statesman or warrior terminates in the possession or combination of such mechanical parts together.

The statesman or warrior must be so far master of those mechanical parts as to [13] know when they are well or ill performed by those to whom they are entrusted: but his own part is that of a man fit to lead among men on whom men will rely for preservation or success in all their undertakings. Penetration and strength of mind, wisdom and courage, goodness or benevolence that encourage a friend, rapidity and force that strike terror into an enemy are at once his tools and his arts. The statesman must be skillful to know how every measure will affect every order of the people, how the most dependent may be made to feel secure in his right, how the most powerful may be

made to feel the restraints of justice, humanity and good order. In these respects the warrior too is a statesman and must practise all the art and wisdom of peace in his own line or [14] encampment that he may be the more terrible in the view of his enemy. Of this art Socrates expressed himself like a master no less than in any other department of moral or civil wisdom. Of military tactics he said nothing can be done without order or form: but a warrior must be more than a tactician. He must be cautious and rash, a thief and a thiefcatcher, cruel and humane, penurious and prodigal {cautious and rash}.

His tools or weapons are men and he must know them, how to excite and how to restrain them, what can be expected from them and what not, and when required how they can be roused to do all that men will or can do.

The departments of state, political, civil and military, in well regulated establishments are {are} on account of the mechanical details in which they differ generally separated, but in the heads under whom those details are conducted [15] proceed on the same grounds of knowledge and of power. The knowledge of men and the power it gives is the essence of ability in either department and that strength of mind which gives an [ascen] ascendant over men is equally required in both.

The mechanical details in which those departments differ, tho necessary, are comparatively of small importance: because they may be learned and practised by persons of vulgar capacity and ought never to be mistaken for the test or constituent of ab{il}ility in the heads of either department. Men of either department are apt to be jealous of the other. One or the other may have the ascendant under different establishments. And whether the statesmen (*sic*) is to choose the warrior or the warrior to choose the statesmen, it is evident that the elector ought to be acquainted in either case with the [16] merit on which his choice is to proceed. The statesmen ought to be acquainted with the professional peculiarities of a soldier that he may {he may} not mistake them for the whole grounds of his choice or sufficient to justify if he commit the publick safety to incompetent. A statesman or minister who erred in this particular has been known to say, The military is not my department; I had recourse to the profession for a person long practised and established in it; he is responsible and not I for the consequences. The mere military despot on the contrary may make as ill a choice of those he employs in the civil or political department. And it is evident that in any well established community the qualities of either department should be so well combined that neither could plead a ruinous ignorance. A person ignorant of war [17] and its forms is as unfit to be <a> statesman as a person unacquainted with variable winds and storms is to be a mariner. And to say that a statesman know<s> nothing of war or a warrior knows nothing of the state is to detract equally from the merit or ability. [In the]

In the Roman commonwealth, in many respects the model of felicity to nations, the departments of state and of war were not only strictly allied and known to each other but for the most actively filled and conducted by the same person. All the distinction they made between the first magistr{tr}ate and the commander in chief of their armies was that he was magistrate within the walls of Rome and the other outside of those walls. He acted from his office in either and in both these capacities. The mere forms of either were such as the meanest could learn and never intercepted the view of his country or his own in the choice of persons to whom they [18] might entrust their affairs, whether in the Roman m<a>gistrates gown or the sagum of the legionary soldier. [This union of d]

This union of departments was early provided for in the very first elements of the Roman constitution. It was provided that every citizen should state himself as part of his country's strength and to qualify him for any civil or political advance by having actually served a certain term in the wars of his country.

Altho the talent for affairs of state in general and war in particular is the same or founded in the same knowledge of men and ascendant of the mind, yet the exercises and the habits of body they require are different. Warriors have been distinguished in youth or early life. Statesmen profit more by experience and the deliberation of maturity and age.

As military tactics and manual exercise are within the competence of children they ought not to be neglected amidst the rudiments of education [19] in early life, so that what every one knows or possesses could not be mistaken for the criterion of great ability or fitness for the highest and most important functions of human life as the habits of a clerk in office or a drill sergeant on the parade are made to pass for the qualifications of statesmen or leaders and commanders of men in the field.

Nothing is supposed more important than education. And the world {and} abounds with institutions or establishments for that purpose. Yet government is seldom attentive to what is taught in those institutions and even in these later ages of great experience few things except reading, writing and arithmetic that can be of use in after life are taught either at school or college. The grammar of dead languages, the mythology which served as the foundation of antient poetry, even the prosody or fabric of verse or metre are crammed down the throats of high and low of futur [20] tradesmen, merchants, senators and [senators] soldiers, rank and file, citizens and drovers and little with any one except the habit of being obliged in childhood to regard what others inculcate and which indeed however little it may seem is indeed very great and actually the most important attainment of such schools as we have provided for the education of the coming age.

The occasions and the manners of human society are transient and successive. The institutions of one age to accommodate ages that follow at any considerable interval are to be changed or modified. And no age can with advantage legislate unalterably for the ages that follow.

On this account a late writer of eminence on the wealth and other concerns of nations places education on the same foot with trade and other concerns most safely entrusted to the part concerned and reprobates fixed institu[21]tions or intervention of government. From this general rule however he excepts every case in which defence or publick safety is at stake and of course should except education so far as the publick safety is concerned. A committee of parliament or other publick authority might no doubt with great advantage be interposed to report from age to age what regulations might be requird in publick schools to prepare the rising generation for that part which necessity might [int] impose on every individual for the safety of his country. He who cannot defend himself is not a man and he who cannot take part in the defence of his country is not a citizen nor worthy of the protection which the laws of country bestow. Other cares may be delegated and become matter of separate profession [22] to a part of the people: but to set valour apart as the characteristic of a few were to change virtue and happiness itself as matter of profession and study peculiar to a devision of the community. For <to> furnish shoes or erect palaces may be the object of separate professions but to be man is the equal concern of all and the want of courage degrades him no less than the want of understanding or truth.

Men are wise to avail themselves of every advantage which the subdivision of arts and the separation of employments can give: but where this expedient is noxious to the genius and character of man it is wisdom to check or restrain it.

Let the statesman be ashamed to own he is no warrior and the warrior to own he is no statesman. Under these confessions the one is a mere clerk in office, the other a mere prize [23] fighter and a bully.

*Editor's Note: The preceding, undated essay by Adam Ferguson is in Edinburgh University Library, MS Dc.1.42, no. 15. Professor Amoh originally published it, with permission of the trustees of Edinburgh University Library, in the Kochi University Review of Social Science, No. 29 (July 1987): 71-85, under the title "Adam Ferguson and the Division of Labour: An Unpublished Essay by Adam Ferguson." Since that journal is not widely available in the West, Professor Amoh kindly agreed to republish the essay, with permission of the Kochi University Review. Unfortunately, it has been necessary to omit Dr. Amoh's brief introduction.*

*In this transcription, Ferguson's spelling has been retained, but not his extensive and inconsistent capitalization, and the punctuation has been modified as an aid to modern comprehension. Several errors and uncertainties have also been corrected.*

*The following symbols have been used to record special features of the manuscript and editorial modifications other than those of capitalization or punctuation:*

*Square brackets, [ . . . ], denote textual material deleted by the original author.*

*Braces, { . . . }, denote redundant textual material deleted by the present editor.*

*Angular brackets, < . . . >, denote textual material added by the present editor to restore or complete the author's intended sense.*

## New Light on Edinburgh Education

An interesting, hitherto unpublished, account of Edinburgh higher education in 1784 can be found in a letter from a young Scot, Robert Arbuthnot, to his mentor and fellow-Scot, Sir Robert Murray Keith, British envoy in Vienna. The letter is of particular interest for its account of the teaching of chemistry and history during the tenures of Professors Joseph Black and Alexander Fraser Tytler, as well as for its speculation on the historiographical career of William Robertson. The letter was sent from Edinburgh on 12 January 1784. The full reference is: British Library, Add. MS 35,531, fols. 18-19.

*Jeremy Black, University of Durham*

"This metropolis I am persuaded is inferior to none in Europe for the advantages it possesses as a place of publick education, from the earliest rudiments at the Grammar School to the higher branches of study in the University. As the first Medical School, it has always been considered, nor is it at present less distinguished for Philosophy, and the other parts of Literature. Almost all the Professors are men of learning, and some of them of high and eminent reputation as authors. The Classes I attend are those of Chemistry and Civil History, the former (taught by perhaps one of the greatest masters in that science in the world) I am told is much in fashion in the Continent, and a common topic of conversation among persons of every rank and sex, for which reason, perhaps, you will not think it improper that I devote a little part of my time to the study of it. Altho it appears to me to be rather a subject of curious disquisition than of much utility, yet I confess it is a very agreeable and entertaining pursuit. We are introduced by it, in some measure into a new world, it opens a wide field for reflection, and naturally leads to the consideration of many curious points. Those objects of nature which from being common and constantly before our eyes we are apt to overlook are laid upon to us, and a thousand curious properites, which were either unknown or unregarded, are discovered and presented to our view.

"Mr Tytler is the professor of Civil History. In a class of this kind, much depth is not to be expected. It is designed rather to excite, than to satisfy historical curiosity, but his lectures are instructive and agreeable, from the excellence of his arrangement, and from the elegance and correctness of his language.

"Your sister mentioned to me some time ago, that you had wished to know, whether Doctor Robertson was engaged in the continuation of his history of America, or on any other work, but from the inquiries I have made on that subject I am apt to believe he is not, and that he does not mean to appear any more as an author. By his former writings, he has acquired a very high reputation, and an easy fortune, and I imagine he will now rest satisfied with the enjoyment of that *otium cum dignitate* to which he is so well entitled, and which he has so honourably obtained. It was once believed, that he had a design of writing the history of the Reign of Queen Anne, which being a period, highly important and interesting; in war, politics and literature, would, if executed by him, have been a great acquisition to the learned world, but he has certainly now given up all thoughts of it. The Doctor always mentions you with the greatest esteem and regard, and was lately much flattered and satisfied with the *manner* in which you expressed your desire to have seen his son at Vienna."

### Book Reviews

John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987. Pp. viii + 204.

Eighteenth-century Scottish studies are fortunate indeed in the attention they receive from scholars at the University of British Columbia; and the publication of John Dwyer's book, as he readily acknowledges, is a tribute to the commitment and support of his former colleagues there. *Virtuous Discourse* opens up a neglected dimension of Scottish moral writing in the second half of the eighteenth century: the cult of sensibility. Three groups of moralists converged on this theme. The Moderate clergymen Hugh Blair, John Drysdale, and their younger protégé John Logan made it a constant refrain of their sermons. The brothers David and James Fordyce made it the burden of their advice books for the young of both sexes. Last but not most enthusiastic of all were Henry Mackenzie and his young associates in the Mirror Club, William Craig and Robert Cullen. In these hands sensibility was equated with the quiet, private, domestic values: cultivated through sympathetic interchange within the family, sensibility was particularly recommended for youth and women, who in turn were expected to practice it to relieve their menfolk of their worldly cares. There was, Dwyer points out, an obvious measure of common ground between the values of sensibility and those of two other contemporary moral discourses, civic humanism and stoicism: all three were antipathetic to the corruption associated with the worlds of finance and high politics. But the values of sensibility were also in tension with the others, turning away from the aggressive martial and political ideals of civic humanism, while rejecting the individualist austerity of stoicism.

The fullest and most sophisticated portrayal of the values of sensibility is to be found in the writings of Henry Mackenzie, and Dwyer devotes a chapter to an analysis of Mackenzie's achievement. Focusing on each of Mackenzie's novels in turn, Dwyer shows how their literary qualities need to be related to their moral message, and how this message should be understood as of a piece with Mackenzie's writings for the *Mirror* and the *Lounger*. Having set Mackenzie's novels in the context of Scottish moralism, Dwyer then argues, in his most ambitious chapter, that the discourse of sensibility was also a context of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. The revisions Smith made to this work for its sixth edition show, Dwyer believes, that Smith shared the concern with excessive worldliness popularized by Mackenzie and other moralists. But Smith's response, born partly, perhaps, out of irritation with Mackenzie's, was to develop the stoic theme of self-command, not that of sensibility, despite the apparent closeness of the latter to his own concept of sympathy. Dwyer's discussion of this topic is suggestive, although such a comparison is difficult to draw conclusively when the intellectual levels of Mackenzie's and Smith's writing are so far apart.

The difficulty of Dwyer's subject matter should not be underestimated: sensibility is terribly insipid stuff. The problem is to give it an edge. Dwyer seeks to do so by presenting it as a discourse in defence of the Scottish "moral community" against the encroachments of materialistic "improvement." Devotees of sensibility, one or two pieces of evidence explicitly suggest, were alarmed by the attractions of London for young Scots, and feared that even Edinburgh was becoming a "mimic metropolis." But their own moral prescriptions were addressed to the family, not the nation: how they added up to an idea of a Scottish "moral community" is never really made clear. Nor can Dwyer be very precise in identifying the potential membership of this "community." A chapter on the media used by the moralists usefully advances our knowledge of the periodical press, notably the *Scots Magazine*. But the circulation and social catchment of such journals remain unknown; too often the dreadful adjective "prestigious" is employed to convey a vague impression of social quality. The evidence to determine these questions may not yet have been uncovered. Nevertheless, it would be worth trying to establish how far the periodicals and novels that conveyed the message of sensibility were dependent on an urban purchasing public. The characteristic themes of sensibility may have been rural; but were townspeople their most appreciative readership?

The most puzzling feature of Dwyer's account of the discourse of sensibility, however, is its indifference to religion. Easily the most powerful conception of moral order in Scotland was that provided by the kirk; and in the realm of personal and domestic values in particular the kirk's casuistry had hitherto reigned supreme. God does occasionally figure in the moral discourse described by Dwyer. But, whether by omission or by deliberate implication, the values of sensibility are presented as if they were overwhelmingly secular. In an earlier essay, "The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Moderate Divines" (in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Dwyer et al. [Edinburgh, 1982]), Dwyer explicitly argued that the Moderates articulated a secular vision of paradise. Their adoption of the rhetoric of sensibility may be taken to have been in the same vein. If so, however, this interpretation of the Moderates is not easily reconciled with that recently offered by the editor of this newsletter, for whom the Moderates remained committed Calvinists. Here, it seems, is an argument waiting to be joined: it would be instructive to observe.

*John C. Robertson, St. Hugh's College, Oxford*

R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte, eds. *Scottish Society 1500 - 1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Pp. xii + 298.

This book is yet another contribution to the new history of Scotland that has been emerging during the last generation. Produced by scholars whose orientations are economic, geographic, sociological, quantitative and comparative, this history has made Scots and Scotland look less unique; perhaps that is partly because more of its authors are English or English-trained and because they do not usually work in departments of Scottish history, where provincialism is more apt to dominate.

The present work has both the strengths and weaknesses of many of the volumes which are transforming our knowledge of the Scottish past. There is, for example, no chapter in this collection of essays devoted to politics, even though political forces and structures both in and out of Scotland impinged upon topics that are treated such as poor relief, clanship, the clearances, urban society, and even aspects of demographic change such as migration and Highland marriage rates. This is a social history in which power is seen largely in economic terms, which are not themselves much modified by political structure or forces.

Similarly, this is a social history in which Scots think primarily about economic opportunities, jobs, food, kinship, status, and the minutiae of daily life. There is little on religion or on the ideological and customary beliefs that shaped the ethos of the varied Scots communities during early modern times. The high culture of this period is overlooked, and the Scottish Enlightenment is dismissed as "an elite phenomenon" aimed at "an improved understanding of, and ability to shape human society" (p. 330). Buttressing this view is a footnote to three and only three books: one a short accompaniment to a museum exhibition, the second an eccentric psycho-social account of the origins of the Enlightenment by a scholar whose interests were more methodological than historical, and the third to a study nearly fifteen years old. In a work that so fully notes the social-historical literature of the last thirty years there was surely space to refer to Richard Sher's very fine book on the Moderates. Indeed, since it attempts a social study of at least one version of the Scottish Enlightenment, one would expect to find it mentioned even by historians who consistently underrate both the role of elites in Scottish history and the ideas they hold.

Despite these negatives this is an impressive volume. The editors and contributors have made an effort to put the topics they discuss in a comparative framework. References to the Scandinavian countries, to Northwestern France, to England, and to Ireland are numerous and illuminating. All national and nationalist historians could learn something from this approach, even if they do not include, as this book does, essays that compare and contrast Scotland with Ireland (by L. M. Cullen) and with England (by K. E. Wrightson).

Furthermore, this volume manages to direct and synthesize a great deal of recent work. Ian Whyte's essay on population, Michael Lynch's contribution on urban society in the period 1500-1700, and R. A. Dodgshon's piece on "the nature of highland clans, 1500-1745" are fine accounts of their respective topics. Alex Gibson and T. C. Smout have written what seem to me the most original essay in the volume, "Scottish Food and Scottish History, 1500-1800" - the story of the transformation of the Scottish diet from one in which animal products were very important to one dominated by oats. As usual in this book, the story concludes with the meaning of these changes for demography, economics and society. Like the other essays noted above this one also gives a preview of forthcoming work on "prices, wages and the standard of living in Scotland 1580-1780" (p. 59). There is a sensible essay by R. A. Houston on women in society which tries, as most feminist studies do not, to "understand the common experiences of men and women, more clearly to appreciate those which are distinctive to one gender" (p. 118). Finally, the book includes an essay by Rosalind Mitchison on the Scottish poor and their treatment. This is incidentally interesting for its comments on Scottish government.

The Introduction to the volume by Houston and Whyte not only tries to integrate materials presented elsewhere but also makes perceptive comments on the structure of Scottish society. The book concludes with a 26-page



bibliography and an index. For anyone interested in Scottish social history, this will be a book to read and purchase.

Roger L. Emerson, University of Western Ontario

Peter J. Wallis and Ruth V. Wallis, *Eighteenth-Century Medics*. 2d ed. Newcastle: Project for Historical Bibliography, 1988. Pp. xx + 702 (with 48 plates).

This is a remarkable work that every major library ought to possess. The authors have identified more than 35,000 medics ranging from M.D.s to astrologers and horse doctors, from surgeons to chemists and quacks. Because their eighteenth century stretches from the middle of the 1600s well into the 1800s, there are entries for many men and some "doctoresses" who worked mainly in the seventeenth or nineteenth centuries. A geographical index allows British medics in Europe and the empire to be traced. One could easily compile a list of Scottish-American doctors that would almost certainly be longer than any now in print.

The register contains a great variety of information culled principally from book subscriptions, apprenticeship records, bishops' licenses, and standard biographical sources. It is probably better - fuller and more accurate - for Englishmen than for Scots. I have checked about 200 entries against my own cards for Scottish medics who were friends of Sir Robert Sibbald, who contributed to the *Edinburgh Medical Essays* (1732-44), or who became professors. Before 1725 the work tends to be incomplete and more often erroneous than for later periods. Birth dates should be treated with some skepticism until c. 1740. Of the nearly 200 men I checked, only one entry was seriously confused - Thomas Bower, M.D., was not Thomas Bowers, D.D. Despite omissions and occasional errors, the register contains information about apprenticeships, styles, practices, residences, and even reading habits that is unavailable elsewhere. It will be a convenient reference for the future, one likely to be improved as its data base expands. And it will become the source for beginning work on British medics of all sorts, including the Scots.

Roger L. Emerson, University of Western Ontario

Leah Leneman, ed. *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in Honour of Rosalind Mitchison*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988. Pp. xvi + 188.

This Festschrift marks the retirement of one of the leading social historians of eighteenth-century Scotland. The cream of the social history and historical geography crop have gathered for the occasion, and the resulting volume is for the most part an enjoyable read. Unfortunately, most of the contributions deal with centuries other than Rosalind Mitchison's own favorite. Several concentrate on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Geoffrey Parker on the kirk in St. Andrews; A. Gibson and T. C. Smout on food and hierarchy in the period 1550-1650 (a preview of their excellent essay on a similar topic in the Houston and Whyte book reviewed above); Lorna Ewan's piece on debtors and the privilege of "girth"; and Robert A. Dodgshon on the metaphor of the Scottish farming township. Others by Malcolm Gray, T. M. Devine, and R. H. Campbell deal with nineteenth-century topics.

Two contributions do have an eighteenth-century focus, however. Ian D. and Kathleen A. Whyte provide a cleverly researched piece on female migration within Scotland, showing how diverse factors such as marriage, opportunities for employment as servants, and vagrancy stemming from desperate poverty caused relatively large-scale movements of women from farm to farm, region to region, and country to town. Along with R. A. Houston's more elaborate essay on the social history of women in the Houston-Whyte collection reviewed above, this work may signal a happy trend toward better coverage of this much-neglected subject. Then the editor, who has been closely associated with Professor Mitchison in recent years, expands on a thesis she began developing in articles on Ossian: that "the idealization of Highland virtues" and Highland accoutrements by Lowlanders played a crucial role in creating "a new Scottish identity" during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Despite regrets that this volume doesn't contain more contributions on the eighteenth century, scholars in the field can only be pleased to see such a well-deserved tribute. A complete bibliography of Rosalind Mitchison's writings is prefixed to the book.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, eds. *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. I, 1760-1830*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988. Pp. xii + 316.

Between 1760 and 1830 Scottish society was catapulted from a rural and highly paternalistic society into a modern, urbanized, and industrialised society. The first volume of *People and Society in Scotland: A Social History of Modern Scotland in Three Volumes* has as its purpose both the description and analysis of this metamorphosis. Its pages are graced by some of the finest working Scottish historians, whose essays combine breadth, analysis, and an admirable attention to detail. It is a book of considerable utility to historians of both Scotland and Britain and one, I suspect, which will have a long shelf life. While *People and Society* may not be quite the "authoritative social history" which its publisher has advertised, its editors and contributors have certainly produced a welcome compendium of recent scholarship in the field.

Many of the book's articles, particularly those on the experience of work, the poor law, agricultural and urban protest, are aimed at students and historians working on late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England. Their authors are concerned to show how far the Scottish experience parallels or diverges from the analyses of such English historians as E. P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, and H. J. Perkin. Other essays, such as those on religion and education, are more specifically Scottish in focus; they adroitly address such issues as the provision of literacy in Scotland (it was neither as great nor as meagre as some historians would have it) and the neglected relationship between religious and social change (urbanization did not imply secularization, for example). Finally, several contributions are somewhat more technical or intricate. The essays on Scottish Gaeldom and the standard of living, for example, deal with very important and revealing themes. The first illuminates the weakness of extreme interpretations of the Highland clearances while the second underlines the quite unique experiences of the Scottish working class in avoiding the "poverty trap" of other rapidly industrializing nations.

Several essays deserve particular attention. T. M. Devine provides a crystal clear account of urbanization in Scotland and carefully relates the same to Scotland's role in international trade, patterns of social mobility, the growth of the town, and the problem of urban poverty. In an urbane and deceptively conversational piece, Richard Sher and Alexander Murdoch reappraise many of the shibboleths of Scottish intellectual history, making important connections between the high Enlightenment and popular Scottish culture. Their comparison of the influential *Encyclopedia Britannica* with the great French *Encyclopédie*; their discussion of the relationship between the Scottish and English book trade; and their ability to relate such diverse literary forms as drama, the critical magazine, and the sentimental novel all make this particular essay an enjoyable and informative read. Two other essayists should also be complimented for concise and readable prose. R.H. Campbell addresses the continued significance of the landed classes in the economic and social life of the period, and Stana Nenadic documents the rise of an urban middle class with its own distinctive culture. A little less accessible, but stimulating nonetheless, is the concluding essay entitled "The Birth of Class?" by Tony Clarke and Tony Dickinson. They are concerned to challenge T. C. Smout's influential argument in *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* that nothing like a self-conscious working class existed in Scotland between 1780 and 1830. Clark and Dickson provide important new insights into the relationship between Scottish reformers and working class politics.

The issue of "class" in Scotland is an important one and one that has been overlooked by Scottish historians in the past. Thus, the three articles on the various Scottish "classes" during this period are a welcome addition to the literature. R. H. Campbell is quite correct in chastizing those anachronistic historians who have either deplored the manipulative power of the Scottish landed classes or ignored their existence in a preoccupation with proto-industrialism. He shows how the landed classes were able to maintain power through the manipulation of the electoral system and the exercise of church patronage. Moreover, he makes a useful distinction between smaller and larger landowners, one which increases our understanding of the nature of the Scottish and British landed classes during this period. Stana Nenadic's article on the Scottish middle class is noteworthy for its balanced approach to the issue of "class." The author carefully defines the middle class in terms of occupation and structural relation to the economy, avoiding any oversimplification of a group which included military officers, lawyers whose chief clients were landowners, town oligarchs and tobacco "lords." Moreover, she points to a common and distinct culture for this seemingly diverse group by illuminating the ways in which the popular Enlightenment or the club life of cities such as Edinburgh shaped a middle class "sense of identity." She also demonstrates the ways in which such novel cultural notions as the "home," and the "separate spheres" that women were to occupy within it, entered into the vocabulary of social class in Scotland. The author correctly warns, however, against exaggerating the phenomenon of "class" in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For even the most highly politicized group, the burgh reformers, still spoke the language of "rank" and "hierarchy."

Collectively, the authors have documented a fascinating period in Scottish society, which was transformed so rapidly from a traditional to a recognizably modern society that it scarcely had the time to develop according to the strict laws of either classical economics or dialectical materialism. Landowners, in the role of patriotic improvers, were the self-conscious sponsors of capital formation, economic improvement and diversification. The Scottish middle classes, especially in the capital, looked to landed society for leadership and to its literary and clerical representatives for culture. Neither group was sufficiently in tune with the increasingly urban and industrial

environment to place a characteristic stamp upon it. As Rosalind Mitchison perceptively suggests, both groups abdicated responsibility in the face of chronic poverty and structural unemployment. The middle classes, no less than their landed counterparts, looked backwards to a society based on face-to-face intimacy and parochial charity. For its part, the nascent Scottish working class was confronted with a stark industrial experience unmediated by either a paternalistic or a bureaucratic culture. It was in such an environment that the Scottish working class forged its own identity and sought to become its own master.

John Dwyer, York University

Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988. Pp. 410.

In this important and provocative work, a sequel to his 1981 book *After Virtue*, Alasdair MacIntyre provides a narrative history of three traditions of western ethical thought: the first begins with Homer and continues through Aristotle to Aquinas; the second, rooted in Christian thought, runs from Augustine through Aquinas; and the third, a blend of Calvinism and Aristotelianism, informed Scottish thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is his treatment of the third tradition that will be of particular interest to scholars of Scottish studies.

MacIntyre's focus, in his chapters on the Scottish tradition, is almost exclusively on pre-Enlightenment Scotland. For it is there that he locates the last real attempt in western ethical thought to provide a coherent account of justice and rationality, the subjects of his study, that is tradition based and tradition constitutive. The failure of the Scottish project - a failure due largely, in MacIntyre's opinion, to the "Anglicizing subversion" from within by David Hume - was followed by the Enlightenment, by "liberalism" (his fourth tradition, though it is part of MacIntyre's argument that it has not been recognized as such), and by that peculiar Enlightenment creation, the "individual." The modernist "individual," to MacIntyre, is a "rootless cosmopolitan, at home everywhere and nowhere, except in tradition based societies," who engages in interminable moral disputation without ever being able to reach agreement on anything, unable to persuade anyone of his position except those within his own special interest group. For it is with special interest groups, with pressure groups, that liberalism contends. Public policies are set by those who have the means to bargain. Assertion and counter assertion have replaced argument and counter argument and lawyers, not philosophers, are the "clergy" of the modern liberal state. Gone too is any agreed upon notion of the public good. There is only the "good" for the individual whose reason for wanting one thing or another is often little more than the bald claim "I want such and such to be the case." With "liberalism" the individual's preferences are, for the first time, offered as good and sufficient reasons why something should be the case.

Implicit in MacIntyre's thesis is the claim that had David Hume, Adam Smith and the Anglicizers of the eighteenth century not prevailed, had more attention been paid to the warnings of Andrew Fletcher and others in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, distinctive Scottish traditions might have been incorporated into later tradition based accounts of moral reasoning, much as Aquinas had been able to accommodate Augustinian theorizing while retaining much of Aristotle.

For MacIntyre, a towering figure in the Scottish tradition is the jurist James Dalrymple of Stair, particularly in his work *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, first published in 1681 and revised in 1693. Stair's importance to MacIntyre is due largely to his having provided "a comprehensive statement of the nature of justice, of law, and of rational and right conduct, which articulated the presuppositions of what were to be distinctively Scottish attitudes." Most notable among those Scottish attitudes is Stair's view of property and its relation to justice. For Stair, as for Aquinas, property rights were not absolute. Both agreed, as Blackstone and Hume did not, that property rights could be abrogated in those cases in which a person could demonstrate a real need, either his own or that of someone in his care, for the property of another. Stair's judicial models were Roman and Dutch and, unlike Blackstone and other British common law theorists, he placed little emphasis on precedents. For Stair, precedents tell us little more than how the rules of justice were applied in particular instances. They have no normative force. What do provide that force are the "rules of justice," which are antecedent to property rights. Additionally, Stair, unlike Hume and Blackstone, recognized the centrality of theology to law and understood that theology could not be excised from the law without doing irreparable harm to the law and consequently to justice.

After Stair others, including Francis Hutcheson, tried to maintain the priority of justice to property, but they were ultimately unsuccessful. It is MacIntyre's view that Hutcheson, a dominant force in moral philosophy in his time, must now be seen as a transitional figure, for when he adopted his "way of ideas" epistemology he prepared the way, albeit unwittingly, for David Hume and for the radical transformation of Scottish traditions.

MacIntyre's assessment of David Hume is not the usual one and will undoubtedly be the most controversial portion of a generally controversial work. For Hume is not the hero of MacIntyre's narrative history of Scottish traditions. Among other things, he indicts Hume for discarding things Scottish; for changing the spelling of his name to make it easier for the English to pronounce; for trying to eliminate all Scottish idioms from his prose [a

not very successful attempt, according to MacIntyre, who quotes Walter Bagehot on Hume's prose style]; for praising the poetry of inferior Scottish writers such as Blacklock and Wilkie, not for the lofty motives ascribed to him by Mossner - "love of country" and "greatness of heart" - but because they had become as English as possible; for his ignorance of the Scottish legal tradition; for never acknowledging Stair's extraordinary achievement in jurisprudence; for writing of Scotland in his *History of England* as though it were a foreign country; and for referring in that same work to the Presbyterians of the 1640s as "rigid churchmen" and the covenanting rebels as "fanatics." Even Hume's decision to return to Edinburgh in 1769, in order to have a house built announcing that he had "abjurd London forever," was made only, adds MacIntyre, after he had "done with all ambition." As for the *Treatise*, the best MacIntyre can say is that it was fortunate it was little read in Scotland upon its publication, for had it been otherwise it would have hastened the end of Scotland's distinctive traditions.

However, pernicious as he finds much of Hume's influence, MacIntyre nonetheless sees the superiority of Hume to the liberal modernist. For Hume, like Aristotle, saw that questions of justice and rationality were tradition based. Just as Aristotle saw that there could be no justice outside the *polis*, Hume saw that it was the individual, *qua* propertied or unpropertied participant in a society of a particular kind of mutuality or reciprocity, who reasoned. Radically different, however, in their accounts was the role that reason played in moral action. For Aristotle *phronesis*, or practical reasoning, was essential to justice. For Hume, in the famous words of the *Treatise*: "Reason is, and ought only to be a slave of the passions and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them." It was Hume's insistence on the unimportance of reason with regard to moral action that helped prepare the way for the emotivist culture of today and for much that passes for ethical discourse in our universities and academic journals. In response to Hume there were, according to MacIntyre, attempts by Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart to restore some of the lost Scottish traditions, but they were unsuccessful; what remained was Hume's epistemology without Hume's emphasis on tradition.

MacIntyre's indictment of "liberalism," however, offers little comfort to so-called political conservatives. In his view the Bennetts and the Blooms of the "right" offer us no more than the deconstructionists of the "left," the Marxists, and the structuralists. For him contemporary debates on justice and rationality are between "conservative liberals, liberal liberals and radical liberals." None of them, he concludes, puts "liberalism" itself to the test. To put "liberalism" itself to the test, one must first understand that it has itself become a tradition, though a little understood one and one that needs its own narrative history to be written. Second, we must understand that there is no "justice" as such, no "rationality" as such; there is only the justice of a particular tradition and the "rationality" of a particular tradition. To defeat the claims of "liberals" as well as those of relativists and perspectivists, we must come to understand our own tradition, hold "conversations" with other traditions, and finally become advocates of one or more of the contending traditions. MacIntyre, an Augustinian Christian, sees some hope in a new tradition-based morality with elements of Thomistic and Aristotelian thought. An important question, left unanswered by the book, is whether or not such a "tradition" can be constructed in our non-teleological and increasingly secular society. However, whether one agrees or disagrees with MacIntyre's conclusions, the book should be read by anyone who has sought to make sense out of the moral quagmire of our age.

Elizabeth J. Hodge, *New Jersey Institute of Technology*

*David Hume and the Eighteenth Century British Thought: An Annotated Catalogue and A Supplementary Annotated Catalogue.* Tokyo: Chuo University Library (742-1 Higashinakano, Hachioji-shi, Tokyo, 192-03, Japan), 1986 and 1988. Pp. xix + 561 and v + 214.

The 1986 *Annotated Catalogue* documents the John V. Price library of eighteenth-century books that Chuo University purchased in 1982. A massive volume of nearly 600 pages, it is divided into editions of works by Hume (105 entries), transcriptions and facsimiles of 15 autograph letters from Hume, and an annotated list of 235 books by other eighteenth-century authors, including many Scottish ones.

The new *Supplemental Annotated Catalogue* is a companion piece of just over 200 pages. In adding works acquired by the Chuo University Hume Collection between 1983 and 1987, the compilers (Sadao Ikeda, Michihiro Otonashi, and Tamihiro Shigemori) have conformed to the organization of the first volume. Twelve items are added to the original 105 in part I (including two editions of the controversial pamphlet *Sister Peg* that David Raynor has ascribed to Hume rather than Adam Ferguson; the compilers briefly assess the controversy but leave the question of authorship open). There are transcriptions and facsimiles of seven new Hume letters (though some have been published elsewhere from other sources). And there are 136 editions of other eighteenth-century books, as well as a few periodicals.

The annotations are uneven but generally helpful. Even when the compilers do no more than list a book's full table of contents (which they often do), they perform a valuable service. Those who have never seen a copy of David Loch, *Essay on the Trade, Commerce, and Manufactures of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1775), for example, will gain

a good indication of the respective topics treated in its six chapters: sheep, woolens, fisheries, porter, disputes with the American colonies, and trade in general. Often the compilers provide other valuable information, including excerpts from prefaces and brief biographies of "minor" authors such as John Pinkerton and Archibald Arthur. Both volumes are well indexed by author and title.

Richard B. Sher, *New Jersey Institute of Technology*

Charles W. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region*. London and New York: Routledge, 1988. Pp. xiv + 464.

The revived interest in the history and culture of the Highlands and Islands - which began at mid-century with the work of John Lorne Campbell, John Mason, Malcolm Gray and A.R.B. Haldane and gained momentum in the 1960s with the valuable researches of Eric Cregeen, John MacInnes, Donald Withrington, and Rosalind Mitchison and the immensely popular works of John Prebble - has reached flood-tide in the past two decades with significant contributions from numerous historians, perhaps most notably Eric Richards and James Hunter. The author of *Gaelic Scotland* must be numbered among this growing band, for his valuable studies of Highland communities in the Lowlands and for his investigations into the geography of Gaelic, particularly his volume, published in 1984, *Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981: The Geographical History of a Language*.

In this new work, which concentrates on the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, Charles Withers draws upon his earlier research into the language of the Highland people but, as its subtitle suggests, goes well beyond linguistic considerations. He offers a fairly comprehensive account of the efforts of successive governments and other agencies to mold the Highlands into a Lowland pattern, by exerting political control and inducing conformity not only in terms of language but in education generally, agriculture, industry, land settlement, and other areas. His main aim, however, is to show how the cultural transformation of the region was effected not just in material terms but intellectually, and how the results of this combined change varied from place to place and over time. In doing so he has tried to get "into" the minds of the people affected by what was in many instances a profound alteration in their way of life, in order to determine how they reacted to events and, indeed, what part they played in determining their own future. It is his contention that few historians of our time have attempted to do this, implying that we have generally been treated to the outsider's view of Highland history, as seen through the eyes of the politician, the administrator, the "improver" and that, in his own words, "... explanations of social and cultural change in the Highlands have too often been couched in terms of an immutable progression . . . a transformation without either opposition or internal contradiction" (p. xii). This contention is certainly a valid one, and it remains for the reader to judge to what extent Withers succeeds in conjuring up the voice of the Highland people during this period of cultural transformation.

*Gaelic Scotland* is a considerable work, based on an impressive body of research and supported with numerous useful maps and statistical tables. As a general study it relies fairly heavily on the conclusions reached by the historians working in the fields it explores, although in doing so it sometimes perpetuates their errors (pp. 84, 93, 295, for example). It also occasionally fails to digest some of this current research or explore relevant sources that would produce a more rounded discussion of certain aspects of the subject - for example, the distribution of schools throughout the Highlands during the eighteenth century (not just those funded by the SSPCK), the existence of markets and facilities for trade within the region, the full impact of the textile industry and, in terms of resources, the extent of woodlands and large-scale plantations and their commercial exploitation. It wrestles with the demographic problem in an effort to assess the reasons for population increase in certain areas without advancing any new solutions (the obvious connection between the religious persuasion of a community and its acceptance of inoculation, for example, has yet to be explored).

Yet, if rather infelicitous in style, particularly in its initial and concluding chapters, *Gaelic Scotland* has much to offer the reader in its perceptive analysis of events. The bibliography supporting the work must surely be one of the more comprehensive compiled on the subject, especially with regard to primary sources. It serves as a reminder, however, that there are still large gaps in our understanding of the events and that until such sources are fully explored a general analysis must be regarded as something of a luxury, providing only a partial picture at that.

This brings us back to the people themselves and their response to events during these years, which is the central theme of the book. To what extent can their voice be heard? In terms of their poetic outpourings, their educational demands, their religious response, their role in protest movements, they can indeed be found in these pages, and Withers provides a stimulating and sympathetic discussion of their role in affairs. But the voice is coming largely out of the nineteenth century, from a people growing in confidence, determined to have some say in their future. To hear the voice of the people of the eighteenth century, the reader will have to strain very hard indeed.

Virginia Wills, *Bridge of Allan*

William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988. Pp. 165.

This book provides fascinating insight into the amorphous category "Jacobite song," showing how songs collectively provide a reflection and an articulation of larger cultural ideology (which the author calls "world picture"), playing a role both in expressing and in generating a national identity. To do this, William Donaldson has recourse to history, interpretation of history, and - of course - the songs themselves.

Much of the book is given over to history - events and tensions, sectarian religion and factional politics - and to the successive reinterpretations of the past necessary to forge a nineteenth-century identity. The implicit historical crises - the union of the crowns in 1603 and the union of the parliaments of 1707 - stimulated regional (Highland and Lowland), political (Tory versus Whig), and religious (Episcopalian against Presbyterian) conflicts, yielding contrasting stances toward the world. These differing perspectives were exhibited in popular songs, illustrating one or the other viewpoint and drawn vividly in ethnic stereotype: a nation divided, part for and part against union. These, however, are not THE Jacobite songs.

The "real" Jacobite songs were not so divisive. Written after the fact, they offer a different view of history, the past, which cumulatively unites Scotland, appropriating Highland accoutrements (much as some Burns Suppers today have the haggis paraded in behind a piper in full Highland regalia); transmuted Highland "difference" into rural, simple values and virtues; making the Stuart pretender over into a romantic figure - creating an idealized amalgam that asserts and affirms Scottish *cultural* independence. Donaldson unravels the changing connotations of *Jacobite*, from political grouping with aristocratic and Episcopalian proclivities and Highland associations, to a generalized referent for cultural distinctiveness. In doing so, he shows us the evolution of meaning and the effects of societal occurrences and cultural goals on definitions of nationhood and national identity.

The new Jacobite ideology found particular expression in songs written long after the political/religious upheavals by such artists in song as Robert Burns, James Hogg, and latterly Lady Nairne. Their Jacobitism was patriotic - pro-Scottish, Highland or Lowland - and blended the notions of a glorious past with the romantic idea of Bonnie Prince Charlie. Thus, the songs collectively affirm Scotland and, in attenuated fashion, question the union, echoing ever so slightly the earlier Tory position - now transformed - by generalizing "dynastic loyalty to the Stuarts into an expression of abstract monarchist legitimism and then" transferring it "lock stock and barrel to the house of Hanover" (p. 91). The Jacobite songs became a "symbol of Scottish cultural and historical distinctiveness in contradistinction to the 'British' and assimilationist ethos of the Whigs" (p. 89).

*The Jacobite Song* covers enormous historical and conceptual territory, yet it often tells the story elliptically, by indirection and reader inference. Historical material is largely accessible only to the already initiated; the discussion of Burns is strangely oblivious of recent studies which might bolster Donaldson's perspective on cultural nationalism; the treatment of both Hogg and Burns fails clearly to identify their specific contributions to latter-day Jacobitism. In fact the long standing song culture of Scotland, described in part in Thomas Crawford's *Society and the Lyric*, is an essential ingredient in explicating the contributions of Burns and Hogg (they were directly part of the tradition, using it in multiple ways: allusions, words and phrases, refrains, formulae, themes, meter, rhyme scheme, tunes, and so on) and in fathoming song discourse as a catalyst for national identity. But the song culture really gets short shrift in a number of ways. The fact that the texts are printed as though they were poems in the body of the study, leaving the tunes for an appendix, illustrates a conceptual failure of the study: songs are sung performances. Do we know when, where, by whom these latter-day Jacobite songs were performed? What might that data tell us about their role in forging national consciousness?

Such queries aside, Donaldson's study is exceedingly useful and provocative and touches on, but is seemingly not conversant with, discourse of concern in much literary and cultural study today - the senses in which literature functions as an ideologically conditioned mediator between prior tradition and new political/material realities.

But that's a book he didn't write  
Bonnie Laddie, Highland Laddie  
A subject for another night  
My Bonny Highland Laddie

Mary Ellen Brown, *Indiana University - Bloomington*

Raymond Bentman, *Robert Burns*. Twayne English Authors Series, No. 452. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987. Pp. 155.

This perceptive study of Burns's writings, framed by judicious summary of his life in the context both of Scots and English literary culture in the eighteenth century, will be of immense value to students. It will also benefit teachers eager to include Burns in their eighteenth-century courses but intimidated by the complexity of his cultural

milieu; for to draw just the right picture of Burns's place in British literary culture is far more difficult than to address the superficial barrier of Burns's easily glossed Scots diction. Bentman offers a graceful summary not only of the specifically "Scottish" contexts generally provided in brief overviews but also of Burns's "eighteenth century British" contexts, such as his close alignment both with Augustan and what Bentman calls "benevolist" contemporary tradition.

The book's five chapters cover background and biography; satiric and moral poetry; the songs; Burns and the eighteenth century; and a final restatement and summary. Bentman sketches the importance to Burns of the controversy between the New and Auld Licht Calvinists - not just covering it as "background" but linking it to Burns's poetic practice and to his habitual psychic conflict between skepticism and faith. Of Burns's language in one early letter, for instance, Bentman observes with characteristic shrewdness: "That [Burns] could apply 'dissipation' and 'virtue' to himself in the same sentence suggests that he was never entirely at peace with either irreligious pleasure or religious restraint" (p. 3).

As a biographer, Bentman is generous, though his unfailing sympathy creates some problems. While Burns's idealized and fervent relationships with women other than his wife by no means merit the kind of hysterical scolding Burns has sometimes received from his biographers, such relationships - particularly the overwrought language in which Burns describes them - do offer evidence of his instability, his chronic misery. Surely Bentman misses an opportunity to analyze a complex personality when he simply dismisses such compulsive behavior and concludes that Burns really loved Jean best.

The readings of specific poems are fresh and insightful. Bentman is the first Burns critic to observe that Burns is best known for the satiric and epistolary poetry he wrote only around 1785; before and after that remarkably productive year - his twenty-sixth - he was at his best writing songs. Bentman is also the first scholar to suggest that the death of Burns's father in 1784 may have had something to do with this sudden outburst of self-expressive creativity. More problematically, Bentman argues for a decline in Burns's creativity in his final two years - an argument that omits discussion of the vexed matter of George Thomson's silent and untraceable bowdlerization of many of Burns's later songs and that also suppresses discussion of some fine neglected later lyrics. Also, when Bentman argues that Burns's relationship to Jean was superior to that with "Clarinda" (Agnes MacLehose) on the basis of the difference in the quality of the songs inspired by the relationships, he overlooks one of Burns's acknowledged masterpieces, "Ae Fond Kiss," inscribed to "Nancy" MacLehose in 1791.

These are minor matters. As scholars attempt the reassessment of one of the most neglected poets of the eighteenth - or any - century, books such as Bentman's will serve an important purpose in delivering sensible, sensitive readings. This study does not tread water or recite the obvious - as the weaker entries in the Twayne series do - but rather offers a three-dimensional portrait of a complex artist, painted with unusual subtlety given the series' emphasis on generalization and clarity. Newcomers to Burns will find in it a stimulating and comprehensive guidebook; but perhaps only other Burns scholars will appreciate the keen penetration of the synthesis offered here.

Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

Mary Jane W. Scott, *James Thomson, Anglo Scot*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1988. Pp. xiv + 373.

In like manner have the people of Scotland - from time immemorial - enjoyed the use of their ears. Even persons somewhat hard of hearing are not deaf to her waterfalls.

"Christopher North" on James Thomson

The near exclusive thesis of this account of James Thomson is his placement in the context of a Scottish literary tradition. Given the lack of volume of major Scottish poetry, one would have liked to respond more positively to the author's case. Neither Scott's scholarship nor her awareness of the nature of that tradition encourages such a response.

In scholarly terms her most outstanding default is her almost complete avoidance of Ralph Cohen's work on Thomson. *The Art of Discrimination*, in particular, is an exhaustive book which demonstrates in some detail the ethnic problems implicit in placing Thomson. By avoiding this work Scott suggests that she is dealing with matters virginal.

Nor in terms of Scottish poetry does she convince the reader either that Thomson was a late branch of the considerable tree of Scottish Latin poetry or that he had any understanding of the possibilities of the vernacular so brilliantly exploited by Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns. Indeed, without serious refutation, she quotes Thomson's disparagement of both these linguistic possibilities. Thomson, in fact, described Scotland to Aaron Hill as "that neglected Corner of the World, of depress'd Merit, uninform'd Beauty, and good Sense *cloath'd in the Rags of Language.*"

Nor are the author's repetitive assertions of Thomson's affinity with Scottish poets and poetry any happier. Revealingly, the only critical enthusiast for Thomson as quintessentially Scottish is that dire mimic of English Romanticism, Christopher North. Prodded by the earl of Buchan, Burns expressed doubtful allegiance. Scott's relationship of Thomson to MacDiarmid, however, borders on the ludicrous. Other than both writing questionable, formally flabby poetry illustrating scientific ideas, they are opposites. MacDiarmid in his inspired reevaluation of the Scottish literary tradition seems to have paid no attention to Thomson. Had he done so he would have diagnosed his rhetoric, as he did Ossian Macpherson's, as a verbose symptom of national betrayal where rhetoric fills the vacuum of surrendered national identity. Politics apart, MacDiarmid believed, as he wrote of Fergusson, that sparse, concise acerbic utterance was the essence of the Scottish poetic voice.

Coleridge believed that Thomson was a great but not a good poet. He was certainly, in a multiplicity of ways, a seminal one. This is expressed not least in the fact that he is the founding father of an army of mercenary Scottish writers/intellectuals who sold not their sword but their pen to Hanoverian England and subsequent British imperialism. As he revealingly wrote to Mallet of his verses: "They contain a Panegyric on Brittain, which may perhaps contribute to make my Poem popular. The English People are not a little vain of themselves, and their Country. Britannia too includes our native Country, Scotland." As well as winning fame and fortune through such calculated flattery, Thomson managed to square the circle of dual national loyalties. As in Mallet, a romantic, "primitive" Scotland had much literary appeal to his burgeoning middlebrow English audience. *The Seasons* is in fact a shapeless series of rhetorical attitudes in which Thomson delivers a series of often contradictory monologues and sermons on progress, primitivism, almost soft porn, religion, and Newtonian science. He was in fact a poetic educator of a developing genteel, sentimental audience who sugared the imperial pill by disguising its militaristic and capitalist realities.

Thomson is, as recent British scholarship (Raymond Williams and Marilyn Butler) has shown, a figure of profound literary/sociological importance for tracing the course of eighteenth-century social taste. Despite Scott, his essential interest in a Scottish context is to reveal to us the error of our aesthetic and political ways.

Andrew Noble, University of Strathclyde

Fiona J. Stafford. *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988. Pp. 192.

This book is radically informative. While I remain more skeptical than the author regarding the extraordinary Ossian phenomenon, I can only applaud the intelligent industry with which she has set Macpherson and "his" poetry in the context of their times.

The first half of the book concerns the psychological evolution of the man and the stylistic development of the poet. Macpherson's childhood experience of post-Culloden genocide ("An army of friends let loose from Hell, with Lucifer himself at their head") has obvious relevance to his subsequent mythical, morbid treatment of tribal dissolution. Even more revealing is her examination of the influence on Macpherson of his period as an Aberdeen undergraduate. Given to pursuing a pragmatic, innovative educational policy, Aberdeen was, ironically, particularly fraught with the eighteenth-century's contradictory impulses regarding primitivism and progress. Professor Blackwell's *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* was almost certainly a key text in providing Macpherson with a model of the communal virtue and epic form that he was later to allege belonged to primordial Gaeldom. Indeed, he was to develop a dangerously facile sense of Hellenic and Hebraic analogies for his Highland paradise lost.

Stafford believes that such false analogies lie behind not only the doubtful virtues of Macpherson's late style but also the obsessive problem of the authenticity of his sources. While the content of Macpherson's poetry remained remarkably constant in its hot-house melancholia, its personal and national compensatory fantasies, and its vision of primeval Highland life designed for a cosmopolitan market, Stafford cogently traces its formal evolution through the maladjustments of conventional eighteenth-century poetics to the discovery of the free-flowing rhetoric and form of the Ossianic "epic." "By dismissing his principal sources as corrupt, Macpherson felt free to 'restore' the Gaelic poems to what he thought they ought to have been." Inevitably, what they ought to have been was remarkably like the rhythms and language of the King James version.

Equally, Stafford points out that there is nothing of genuine epic form in the Ossianic fragments. In both tone and form it is a definably eighteenth-century text. "Despite its epic pretensions, *Fingal* is a sprawling work, held together not by unified action or theme, but by the presence of the narrator. As in Sterne's contemporary novel, *Tristram Shandy*, a baffling series of recollections is made coherent only through the development of the narrator as the focal point." (p. 141)

What she clearly shows is that Macpherson is no window to the past but a mirror in which we can see the eighteenth century peering anxiously but narcissistically at itself. In an eighteenth-century Scottish context it could be argued that the problem of the authenticity of Macpherson's authorship stems not from his alleged sources but



from the fact that, because of his responsiveness to earlier Scottish achievements and contemporary desires, these texts could be defined as a collaborative venture by the Anglicized genteel literati. Thus Macpherson builds on a highly marketable Highland primitivism derived from Mallet and Thomson's reworking of Martin Martin's Hebridean travel writings. Equally, Hugh Blair's rhetorical theories underpin Ossian. In reality such a sensibility was as dismissive of genuine Gaelic poetry as it was of the vernacular language of Lowland Scotland.

For the rational eighteenth century, the Highlands proved an irresistible playground for repressed fantasies. The past was another and far more indulgent country: "She came, in all her tears, she came, and drew it from his breast. He pierced her white side with steel; and spread her fair locks on the ground. Her bursting blood sounds from her side: and her white arm is stained with red. Rolling in death she lay and Tura's cave answered her sighs" (*Fingal*, quoted on p. 140). In Scottish terms what a peculiar yet predictable national epic it is. Unlike Arthur, there is no promise that Ossian will come again. This is the whole point: Scotland is irreversibly severed from its past. In no small part this contributes to Tom Nairn's paradox in *The Break-Up of Britain* regarding the non-emergence of nationalism in Scotland during the period of European romantic revolution. It also contributes to Macpherson's antipathy to the American Revolution. In the dire melodramas of Macpherson's early poetry there appears the figure of the Highland ingenue who destroys himself through vile ambition. Macpherson's life, if not his art, is a mature study of this theme.

Andrew Noble, University of Strathclyde

Tobias Smollett, *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*. Ed. Peter Wagner. London: Penguin Books, 1988. Pp. 272; and *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*. Ed. Jerry C. Beasley (textual ed. O. M. Brack, Jr.; technical ed. Jim Springer Borck). Athens, Ga. and London: University of Georgia Press, 1988. Pp. xlii + 479.

With whatever justice, *Ferdinand Count Fathom* and *Sir Launcelot Greaves* are the least read of Smollett's five major novels, and for that reason alone these volumes would be welcome. But in fact the publication of these two editions, radically different in kind but each excellent in its own way, marks 1988 as a pivotal year in Smollett studies.

*Sir Launcelot Greaves* has seldom if ever been available in paperback, a drawback made particularly ironic by the fact that by serializing it in the *British Magazine* when it first came out (1760-61), Smollett had used his genius for innovative publishing methods to make it more widely accessible to the reading public than novels of the conventional bound-volume kind. As a novel for the classroom, it has many attractions: its relative brevity (shorter by far than any other Smollett novel); its obvious kinship with the Quixotic tradition; its episodic structure, rapid pace, and zany humor; its gloriously eccentric and memorable characters; its unusually visual quality; and especially its broad-canvas approach to so many aspects of eighteenth-century life, including crime and criminal justice, politics and political campaigning, law and legal tactics, the medical profession and assorted quacks, madness and madhouses. At times it seems like a long series of Hogarth cartoons, and indeed the novel's specific debts to Hogarth are frequently apparent - as are the bases for its extensive influence on the early Dickens, particularly *Pickwick Papers*. But Peter Wagner, in his fine substantive introduction and excellent scholarly apparatus, has provided so much more than a routine paperback edition. This is now the best critical edition available of *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, paper or hardcover; as a measure of its scholarly depth, one need only point to Wagner's five-page bibliography in which are listed no fewer than *nine* unpublished doctoral dissertations, in four different countries. Every scholar of eighteenth-century culture will want to own a copy, and many of us will now be thinking of *Sir Launcelot Greaves* for the classroom, not only in literature but in history and interdisciplinary courses as well. Penguin and Wagner should be congratulated for making this possible.

The appearance of *Ferdinand Count Fathom* is a cause for great celebration. It is the first volume of what promises to be the definitive scholarly edition of the works of Tobias Smollett which, after nearly twenty years of setbacks and delays, can begin to take its place on library shelves beside the Yale Johnson and the Wesleyan Fielding. Jerry Beasley, general editor of the whole Smollett edition, has, with the very capable support of Skip Brack and Jim Springer Borck, done the admirable thing: he has led from the front. His detailed and stylish introduction places this neglected rogue novel (so clearly the ancestor of Thackeray's *Barry Lyndon*) in the various contexts of Smollett's career, the eighteenth-century literary scene, and the tradition of the novel. His textual notes (and Brack's notes to the textual collation) are comprehensive, reliable, and exact. Among other especially commendable qualities are the inclusion of early illustrations (Thomas Stothard's of 1782, Luke Clennell's of 1810) and the very reasonable price, which contrasts markedly with the current prices of comparable editions. As such this edition is a scholarly bargain that no academic library or serious student of eighteenth-century literature will want to be without. It is impossible to imagine anything superseding it for many years to come.

James G. Basker, Barnard College

## Briefly Noted

David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and Their Members*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988. Pp. xiii + 218.

This book looks at the rise of Scottish freemasonry in the seventeenth century. Together with the same author's *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century* (Cambridge, 1988), Stevenson's work provides the first systematic analysis of this subject and also makes a strong case for the primacy of Scotland in the early development of European freemasonry.

Sydney Checkland, *The Elgins, 1766-1917: A Tale of Aristocrats, Proconsuls and Their Wives*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988. Pp. xiv + 303.

This handsome volume by the late Glasgow University professor of economic history has a nineteenth-century focus, but the early chapters on the education and diplomatic career of Thomas Bruce, seventh earl of Elgin and eleventh earl of Kinardine (1766-1841), will be of interest to some of our readers.

Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black, eds. *The Jacobite Challenge*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988. Pp. viii + 199.

This collection of essays is a useful addition to the recent reassessment of Jacobitism. However, the focus on the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries means that readers interested in the Forty-Five, not to mention the period following it, will not find much here. Similarly, there is little on Scotland, excepting Bruce Lenman's contribution on the politics of Scottish medical men.

A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987. Pp. xvi + 277.

When Americans consider the transportation of British convicts, they usually think of Australia. But some 50,000 were sent to the American colonies in the sixty years preceding the American war. Though less useful for specifically Scottish material than Ekirch's 1985 article in *Journal of British Studies*, this book provides a rich British context for exploring this dismal topic. It's also thoroughly researched and well written, with a good bibliography.

Derick S. Thomson, ed. *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983 (Paperback edition, 1988). Pp. xx + 363.

The appearance of this splendid reference volume in paperback is most welcome. Thomson and his contributors have made an enormous amount of material easily accessible, and the eighteenth century receives decent treatment. There are, for example, short biographies of notable figures such as the Gaelic poet Rob Donn and the notorious James Macpherson. But the best entries are the broad ones that incorporate historical perspective, such as "Highland Bagpipe," "Clearances," "Scottish Gaelic Dictionaries," "Highland Fiddle Music," "Travellers' Accounts of Highlands and Islands," and the various special articles under general headings like "Gaelic" and "Verse." Includes a very full bibliography and some useful maps.

## New ECSSS Members (May 1989)

We are happy to welcome the following 74 members to ECSSS. Academic disciplines, institutional affiliations and fields of interest are noted when members have specified them.

Jerry C. Beasley, Lit, U. of Delaware: Smollett  
Elaine G. Breslaw, Hist, Morgan State U.: clubs & societies  
Alan Brinton, Phil, Boise State U.: philosophy; rhetoric; religion  
Charlotte R. Brown, Phil, St. Martin's College: moral philosophy  
Mary Ellen Brown, Lit, Indiana U.: Burns; vernacular & oral literature  
Deborah Brunton, HS, U. of Pennsylvania (postgrad): history of medicine  
Vern Bullough, Hist, State U. of New York at Buffalo: sex & achievement  
Jennifer Carter, Hist, Aberdeen U.: history of universities  
Harvey Chisick, Hist, U. of Haifa: social thought; sociology of the SE  
David Currie, Hist, Johns Hopkins U. (postgrad): moral theory; jurisprudence  
Leith Davis, Phil, U. of California - Berkeley (postgrad): Hume  
C. F. Delaney, Phil, U. of Notre Dame: Hume  
Cecelia DesBrisay, Econ, Balliol College - Oxford: Adam Smith; economic & social thought  
Gordon R. DesBrisay, Hist, St. Andrews U. (postdoc): Aberdeen & Scottish burghs in the early 18th century

Mary Jane Dowd, Hist, U.S. National Archives: Alexander Hamilton; Boswell; Robert Adam  
 Owen Dudley Edwards, Hist, Edinburgh U.  
 LaVonne Z. Faruki, Lit, Texas Tech U.: Hume; empiricism  
 Michel Faure, U. de Haute-Alsace: John Millar; SE; culture & literature  
 John F. Finamore, Classics, U. of Iowa  
 R. G. Frey, Phil, Bowling Green State U.: moral philosophy; deism  
 Michael Fry, Hist, Edinburgh: Henry Dundas  
 Yoshie Funahashi, Phil, Hiroshima U. (Japan): Hume  
 Thomas B. Gilmore, Lit, Georgia State U.: Boswell  
 Susan Griffin, Lit, U. of California at Los Angeles: rhetoric & belles lettres; George Campbell  
 Charles Griswold, Jr., Phil, Howard U.: Adam Smith  
 John Alanson Hall, Covington, Tenn.  
 James Holloway, Art, Scottish Nat. Portrait Gallery: painting; family history  
 Istvan Hont, Pol, Columbia U.: political economy; universities  
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 Nobuyoshi Kawashima, Econ, Seinan Gakuin U. (Japan) : James Steuart & Adam Smith  
 Peter Kivy, Phil, Rutgers U.: philosophy, esp. aesthetics  
 Elizabeth Larsen, Lit, West Chester U.: rhetoric  
 John C. Laursen, Pol, Wake Forest U.: Hume; Smith; political thought  
 Eugenio Lecaldano, U. of Rome: Hume & the SE  
 John W. Lenz, Providence, RI  
 Franklin E. Liebenow, Jr., Lit, Chicago State U.: poetry; rhetorical & critical theory  
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 Kenneth Mackinnon, Law, Aberdeen U.: jurisprudence; Reid  
 Christopher Maclachlan, Lit, St. Andrews U.: literature; philosophy  
 Mark Madoff, Royal Roads Military College (Canada)  
 Susan Manning, Lit, Newnham College - Cambridge: philosophy, esp. Hume; literature; SE; religion  
 Keith Marshall, French, U. College of North Wales: Franco-Scottish relations  
 Marie A. Martin, Phil, Clemson U.: Hume; moralists  
 Stuart Maxwell, Arts, Edinburgh: goldsmiths & other craft organizations  
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 Diane M. Menagh, Lit, New York, NY  
 The Mentor Group, Boston: intellectual history  
 Karen O'Brien, Lit, St. Cross College - Oxford: historians  
 Toshiaki Ogose, Econ, Kobe U. of Commerce (Japan): Adam Smith's early writings  
 Ralph S. Pomeroy, Lit, U. of California at Davis: rhetoricians & critics; Boswell; Hume  
 Thomas R. Preston, Lit, U. of North Texas: Smollett; Burns; Boswell; Hume; Smith; Edinburgh  
 Irwin Primer, Lit, Rutgers U. - Newark: history of ideas  
 George Rappaport, Hist, Wagner College  
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 Paul H. Scott, Lit, Edinburgh: Fletcher of Saltoun; Union of 1707; Boswell; Burns; SE  
 Scottish Studies Centre, U. of Mainz (W. Germany)  
 Gentaro Seki, Econ, Kyushu U. (Japan): pamphlets on economic improvement  
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 Christopher Wenger, Lit, U. of Virginia: Smollett; historiography

Abbreviations: Econ - economics; HS - history of science/medicine; Hist - history; Lit - literature; Phil - philosophy; Pol - politics; SE - Scottish Enlightenment

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