

Eighteenth-Century Scotland

The Newsletter of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society

Number 5 (Spring 1991)

Great Times in Glasgow

ECSSS's "Glasgow and the Enlightenment" conference last summer was a marvelous experience for all concerned. The event was greatly enhanced by the "Cultural Capital of Europe" atmosphere and the extraordinary hospitality of the University of Strathclyde, which hosted the conference with style and substance.

The level of the presentations was consistently high. There were sixteen regular sessions, with a total of forty-six papers. Portions of the conference were attended by Martin Spencer and Vivian Bone of Edinburgh University Press, and soon afterwards ECSSS received word that EUP had conditionally accepted the proposal for a published volume based on the proceedings, to be edited by Andrew Hook. Andrew reports that the volume is coming along nicely.

Besides the regular sessions, the conference had so many highlights that only a few of them can be noted here. The Stevenson Lecture in Citizenship (sponsored by Glasgow University) was memorable both for the presentation by Ian Ross and for the remarkable setting in Merchants House. An evening walk along the Forth and Clyde Canal, led by Guthrie Hutton of the Forth and Clyde Canal Society, reached a glorious climax at one of Glasgow's best pubs. The outing to Ayrshire was delightful: John Strawhorn showed us the eighteenth-century village of Fenwick and pointed out historic aspects of the shire; Ken Simpson took us through Burns Cottage and environs; Richard Peddie arranged for a special presentation at Robert Adam's Culzean Castle; a splendid dinner of Highland venison was enjoyed at Burns Byre Restaurant, site of Mount Oliphant farm, where Burns spent part of his youth; and Irma Lustig, Sheriff Neil Gow, and James Boswell IV guided the group around the Boswell family estate and Boswell Museum at Auchinleck, where ECSSS made a life membership donation to the Auchinleck Boswell Society. The next evening the conference guests were dazzled by the hospitality of the city of Glasgow at a dinner and reception at Glasgow City Chambers, where ECSSS presented the lord provost with a copy of its first publication, *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*. On the following day we headed north to Loch Lomond: Jerry Beasley and Telfer Smollett showed us the Smollett memorabilia in the latter's home; a brief stop was made at Cameron House, an eighteenth-century Smollett family residence (now a hotel); and

Hamish Fraser, dean of arts and social studies at the University of Strathclyde, hosted a dinner of Scottish fare at the university's eighteenth-century country estate on the banks of the loch, Ross Priory, where guests heard a lecture-recital of Burns songs by John Ashmead, John Davison, and Shoshana Shay. Finally, the conference concluded with an open forum, featuring an expert panel composed of Roger Emerson, Andrew Hook, D. D. Raphael, and Andrew Skinner.

Although the University of Strathclyde seemed to spare no expense, and provided accommodations at an attractive conference rate, the large numbers of guests in attendance put the event into the black. After covering its expenses, the university was left with a surplus of more than £1000, which was divided equally with ECSSS according to the terms of our arrangement (see "Statement of Finances," p. 35 below). We were particularly gratified to see so many of our Japanese members at the conference (twelve), as well as several members from Spain, France, Germany, and other countries besides Britain, Canada, and the U.S.

Once again, ECSSS extends its heartiest thanks to all those who helped to make the Glasgow conference such a success: the speakers, chairs, and excursion guides; the University of Glasgow for sponsoring the Stevenson Lecture; the Merchants House; Neil Gow and James Boswell IV at Auchinleck; Telfer Smollett for opening up his home to us; and above all our good friends at the University of Strathclyde - the principal Sir Graham Hills, Dean Hamish Fraser, then Vice-Dean Andrew Noble (who was responsible for setting up the ECSSS-Strathclyde connection in the first place), and conference administrator Richard Peddie. Well done all!

Hook and Brown Elected

At the business meeting during the Glasgow conference, ECSSS members elected Andrew Hook, Bradley Professor of English at Glasgow University, as president of the society, and Leslie Ellen Brown, professor of music and director of academic affairs at Penn State University - Beaver Campus, as vice-president. Also elected to positions as members-at-large were Thomas Kennedy (philosophy, Valparaiso University in Indiana) and John Robertson (history, St Hugh's College - Oxford). All will serve two-year terms.

The membership also commended the out-going president and vice-president, Roger Emerson and Jeffrey Smitten, for their excellent service as officers during the past two years.

1991 in Bristol

At press time in May, excitement is mounting for the Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment, which will be held this summer at the University of Bristol in England. Since the congress occurs only once every four years, it is always a major event. Under the leadership of congress organizers H. T. Mason and Adrienne Mason, this year's conference promises to be one of the best ever.

The congress will take place during the week of 21-27 July, and ECSSS will be heavily involved in the program. On the morning of Monday 22 July there will be a seminar on James Boswell. Though not formally sponsored by ECSSS, the Boswell seminar has been organized by ECSSS member Greg Clingham and will include papers by several members. At Greg's request, ECSSS members voted at the Glasgow meeting to sponsor publication of a volume of papers based on the seminar proceedings, under the editorship of the seminar commentator, Irma Lustig. Irma reports that the essays and abstracts she has been receiving are "exciting," and we are looking forward both to a fine seminar and a fine publication.

ECSSS's big day at the congress will be Tuesday 23 July. The entire morning will be devoted to a seminar on "Conflict and Opposition in the Scottish Enlightenment." The seminar will be divided into three separate sessions, each with its own theme. First, John Robertson will chair a session on "Conflict in Social Thought," featuring papers by Michel Faure on "The Battle of the Sexes in John Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*" and Fania Oz-Salzberger on "The Rejection of Conflict: Adam Ferguson's German Readers." Then Andrew Hook will chair a session on "Conflict in Literature," with papers by Moira Ferguson on "Janet Little, the Scottish Milkmaid: An Oppositional Voice in Poetry" and Fiona Stafford on "An Engagement of Porcupines: Ossian and the Language of Eighteenth-Century Literary Dispute." Finally, Arthur Donovan will chair a session on "Conflict in Science and Politics," including papers by J.R.R. Christie on "Debate or Dialectic? Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Science;" Charles W. J. Withers on "The Struggle for Academic Patronage: The Edinburgh Chairs of Natural History and Agriculture in the 1770s and 1780s;" and Michael Fry on "Henry Dundas and the Resolution of Conflict in the Political Process." The entire seminar will take place in Physics 3.21, from 9:30 AM to 12:30 PM.

After a well-deserved break, members are invited to reconvene at 4:00 PM in the Victoria Rooms for an afternoon program. Nicholas Phillipson of the University of Edinburgh will deliver a keynote address on the topic "The Scottish Enlightenment: The State of the

Art." After the talk, ECSSS will sponsor a tea with "dainty sandwiches" and cakes, followed by the society's annual business meeting from 5:30 to 6:30 or 7:00 PM (a meeting of the Board of Trustees will have been held earlier in the week). The afternoon reception will be free to all ECSSS members; non-members may attend at no charge beyond the cost of membership. Our thanks to Charles Withers for help with arrangements at the Victoria Rooms.

Of course, several other ECSSS members will also be presenting papers throughout the week during the regular congress program, including Howard Weinbrot, who will be delivering one of the congress's four plenary session addresses on the topic of "Enlightenment Canon Wars: Anglo-French Views of Literary Greatness." All in all, this promises to be a spectacular week of Enlightenment studies. Hope to see you there!

1992 in Seattle: Call for Papers

At the ASECS meeting in Seattle in spring 1992, Jeffrey Smitten will chair an ECSSS seminar on "Literature and Social Practice in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." The purpose of the session is to examine any aspect of the sociology of literature in eighteenth-century Scotland, including such topics as the distribution and reception of literature, the role of authorship, the problem of language, the social history of ideas, and the relationship of literature and politics. Three or four papers will be presented. Please send inquiries, abstracts, or papers by 1 September 1991 to Jeffrey Smitten, Dept of English, Utah State University, Logan UT 84322. Tel: (801) 750-2733.

1992 in Philly: Call for Papers

Anticipation is building for ECSSS's joint conference with the East Central branch of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. The dates and venue of the conference have now been fixed: it will all happen 29-31 October at the Holiday Inn - Independence Mall, at Fourth and Arch Streets in downtown Philadelphia (just a short distance from the site of the old Second Presbyterian Church that the Scottish-American architect-builder Robert Smith built with Gunning Bedford for Gilbert Tennent's group of New Side Presbyterians around 1750).

The theme of the conference is "Centers and Peripheries of Enlightenment." This theme provides a suitable umbrella for dealing with Scotland and colonial America (and particularly its capital city, Philadelphia), while also allowing for a host of other topics (e.g., institutions in London, Paris, Edinburgh, and other metropolitan centers in relation to those in provincial towns; the relationship of central themes and characters to peripheral ones in literary works; the diffusion of enlightened values). Twelve to fourteen sessions will be held, with three papers at each session.

The Program Committee is now accepting proposals for individual papers and complete sessions. Each proposal should include a working title as well as a brief description of content. Send proposals as soon as possible to either of the Program Committee co-chairs: Peter Briggs, English Dept, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA 19110, or Stephen Smith, English Dept, LaSalle University, 20th & Olney, Philadelphia, PA 19141.

1993: Hume in Ottawa

Thanks to the efforts of David Raynor, the projected joint conference of ECSSS and the Hume Society on "Hume in His Scottish Setting" is now fixed for 5-9 July 1993. The site will be the University of Ottawa, and David Raynor will serve as co-chair of the event along with Roger Emerson. We are pleased to announce that David's proposal for a grant to help support this conference has been approved by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, in the amount of \$10,000 (Canadian).

Approximately one half of the papers at this conference will deal with the theme of Hume in relation to his Scottish context(s), with the other half divided equally between papers that deal narrowly with aspects of Hume's thought and papers that deal with related aspects of Scottish thought and culture. Members wishing to present papers at this conference should be aware that the system of vetting will be somewhat more rigorous than those practiced at conferences sponsored by ECSSS, ASECS, and most other scholarly societies, and early proposals are therefore advised. It is hoped that David Raynor will edit a volume of revised papers from this conference in the "ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" series.

For further information, contact David Raynor, Department of Philosophy, University of Ottawa, 65 University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N 6N5.

ECSSS Publications Soar; *Ossian* Appears!

The publication series "ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" is going great guns, with six volumes published or in preparation. The series was founded as an alternative to a journal, in order to encourage the publication of quality scholarship in eighteenth-century Scottish studies. A second purpose of the series is to raise funds for ECSSS through royalties, thereby enabling the society to sponsor special events and keep membership dues low.

The first volume in the series, Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten, eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*, was published in the summer of 1990 by Edinburgh University Press and Princeton University Press (see review in this issue). Sales have been encouraging, and ECSSS has already received a royalty check for \$200 (all royalties benefit the society). As noted in the last newsletter, both publishers are

offering a special discount to ECSSS members: the sale prices are £26.25 (including postage) for those outside North America who order directly from Edinburgh University Press (22 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LF, UK), and \$31.50 (plus \$2.75 postage for the first book and \$.50 for additional books) for North Americans who order directly from Princeton University Press (Special Sales Department, Attn: Brigitta van Rheinberg, 41 William St, Princeton, NJ 08540, USA).

The second volume in the series, Howard Gaskill, ed., *Ossian Revisited*, was published in mid-May 1991 by Edinburgh University Press and will be reviewed in our next issue. As readers of an article by the book's editor in an earlier issue of this newsletter may suspect, this volume is in large measure an attempt to look at the Ossianic phenomenon and the man most responsible for it, James Macpherson, more seriously than twentieth-century scholars have been in the habit of doing. The book contains a biting introduction by Howard Gaskill and nine original essays, by Donald E. Meek, Fiona J. Stafford, Uwe Boker, Paul J. deGatigno, John Valdimir Price, Steve Rizza, David Raynor, John Dwyer, and Richard B. Sher.

Ossian Revisited has a list price of £30, but it is available to ECSSS members at a discount price of £27.50. This discount price includes postage and handling throughout the world, including airmail to North America. Send payment (preferably in pounds sterling, although U.S. dollars will also be accepted if necessary) directly to Edinburgh University Press at the address shown above, making sure to identify yourself as an ECSSS member.

The third volume in the series, John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher, eds., *Sociability and Society: The Social World of the Scottish Enlightenment*, is scheduled for publication in autumn 1991 as a special issue of the journal *Eighteenth Century Life* (negotiations are also under way with Aberdeen University Press for separate publication of the volume in book form). Developed from the proceedings of our first ECSSS conference at Virginia Beach in 1988 (jointly sponsored by the Institute of Scottish Studies at Old Dominion University), this volume contains an introduction by John Dwyer and twelve original essays on the theme of sociability and sentiment in eighteenth-century Scottish literature and thought. Contributors include Susan M. Purviance, Jeffrey R. Smitten, Peter J. Diamond, Deidre Dawson, Barbara M. Benedict, James G. Basker, Ned C. Landsman, David Daiches, Kenneth Simpson, John Ashmead & John Davison, and the editors.

Volume four in the series, set to be published by Edinburgh University Press toward the end of 1991, is the third edition of Anthony E. Brown, *Boswellian Studies: A Bibliography*. The second edition of *Boswellian Studies*, which was published in 1972 by Archon Books, is the standard bibliographical reference work on Boswell. The third edition will include references to the vast amount of Boswell scholarship that has appeared during the last twenty years, as well as much new material from eighteenth-century newspapers, magazines, and other sources. As a result, it will be

almost twice the size of the second edition, which will be completely superseded.

The fifth volume is Andrew Hook, ed., *Glasgow and the Enlightenment*, which has been conditionally accepted for publication by Edinburgh University Press; the sixth is a collection of Boswell essays that Irma Lustig is editing.

Further information about this series will be made available to our members as the individual volumes appear. We hope that members will take advantage of the special discount prices offered for these books, as well as arrange for their university libraries to purchase copies at the list price. Members are encouraged to submit proposals for future volumes to the executive secretary; all proposals will be brought before the next meeting of the Board, and if successful there, will be presented to the general membership of the society at the next business meeting. Proposals for volumes in areas other than the history of ideas are particularly encouraged at this time.

Conferences

ASECS in Cincinnati. At the ASECS meeting in April ECSSS ran a successful seminar on "Exploration and Exploitation in Early 18th-Century Scotland." Chaired by Roger Fechner (Adrian College), it consisted of papers by an all-British panel: David Armitage (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), "The Darien Venture and the Structure of Political Argument;" Bruce Lenman (St Andrews U.), "The Early Scottish Enlightenment and the Development of the American South;" and A.J.G. Cummings (Strathclyde U.), "Industry and Investment in the Highlands: The York Buildings Company of London." Vice-president Leslie Ellen Brown represented ECSSS at the meeting of ASECS affiliates.

Scottish Studies at Grenoble. An International Congress in Scottish Studies met at the Université Stendhal - Grenoble III in France, 15-17 March 1991. Two programs on the theme of "Historicity" were held simultaneously, one dealing with "Modern Scotland" and the other with "Scotland from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century." Among the speakers were ECSSS members Ross Roy, David Stevenson, Marie-Cécile Révauger, Horst Drescher, and the director of the early modern program and of the "Etudes Ecosaises" group at Grenoble, Pierre Morère. Richard Sher was also on the program, but an emergency landing forced down his airplane and caused him to miss the conference (thanks to David Stevenson for reading his paper, which was sent to Grenoble by fax).

Hume Society Active. The Hume Society's 1990 conference was held at the Australian National University in Canberra, Australia, 27 June - 1 July. Organized by ECSSS members Knud Haakonssen and David Fate Norton, the conference included talks by John Wright, David Raynor, Stanley Tweyman, and M. A. Stewart. The 1991 conference will occur 12-15 August at the University of Oregon. The 1992 conference will be in Nantes, France, 29 June - 3 July. Proposed papers and abstracts should be submitted by 1 October 1991 to

Dorothy Coleman, Dept of Philosophy, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA 23185.

Folger Seminars on Anglo-Scottish Unions. In autumn ECSSS member Roger Mason directed a seminar at the Folger Institute on "Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603." Another member of the society, Arthur Williamson was among the speakers.

A second Folger seminar led by an ECSSS member is now in progress. Under the direction of John Robertson, this seminar is titled "Union, State and Empire: The Political Identities of Britain, 1688-1750" and includes among its speakers J.G.A. Pocock, Istvan Hont, Knud Haakonssen, Jim Moore, Clare O'Halloran, John Cairns, David Armitage, Roger Emerson, and Ned Landsman. The seminar meets at 1 PM on Mondays, Tuesday, and Thursdays from 20 May through 27 June. Those interested in attending any of the remaining meetings should contact Dr Lena Cowen Orlin at the Folger Institute, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. 20003.

Early in 1992 J.G.A. Pocock will direct the third Folger seminar in this series, "Empire, Confederation, and Republic: From Atlantic Dominion to American Union." For more information, contact Lena Orlin.

EC/ASECS at Carlisle. At the October 1990 meeting of the East Central branch of ASECS at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Henry Fulton chaired a session on "The Scots Influence on Higher Education in America." The speakers were Nina Reid on Benjamin Rush's Scottish medical training; George Allan on Dickinson College's Scottish origins; and Robert Kent Donovan on the college's first president, the Scottish minister Charles Nisbet. At the same conference, Irma Lustig led a seminar commemorating the 250th anniversary of James Boswell's birth.

ESHSS at Aberdeen and Glasgow. At the meeting of the Economic & Social History Society of Scotland held at the University of Aberdeen in December 1990, Stana Nenadic spoke on "Material Consumption and 18th-Century Urban Provincial Culture: Edinburgh and Glasgow Compared." The society's spring conference was held at the University of Glasgow in April 1991.

CSECS and CASS at Kingston. The annual meeting of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, held in October 1990 at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, was crawling with ECSSS members. A seminar on medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment was chaired by John Wright and included papers by Roger Emerson on the origins of the Edinburgh University Medical School, Nina Reid on connections between Scottish chemistry and the "Theistic Enlightenment" in Philadelphia, and Anita Guerrini on George Cheyne. A more general seminar on the Scottish Enlightenment, chaired by Roger Emerson, featured papers by M. A. Stewart on the Irish origins of the Scottish Enlightenment and by Lewis Ulman on Thomas Gordon's contributions to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society. Mark Madoff was also on the program for this seminar, which occurred just weeks after his untimely death. Other papers were presented at the conference by John Wright

and George McElroy, and J.G.A. Pocock delivered a plenary lecture.

The Canadian Association of Scottish Studies is holding its 1991 meeting at Queen's University early in June, with Ralph Stewart among the speakers.

UWO Seminar at London, Ont. The winter 1991 eighteenth-century seminar at the University of Western Ontario featured three talks on Scotland: James Moore on Hutcheson and Hume; Jeff Suderman on William Robertson; and Douglas Long on Adam Smith. The directing hand of Roger Emerson has been detected.

Aberdeen Cultural History Group. The 1991 conference of the University of Aberdeen's Cultural History Group will be held from 1 to 4 July on the theme of "The Frontiers of European Culture." Contact Paul Dukes or Joan Pittock Wesson at the University of Aberdeen for more information.

Adam Smith Postcards Available

ECSSS has purchased a quantity of a new Adam Smith postcard designed by a Swedish firm. This handsome black-and-white card shows the famous profile bust of Smith, the shadow of which is balancing the world on one figure. Beneath the illustration are three sentences from the *Wealth of Nations* stating Smith's celebrated thesis about the "invisible hand."

ECSSS is selling these postcards in packs of ten for \$3 or £2, including postage and handling. Send orders directly to the executive secretary, with checks made out to "ECSSS."

Fond Farewells and Personal Recollections

by Richard B. Sher

ECSSS lost three good friends recently. T. I. Rae, keeper of manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland, passed away in July 1989. A specialist in early modern Scotland, Ian Rae was enormously helpful to many of us who did archival research in Edinburgh during his tenure. In the early 1970s, for example, he went out of his way to assist me when I was preparing for the press my first publication, Alexander Carlyle's *Journal of a Tour to the North of Scotland*, and in memory of that assistance the Thoemmes Press reprint edition of Carlyle's *Autobiography* that appeared in 1990 has been dedicated to him. He will be remembered by many ECSSS members.

Mark Madoff of Royal Roads Military College in Victoria, British Columbia, died suddenly of a heart attack in September 1990. Mark was a member of this society and spoke at the ECSSS seminar at the ASECS meeting in New Orleans in spring 1989. At the time of his death he was far advanced on a book on conspiratorial groups in Scotland during the French Revolutionary period; more than 300 pages of notes and papers relating to this work were left behind. Mark's wife Pamela has been looking for a scholar working in a

related field who might be willing to see this work through to completion; if interested, contact her at 642 Battery St, Victoria, B.C., Canada V8V 1E5.

November 1990 brought the death of Martin Spencer, secretary of Edinburgh University Press, and truly one of the best friends ECSSS has ever had. All the obituaries that appeared in the British press stressed Martin's accomplishment at Manchester University Press as the great achievement of his life, for after his appointment as director of MUP in 1973 he transformed it into a premier academic publishing house. He went to EUP in 1987 and approached it as an exciting new challenge. It so happened that ECSSS was emerging just about the time that Martin assumed his duties in Edinburgh, and he quickly became an enthusiastic supporter of our efforts to improve the quality of scholarship on eighteenth-century Scotland. *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* was one of the first publishing projects to cross his desk after his move to Edinburgh, and perhaps for that reason he always possessed a special interest in it, as well as in other ECSSS publishing projects.

As the collaboration between ECSSS and EUP grew, so did my personal friendship with Martin. We corresponded frequently, and he visited with me at my office and home in New Jersey, and I at his in Edinburgh. Whether or not we agreed about particular projects, he was always fair and honest in his dealings, and his manner was always charming and gracious. Perhaps because he had spent most of his professional career before Manchester in Asia and Africa, serving in the overseas division of Longman, Martin had a truly cosmopolitan outlook. Not every Cambridge-educated Englishman would have earned so much respect almost immediately after assuming the leading academic publishing job in Scotland. One reason was that Martin was never stuffy or condescending. He frankly admitted at first that he knew little about eighteenth-century Scotland, but he was a quick study and had a keen eye for a good title. More important, he was a man with a vision about the nature and role of Edinburgh University Press (as well as its subsidiary Polygon Books, which he revived as a kind of pet project). It was his belief that EUP should significantly expand its coverage of Scottish studies, and he made every effort to realize that dream.

At work one could immediately tell that his colleagues felt great affection for him. The serious stroke that he suffered some months before his death seemed to throw people there into a panic. As he started to recover, everyone worried that he was working too hard, but it was impossible to keep him down. Cancelling his trip to America just before his death was difficult for him. It was an eerie feeling to receive a letter from Martin a few days after learning of his death, informing me that his visit would have to be postponed because of some "routine tests" in the hospital - tests from which, I then knew, he had not recovered.

Once I got the chance to repay some of the kindness and good will that Martin had heaped upon ECSSS. I happened to visit the Boswell Office at Yale University in autumn 1989, just after McGraw-Hill, principal pub-

lisher (with its British affiliate Heinemann, Ltd) of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell, revealed it was no longer interested in continuing with that enterprise. Did I happen to know of another press that might be interested in taking it on, asked the editor of the Boswell Papers, Marshall Waingrow? In no time I was on the phone with Martin, who reacted with enthusiasm and determination. Another year of legal wrangling ensued, but recently Edinburgh University Press assumed exclusive publication rights to the Boswell Papers at Yale. How unfortunate that Martin did not live to savor that triumph. As Edinburgh University Press produces the remaining volumes of the Boswell Papers through the end of this century and the opening decades of the next, I hope it will be remembered that Martin Spencer was the person chiefly responsible for Boswell's return to Edinburgh after an absence of some two hundred years.

Members on the Move

James Basker is now a tenured associate professor of English at Barnard College, Columbia University . . . Hume's *Essays* are now available in *HUMETEXT 1.0*; contact Tom Beauchamp, Philosophy, Georgetown University . . . congratulations to Barbara Benedict on earning tenure at Trinity College, Connecticut . . . and to Deborah Brunton on the completion of her Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania . . . Anand Chitnis has been appointed principal of La Sainte Union College of Higher Education in Southampton . . . Greg Clingham, English, Fordham University, welcomes submissions to *Translation and Literature*, a new journal that he co-edits . . . Deidre Dawson is once again directing the Georgetown-in-Tours summer program in France . . . Robert Kent Donovan has received a Mellon Foundation research fellowship for summer study at the Massachusetts Historical Society . . . economic historian Alastair Durie has moved to Glasgow University . . . Bob Edgar will again be leading tours to Scotland this summer, departing from Portland, Oregon . . . LaVonne Faruki has joined the English faculty at Purdue University . . . Anita Guerrini received a Bernadotte Schmitt grant from the American Historical Association to help complete a book on the Scottish physician George Cheyne . . . Knud Haakonssen spent part of 1990 as a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. . . . Gary Hatch was awarded a research grant by Arizona State University to study Hugh Blair's contributions to sermon writing . . . Henry Fulton continues to run Central Michigan University's international programs in Vienna and Japan as a "faculty consultant" . . . Masahiro Hamashita would appreciate advice on preparing a bibliography of eighteenth-century Scottish aesthetics . . . Alice Jacoby now has a permanent position at Andrew College in Cuthbert, Georgia . . . former member Eleanor Kingsbury is now director of the Ohio Humanities Council . . . Deborah Leslie (formerly Pflug), is now assistant professor of bibliography at the University of Oklahoma . . . Irma Lustig hiked for two weeks in the Inner and Outer Hebrides last summer,

putting her more in awe than ever at Johnson and Boswell's intrepidity . . . Roger Mason of St Andrews University and former member Ellen Collingsworth (Haydar) of Friends Select School in Philadelphia have tied the knot in the first-ever ECSSS marriage (they met in Princeton in 1987 at an NEH institute on Scotland and America) . . . Kenneth MacKinnon has moved to the University of Waikato, New Zealand . . . Christopher MacLachlan has switched from secretary to general editor of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies; he reports that ASLS is preparing to publish Tom Crawford's anthology *Boswell and Scotland* . . . Dr Malcolm Macpherson-Smith is currently a fellow in the medical humanities department, Loyola University, Chicago . . . Christopher Mitchell is serving as a pastor at Bethany Chapel in Wheaton, Illinois, while writing his Ph.D. thesis on "The Influence of Jonathan Edwards on Eighteenth-Century Scottish Religious Thought" . . . in January Donald Nichol spoke on the book trade at the annual conference of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in London . . . Fania Oz-Salzberger has been named Hornick junior research fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford . . . Carolyn Peters has earned a Ph.D. in Scottish history from Glasgow University with a thesis on Glasgow's tobacco lords; she is now employed by the *Biographical Dictionary of Early Pennsylvania Legislators* at Temple University in Philadelphia . . . David Raynor divided the 1990-91 year between Oxford and University College, Galway, Ireland, where he was a visiting fellow in the humanities . . . Wade Robison is visiting professor in the humanities at Rochester Institute of Technology . . . Lisa Rosner, on leave this spring in Oregon, warns us to expect her forthcoming book from Edinburgh University Press this year: *Students and Apprentices at Edinburgh University: Medical Education in the Age of Improvement, 1760-1826* . . . George Shepperson will be honored with a doctorate *honoris causa* at the July graduation ceremonies of Edinburgh University . . . Richard Sher has been elected a fellow of the Royal Historical Society . . . Andrew Skinner has been named a vice-principal at Glasgow University . . . Jeffrey Smiten is now chair of English at Utah State University . . . David R. Smith of Dalkeith was the guest of honor at this year's birthday party for the Scottish-American architect Robert Smith, hosted as always by Charles Peterson . . . Fiona Stafford has joined the faculty at Nene College in Northampton . . . M. A. Stewart is now visiting research fellow at the Australian National University in Canberra . . . Gerald Sullivan has completed law school and joined a Philadelphia firm as an attorney . . . Nick Whistler is now in the English department at University of Waterloo, Ontario . . . Eric Wehrli has become head of the social studies department at the Canterbury School in Fort Wayne, Indiana . . . Paul Wood is joining the history department at University of Victoria, B.C., where he and David Wootton hope to sponsor a March 1993 conference on cross-cultural aspects of the Enlightenment . . . John Wright spent the winter as a Rockefeller fellow at the Institute for the Medical Humanities, University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston.

“Because It’s Time”: Electronic Networks and the Academy

by Deborah J. Leslie

Scholars of the world unite . . . through computer networks! For those who have survived the leap from the comfortably familiar typewriter and calculator to the unnervingly powerful personal computer, the world of electronic communication - formal and informal, scholarly and personal - is the next new frontier of computer applications.

What is the appeal of computer networks and why should academe be particularly interested? Imagine writing a letter to someone without having to address and stamp an envelope, and having it arrive at its destination within minutes, sometimes within seconds. Imagine a gathering, in which people from all over the world ask each other questions, get answers, announce conferences, solicit papers, describe job opportunities, discuss scholarly issues, recommend books, and make personal contacts with scholars who have similar research interests. Now, imagine participating in all this without ever leaving your desk, and that is the answer.

BITNET (Because It’s Time Network) is one of the main conduits in this massive electronic complex. It is not the only such network (Internet is the other main one in the U.S.), but it is as commonly used as any, and it is the one with which I am familiar. The concepts presented here, if not the particulars, are transferable.

BITNET is operated by an organization in the U.S., but through its cooperating networks in other countries, it connects over 3300 computers in about 1400 organizations (colleges, universities, and research centers), spanning 45 countries and five continents. BITNET also provides access to other networks (such as Internet) through “gateways,” so that the number of possible connections is really quite astonishing.

E-mail: A prerequisite of jumping into “the net,” as the system of electronic networks is known to those familiar with it, is getting access to electronic mail (e-mail) by obtaining an “account” on your institution’s mainframe computer. An account is simply a small share of the space and time available on the computer. A network address, in networkese, consists of your own personal account number (userid) and the address (nodename) of your institution’s computer (node). Mine, for example, is “qb9305@uokmvs.”

It is a good idea to establish a friendly relationship with your local academic computing center. Some people have been able to muddle through without them, but e-life is so much more pleasant with professional help.

E-mail allows you to receive, send, and store messages sent from the personal computer on your desk, to, say, someone across the globe, or to someone sitting in the next office. The institutions usually bear the cost, offering the use of e-mail free to faculty, and sometimes staff and students. I had to have my account authorized by my superiors, which may be true for others.

Discussion groups: Electronic mail is the means by which “lists,” or electronic discussion groups, operate. “List” specifically refers to the list of names and electronic addresses of the subscribers, but the term has come to be synonymous with the discussion group itself. Lists differ from personal e-mail in that messages sent to the list address are distributed to every member on the list.

There are lists of all types, over 900 on BITNET alone. Each has its own character. While some are very specific, most of the lists that humanists find interesting are rather general in nature. The descriptions given below (those without asterisks) reflect the state of affairs in early spring 1991.

I would like to offer two caveats to this rosy picture of e-life. First, any electronic network is only as strong as its weakest node. Consequently, if a computer on the net is experiencing difficulties, it may clog the system, preventing messages from getting through in a timely fashion. The second caution is that electronic discussion groups are not everyone’s cup of tea; some people are annoyed with the number of personally irrelevant messages distributed through a list.

Now, regarding the technical aspects of list participation, it is important to understand the difference between a list and an altogether different entity, the “listserv.” The listserv is a completely electronic function of the mainframe computer that hosts the list. All clerical transactions, such as entering your subscription and signing off, are done through the listserv, untouched by human hands (with some exceptions, like ExLibris, described below). So, subscription and signoff messages are sent to the listserv address, while messages to be distributed to the discussion are sent to the list address. The listserv address always consists of the userid “listserv” plus the nodename of the computer hosting the list.

For example, since the list address of the discussion group C18-L is C18-L@psuvm, the listserv address is listserv@psuvm. To subscribe to C18-L, mail to this address: listserv@psuvm, this message: sub C18-L <Firstname Lastname> (or however you would like your name to appear).

If the list does not measure up to your expectations, send to the listserv the message: signoff <listname>. To continue our example, mail to listserv@psuvm the message: signoff C18-L. I encourage everyone, however, to give any list at least a couple of weeks trial before consigning it to ethereal oblivion.

Here is a description of a few lists that ECSSS members might find appealing. Asterisks indicate lists to which I do not belong.

C18-L@PSUVM. An interdisciplinary eighteenth-century list, but dominated a bit by English literature folks. Moderately active, it presently functions mainly as a bulletin board.

HUMANIST@UTORONTO. HUMANIST is oriented toward the use of computing in the humanities, but sometimes general humanistic issues are entertained. Users are asked to submit a brief biography in order to join.*

HISTORY@FINHUTC. A general list which brings together both specialists and amateurs, HISTORY provides a forum for issues of past and present concern, although military and post-WWII historians have been at the fore since the Persian Gulf War. It is an active list: 15 to 20 messages a day is common.

NSP-L@RPIECS. Noble Savage Philosophers is a general philosophical discussion. It has been rather inactive, but seems to be picking up of late.

EXLIBRIS@ZODIAC.RUTGERS.EDU. This Internet list is devoted to rare book and manuscript librarianship, which may be of interest to non-librarian scholars who work with rare materials, or who work in rare book collections. It is a low-activity list, with an average of three or four messages a week. Note: subscription is NOT handled through a listserv. To subscribe, send a message to exlibrisrequest@zodiac.rutgers.edu, indicating such. It may take several days to get on.

If the prospect of list participation is too daunting or unappealing, at least get an e-mail account. Once you are in the habit of communicating this way, other methods generally seem inconvenient. Anyone who wishes to try out their new account may do so by sending me a message at my account: qb9305@uokmvs.a.

Material for this article was taken from BITNET documentation and from Don Mabry's article, "Electronic Mail and Historians," which appeared in *AHA Perspectives*.

Editor's Note: Thanks to Deborah Leslie's guidance, the editor of this newsletter is now reachable at the following BITNET address: Sher_P@admin1. Members are encouraged to correspond over BITNET whenever possible, particularly from overseas.

Allan Ramsay's Early Critics

by A. M. Kinghorn

Pope and Philip had composed pastorals which showed ignorance of country folk and country ways, substituting a conventional vocabulary for their lack of personal knowledge. The pastoral became a vehicle for the critical judgments of the Edinburgh literati and drew out many of their prejudices. They did not have to look southwards for examples, since a home-grown one came readily to hand. Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) had made a selective use of the common Scots vernacular, was written in pastoral-dramatic form, and demanded critical attention.

Praise for the poetry of Barbour, Douglas, Lyndsay, and especially Dunbar was rooted in patriotic sentiments and extolled the "genius" of the old *makars*, whose language proved that contemporary spoken Scots had ancient roots. Between them and the *literati* lay a great gulf, since the latter, schooled according to neoclassical standards, found it hard to take seriously Ramsay's attempt to convert the pastoral into Scots.

Hugh Blair, James Beattie, and Henry Mackenzie each dealt at some length with the pastoral. In his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783) Blair showed that he held no high opinion of Pope and Philip, whom he considered uninspired imitators of Virgil, barren of natural emotion. His criteria were sentimental. "In every rank of life," he states in lecture XLVI, "the relations of Father, Husband, Son, Brother, Lover, or Friend, lay the foundation of those affecting situations, which make man's heart feel for Man." Blair, a middle-of-the-road critic, found that Ramsay's pastoral pleased him, containing as it did the realism and all the familial affections which his aesthetic sense required and which he had found in the Swiss Salomon Gessner's *New Idylles*, read in a 1776 English translation. Ramsay's rustic language, however, was "a great disadvantage to this beautiful poem," making it unintelligible to all but native Scots. In other words, Ramsay ought to have written *The Gentle Shepherd* in English!

Speaking from Aberdeen, and disliking "the vulgar broad Scotch," Beattie, in his "Essay on Laughter and Ludicrous Composition," was cruder. Considered from an Englishman's viewpoint, "the language would appear only antiquated, obscure or unintelligible, but to a Scotsman who thoroughly understands it, and is aware of its vulgarity, it appears ludicrous." But even Beattie admitted that the pastoral had much merit and praised its verisimilitude, a feature much esteemed by the literati. More extreme was the antiquary John Pinkerton, who had nothing good to say about the use of Scots in modern poetry and was known for his abusive condemnation of Ramsay, whom he considered "entirely ignorant of the Scottish tongue, save that spoken by the mob around him."

Henry Mackenzie struck a different note. His letters to Elizabeth Rose show a warmth to Scots that is absent from Blair and Beattie. In one of the letters (17 Aug. 1775) he repeats Blair's doubt that the language may soon become obsolete, dependent on a glossary and a barrier to understanding, but he is enthusiastic about the worth of *The Gentle Shepherd*, "a chef d'oeuvre in its way" with the language "to us at present one of its beauties."

Poetry in Scots demands study of its language; this is true of Burns, and especially of Robert Fergusson, whose language is difficult to understand because so much of it was of local urban origin. It is revealing that Mackenzie, whose published opinions were in line with those of Blair and Beattie, and whose review of Burns's 1786 Kilmarnock volume in *Lounger* no. 97 conveyed the stock dislike of the literati for departures from English standards, wrote a private letter in which he singled out Ramsay's Scots for praise.

Most men of letters thought the "Doric" a disadvantage, and their attitude to Ramsay's pastoral spoke of a grave concern at the intrusion of Scotticisms, but exceptions stand out. One was Lord Craig, a contributor to Mackenzie's 1780 journal, *The Mirror*. In an "Essay on the Scarcity of Humorous Writers in Scotland" (*Mirror* no. 83), he pointed out that one reason why Scotland had failed to produce works of humor during the eighteenth century was that the Scots spoke one language and wrote another. This had not been the case before the 1603 Union, "when the Scotch was the written, as well as the spoken language of the country." Craig is firmly on the side of Ramsay, whose pastoral, "full of natural and ludicrous representations of low life, is written in broad Scotch."

Burns acknowledged his debt to Ramsay (and Fergusson) in *Poems: Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. Craig's essay helps to explain the immediate success of this venture, genuinely delighted in by folk who recognized a heightened form of their own speech, and soon given a stamp of approval by Mackenzie and (less enthusiastically) by Blair, who tried without much success to get Burns to tone down his Scots for the second Edinburgh edition.

Another contributor to the *Mirror* and *Lounger* magazines was Alexander Fraser Tytler, later Lord Woodhouselee. His father, William Tyler the antiquary, published "Observations on the Vision" (first printed in Ramsay's *Ever Green*), where he defended Ramsay against charges of non-authorship by those who said that he had been helped by Sir John Clerk and Sir William Bennet. A.F. Tytler wrote "Remarks" on Ramsay's poems for George Chalmers's edition of 1800 and was the poet's first confident supporter. He had no doubts about Ramsay's comparative worth and made his position clear by comparing Ramsay's "Edinburgh's Address to the County" with a short passage about great cities in Milton's "L'Allegro."

Tytler paid some attention to the use of Scots in *The Gentle Shepherd*, taking the common-sense view that if Ramsay had made his seventeenth-century Lowland shepherds speak correct English the result would have been preposterous. Instead, "he gave them the language which belonged to them." Tytler pressed home his point by noting: "after all, what is the language of Ramsay but the common speech of Yorkshire during the last century," a rhetorical question conveying some truth, since shared vocabulary did exist, as comparisons of Ramsay's proverbs with English collections show. Tytler referred to a 1684 monograph "a Yorkshire Dialogue in its pure natural dialect" to support his assertion. Ramsay's mother came from Derbyshire and must have influenced his early habits of speech, though Tytler does not mention this point.

Defending Ramsay against stock accusations of vulgarity, Tytler took a wider view than most, implying, in direct opposition to Beattie, that Ramsay's language should be judged by its effect not on prejudiced Scots critics brought up on Pope but on English readers. He noted that Quintilian had observed how antiquity lent dignity to a work and that the author of an essay on song-writing (Aiken) who praised Ramsay for his nearness to nature had argued (quaintly) that the unfamiliarity and foreign-ness of Scots made it more difficult for critics to be severe.

In 1785 Alexander Geddes, exiled in London, had sent a paper to the Edinburgh Society of Antiquaries, in which what he called "Scoto-Saxon" was claimed as equal in vocabulary, variety of inflection, and derivatives, and actually superior in diminutives, to Anglo-Saxon. Scots is capable of furnishing almost unlimited degrees of diminution: *hat, hatty, hattiky; lass, lassie, lassiky; wife, wifie, wee wifiky* - even *wee wee wifiky*, are the examples Tytler cites. Geddes found the virtue of a language above all in its capacity to evoke feelings of harmony in sound as well as sense. He thought that Scots avoided the harshness of English and attained a greater harmony and power of sentiment. Ramsay had said this himself in his preface to *The Gentle Shepherd*.

Tytler, admitting that common Scots was "gradually refining and coming nearer to the English standard," pointed out that Ramsay's language had already become old-fashioned, since Ramsay himself had spoken early eighteenth-century Scots. This amounted to a compromise between antiquaries like Pinkerton and Sibbald, who sought to preserve Scots as a museum-piece only, and literary pundits like Blair and Beattie who rejected it as coarse and inferior to English. These factions were, in theory at least, able to agree that it best represented the natural characters of Ramsay's shepherds, though they never really came to terms in other respects. A distinction which Ramsay never made had been drawn between the Scots poetic tradition as represented by the old *makars* (thought good) and the persistent use of modern Scots for poetry (bad).

Contemporary glossaries designed for readers unfamiliar with Ramsay's common Scots show that the extent of his vocabulary, apart from elements made to look Scots by phonetic spelling, was about 1200 words. Burns added another thousand. Robert Fergusson's *wordhord* was larger and less restricted than either and drew on the argot of the Edinburgh Old Town as well as on Aberdeenshire Scots. The immediate success of Burns and the partial acceptance of the experiments of Ramsay and disciples like Hamilton of Bangour did little for Fergusson, who was denied critical recognition during his short lifetime and for many years afterward.

ADAM FERGUSON'S RULES OF WAR

Edited by

Jane Bush Fagg and Yasuo Amoh

Introduction

In the House of Commons in February 1779, General Sir William Howe, former commander of the British forces in America, and his brother, Admiral Lord Richard Howe, obtained a committee of the whole house to investigate the conduct of the war in America. The Howes believed that their characters had been "unfairly impugned" by Lord North's ministry, and that, in fact, the ministry had failed to provide adequate support for the prosecution of the war.

The hearings were held in May, and on the fifth Lord Cornwallis, back from America on leave, was compelled to testify as a material witness. Cornwallis was willing to testify on matters of fact but refused to give his opinions on the conduct of Sir William relative to troop movements. The ministry called several witnesses who testified mainly about the strength of the opposing armies. "After much time was consumed, it was evident that the proceedings would answer the purpose of neither party; for while Sir William Howe failed to show he had not been duly supported by Ministers, they could substantiate no serious charge against him."¹ The committee adjourned *sine die* on 29 June.

Early in May, William Eden - M.P., one of the lords of trade and a member of the Carlisle Commission for conciliation with the American Colonies - asked Adam Ferguson, the commission secretary, to provide him with some notes for the Howe inquiry. Eden no doubt knew that Ferguson had been critical of the Howe brothers for some time. In December 1777 Ferguson had written to Sir John Macpherson: "O thou General Howe, who will put us again, in the Pasture which we had at the beginning of last Campaign & which you gave up. You Blockhead or Worse."² Eden also asked Ferguson to include some comments on the rules of war. On 10 May Ferguson sent Eden the letter transcribed below (I), supporting the ministry's position that the inquiry was "idle" and that the question of whether "Sir W^m Howe is a man of capacity & has ably conducted the American War" was of little public interest and was really a matter of party politics.

More interesting to students of eighteenth-century Scotland are the enclosed papers, which are also transcribed below (II). These papers are Ferguson's comments on the rules of war, which he hinted to Eden might be suitable for publication. Ferguson stressed the concepts of proportionality and reasonable chance of success, and he followed the traditional, "hard-line" approach on the treatment of those in rebellion. Since Howe had a more conciliatory attitude toward the Americans, Ferguson criticized the "maxims of lenity or rather timidity" that he believed Howe had employed.³ Finally Ferguson thought that it was still possible to win back the rebellious colonies by continuing the war and using "the force of wisdom & of justice."

We use as our text B. F. Stevens, ed., *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America 1773-1783* (London, 1891), vol. 10, no. 994, "Dr Adam Ferguson to William Eden, 10 May 1779 . . . Enclosing Dr Adam Ferguson, Notes on the Enquiry into General Sir Wm. Howe's Conduct in the American War [10 May 1779]," and no. 995, "Dr Adam Ferguson, Notes on Enquiry into General Sir William Howe's Conduct in the American War . . . Enclosed by Dr Adam Ferguson to William Eden 10 May 1779." Stevens wrote that the original manuscripts were among the Auckland Manuscripts at King's College, Cambridge, but they are now at the British Library, Add MS 34,416, fols. 346, 347.

In this transcription, the original spelling and grammatical errors have been retained, but the capitalization and punctuation have been modified for readability. The text has not been numbered. The following symbols are used: [. . .] denotes textual material deleted by the original author; { . . . } denotes textual material which the present editors consider superfluous or unnecessary; < . . . > denotes textual material which the present editors have added to restore or complete the author's intended sense.

Notes to the Introduction

¹ Charles Ross, ed., *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis* (London, 1859), 1:39. See also *Scots Magazine* 41 (Oct. 1779): 541.

² Adam Ferguson to Sir John Macpherson, 23 Dec. 1777, Edinburgh University Library, Dc. 1.77, no. 8.

³ For a discussion of the differences between the traditionalists or "hard-liners" and the "conciliators" among the officers of the British army, see Stephen Conway, "To Subdue America: British Army Officers and the Conduct of the Revolutionary War," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 43 (1986): 381-407.

I. Adam Ferguson to William Eden [10 May 1779]

Fludyer,
10th May 1779

Dear Sir,

I send you some notes that have occurred to me in considering the tendency of the inquiry now depending. I have been particularly attentive as you desired to state the rules of war &c but have been hurried into some general animadversion of the whole cause. You will attend only to what you think proper & consider if you please whether some general views of this sort even published might not have more effect than longer & more laboured discussion. Whatever use may be made of it the faults are submitted to you & reserved for your correction.

I have the honour
to be most respectfully
your most obedient &
most humble servant
Adam Ferguson

II. Adam Ferguson's Notes on the Enquiry into General Sir William Howe's Conduct in the American War [10 May 1779]

The immediate object of the inquiry now depending before the Commons of Great Britain is whether Sir W^m Howe is a man of capacity & has ably conducted the American War.

This question is of very little consequence to the publick & may be decided in any way without affecting the state otherwise than by promoting or defeating the purpose of party.

The inquiry however has led to questions of more moment.

1st How far the state has a right to employ the ordinary means of war in order to suppress a rebellion which has outlived all the grievances from which it was supposed to arise & how far her officers have already abused those means.

2^d What prospect remains to Great Britain of being able to effect a reunion with her colonies.

As to the 1st question: It is not easily conceived how subjects in arms against their sovereign & in alliance with his enemys should be entitled to more favour than the subjects of a forreign prince at war upon some problematical question of state.

The subjects of a forreign prince involved in a war by their sovereign may not have incurred any personal guilt by that circumstance and it is not lawfull to distress them except so far as that is allowed in order to distress the state to which they belong.

But subjects in rebellion incurr a personal guilt & may be distressed not only in order to distress their community but likewise in order to punish their crime.

When a controversy, nevertheless, whatever may have been its origin, has been brought to the ordinary issue of war, it must be conducted according to the rules of war least innocent subjects employed against rebels & criminals should be exposed by retaliation to suffer what justice permits to be inflicted on rebels & criminals alone.

War is supposed to permit reprisals, circumvention, force, bloodshed, slaughter & a variety of means that may be employed to force an ennemy to justice.

In the use of these means however the operations of war are limited with a view to the end, & to the just measure of hostilities that may be necessary to obtain it.

No act of hostility, not even the smallest molestation to the person against whom it is employed, is lawfull except so far it is necessary to prevent a wrong, or to redress an injury.

The principle from which the rules of war are derived is: That a person apprehending wrong may defend himself at the expence & hazard and if necessary even by the suffering & destruction of the party who wrongs him.

And the source of the limitation is likewise obvious: That he is not to do harm wantonly, not beyond what is necessary to preserve or recover his right.

The first & most ordinary species of hostilities, in case an enemy persists in the wrong, are seizing his person & effects or his territory &, in case of resistance, military execution & slaughter.

^{1st} A party aggrieved has a right to make war at the expence of his enemy, and therefore has a right that is¹ never contested, to raise contributions, to exact supplies of every sort, as far as they are necessary to support the war or as far as they tend by distressing the enemy to compell the enemy to justice.

Armies on the territory of an enemy sometimes spare the country from a consideration of safety & expedience to themselves.

It is expedient to protect a country [in] which [an army²] is the seat of war, in order to enjoy its resources which might be exhausted at once if the country were laid waste or exposed to rapin.

An army endeavours to avail itself of the resources of an enemys country either by exacting regular & measured contributions under a perfect security to the persons & remaining property of those who pay those contributions, or by means still more mild by requiring the ordinary supply of the camp at a marketable & reasonable price.

If the reasonable demand whether of a free contribution or marketable supply are refused, it is undoubtedly lawfull to exact compliance under pain of military execution. And countreys in the power of an enemy for the most part are so well apprised of what they have to expect that they never refuse such contributions or supplies.

2 Every person that is found in arms is supposed to resist & may be proceeded against accordingly. And every house from which hostilities are committed may be destroyed & is accordingly destroyed to deterr the peasant from practices that approach to assassination & hurt particular persons without affecting the general cause.

3 An army being to withdraw from a country or being to leave it to be occupied by an enemy may if expedient³ break up high ways, demolish bridges, fell timber, destroy forrage provisions, & every species of accommodation that would facilitate the operations of an enemy.

This is practiced by armies on the [on a] territory of a friend & the right was never questioned on that of an enemy.

When a party at war is to abandon a possession that may be instantly turned against him by an enemy, it is undoubtedly lawfull to consult his own safety by destroying such possession.

Thus not only arsenals & magazines with their contents of arms, amunition, stores and provisions, not only fortresses, docks & harbours but sea ports of any description, towns & villages are destroyed when they are likely to become a dangerous accession of force to an enemy.

And the party who persists in the wrong so long as to render these or other acts of hostility necessary against him has no one to blame but himself.

If the party whose right is withheld from him, abstain, upon considerations of humanity or prudence, from such severities; this conduct depends upon his own choice & cannot be exacted from him by any strict rule of justice. On the contrary justice to the cause in which he is engaged may frequently make it necessary for him to proceed so far.

These maxims of war have not been practiced, much less abused in the general conduct of the American War.

Accidental outrages take place without making any part in the plan or system of hostilities.

The plan of the war seems to have been formed upon an idea that we were engaged in a contest with our Brethren to be reclaimed by the mildest possible methods, that their armies were to be defeated but their persons and propertys spared. No contributions were exacted, no markets were forced, the peasant lived undisturbed within reach of our cannon & denyed us that relief & those supplies which a single discharge could have forced, or amply punished him for refusing.

Must Great Britain forego every right that is not to be recovered upon such maxims of lenity or rather timidity as these? - If so, every obstinate enemy or rebel may forever withhold her rights.

But the American rebels must not be flattered. Every species of war that is lawfull against an ordinary enemy is lawfull against them.

And as the passions of men are more violent in civil and domestic than in foreign wars, the obstinate American rebel who professes to throw himself into the scale of France against his own country, has more severities to dread from his injured country than any foreign enemy would have to dread in the result of an ordinary war.

The Congress now usurping the government in America & violently restraining the people from returning to their allegiance & duty, intend the deepest wound that ever was aimed at Great Britain, and appear to be animated with peculiar sentiments of animosity & rancour.

The consequences of their pretensions to independence are the dismemberment of the British Empire by a separation of the whole continent of North America from the Crown of Great Britain: The consequent exclusion of Great Britain from the naval resources which she had with so much care studied to acquire [with so much care] on the other side of the Atlantic, her exclusion in time of war [time] at least from the ports of the Atlantic: The decline of her navigation on the Atlantic become precarious & insecure, & consequently the danger of her possession in the West & East Indies become equally precarious, insecure or a ready prey to her enemies: and last of all the eventual transference of all the maritime advantages now enjoyed by Great Britain to her enemys.

Whoever therefore sees nothing to be required in the contest now subsisting with the rebels in America & in its consequences, besides the hardships likely to be suffered by the American rebel in carrying to its full completion this system of wrong & injustice to his country, & whoever feels not the wrongs thereby intended & actually impending to Great Britain; is not, in his heart, a British subject but an alien & an enemy.

When it is considered that in case⁸ the enemies of Great Britain whether foreign or domestic prevail in this quarrel, our country will [still] be stripped of possessions improved with so much care; will be deprived of the expected returns from thence &c., reduced to this single island, with towns going to decay and inhabitants perishing for want of their former resources; with a people enured to wealth dissuaded to the virtues, required to⁹ support them in poverty; & in no condition to struggle with the difficulties of so new a situation; no longer able to maintain such fleets & armies for the defence of her coasts & therefore an easy prey to any foreign enemy. When it is considered that these are the evils which we [now] are now striving to avert, the person who [now] affects to weep over¹¹ the temporary sufferings which the Americans may [now] draw on themselves by persisting in this rebellion, will, it is hoped, change the object of his tears, or confess himself to be an enemy not a friend to Great Britain.

This idle inquiry has likewise been directed to cloud the prospect of Great Britain in her endeavours to recover her interest in the American Colonies.

Her difficulties are exaggerated: Her forces, & her resources are depreciated & vilified; in order to support a character for ability in the officer who has been¹² employed in this service. And the empire of Great Britain must be dismembered rather than we must suppose any defect in the capacity of¹³ our general who certainly might rise in our esteem as much by the diffidence which¹⁴ modesty inspires as by any pretenses to ability & superiour genius.

But from our¹⁵ [his] failure hitherto to restore America to its duty, the obvious consequence, I hope, is not despair of our countrys cause but some farther & some different¹⁶ exertion.

We must protect & support our friends on that continent, & disarm¹⁷ our enemies. We must put our friends in possession of civil government, & reserve the effects of military government¹⁸ for our enemies.

I do not mean to insinuate¹⁹ that the reverse has hitherto been done, experience is not necessary to condemn the idea²⁰ whether real or supposed.

The force of arms is ever but a small part in the great operations of state to restore & to heal a wounded community.

The force of wisdom & of justice²¹, the sense of mutual interest, directing the arms that are to be employed against a desperate faction usurping²² the government of North America, may soon do more than [has yet appeared to be²³] the mere military marches hitherto performed however much²³ supposed above censure have been able to accomplish.

Notes to the Text

1 "is" replaces "was"

2 illegible words deleted

3 illegible word deleted

4 "cannon" replaces "gun"

5 last three words replace "Rendering"

6 "on" replaces "of"

7 "or" replaces "&"

8 last two words replace "if"

9 illegible words deleted

10 last two words replace "which might"

11 "over" replaces "for"

12 last two words replace "whom she had"

13 last six words replace "that"

14 last thirteen words replace "was not the ablest man in the world"

15 "our" is written in the margin

16 last four words replace "change of plan"

17 last two words replace an illegible word

18 last five words replace "or military disorder and temerity"

19 last three words replace "say"

20 last two words replace "such proceedings"

21 "usurping" replaces "that have usurped"

22 illegible word

23 last seven words replace "measure hitherto employed in that service"

Special Offer from Aberdeen University Press

Aberdeen University Press is offering ECSSS members a general reduction of 20 percent on the retail price of the books listed below. Payment may be by check or major credit card, in either U.S. dollars or pounds sterling. For credit card payments, include type of card being used (Visa, Access, Mastercard, or Amex), card number, bank, expiration date, and the purchaser's account name and address as well as delivery name and address (if different). There is an additional postage and handling charge of \$5 (£2.50) for the first book ordered and \$2 (£1) for each additional book. All books will be sent direct from Aberdeen by surface mail; please allow 28 days for delivery.

Kenneth Simpson, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Literature* (hb)

List: \$34/£16.90 SPECIAL OFFER: \$27.90/£13.50

A meticulous study of the problem of the divided self in the works of Tobias Smollett, James Macpherson, John Home, James Boswell, Henry Mackenzie, Robert Burns, and others.

(Reviewed in ECS, no. 4)

Iain Gordon Brown, ed., *Scott's Interleaved Waverley Novels: An Introduction & Commentary* (hb)

List: \$39/£19.50 SPECIAL OFFER: \$31.95/£15.50

Several scholarly contributions on Sir Walter Scott's *magnum opus*, including related material held in American collections. Fully illustrated with over 100 plates.

Iain Gordon Brown, *Building for Books: The Architectural Evolution of the Advocates' Library, 1689-1925* (hb)

List: \$59/£29.50 SPECIAL OFFER: \$47/£23.50

"told in delightful style . . . we learn a great deal about other things en route" - *Rare Books Newsletter*

"Well printed, bound and illustrated . . . a fitting tribute to its subject" - *Library Association Record*

(Reviewed in ECS, no. 4)

Andrew Hook, ed., *History of Scottish Literature: Volume 2 (1660-1800)* (hb and pb)

List (hb): \$39.95/£19.90 SPECIAL OFFER: \$31.95/£15.75; List (pb): \$25/£12.50 SPECIAL OFFER: \$20/£10

Over eighteen contributions from scholars of eighteenth-century literature cover a wide range of topics - from the church and literature, through Gaelic poetry and traditional song, to the theatre and James Boswell.

(Reviewed in ECS, no. 2)

H. Lewis Ulman, ed., *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 1758-1773* (pb)

List: \$26/£12.95 SPECIAL OFFER: \$20.95/£10.35

The Aberdeen Philosophical Society fostered some of the most significant works of the Scottish Enlightenment, and its minutes reveal the broad intellectual interests of its members and of the Scottish Enlightenment in general.

(Reviewed in this issue)

Reprinting the Scottish Enlightenment III: Thoemmes 1990

I

The latest batch of reprints from **Thoemmes Press** (formerly Thoemmes Antiquarian Books Ltd.) includes a variety of 1990 titles in their valuable series of "Books Relating to the Scottish Enlightenment" and in their curious collection of "Modern Monographs Relating to David Hume."

Two classic texts make a welcome appearance in the former series: John Hill Burton's edition of Alexander Carlyle's *Autobiography* (1910; 650 pp.; £52), and James McCosh's still unsurpassed *The Scottish Philosophy, Biographical, Expository, Critical, from Hutcheson to Hamilton* (1875; 494 pp.; £36). In their day both Burton and McCosh acted as self-appointed guardians of Scottish culture, and through their writings they sought to keep alive the memory of the Scottish literati of the eighteenth century. When working on Hume, Burton had to exercise great personal and editorial tact, and his considerable gifts as an editor were again turned to good account when he saw the manuscript of Carlyle's memoirs through the press in 1860. Richard B. Sher has contributed a highly informative introduction to this reprint, in which he details the reasons for the considerable delay in the publication of Carlyle's manuscript, and reviews the merits of the various editions of the autobiography which have appeared. Sher strikes me as being a little hard on James Kinsley, who re-edited Carlyle's memoirs under the title *Anecdotes and Characters of the Times* (Oxford University Press, 1973), and I remain unconvinced about the supposed advantages of the 1910 edition which Sher has chosen to reproduce. But such quibbles aside, Carlyle is a good read and no one can afford to ignore his lively record of the world of the Edinburgh Moderates.

Unfortunately, Thoemmes have issued McCosh's *The Scottish Philosophy* without an introduction. Given the historiographical complexity of this work, a prefatory essay dealing with McCosh's conceptualization of the

development of philosophy in eighteenth-century Scotland would have been extremely useful. We need to be much more sensitive to the ways in which key texts by Dugald Stewart, McCosh, and others have shaped our understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment, and the value of this reprint would have been much greater had it included an exploration of McCosh's historical vision. Still, it is good to see *The Scottish Philosophy* made more generally available, and one can only marvel at the prodigious industry which originally went into the making of this book. It contains a wealth of empirical detail which is difficult to come by elsewhere, and, in its own quiet way, *The Scottish Philosophy* is a moving tribute to a tradition which McCosh lived to see eclipsed.

Having done more than almost any other writer to reconstruct the distinctive philosophical milieu of Aberdeen and the northeast, McCosh would undoubtedly have approved of Thoemmes's decision to reprint Andrew Baxter's *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul* (1737; 2 vols totaling 938 pp.; £96). However, McCosh would probably not have been amused by Godfrey Vesey's introduction to the *Enquiry*. Vesey seems unacquainted with the lengthy entry on Baxter in *The Scottish Philosophy*, and he does not display a great deal of familiarity with the specifics of Baxter's intellectual context. Moreover, Vesey quotes approvingly Leslie Stephen's patronizing comment that Baxter was "a feeble, though ingenious, intellect," which hardly serves as a glowing recommendation to prospective purchasers or to readers unacquainted with Baxter's works. Such donnish sniffiness may appeal to some, but it does little to further our knowledge of the role played by figures like Baxter in the Scottish Enlightenment. It should be remembered that in his *Autobiography* Carlyle claimed that Baxter was "a profound philosopher and a hard student" as well as "a man of the world . . . of such pleasing conversation as attracted the young" (pp. 177-78). Now that the *Enquiry* is more readily accessible, perhaps some enterprising scholar will investigate Baxter's output more sympathetically.

Although it has been difficult to see the rationale behind the selection of some of the titles in Thoemmes's "Modern Monographs Relating to David Hume" series, there is no doubt whatsoever about the desirability of reprinting David Hume's *An Abstract of a Book lately Published; Entitled, A Treatise of Human Nature*, in the edition published by John Maynard Keynes and Piero Sraffa in 1938 (68 pp.; £18); for this slim volume represents a landmark in Hume studies. Following its appearance in 1740, the *Abstract* languished in obscurity for almost two hundred years, until Keynes purchased one of the few remaining copies in 1933 from a leading London bookseller. To the great benefit of Hume scholars, his publication of the *Abstract* made this virtually unknown text more widely obtainable, and if this pamphlet does not cast much light on Hume's philosophy, it does reveal something about his personality. For although Hume resolutely avoided public controversy in later life, the *Abstract* attests to a combative streak in his character which he subsequently tried to control, if not suppress. Thus, it serves as a salutary reminder of the shortcomings of the popular image of Hume as a *bon vivant*, and warns us against taking a too comfortable view of the relations between the literati in the Scottish Enlightenment.

Thoemmes are to be commended for launching their different collections of reprints in an otherwise inauspicious economic climate. Thus far the titles they have produced have, on the whole, been ones of interest to scholars, librarians, and perhaps even bibliophiles. But if the selection reviewed above is at all representative, the publishers need to be more consistent in their provision of introductory materials. Sher's essay in the Carlyle volume is a model of its kind, and if Thoemmes were able to commission introductions of this standard for all their reprints, their scholarly value would be greatly increased.

Paul Wood, Queen's University

II

Like Keynes and Sraffa's edition of the *Abstract of A Treatise of Human Nature*, J.Y.T. Greig and Harold Beynon, eds., *Calendar of Hume MSS. in the Possession of The Royal Society of Edinburgh* (1932; 142 pp.; £24) gave a boost to Hume studies in the 1930s, and deserves to be reprinted. Most of the more than four hundred letters to Hume that are catalogued here remain unpublished, after all, and the editors' abstracts of their contents can save literally days of archival scrounging in Edinburgh. There are also synopses of some miscellaneous letters neither by nor to Hume, as well as of Hume's manuscripts other than correspondence. Least useful are the abstracts of Hume's own letters, since the latter are easily available in Greig's classic edition, but even they are helpful as a handy guide to the subjects covered in the correspondence. Leaving aside the question of the appropriateness of this calendar in a series entitled "Modern Monographs Relating to David Hume," one may criticize this reprint for lacking a new introduction. At the very least, an introduction might have pointed out that these manuscripts were recently moved to the National Library of Scotland, and it might even have included a key to the new NLS reference numbers (such a key has been provided by M. A. Stewart in his 1990 volume, *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 4-5). It might also have indicated where some of these manuscripts have been published since this calendar first appeared.

Another volume in this series, Ernest Campbell Mossner's *The Forgotten Hume (Le Bon David)* (1943; 251 pp.; £30), is often dismissed as a mere warm-up for the classic *Life of David Hume* that the same author produced during the next decade, but this judgment is not quite fair. The older book continues to be useful because it is organized thematically, or rather personally: each chapter or section deals with the totality of Hume's relationship

with one particular man of letters. With the exception of Rousseau and Johnson, all of the latter are Scots (Thomas Blacklock, William Wilkie, John Home, James Macpherson, and Robert Wallace), reminding us that the historical importance of the book derives from its being one of the earliest serious attempts to understand Hume within the context of Scottish Enlightenment. One may argue that Mossner has overstated the thesis contained in the parenthetical subtitle, and one may point out many minor errors of fact and transcription (an Edinburgh University thesis by Norah Smith devotes an entire appendix to Mossner's errors regarding Robert Wallace alone), but *The Forgotten Hume* is still a volume that most students of the Scottish Enlightenment will want to have on their shelves.

A reprint of Mossner's *Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason* (1936) has also just been issued by Thoemmes, though not in either of the series now under review. A related volume in the "Modern Monographs Relating to David Hume" series is the *Festschrift* that Mossner's students and friends published in his honor under the title *Hume and the Enlightenment*, edited by William B. Todd (1974; 215 pp.; £25). The book's fifteen chapters include bibliographies of Mossner's publications and those of his "hero" David Hume. As in most *Festschriften*, the quality of the essays is uneven, but there are enough good things here to merit purchase by every decent research library and by many Hume scholars. Among ECSSS members represented are D. D. Raphael on "Hume's Critique of Ethical Rationalism," Stanley Tweyman on "Hume on Separating the Inseparable," Ian Ross on "Philosophy and Fiction: The Challenge of David Hume," John V. Price on "Hume and Nancy Orde: Three New Letters," and Andrew S. Skinner on "Adam Smith, Science and the Role of the Imagination."

As Paul Wood noted above, the selection of titles in the "Modern Monographs Relating to David Hume" series is curious. Besides the titles mentioned above, the series includes four books that may be of interest to the Hume specialist but can only be listed here: Vinding Kruse, *Hume's Philosophy in His Principal Work 'A Treatise of Human Nature' and in His Essays* (1939; 80 pp.; £22); Rachael M. Kydd, *Reason and Conduct in Hume's Treatise* (1946; 212 pp.; £28); Bertram M. Laing, *Hume* (1932; 290 pp.; £24); and James Orr, *David Hume and His Influence on Philosophy and Theology* (1903; 260 pp.; £28). None of the reprints in this series has a new introduction.

Hume is also a central figure in the new "Books Relating to the Scottish Enlightenment" series. Thomas Edward Ritchie, *An Account of the Life and Writings of David Hume, Esq.* (1807; 528 pp.; £48), was one of the first biographies to make extensive use of Hume's correspondence. Less obviously, a work by the Irishman Philip Skelton, *Ophiomaches: or Deism Revealed* (1749; 2 vols. totalling 852 pp.; £94), has been included in this series because, according to the introduction by David Berman, it had interesting Humean connections. One of the more valuable reprints relating to Hume is Daniel MacQueen, *Letters on Hume's History of Great Britain* (1756; 344 pp.; £46). MacQueen was a Scottish Presbyterian minister affiliated with the Popular or Orthodox party and, not surprisingly, his book focuses critically on the issue of the *History's* treatment of religion. The value of this publication is enhanced by its previous inaccessibility and by the addition of a new introduction by John Valdimir Price, who discusses early reviews of MacQueen's book in the London periodical press.

Aberdonian opponents of Hume are also well represented in this series. Margaret Forbes, *Beattie and His Friends* (1904; 332 pp.; £28) remains a useful biography of that strange and interesting champion of "truth." Its value lies less in analysis and insight than in the contextual presentation of correspondence; for example, the chapter on the making of Beattie's famous attack on Hume of 1770, the *Essay on Truth*, demonstrates by means of a generous selection of letters just how the author's self-righteous indignation against Humean skepticism was nurtured and reinforced by friends such as John Gregory and Sir William Forbes. A more polite and perceptive critique of Hume's philosophy by an Aberdonian philosopher of common sense is included in this series: Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, On the Principles of Common Sense* (orig. 1764; 510 pp.; £48). Paul P. Wood's new introduction to this reprint is the best brief account of the making of the *Inquiry* and its initial, "decidedly mixed" reception by the reviewers. My only quibble is that Wood does not explain why he has chosen to reproduce the fourth edition of 1785, or how that "corrected" edition compares with earlier ones.

Whereas Reid's *Inquiry* marked the beginning of his career as a major philosophical author at the advanced age of fifty-four, the career of his near contemporary David Fordyce (born in 1711, the same year as Hume and one year after Reid) followed an almost opposite path. Fordyce became a professor of philosophy at Marischal College, Aberdeen, at thirty-one, published the *Dialogues concerning Education* at thirty-four, and was dead and buried at forty, after his ship was lost at sea returning from the Continent. Along the way he published what must have been among the most widely read works of moral philosophy of the entire eighteenth century, *Elements of Moral Philosophy* (1754; 324 pp.; £46), which first appeared in Dodsley's *The Preceptor* in 1748 and was posthumously published both as a separate volume and as the article "Moral Philosophy" in the early editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. It is a work of popular moralizing that deserves more attention than it has yet received from Enlightenment scholars (if not necessarily from philosophers), and this reprint edition, which includes a brief introduction by J. V. Price, may help to make that possible.

Finally, the Thoemmes reprints under review include two works by Scottish thinkers who distinguished themselves, like the elder Reid, at Glasgow University. John Millar, *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (orig. 1771; 450 pp.; £48) is one of the most interesting works of the so-called Scottish Historical School. The choice of the fourth edition of 1806 as the text for reprinting is to be commended, for that edition was the first to include John Craig's 134-page account of Millar - the standard contemporary biography. With a new introduction by J. V. Price, this volume is going to be of interest to many scholars. Though Millar's *Origin of Ranks* completes our review of

the "Books Relating to the Scottish Enlightenment" series, Thoemmes has also published separately a reprint edition of John Rae, *Life of Adam Smith* (1895; 470 pp.; £32). At least until the publication of Ian Ross's forthcoming life of Smith, Rae's book is likely to remain the standard against which other Smith biographies are judged.

These volumes, added to their earlier series, leave no doubt about the emergence of Thoemmes Press as the new leader in Scottish Enlightenment reprints. Unlike some reprint houses, Thoemmes publishes everything they advertise, and their volumes are handsomely printed and bound.

Special Discount for ECSSS Members. All books noticed in this review article may be purchased directly from Thoemmes at a 20 percent discount off the list prices shown above. Payment may be made in pounds sterling or U.S. dollars, though there is an extra charge of \$5 for the latter (no payment by credit card). There is an additional charge for postage and handling, which will be added at the most economical surface rate available (unless airmail is specifically requested). To order, simply write to the publisher, identifying yourself as an ECSSS member and stating which book(s) you wish to purchase; they will send the books and bill you. The address is: Thoemmes Press, 85 Park St, Bristol BS1 5PJ, UK.

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

Book Reviews

David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1990. Pp. xiv + 464.

David Spadafora has written an important work which will be of great use to all who study the Enlightenment in Britain and elsewhere. It will also engender much discussion because of its methodological arguments. Spadafora defends the study of *an idea* and scorns the obfuscatory "contextualism" recommended today by so many. The author finds this, or rather these, positions illogical and sophistical. He argues that there are "persistent fixed idea[s]" (p. 421) shared by thinkers and actors whose social context must, of course, be studied by historians.

At one level this book is a defense and an example of the methodological views expressed in the introductory chapter and in the appendix (pp. 417-24). These lead in the work's conclusion to an idealistic statement about the role of ideas in history: "Here is an idea that unquestionably has been a driving force in the world To begin to understand that world [during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries] requires that we recognize the significance of the idea of progress within it" (pp. 414ff.). That the importance of the idea of progress has not always been recognized he attributes to the fact that it has been too vaguely defined, and defined usually with references to French sources. And since the appearance of Henry Vyverberg's *Historical Pessimism in the French Enlightenment* (1958), too many have been inclined to exaggerate pessimistic themes in France and elsewhere.

To show that they have been wrong to do so, Spadafora redefines *progress* as "the belief in the movement over time of some aspect or aspects of human existence, within a social setting, toward a better condition" (p. 6). This makes clear the centrality to "human consciousness" of "the recognition of temporal movement in life" (p. 1), but it allows progress to "be found in the past, the present, the future, or some combination thereof; it may be considered linear or spiral, continuous or interrupted, gradual or rapid, limited or indefinitely extended" (p. 7) and may come necessarily or contingently to one, some, or all aspects of life and thought. He is interested in how conceptions of progress found in one area were then extended to others or displaced existing conceptions concerning "movement over time." The wider definition gives him much more to write about in the years of "the high eighteenth century" (p. 9) - roughly from the death of Newton in 1727 to 1790.

Pursuing his theme in debates about the ancients and moderns, providence and secondary causes, language, history, epistemology, and the origins and development of religion, leads Spadafora to consider most of those in eighteenth-century Britain who could claim to be enlightened. About two-thirds of the work concerns English and Welsh thinkers, with the remainder devoted to Scots and a very few Irishmen. Considered as a work on the English, *The Idea of Progress* goes a long way toward the description of an overlooked enlightenment. It will now be far more difficult to say, as Roy Porter did ten years ago, that it is paradoxical that the enlightenment of the pre-eminently enlightened country, England, has not been studied. The *dramatis personae* are listed, categorized, summed up, and found to be generally different from the French and from the Scots. In a short review it is impossible to do justice to the richness of this account, which will again make the eighteenth, not the nineteenth, the century of progress and optimism in Britain.

Spadafora's discussion of the Scots is always well informed by the newer secondary works, but it stays close to the writings of Kames, Hume, Smith, Ferguson, Robertson, Millar, and James Dunbar, with occasional glances at lesser writers such as Gilbert Stuart and James Logan. Aside from the work of Christopher Berry, this book contains the only adequate account of much of Dunbar's work.

The author tends to see the Scots as less religious than the English, less sure that progress would continue indefinitely, but certain that it led from rudeness to refinement. I am not sure that his case is quite right. The Scots

had a rather academic view of the line between the realms of grace and nature, one which they had been taught in the universities. They wrote as philosophers dealing with nature, not as men expounding revealed truth. Should it therefore surprise us that "not one of them was a true providentialist," or that "no one ever wrote a word on eschatology" (p. 370)? I would think not. But, with the exception of Hume, all of them affirmed the existence of a provident god who works through secondary causes in both nature and history. This is not to say that Hume did not work also in the Westminster Confession, to which so many of the literati subscribed. Residual Calvinist ideas may also be apparent in the historical pessimism and skepticism of the Scots, and in their belief in a contingent future.

It is also surprising that Spadafora has not found room to say more about the implications for his theme of the relation of the Scottish universities. These, too, were improving societies in which Baconian empiricism and scientism were integrated into curricula that made an ever larger place for useful knowledge. Universities regularly justified the creation of new chairs by citing the improvements they would make in Scottish education and life. The occupants of new history chairs also tended to teach courses centered on the rise and fall of peoples, as did Charles Rollin in Paris. Scottish and French thought may have had more in common than appears here, and the connections may go back into the seventeenth century, which was not quite so dark an age as Spadafora seems to think. Finally, Scots like George Campbell and George Hill held, and apparently taught, ideas about the progress of religious knowledge that could also have figured in this book. To ask for more is to quibble unreasonably, however, for this book is a very good study deserving a wide readership. It is also a rather nicely designed book, with a dozen illustrations and a snazzy dust jacket.

Roger L. Emerson, University of Western Ontario

Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten, eds., *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Pp. xii + 307.

This book is the first to be published for ECSSS. Its editors and contributors must be congratulated on the production of a highly informative and stimulating volume, which should be of considerable interest to all students of Scottish and American history, particularly students of their mutual influences in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The genesis of this collection of seventeen well-documented, interdisciplinary studies of neglected aspects of the Scottish-American connection, largely in the period of the "high" Enlightenment in Europe and America from the 1750s through the 1780s, was at a panel held in Williamsburg, Virginia, in March 1986 to commemorate the publication at Williamsburg in April 1954 of the special "Scotland and America" issue of *William and Mary Quarterly*. In the three decades since this seminal issue appeared, although a number of valuable studies of Scottish-American cultural subjects have been published, "the field obviously had much more to offer. Subsequent events suggested that this was indeed a topic whose time had come" (p. 14). The result of this mood of scholarly *kairos* is this excellent book on Scotland and America in the age of the Enlightenment.

It begins with an admirable essay on Scottish-American cultural studies, past and present, which supplements and surpasses the article on writings in Scottish-American history in the April 1954 issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Had the panel at Williamsburg in March 1986 engendered nothing apart from this opening essay, it would more than have fulfilled its function. This essay provides not only an extremely useful guide to the present state of scholarship on its subject but also several constructive comments which indicate important lines of research for the future.

Notable here is the very necessary reminder that "What is often forgotten, however, is that during the eighteenth century America had a considerable influence on Scotland, not only as an outlet for Scottish emigration and a centre of Scottish trade but also as a source of information about the nature of social organization and a challenge to conventional beliefs about the British constitution and empire" (p. 7). This influence, for example, is to be observed in the life and writings of John Millar, professor of civil law at the University of Glasgow from 1761 to 1801, especially in the evolution of his *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* and in the emigration to the Pennsylvania back-country in 1794 of his democratically-minded son, John, who came to an untimely death in the United States. We are all indebted to an American pioneer of Scottish Enlightenment studies, William C. Lehmann, in his *John Millar of Glasgow* (1960) for emphasizing the importance of Millar. It is, therefore, surprising that this opening essay does not mention his study of Millar but instead represents Lehmann only by a work of his extreme old age.

But there are, with the exception of the attribution to me of *British Emigration to North America* (1957) by Wilbur S. Shepperson of Nevada (p. 8), very few errors and omissions in this substantial opening essay. It is, indeed, marked by a synoptic and sympathetic vision. I was greatly moved by its tribute (p. 7) to the pioneering work on Scotland and the American Revolution by the Second World War veteran, Dalphy I. Fagerstrom of Minnesota, for whose Edinburgh University doctoral thesis of 1951 I had the honor of acting as a supervisor.

After this valuable opening essay, with its clarion call to "scholars to reassess tired and half-truths about the roles played by Scottish ideas, value and people in shaping early American culture" (p. 23), this book divides into

three thematic parts. The first, on "Religion and Revolution: The Two Worlds of John Witherspoon," contains six striking chapters which indicate that the much-needed renaissance of Witherspoon studies is now in full flood in the United States, although it is still a mere trickle in the land of his birth.

The second part, "Philosophers and Founding Fathers," six more engaging chapters, concentrates on some of the ways in which the American Revolution affected leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment and the aristocratic "country" Whigs of Scotland. It also examines the manner in which Scottish thought and rhetoric may have influenced the American Founding Fathers. The brief but interesting chapter on William Robertson's unfinished *History of America* suggests to me a subject for scholarly investigation: the relevance of Robertson's *History of America*, unfinished though it may have been, as a textbook and as an influence on the foundations of American historiography. As late as 1846, for example, a New York edition of Robertson's book concluded with twenty-seven closely-printed pages by one "John Frost, A.M." of "Questions for Examination of students in Robertson's History of America."

The third and concluding part consists of four fascinating chapters on Scottish thought and culture in early Philadelphia: a succinct case study of the influence of Scots in emerging urban America in medicine, music, and architecture as well as in the more familiar areas of literature and education. It is to be hoped that the chapter on the influence on late eighteenth-century Philadelphia of two Scottish musicians, James Bremner and Alexander Reinagle, and the Edinburgh Musical Society will stimulate research on the mark made by Scottish music, both classical and folk, on the early American republic.

This is only one of the many subjects for research which I hope that this book will stimulate. As I came to its end, there were many others in my mind. What was the significance, for example, of the Canadian (especially the Nova Scotian) and the Irish (especially the Ulster) dimensions on Scottish-American relations in the age of the Enlightenment? What, furthermore, was the influence for North America at this time of Scottish schools and schoolmasters, particularly of Alexander Adam, rector of Edinburgh High School in 1768, and his widely-used textbooks? And what was the influence on the founding of the American republic and the decline of the Scottish Enlightenment of John Robison (1739-1805), professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and the first general secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, whose controversial *Proofs of a Conspiracy* is thought to have helped to shape America's Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798?

It is good news that other ECSSS volumes are being published. But they will have to be very good indeed to surpass the standard and the significance of this first ECSSS book.

George Shepperson, University of Edinburgh

T. M. Devine, ed., *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society 1700-1850*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990. Pp. xi + 139.

This volume of papers given to the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar at the University of Strathclyde examines the ways in which Scottish society adjusted to the development of industrialization and to the growing intrusions of the modern state. The somewhat Whiggish assumption that this was a relatively painless process is tested in a variety of ways and found to be wanting. Christopher A. Whatley begins the proceedings in a splendid paper which discusses disturbances in the lowlands from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. He not only makes valuable comparisons with England and Ireland, but is also alive to the broader dimensions of the problem of order in early modern Europe. He is able to show how vulnerable the authorities were to disorder. If prudent preventative measures failed then, since they lacked a militia, they had no option but to rely on military force. Applying a perception of M. W. Malcomson, Whatley points out that reliance on military force could actually have a demoralizing effect on society generally and make disorder more likely. He suggests that the casualties from the primarily anti-fiscal disturbances in the 1720s and 1730s were greater than those from Irish agrarian protest in the three decades from 1760 to 1790. As a result, although favorable economic conditions in the late eighteenth century enabled adjustments to modernizing forces to occur relatively peacefully, the Scottish authorities assisted the process by their continued adherence to controls over the market at a time when confidence in such paternalism had been severely eroded in both England and France. Thus, the relative quiescence in the second half of the eighteenth century can be explained less by a harmonious adjustment to the forces of modernity than by the fears and anxieties of authority, which had to resort to repression earlier in the century.

John Brims's paper on the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People shows that, paternalism or no, the authorities in the 1790s made full use of the agencies of repression available to them. Unlike lower class radicals, their members were highly susceptible to the coercive authority of church, state, and society. The tactic of joining the Loyalists in their addresses appears to have been of little avail, and probably demoralized them, since only a few months before their membership had swollen dramatically with the downfall of the French monarch and the victory of Dumouriez in the Austrian Netherlands. Brims shows that there were indeed fears for stability in Scotland in November 1792. Nevertheless, he argues that the Association remained moderate until it fell into the hands of extremist leadership late in 1793. Then it in effect became a Scottish branch of the popular democratic movement which had begun in England in 1792. Given the greater solidarity of Scottish authorities, and perhaps their greater

skill in using the law as an agent of social discipline, they were wise enough to try Palmer, Muir, et al. for sedition rather than treason - this meant that they had an even more limited future than their England compatriots.

T. M. Devine continues the discussion in a paper which asks why the Scottish radicals were not more effective. In answering that question he places his emphasis on the limited nature of the aims and tactics of the radicals. He suggests that the state possessed insufficient resources to resist the Friends of the People had they been willing to screw their courage to the sticking place. Yet, in the context of the 1790s, it seems unlikely that reform would have been the outcome of confrontation. Devine's discussion of the relationship between the political and economic situations is more persuasive. He is able to explain why the reform campaign was almost exclusively political in inspiration. The very power of the landowners, which made burgh reform a pressing issue, in economic terms enabled them to become radicals and innovators. They helped to create an economic climate in which commercial and industrial growth was possible, and this tended to defuse urban discontent. Moreover, between 1780 and 1800 Scotland uniquely enjoyed an increase in living standards. Wisely, the aristocrats did not relax their paternalism; perhaps the odd outbreak of discontent, such as the food riots between 1794 and 1796, noted by Whatley, prevented any lapse into complacency. They also used their influence to feed the young and aspiring with opportunities provided by the expansion of the state. It was only after 1800 that paternalism was abandoned and economic distress and political radicalism conjoined, with the tragic result of the Strathaven and Bonnymuir uprisings.

Stana Nenadic throws new light on the breakdown of paternalistic consensus. She shows how the middle class distanced themselves from "moral economy" ideas which had in the past legitimized popular action and which had to a degree been acceptable to them. They began to appeal to reason rather than force, and to use the language of enlightened empiricism rather than the older vocabulary of defiance and resistance. Political corruption came to be viewed as Scotland's *l'infame*, to be combated by openness, education, and manly public action. As an exploration of the transition from *ancien régime* mentalities, this is fascinating. Nenadic's investigation would repay further development, especially in the exploration of the extent to which popular or working class protest experienced a similar "ordering."

Callum G. Brown alters the perspective of the discussion by examining dissent from the kirk, which was so sizable that by 1800 a quarter or more of the Lowland Scots belonged to Presbyterian dissent. He has little difficulty in showing how varied and confused are the interpretations of such religious protest. In a preliminary attempt to make sense of it, he surveys disputes over pewing, church accommodation, reform of worship, and patronage. These could often be complex, with groups taking different sides over different issues, but Brown argues convincingly that they all in different ways represented resistance to the attempts of elites to take over control of the people's church. He further suggests that the disputes arose within a general acceptance of modernizing forces. Far from demonstrating the irrelevance of religion to social change, the disputes show that religion provides the crucial battlefield in which the various groups fought to control the consequences of social change. Thus, while dissenters tended to be those "whose lives were most disturbed . . . by the economic revolution," they were not economic Luddites, for they were also those who "identified through religious self help and Sabbatarianism with the secular values by which they expected to get benefit in the new economic order." This is a challenging conclusion, and I am not sure how far it fits all the evidence presented, some of which seems to represent a straightforward confrontation between the old world and the new. Yet Brown is to be congratulated on his attempt to tidy up a confusing situation, and for providing a positive framework for future investigation.

Tony Clarke examines the argument that Scottish Chartism was notably attached to non-violent means of action, and in principle adhered to "moral force" arguments. He is able to show, for example by an analysis of the participants at the Scottish Delegate Conference of 14-16 August 1839, that although there existed a variety of attitudes toward the use of force, generally speaking "moral force" tactics were dictated by expediency. The subsequent adoption of a "paper war" against the House of Commons in the spring of 1840 was an improvised response to the organizational failure of the English Chartists, and even the Chartist churches were not distinctly Scottish. Clarke's suggestive conclusion is that the range of Scottish responses to the idea of striking, backed by physical force, should be related to the varying organizational strengths of Scottish workers and the recent history of labor relations in different occupations.

The concluding paper by R. H. Campbell focuses attention on continuity by exploring the strengths and incipient weaknesses of the landed interest up to 1914. He points out that Scotland in the period covered by the volume was still a predominantly rural society, that industrialization occurred in a highly localized way, and that urbanization initially occurred in the old burghs, which retained close links with their rural environment. In such circumstances the landed interest was able to retain a dominant position in society and the economy. Changes before 1914 were largely effected by the middle classes rather than the tenantry. But the seeds of decay were already being sewn, partly by their own behavior (improvement which was more insistent on display than economic benefit) and partly through the inexorable changes forced on agrarian society by broad structural and technical changes in the nineteenth-century economy. Although it stands in contrast to most of the papers in the present volume, it provokes general reflections on the often chameleon-like nature of historical change. The forces involved in conflict were often seeking survival by adaptation, while those favoring continuity were involved in a not dissimilar process. Only cataclysmic events such as the French Revolution or the First World War deprive *ancien régimes* of the ability to survive. Yet it remains true that all *régimes* are to some extent *ancien*. It is the historian's

task to investigate how and in what ways they remain so. This volume shows Scottish historians performing that task in an exemplary manner.

Martin Fitzpatrick, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

Peter Jones, ed., *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988. Pp. vi + 228.

Peter Jones, ed., *The 'Science of Man' in the Scottish Enlightenment: Hume, Reid and their Contemporaries*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989. Pp. viii + 201.

These two volumes of essays are the selected product of research by visiting scholars and fellows invited to the University of Edinburgh's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities to participate in its 1986 Institute Project in the Scottish Enlightenment (IPSE). They differ in scope and emphasis, but both volumes contain essays offering valuable insights into Enlightenment thought. No attempt has been made in either volume to summarize the achievement of the Enlightenment or to advance any conception of its ultimate meaning. Before we can form any such conception much more must be done in the way of both closer study of familiar aspects of the period and broadening our understanding through an interdisciplinary approach to lesser known aspects. These two books represent initial contributions to these two projects.

The Science of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment broadens the scope of inquiry into a familiar and pervasive feature of the period, viz., the attempt to discover and analyze the basic principles of human nature underlying thought and informing social practice. The essays address a number of themes dominating the thought of major Enlightenment figures, each deepening our understanding of the period, but doing so in a number of different ways.

Some examine previously unexplored aspects of the thought of major figures. Included in this group are the essays by Harvey Chisick, Annette Baier, and Rudiger Schreyer. Chisick examines Hume's attitude toward the common people. Given Hume's constant references to common life and the views of the "vulgar," Chisick's essay performs the important task of opening up this area for scholarly discussion. Similarly, Baier examines Hume's views on women's nature, arguing that, though Hume shared many of the basic attitudes of his time, he also held a number of novel and even radical views about women and their "natural" dispositions and roles. Schreyer provides a useful addition to the still largely unexamined topic of Enlightenment views on the nature of language, comparing the shared assumptions evident in the different approaches to that topic in the work of Thomas Reid and Adam Smith.

Other essays deepen our understanding of the period by closer analysis of more familiar topics. Included in this group are the essays by John Passmore and Keith Lehrer. Passmore discusses the distinctions between Hume's notions of enthusiasm, fanaticism, and superstition. Passmore's careful analysis reveals that Hume used the word "enthusiasm" in different senses, and many of Hume's views on religion and philosophy can only be understood by distinguishing these senses. Lehrer examines Reid's criticism of the representative theory of perception. According to Reid, this theory could not account for conceptualization, and Lehrer points out that Reid's criticism is as relevant for contemporary versions of representative theory as it was for eighteenth-century versions.

The common feature of the remaining essays is their adoption of new and unique perspectives for examining familiar topics. These include the essays of Peter Jones, Manfred Kuehn, Donald Livingston, and Thomas Crawford. Jones discusses Hume's aesthetics, but, rather than concentrating on some particular doctrine of Hume's theory, he addresses the broader question of Hume's place in the history of art criticism. Jones shows that, while Hume was one of the first to recognize the importance of context in art criticism, various of Hume's assumptions resulting from his causal stimulus view of our sense of beauty prevented him from considering the possibility that art might be open to the same sort of continual reinterpretation as history.

Kuehn looks at Reid from the perspective of Kant's philosophy. He argues that, although Kant criticized Reid and his followers for missing the point of Hume's problem, there is evidence that Kant himself adopted a number of aspects of Reid's views in his own solution to the problem. Donald Livingston also adopts a unique perspective in his exploration of what he calls Hume's "natural history of philosophical consciousness." Livingston argues that Hume shared the standard Enlightenment view that religion is a major barrier to knowledge, but parted ways with other Enlightenment thinkers in viewing philosophical thought, at least in its traditionally conceived "ideal" form, as itself internally incoherent and as great a threat to knowledge as religion.

Finally, Thomas Crawford examines the "science of man" from a literary perspective, arguing that the common treatment of James Boswell's work as reflecting the supposed "Caledonian antiszygy," a peculiarly Scottish literary trait of combining opposites, is inadequate, and that Boswell's work is better viewed as the product of specific tensions inherent in Enlightenment thought.

The unity of *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment* lies in its purpose rather than its theme. It employs an interdisciplinary approach to examine lesser known figures and topics of the period. Much of our understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment is the result of scholarly concentration on those whom we now

consider the major figures of the period, such as Hume and Smith. Yet thinkers like Kames and Monboddo, now relegated to minor figure status, played major roles in the intellectual life of the period. Studies of the Enlightenment have also virtually ignored its scientific dimension, both its theoretical developments and its practical applications. This volume addresses these two neglected aspects.

The collection begins with two background studies. Alexander Broadie shows that the Enlightenment was not a unique event in Scottish history; a similar intellectual flourishing occurred around the beginning of the sixteenth century. James Moore traces the attempts of French proponents of the natural law tradition to counter the Pyrrhonian arguments of Bayle, arguments that profoundly influenced Scottish Enlightenment philosophers.

The next four essays explore various aspects of Enlightenment science. Paul Wood discusses the growth of interest in science in Enlightenment Aberdeen, a growth reflected both in changes in university curriculums, and in the development of scientific, polite societies. David Fenby traces the development of theories of chemical reactivity from Newton to Lavoisier, relating this development to differences in theoretical approaches. Arthur Donovan proposes a method for studying science that treats it as a distinct cultural tradition, sketching a research program for studying the chemical revolution which exemplifies his method.

The essays by Charles Withers and Andrew Skinner reveal the Enlightenment emphasis on the practical application of knowledge. Withers examines naturalist's John Walker's work in agricultural improvement, while Skinner shows how the neglect of James Steuart's economic theory is in part due to Steuart's concentration on providing practical solutions to specific social and economic problems of his time, rather than on developing the sort of broad conceptual system found in Smith's work.

The final two essays look at unexamined aspects of well examined topics. Robert Wokler's essay on Monboddo and Kames reveals a different side of the Enlightenment interest in human nature. While other figures of the period addressed what we now consider psychological questions concerning the basic principles of thought and passion, Monboddo and Kames addressed what we now consider questions of physical anthropology concerning the origin of the human species and the various races. The final essay, by Thomas Markus, explores the Enlightenment ideas of order and power as exemplified in architecture.

Although each volume stands well alone, they complement each other, both by overlaps in topics (e.g., essays related to the "science of man" in the *Philosophy and Science* collection), and by, in combination, providing a remarkably broad and diverse view of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Marie A. Martin, Clemson University

Donald T. Siebert, *The Moral Animus of David Hume*. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990. Pp. 245.

The clearest indication of this study's original approach to Hume is the fact that the *Treatise* is supplanted by the *History* as the text central to the discussion. For Siebert, Hume might take a place alongside someone like Samuel Johnson as a teacher of moral truths. Johnson and Hume would not agree very much about those truths, but they both are deeply interested in the question of how men and women should live. Johnson, of course, was perpetually a moralist, so that whatever genre he worked in was turned to the purpose of moral thought. Hume, as Siebert sees him, made only one attempt at practical moral instruction (see p. 40), the *History of England*, but there is sufficient moral animus there and in Hume's other writings to justify Siebert's approach. By moving the *History* to the center and works like the *Treatise* to the periphery (though they certainly are not ignored), Siebert highlights the extent to which Hume was occupied with questions of moral - as opposed to specifically philosophical or historical - concern.

Another feature that sets Siebert's book apart from most previous work on Hume is his close attention to style and tone. For philosophers, even a work like the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, which can be read as a dramatic text, is best understood in terms of the structure of logical argument and not in terms of plot, characterization, or irony. By the same token, for philosophers the corpus of Hume's works may be said to comprise a vast logical edifice, and the task of the commentator is to disclose its underlying structure, looking past the surface features to the logical grid underneath. But for the literary critic (Siebert is a professor of English), the surface has important meaning - indeed, it may be said to shape and condition the logical argument so that the way the argument is presented is an inextricable part of what the argument actually states. Accordingly, Siebert supports his approach to the *History* by alluding briefly to Hayden White's view that narrative is inescapably moral (p. 21). By giving a history form, closure, and completeness, the writer, according to White, must also give it moral awareness and moral authority. Narrative form in and of itself carries moral content. And, what applies to narrative may also be said to apply to expository prose, so that Hume's literary choices in his other works necessarily reflect moral choices. Dialogue, essay, or treatise can be read - along with narrative history - in terms of tone and style, and this kind of literary reading leads directly and inevitably to the study of Hume's moral animus.

The Hume that emerges from Siebert's discussion is carefully and completely developed, but he is not a startlingly new figure. Siebert provides thoughtful discussions of Hume's relationship to sensibility (developing the

work of J. C. Hilson) and of his attitude toward the things of this world. He has a very sensible chapter on Hume's attitude toward religion in which he persuasively establishes the nature of Hume's objections to and limited acceptance of religion in society. Perhaps most compelling is his refutation of Victor Wexler's claim that Hume's *History* ignores religion; Siebert shows plainly that nothing could be farther from the truth. His chapter on "Moral Skepticism" is equally illuminating, analyzing Hume's rhetorical strategies for disengaging himself from commitment to any single position. His argument here recalls Kenneth Simpson's in *The Protean Scot*, with its implication that Hume is testing various roles, finding some truth in each of them. In making this argument, Siebert is perhaps at his greatest remove from those who would read Hume with the governing assumption that his position is always logically consistent. The final chapter on Hume's short autobiography nicely connects philosophy, life, and art. Siebert sees in Hume's last work the quintessence of his thought: "man is necessarily ignorant of what passes beyond his ken of immediate experience, about which no certitude or regularity can be posited either; his business is not to invent systems and preach dogmas, but rather to live with dignity and compassion - and with good humor - in a chaotic world. This is the lesson of Hume's philosophy, and of his *Life*" (pp. 207-8). This is a familiar image, but in Siebert's formulation a very attractive one.

Despite such attractiveness, however, one misses a sense of context. Siebert's Hume exists largely unto himself, and there is little evocation of his Scottish setting or of the complex cultural circumstances in which his work was written. It is perhaps unfair to complain of this lack, because Siebert's professed aim is simply to read Hume and not to write biography or grapple with a New Historicist analysis. But the lack of context is troublesome if for no other reason than without some basis of comparison it is difficult to assess Hume's originality. For example, Siebert claims at one point that "Hume's whole disposition to build virtue on a foundation of hedonism and materialism must separate him from almost every other person - certainly in the eighteenth century but perhaps in most others - whom we might seriously denominate a moralist" (p. 180). My objection is not that Siebert claims too much (such matters can be debated at length) but that such absolute claims are a bit beside the point. What is more germane is the process of interaction between Hume and his cultural environment. Hume was part of a complicated process of secularization in eighteenth-century Scotland, involving a vast range of opinion on the relation of hedonism and materialism to virtue. The point would be to see where Hume fits with regard to this context because his thought acquires part of its life, color, and meaning from its interaction with that context. As Stephen Greenblatt has said, these days it is increasingly difficult to think of "aesthetic representation as ultimately autonomous, separable from its cultural context and hence divorced from the social, ideological, and material matrix in which all art is produced and consumed." What is true for art would seem to be doubly true for practical morality, especially that of such a complex and contested moment as the Scottish Enlightenment. Siebert has given us an elegantly delineated, subtly developed picture of Hume as moralist, but it is a picture that omits the context that gave his work a specific historical character.

Jeffrey Smitten, Utah State University

M. A. Box, *The Suasive Art of David Hume*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Pp. xii. + 268.

In *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, Richard Rorty divides philosophers into systematic and edifying. The first group builds structures, paradigms, or systems of knowledge that presumably lead to truth. The edifying philosophers, on the contrary, suspect systems of any kind. Generally pragmatists and often semi-literary figures like Goethe, Kierkegaard, Santayana, William James, Dewey, the later Wittgenstein, and the later Heidegger, edifying philosophers build up (the root meaning of *edify*) and advance the ongoing human dialogue about life, truth, meaning. Their works, often evoking literary genres and conventions, participate "in a conversation" rather than contribute to 'an inquiry' and aim at "continuing a conversation rather than at discovering truth." Edifying philosophers want to help "us avoid the self-deception which comes from believing we know ourselves by knowing a set of objective facts."

I invoke the context of Rorty's edifying philosophers because M. A. Box's extremely challenging book, in effect, converts Hume from a systematic to an edifying philosopher, reconfiguring his importance for both eighteenth-century and modern philosophy. Using careful new historical methodology, Box demonstrates that Hume sought to write both "philosophy and belles-letters," regarding them as "complementary and even interdependent" (p. 17). In the tradition of Locke, Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Butler, Hutcheson, and Berkeley, Hume crafted his writings as literary works. He intended them to popularize philosophical inquiry and, in the spirit of Scriblerian humanism, to entertain an educated audience into understanding such inquiry as "a practical wisdom serviceable to the active man," thereby rescuing philosophy from the system-building schoolmen and dunces (p. 33). His career, Box shows, was "a series of attempts to disseminate the science of man, and dissemination required that he be widely read" (p. 165).

Box details Hume's use of the anatomy genre and Montaigne's essay-as-trial to structure his *Treatise* and then, after its failure, his reversion to the more genial essay style of the *Spectator* papers for the *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*. Indeed, Hume originally planned these as part of a projected periodical, an idea evidently abandoned

because the limited size of the educated Edinburgh community could not sustain the kind of ongoing contemporary references the *Spectator* provided its London readers. For the famous *Enquiries* Hume tried to marry the “easy” part of the *Spectator’s* “easy and obvious” style to the accuracy, but not the abstruseness, of the “accurate and abstruse” style of traditional philosophy. The “concise” writing procedures outlined in Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* became the basis for the literary strategy in these revised versions of his failed *Treatise*. The *Enquiries* would be successful, he thought, because they “would be easy” despite their “accuracy,” and although “minimally abstruse, yet not at all obvious since his purpose was to teach new truths rather than to represent the common sense of mankind in more engaging colors” (p. 166).

Box’s literary analysis associates Hume’s skepticism with the Academy of Philo of Larissa, as mediated through his famous pupil Cicero. The new contextuality provided by Box yields splendid insights into Hume’s philosophical position as a skeptical empiricist. It emerges clearly as a mitigated skepticism rather than outright Pyrrhonism, in modern terms, a type of C. S. Peirce’s “contrite fallibilism” (p. 189). To mitigate skepticism Hume’s “contribution was his tenet that complete suspension of belief is impossible. We must have beliefs, which must be fallible; but we can and should temper our credulity: plausibility, or what Hume called ‘moral Evidence’ . . . , still provides a criterion for belief and action. If we must believe, we can at least proportion our beliefs to the evidence. As new experience contradicts our beliefs, we must be willing to revise our estimates of plausibility. This does not mean that truth changes, only that our best approximations of it are perpetually subject to revision” (p. 199).

Box coyly closes his study of Hume’s literariness by reminding the reader that all the literary craft Hume could have mustered could not redeem his philosophical writings “from becoming mere documents of a dead intellectual movement,” if they “were to lose their philosophical importance, if, say, we discovered incontrovertibly that sceptical empiricism is wholly unveridical” (p. 255). So far that hasn’t happened and Hume remains a relevant, edifying philosopher. His wrestlings with literary strategies never “trivialize philosophy;” instead, they advance the human conversation, helping “to raise the moral sophistication with which people conduct their daily lives” (p. 17). In seeking this goal he was perhaps a typical, canny Scot.

Thomas R. Preston, University of North Texas

V. M. Hope, *Virtue By Consensus: The Moral Philosophy of Hutcheson, Hume and Adam Smith*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. Pp. viii + 166.

Peter Gilmour, ed., *Philosophers of the Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989. Pp. viii + 183.

Edinburgh philosopher Vincent Hope observes that Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith are seldom examined together, and he rightly sees much confusion in expositions of their moral thought. He assumes that each of these three thinkers is best understood when interpreted as an “active debater” with his predecessors, rather than “by taking him in isolation as a thinker who could be the reader’s contemporary.” So far, so good. Hope identifies Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith as “different generations of the same family.” What he gives us, then, is a Hume who, ever mindful of Hutcheson’s theorizing about moral perception, improves upon it, and a Smith whose moral theory, not surprisingly, outstrips that of both Hutcheson and Hume, primarily because of his recognition of the importance of fairness in morality and his awareness of the consensual character of moral judgments. But Hope’s interest is not exclusively historical, if it is that, but also constructive. Roughly equal amounts of space are devoted to the principal subjects of this book and to Hope’s own theory, which is, he maintains, in certain respects influenced by (and an improvement upon) theirs, as well as alternative contemporary moral theories. Indeed, Hope’s constructive theory may be the most challenging and valuable part of this work.

Much of Hope’s discussion of Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith is helpful and illuminating. He agrees with David Fate Norton, Knud Haakonssen, and other recent interpreters that Hutcheson and Hume are non-cognitivists. Nor are they simple subjectivists, maintaining that moral judgments are mere reports about an individual’s attitudes, preferences, or desires. They are, rather, “moral intersubjectivists.” According to each of them, my accurate or true description of Donald as greedy entails that all those who share my standards of virtue will also, upon analysis, consider Donald to be greedy. The exact content of moral standards differs from Hutcheson to Smith - the former elevating benevolence to a place of primacy, the latter maintaining that the duty of fairness is at the heart of virtue. But in all cases, Hope contends, the assumption is that moral approval and disapproval is consensual, that “moral judgement refers to a shared vantage-point of critical assessment.” References to an impartial spectator, which Hope suggests is typical of each of these three philosophers, are meant to capture just this fact of a moral consensus of the virtuous.

Hope provides readers with a discussion of the general theory of virtue of Hutcheson and Hume, of their respective understandings of moral perception and moral approval, and of their tangled, confused, and confusing arguments on the inadequacy of reason in the moral life. Hope’s interpretations of Hutcheson and Hume are well worth considering; readers will also want to consult the interpretations of Hutcheson and Hume offered in D. F.

Norton's *David Hume: Common-Sense Moralist, Sceptical Metaphysician*, and in essays by James Moore and Knud Haakonssen in M. A. Stewart's *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment*.

Hope finds Adam Smith to be the most satisfactory of the three moral philosophers. In his words, Smith is "a more mature, a more balanced moralist than his predecessors, with no metaphysical ambition. He has none of Hutcheson's simplicity or directness. He lacks Hume's severe logic, as well as his elegance and audacity" (p. 83). What Smith does offer is what Hope takes to be fundamental components of any adequate theory of morality, a sense of fairness and the public accountability that moral judgments assume.

The foundation of Hope's constructive theory is Smith's emphasis on merit or desert, and what Hope takes to be the central claim of Smith's moral psychology - that virtue is always that which is agreed to be appropriate, and which is practiced, by those who wish to be virtuous and who themselves practice fairness and equality. Professional philosophers are more likely than the general membership of ECSSS to find this final chapter engaging, though it seems unlikely that many of them will be convinced by Hope's argument that an individual has a right or claim upon us only when he is of a relevant, deserving character.

Some members of this society will be disappointed by the paucity of historical detail presented by Hope, especially in light of his recognition in the introduction that understanding of a thinker is best achieved by examining that thinker as an active debater in his own historical context. This is surely the case. Why, then, is there discussion of only Hutcheson's first three works, and only minimal discussion of the concerns that drove his project? Was Hume engaged only by the thought of Hutcheson? And Smith only by the thought of Hume?

More fundamentally, some readers may wish to challenge Hope's claim that it is helpful to think of Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith as "different generations of the same family." This case can be made, if at all, only if one approaches the study of these philosophers with the concerns of moral epistemology paramount. But why take these concerns as paramount? The case could easily be made that alternative approaches might be truer to these philosophers' self-understandings and, thus, more illuminating. One might, for example, look for family resemblances in light of a philosopher's thought about God, in which case the family of "providential naturalists," say, would include Hutcheson, Turnbull, David Fordyce, and Thomas Reid, but neither Hume nor Smith. Or one might look for family resemblances in light of fundamental moral principles. That moral epistemology constitutes the most illuminating approach to the study of the Scottish philosophers is a proposition that must be proved, rather than merely assumed.

Peter Gilmour's collection of essays, *Philosophers of the Enlightenment*, is intended as an introductory text for students. Philosophers discussed include Leibniz, Boyle and Locke, Berkeley, Kant, Voltaire and, oddly enough, Charles Fourier, as well as the Scottish philosophers Hume, Smith, and Reid. The inclusion of Fourier is not the only puzzling thing about this volume; the essays included are of wildly uneven quality, and not all of them are suitable as introductions. This is especially true of the essay on Locke, which might lead a student to think that his primary contribution to philosophy was his theory of substance.

Nevertheless, Gilmour's collection possesses what are to my mind some of the best brief introductions available to the thought of Hume, Smith, and Reid. Angus J. McKay's essay on Hume focuses on Hume's understanding of the "experimental method" and the application of this method in response to the "selfish hypothesis" of Hobbes. In his conclusion McKay alludes to certain similarities between Hume's thought and that of his detractor Reid. Reid's thought is admirably introduced by R. F. Stalley, who further illuminates just how much Reid had in common with his foe, Hume. Stalley clearly presents Reid's critique of the way of ideas and develops Reid's own inductive philosophical method. Christopher Berry's essay on Smith is less concerned with Smith's philosophical thought than with his civic humanism and his understanding of the relation between freedom and wealth.

Students who wish better to understand the Scottish Enlightenment will find the essays in *Philosophers of the Enlightenment* highly rewarding. Scholars of eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy will want to consult *Virtue By Consensus* even if they do not take it to be the final word.

Thomas D. Kennedy, Valparaiso University

Thomas Reid, *Practical Ethics: Being Lectures and Papers on Natural Religion, Self-Government, Natural Jurisprudence, and the Law of Nations*. Edited by Knud Haakonssen. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Pp. xiv + 556.

This handsome edition of a small portion of the voluminous Birkwood Collection of manuscripts makes a useful addition to the body of Reid's writings that are easily accessible in print. Reproduced are eighteen lectures and papers, including an introductory lecture delivered at the opening of the "public" moral philosophy class that Reid taught at Glasgow University after 1764; the gist of the part of that class dealing with ethics; and papers on the social contract and the utopian system that Reid read at the Glasgow Literary Society.

From Raeburn's magnificent portrait of Reid on the cover, to the excellent bibliographic index at the end of the book, the editorial and publishing standards are exemplary. The textual editing appears to be meticulous and precise, and the wide margins and large print make for comfortable reading. Remarkably, Reid's writings occupy

only a little more than a third of the pages in this volume; the rest consists of a massive, highly insightful introduction to Reid's life and thought, including a detailed diagram of Reid's moral philosophy course; textual commentary and notes that run almost as long as the text itself; and the bibliographic index, which allows the reader to locate the reference to every book and article cited in the text, commentary, and notes. Haakonssen demonstrates such an extensive knowledge of Reid's published works and unpublished manuscripts, and of the chief sources of his ethical thought (Carmichael, Cicero, Grotius, Heineccius, Hutcheson, Pufendorf), that one wonders if anyone else now living could have accomplished this feat. It is quite simply an editorial *tour de force*.

Scholars with specialist interests in Reid, in natural jurisprudence, and in eighteenth-century Scottish academic moral philosophy are going to find the whole of this volume extremely useful. Others may sometimes question, however, if the contents warrant such extraordinary attention. Though the editor has done a marvelous job of putting together and introducing Reid's lecture notes and fragments, the limitations of the material pose problems that diligent editing cannot always rectify. Much of Reid's ethics course is dull and derivative pedagogy, consisting of sketchy class notes. The tripartite structure consists of duties to God, ourselves, and others, but the material on the first two sets of duties is minimal. The presentation of materials on duties to others, which builds on the natural law tradition popularized by Hutcheson, is often confusing and repetitive, because a coherent but sometimes superficial body of lectures on this subject from 1765 (chapters 4-8) is supplemented in later chapters by other lectures and papers that enlarge upon, and often restate, earlier themes. For example, chapter 6 deals with the branch of duties to others that Reid called "oeconomical jurisprudence," consisting of the proper relationships pertaining among husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants; chapter 14 then presents another approach to the same topic. The separation of the chapters makes it difficult to establish thematic coherence, and the two chapters together aren't very original or interesting anyway. Moreover, at times the commentary seems excessive: a passing reference to America by Reid leads to a two-page editorial note that might easily have been reduced to a few lines and a citation to standard works by Bailyn and Beloff; a paragraph on the activities of the Society of Jesus in Paraguay prompts a note of more than a page on the history of the Jesuits and their treatment by eighteenth-century French writers, when a brief reference would have sufficed.

Most of the editorial commentary, however, deals with scholarly references and cross-references, and it is here that Haakonssen excels. His mind is a veritable encyclopedia of detailed knowledge about the natural law tradition, so that when Reid touches on a particular topic, say intestate succession, Haakonssen is able to connect the discussion not only with Scottish thinkers such as Hutcheson and Kames, but also with Continental natural lawyers such as Pufendorf, Grotius, and Cocceius. There are literally hundreds of similar examples. Furthermore, some of the manuscripts published here, such as Reid's introductory lecture and his discourse on the utopian system, are going to be of considerable importance to a wide range of scholars. The former is probably as clear a statement of Reid's overall approach to moral philosophy as one could wish for; it establishes the pneumatological context for his treatment of ethics, which he views as the study of "human Duty," built on the "ground work and foundation" of the philosophy of mind.

The essay on utopia, written in the context of the radical phase of French Revolution and partially published in the *Glasgow Courier* in 1794, is Reid's attempt to reconcile his lifelong belief in the primacy of the "common good" with his doubts about the possibility of mortal human beings ever attaining it. Reid displays partiality for More's utopian vision of a society with no private property and relatively few temptations for the practice of human selfishness and vanity, but he is also concerned about the feasibility and even the desirability of such a society. In its present, highly readable form, this discourse is going to interest students of the French Revolutionary period, of utopianism, of political theory, and other fields. I will go further and say that it is likely to attain the status of a minor classic, suitable for reproduction in anthologies. The great advantage of the placement of this discourse at the end of this volume is that the reader can now appreciate its place in Reid's ethical thought, which places much emphasis on the concept of the public good. Haakonssen's masterful introduction is instructive on this point, as on so many others.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

H. Lewis Ulman, *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 1758-1773*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990. Pp. 266.

After decades of neglect, the Aberdeen Enlightenment has recently begun to attract its fair share of critical attention. As that process continues, Lewis Ulman's edition of the minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, or "Wise Club," is certain to be a valuable tool.

Not that the text of the minutes themselves is going to excite much interest. For more than one hundred pages the minutes do little more than record the barest details about each meeting: who was present, who presided as president, who read a discourse, who paid a fine for not having his discourse ready. Occasionally one encounters a rule change or some other break from the tedium, but on the whole this is deeply dull stuff that will rarely be consulted even by Aberdonian specialists. The same goes for the fifteen pages of the society's financial accounts.

What scholars will consult, and frequently, are the splendid supporting materials that the editor has included in this volume. Besides a competent introduction on the club and its members, Ulman provides lists, charts, tables, a chronology, and a bibliography that are of considerable value. The attendance and participation of members are analyzed exhaustively; the discourses are listed by speaker; discussion questions are listed by speaker and subject; rule changes are abstracted; the whereabouts of extant manuscripts relating to the society are recorded in detail. In this way, Ulman has taken the tedium out of the APS minutes; he has done the spade work, and future researchers will be spared not only a trip to the archives but also many hours of counting and cross-referencing.

Ulman's task is made easier by the fact that the APS was so small and shortlived. Because only fifteen men ever belonged, it is possible for him to include in the introduction substantial biographical sketches of each member, with particular reference to their connections with the club. In each case we learn the pattern of club attendance, the kinds of discourses and questions proposed, and the particular discourses and questions that can be connected with later publications. The importance of this undertaking becomes clear when one considers that the publications which had their origins in the APS included such major works as Thomas Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, and John Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*. In piecing this story together, Ulman has drawn upon many sources besides the minutes, including the correspondence of the members and large manuscript collections that three of them left behind.

If Ulman excels as a compiler and distiller of large amounts of factual data, he is less sure of himself as a guide to the intellectual content and context of the APS. In regard to the club's Aberdonian context, particularly in relation to the town's two universities, Ulman has the good sense to rely on the scholarship of Roger Emerson and Paul Wood. In regard to the intellectual content of the club's activities, he cannot always turn to such reliable guides. When categorizing APS discussion questions by topic, for example, he includes under the heading "epistemology" questions on metaphysics as well as questions like the following: "Whether the manner of living of parents affects the genius or intellectual abilities of the children." Similarly, a question on the evidence of a future state is listed not under "religion" but under "moral philosophy," which is not a very helpful categorization for twentieth-century readers. When discussing the club's intellectual content in the introduction, Ulman provides an accurate summary of the APS's focus on scientific method; but he does not delve very deep, and he all but ignores the claims in Stephen A. Conrad's 1980 doctoral thesis on the APS, published in 1987 under the title *Citizenship and Common Sense*, that the members of the club were "moralists at heart" because their main interest was to use science on behalf of improvement.

If one comes to this book looking for accurate, detailed information about the APS, rather than for brilliant philosophical and historical insight, one is not likely to be disappointed. This softcover volume will be the starting point for all future scholarship on its topic, as well as for much future scholarship on the extraordinary Enlightenment in Aberdeen.

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

Thomas Miller, ed., *The Selected Writings of John Witherspoon*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990. Pp. viii + 318.

What does it take to be read in America? To judge by the fate of John Witherspoon's literary remains, quite a lot. It was Witherspoon who turned the College of New Jersey (which eventually became Princeton University) into an institution of truly national importance, he who swung the Presbyterian Church - the second largest at the time - behind the Revolution, he who was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence, and he who served, with distinction and influence, on both the New Jersey provincial assembly and the Continental Congress. These and his many other public activities were grounded in well worked-out though by no means original ideas, expressed in pamphlets, sermons, speeches, and lectures which themselves were of far-reaching influence on the turn of events. Yet his collected works have not been republished since the early nineteenth century, and it appears that only one work, the *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, has been reprinted in this century (twice). This is not much to the credit of American scholarship and its ability to present a balanced and nuanced picture of the founding era.

Thomas Miller's publication of a substantial selection of Witherspoon's writings is therefore an event of some note. The book appears in the well-established series "Landmarks in Rhetoric and Public Address." Fortunately - not least for readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* - Miller sees eighteenth-century rhetoric as intimately connected with morals and politics because it is in itself a moral and political activity. As a consequence, he sets Witherspoon's *Lectures on Eloquence* in the context of the Scots-American's wider *oeuvre*, and the volume contains both the *Lectures on Moral Philosophy* and a number of key items from Witherspoon's involvement in American affairs in the 1770s, including the "Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica, and Other West India Islands, in Behalf of the College of New Jersey," "Christian Magnanimity," "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men," and part of a speech in Congress on the Confederation. These writings are preceded by the most significant of

Witherspoon's Scottish publications, *Ecclesiastical Characteristics: or The Arcana of Church Policy* (1753), in which he took on the emerging Moderate party in the kirk.

Miller presents these texts free of any editorial interference. Witherspoon did not spend time on revising his published writings, and the sets of notes from his lectures show few variations worth noting. Nor does Miller's text of the *Lectures on Moral Philosophy* suffer from the inaccuracies which make the recent edition by Jack Scott very unreliable. He provides no explanatory notes to the text but concentrates his information in the introduction. On the whole I find this restraint laudable; it is a relief for once to have the primary texts on their own. It would, however, have been a significant help to have an index.

The editor's introduction of nearly fifty pages, followed by a useful bibliography, is a fine piece of work - effective writing, clear thinking, and an interesting argument. His case is summed up in the following paragraph: "If one reads the *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* in the context of Witherspoon's conflict with the Moderates, one can see the practical political origins of his developing social philosophy. He criticized the aestheticism and moralism of Hutcheson and Shaftesbury because he saw how it could lead educated leaders in practice to assume that they knew better than the public, and he spoke for the rights of the public not because he was a radical democrat but because he was a religious conservative concerned with practical public piety, which he saw as essential to spiritual and economic prosperity. In America this conservative orientation would lead him to support the American Revolution, while Moderates like Hugh Blair and George Campbell were strong public opponents of both the American and French revolutions" (pp. 13-14). Pursuing these themes in some detail, the editor uses them to explain the contrast which he perceives between Witherspoon's politically committed rhetoric and the belletristic, politically neutered rhetoric of Blair and Campbell.

Knud Haakonssen, Australian National University

Andrew Cunningham and Roger French, eds., *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. xii + 322.

Andrew Cunningham's witty, well-argued essay in this collection, "Medicine to Calm the Mind: Boerhaave's Medical System, and Why It Was Adopted in Edinburgh," will be of interest to many readers of this newsletter. Cunningham gives a good, succinct account of the professional and political rivalries that existed in Edinburgh prior to 1726 and seeks to explain just why the founding of a medical school which adopted Boerhaave's system was particularly suited to Lord Provost Drummond's campaign to "quell the disquiet" (p. 58). Drawing mostly on quotations from notes which Boerhaave left for an unfinished autobiography, as well as selective quotations from his orations, Cunningham draws a picture of Boerhaave as an eighteenth-century liberal who proposes "disinterested open-mindedness" in matters both medical and religious (p. 55). According to Cunningham, Boerhaave, like his hero Boyle, thought that the root of the evil was metaphysics, which produced sectarianism in both areas of discourse. Cunningham concludes: "If the Enlightenment means the promotion of free, open, rational modes of thought - the opposite of bigotry -- then the foundation of the Edinburgh medical school is very properly to be seen as the start of the Enlightenment in Edinburgh. And the more delightful irony about it is that the medicine taught there was the more tolerant and open, the more closely it was based on the doctrines of just one man - as long as that man was Herman Boerhaave" (pp. 65-66). This latter remark derives from a claim by William Cullen's nineteenth-century biographer, John Thomson, that Drummond had warned Cullen against deviating from Boerhaave's system when he began teaching there in the mid-1750s.

As anyone who has thought much about it knows, irony is one of the most difficult of the traditional rhetorical figures to analyze. Does Cunningham really mean to tell us that the system of Boerhaave was not really as eclectic as he had earlier suggested? The question is not an idle one, for controversy - especially metaphysical controversy - was the order of the day in later Edinburgh medicine. Cunningham has enlightened us on the ideology of Boerhaave's own medicine. But was not the reality very different? By the late 1740s one of the greatest scientists of eighteenth-century Scotland, Robert Whytt, was systematically attacking Boerhaave's mechanistic physiology and Cartesian metaphysics in his lectures on the institutions of medicine. Criticism was clearly present earlier, as is shown in the writings of two physicians who influenced Whytt: George Young and William Porterfield. As I have argued in an article in M. A. Stewart, ed., *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cullen himself admired Boerhaave and Haller for adopting a metaphysical conception of mind-body dualism which kept them free of charges of irreligion. And if Boerhaave's medical system is in fact neither metaphysically nor theologically neutral, where does this leave our conception of the Scottish Enlightenment in general, and of Provost Drummond's promotion of it in particular? Like any good scholarly essay, Cunningham leaves us with as many questions as answers.

John P. Wright, University of Windsor

Marie-Cécile Révauger, *Le Fait maconnique au XVIIIe siècle en Grande-Bretagne et aux Etats-Unis*. Paris: E.D.I.M.A.F., 1990. Pp. 229.

The development of freemasonry in the eighteenth century has been actively studied in France in the last few years, with a special issue of *Dix-Huitième Siècle* (no. 19, 1987) almost entirely devoted to that subject. But in *Le Fait maconnique au XVIIIe siècle*, abridged from her doctoral dissertation and prefaced by Daniel Ligou, compiler of a monumental *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie* (1987), Marie-Cécile Révauger covers a field rarely touched on by French scholars, i.e. the history of British and colonial lodges from 1717 (when the English Grand Lodge was created) to 1813-14 (when the "International Compact" between the English, Irish, and Scottish Lodges was signed).

Only about thirty pages actually deal with Scottish masons, and few sensational revelations can be expected, due partly to the scarcity of primary material available (in spite of Révauger's thorough research in major American masonic libraries as well as European reference libraries and archives), and partly to the broader perspective of her study. The result is a clear and unbiased account depicting the gradual and cautious way in which Scottish freemasonry departed from its early Jacobite sympathies to become a unifying element in Anglo-Scottish politics, perhaps under the influence of John Murray, fourth duke of Atholl, who was elected grand master both in England - by the "Ancients" - and in Scotland.

Révauger also insists on the relative social equilibrium achieved by the Scottish lodges, symbolized by William St Clair of Roslin's generous and successful efforts to operate a syncretism between speculative and operative trends, and exemplified in the architectural realizations of George Drummond and James Stewart (each of whom had been elected grand master before becoming lord provost of Edinburgh). To judge from the example of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning no. 2, Scottish masonry attracted not only large numbers of the nobility, but also churchmen, military officers, literati like James Boswell and Robert Burns, and professors like Dugald Stewart as well as medical doctors and bankers.

The picture that emerges from Révauger's book is that of a well-established Scottish brotherhood - with many European and American provincial lodges - sometimes showing signs of internal strife, above all with the secession of Lodge Mother Kilwinning (later retitled Lodge Kilwinning no. 0), but enjoying good relations with the Moderates in the kirk and carefully avoiding any radical political commitment during the French Revolution. Thus, in spite of a faulty index, this book provides a short but enlightening analysis of the social, political, and religious dimensions of Scottish masonry and of the diplomatic attitude it generally adopted at the time of the great division between Ancient and Modern lodges in England.

Michel Faure, Université de Haute-Alsace

Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989. Pp. xvi + 269.

Part I of this book is a general discussion of the development of new ways of looking at scenery, and of ideas about the picturesque and sublime, terms which had a very precise meaning at the time which they have since lost. A particularly engaging chapter entitled "Travelling 'knick-knacks'" describes the necessary appurtenances for every serious traveller of the period, from the Claude Glass (a type of Camera Obscura) to the sketch book, journal, and guide book. Many interesting ideas are suggested - not least that today's carefully framed postcards of "picturesque" scenes and the expectations they arouse in the modern tourist are not really all that far removed from the expectations of two hundred years ago. But the book does presuppose background knowledge of the period and subject.

Part II concentrates on particular geographical areas where most tours took place: the Wye Valley, North Wales, the Lakes and, finally, "The Highlands Tour and the Ossianic Sublime." This geographical division gives the reader the views of a number of different visitors on one place, rather than the (more usual) views of one person on different places. The usefulness to a Scottish historian is that this approach places the experiences of visitors to Scotland in a wider context. The Scottish section contains a number of interesting observations, but it is terribly superficial. Perhaps such superficiality is inevitable in a book of this length, which covers so much territory, but it is nonetheless frustrating.

The Search for the Picturesque is profusely illustrated with black and white prints, which certainly do bring alive many of the scenes and attitudes described by the author. It is an attractive book, but for anyone whose primary interest is in Scotland, there is not enough in it to be worth purchasing; I would recommend consulting a library copy instead. For many readers of this review, the author's bibliography of tours may well prove to be the most useful part of the book.

Leah Leneman, University of Edinburgh

Thomas Crawford, *Boswell, Burns and the French Revolution*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1990. Pp. 80.

For some years now the Saltire Society has been turning out useful general-interest pamphlets on specialized topics in Scottish history and culture, at prices in the £1-4 range. With this essay, Thomas Crawford joins the company of ECSSS members such as David Daiches, P. H. Scott, and David Stevenson as authors in this series. His contribution is, quite simply, a little gem.

The coupling of Boswell and Burns is an unusual one; as Crawford observes, the two men never met and appear at first sight to have been "diametrically opposite" in most respects. There were significant differences in age (Boswell was almost twenty years older), social class, literary genre and style, and political and ideological beliefs. On closer inspection, however, "both men had a surprising amount in common. Both were Ayrshiremen, both were sentimental Jacobites, both had a romantic attitude to Scotland's past, and to both the Revolution was a potent symbol in the final stage of their development" (p. 75). But what sort of symbol was it? Crawford's main argument is that both Boswell and Burns were fundamentally consistent in their attitude toward the French Revolution - Boswell in seeing it as a symbol of chaos, Burns of freedom.

Yet both men's views did not go unchallenged during the course of their lives. Boswell came to his conservatism of the French Revolutionary era (including his whole-hearted support for slavery) from a past that celebrated Corsican liberty, American independence, and parliamentary reform. If he arrived at his conservative position of the 1790s in part by simply reversing himself on key issues (e.g. parliamentary reform), it is equally important to understand that his partiality for national causes of liberty and independence was always grounded in an aristocratic outlook. Crawford speculates that Boswell's attraction to such causes "was rooted in childhood identification with Robert Bruce" (p. 11) and with the Roman republic and ancient Sparta; "heroic images" and sentimental values shaped his approach to both Corsican and American liberty. The analysis might have benefitted from a consideration of the aristocratic concept of civic humanism, which also helps to account for Boswell's ideological position, and one regrets that the misleading term "libertarian" has been used to refer to Boswell's attraction to the rhetoric of liberty. By and large, however, Crawford's interpretation is rich and insightful, and helps to connect Boswell's support for liberty with his sentimental Jacobitism, Toryism, justification of slavery, and detestation of the French Revolution, which he viewed from the outset as a violation of the natural (i.e. aristocratic) order of things.

In the case of Burns, the challenge to consistency comes well into the Revolution itself. When the Revolution broke out, Burns was ideologically prepared to support it, and it inspired his poetic muse for several years. Crawford reprints a great deal of interesting material on Burns's love of liberty, in letters to friends and of course in poetry. "The Rights of Woman" (1792) is introduced with Burns's own account of it in a letter to Mrs Dunlop; "A Man's a Man for a' that" is compared stanza-by-stanza with Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*; the connection between sentimental Scottish patriotism and modern political liberty is pointed out, with particular reference to poems such as "Scots Wha Hae" (1792); and the controversial "Tree of Liberty" is reproduced in its entirety, analyzed perceptively, and attributed to Burns. Burns's ideological crisis occurred after 1793, when anti-French sentiment became so strong that Burns joined the Royal Dumfries Volunteers and wrote verse against "Haughty Gaul." Conceding that "there may have been an element of expediency in his volunteering," Crawford maintains that Burns "always remained a democrat, with upsurges of pro-French feeling right to the end of his life" (p. 73). Since the primary evidence supporting this assertion is an anecdotal account of November 1795 by one of Burns's early biographers, the Tory Josiah Walker, one wonders if Walker's own political opinions colored his suspicions about Burns's views. Readers of this splendid pamphlet can make up their own minds about this and other issues that Tom Crawford has brought to our attention.

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

Gavin Sprott, *Robert Burns: Farmer*. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1990. Pp. 58.

Gavin Sprott's monograph brings home to us as no merely literary commentary could the hardships of the farming life in which Burns was brought up. It contains the best description I have read of how the infield/outfield system of cultivation worked in practice, and is lavishly illustrated with both black-and-white and color reproductions of paintings, engravings, and photographs which reflect the countryside, building, and agricultural and domestic implements of late eighteenth-century Scotland. Of Burns's attitude to agricultural improvement, Sprott says: "his heart lay with the old close bonds of the unindustrialized countryside, but his head was with the new improved farming, for he knew that was the only way to make an even half-decent living" (p. 6). And he says this about Burns's period at Ellisland: "his life as a farmer continued the seemingly endless treadmill of effecting improvements with little of the rewards" (p. 41).

Sprott does not seem to have taken on board Richard Hindle Fowler's recent *Robert Burns* (1987), which argues that Burns was an incompetent farmer, unable or unwilling to set on foot the extensive programs of liming and drainage which his farms required - that, for example, we have no record of any soil improvements actually carried

out by the Burns brothers at Mossgiel, and that "evidently no stone-and-brushwood drains had been put down in the Mossgiel subsoil, even though these would have been a top-priority improvement on that farm" (p. 134). Fowler sees no evidence that Burns wished to improve Ellisland, and contends that Burns did not share his landlord's enthusiasm for soil improvement or even for farming (p. 155), a somewhat different emphasis from Spratt's.

Nevertheless, Spratt's monograph will be of the greatest value to all who love and teach Burns. No longer is "pattle" in "To a Mouse" merely a dialect word with an equivalent in the margin or at the back of the book: now the whole purpose of the implement is brought home to us in relation to the process of ploughing. And the harvest activities of shearing and stooking and threshing with the "weary flingin-tree" are made even more concrete by pictorial illustrations, while the same is true for many of the domestic utensils, furnishing, and indoor activities featured in Burns's poetry. The work is a valuable supplement to that excellent publication of over thirty years ago, John Strawhorn's *Ayrshire at the Time of Burns*.

Thomas Crawford, University of Aberdeen

Tobias Smollett, *The History and Adventures of an Atom*. Introduction and notes by Robert Adams Day. Text edited by O. M. Brack, Jr. Athens, Ga., and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. Pp. lxxxv + 360.

Smollett's satirical allegory on British domestic and foreign affairs from 1754 until 1768, first published anonymously in 1769, has never before been edited, so the editors are to be congratulated on producing such an excellent work. Robert Adams Day must have worked long and hard in order to annotate the work so carefully and fully. Without his introduction and notes, the satire would be virtually incomprehensible to the majority of readers. Now all students of Smollett will wish to own this beautifully produced volume. Not the least of its merits are the fifty political prints that are reproduced at the end. These humorous caricatures assist the reader to understand and enjoy Smollett's "secret history" of the events surrounding the Seven Years' War.

In 1764 Smollett retired from London to Nice, where he completed some of his better known works. But he also found time to compose this scatological Rabelaisian satire. Filled with savage indignation at King George II, Newcastle, "Butcher" Cumberland, Pitt, Wilkes, and several others, Smollett gave full rein to his considerable literary powers in ridiculing and exposing the ignorance, incompetence, greed, and opportunism of the leading politicians of the day. The result is a densely allusive, shrewd, witty, often obscure, and sometimes tedious performance.

Day convincingly shows "that the *Atom* may justly be seen as a vast patchwork of quotations from, versions of, and allusions to passages in the later works of Smollett's career, running from the time when he launched the *Critical Review* in 1756 to the publication, in 1765 and 1766, respectively, of the fifth volume of his *Continuation of the Complete History of England* and of his *Travels through France and Italy*." But the *Atom* is far inferior to Smollett's other works, and to earlier Swiftian satires such as *The History of John Bull* (1712) and *Sister Peg* (1760), which Day suggests may have served as models. Nevertheless, this no-holds-barred attack on Pitt, and partial exoneration of Bute, will be relished by those with some knowledge of the period and a liking for Smollett's prose. The editor is particularly successful in showing how Smollett frequently borrowed the imagery of his targets from contemporary cartoons. Moreover, the editor puts beyond doubt the traditional attribution of the work to Smollett. In short, this volume is a welcome addition to the Works of Tobias Smollett, which the University of Georgia Press is publishing under the general editorship of Jerry Beasley.

David R. Raynor, University of Ottawa

Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Edited by Thomas R. Preston. Athens, Ga., and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990. Pp. lx + 500.

Preston's *Humphry Clinker* is at least the fourth edition of this novel since the late Lewis Knapp's for the Oxford English Novels series in 1966. Several of the preceding editions have been distinguished for their annotations; one might wonder what more could be done. Preston's edition, begun more than twenty years ago, proves beyond doubt how much can still be said about Smollett's best-loved work - and what more there might be to say.

Preston's introduction is "designed to give immediately helpful factual and literary information rather than a sustained argument or position." In other words, no new critical ground shall be broken. The central question about the kind of novel this is remains, and the most popular commentaries of the last twenty-five years are given their turn. Preston suggests only that the inspiration for the book may have been Christopher Anstey's satirical *New Bath Guide* (1766). Other sections of the introduction helpfully discuss money and language in the novel. But least expected are the textual annotations, dealing with inns, innkeepers, doctors, and owners of estates; these imply that fact overlays fiction to a greater extent than previously suspected. Preston observes that "Smollett projects a

world where the historical and the factual become indistinguishable A work like *Humphry Clinker*, that insists on a constant interplay of the factual and empirical, effectually represents reality as something to which neither fact nor fiction can lay claim." Many descriptions of places are keyed in the notes to parallel passages in Smollett's edition of *The Present State of all Nations* (1768-69), suggesting that such passages in the novel may be merely "literary" rather than based on personal experience.

Of all the editions since 1966, Preston's has the most notes, though they are not always the most detailed. Perhaps this is because the notes were deliberately "written as annotations to Smollett's novel, not to the subject matter in the novel." This is a nice distinction though one not always followed, but anyone wishing to gloss the text thoroughly would do well to consult, along with Preston's, Knapp and Parreaux's notes to the 1968 Riverside edition. Preston cites no studies of the novel after 1982, and recent treatments of the Enlightenment, the kirk, and Glasgow medicine and trade are absent from the notes to the Scottish letters. Moreover, Preston's discoveries open Pandora's source-hunting box: perhaps an analogue might yet be found for the cawdies' banquet in Edinburgh; perhaps we might yet discover the member of the House of Commons who "speaks with great energy and precision without being able to engage attention, because his observations were made in the Scotch dialect;" perhaps the "unidentified" Mr Moffat, "very powerful in prayer" for Mrs Tabitha, may be the divinity student who, according to Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, was presented to Newlands the following year; and so forth. Preston's achievements tempt us to expect that even more might be done.

These cavils aside, this is a fine addition to the Georgia venture, which now numbers three volumes. It is proper to congratulate Tom Preston on this long-awaited work and its critical apparatus. *Humphry Clinker* seems more intriguing than before. It is also fitting to congratulate the editorial board of the Smollett edition for keeping the volumes coming steadily.

Henry L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords, A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities, c. 1740-90*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1975 (paperback 1990). Pp. xi + 209.

The appearance in paperback of Tom Devine's *The Tobacco Lords* is no less significant than its original publication in 1975, for this book ranks as one of the classics in Scottish economic history. When first published, it followed a tradition of study of the Glasgow tobacco merchants initiated by J. H. Soltow, Henry Hamilton, Jacob Price, and T. C. Smout. Today Devine's work is a milestone in the study of eighteenth-century Glasgow, initiating and promoting new studies of merchant groups in the city, as well as more sociological explorations of the group known as "the tobacco lords." Devine has placed this subject in the forefront of Scottish history, so long overshadowed by the rapid advances and changes of Glasgow during the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, and his treatment is second to none.

This book is not a new edition, but rather a straight reprint of the original text; nevertheless, it merits notice on account of its enduring importance. Part I, dealing with the nature of the merchant community, discusses the numbers involved in the tobacco trade and their investments in land and industry. Part II explores the trading methods and organization of the Glasgow trade, explaining the clever manipulation of company law peculiar to Scottish jurisprudence (limited liability) and focusing on the tobacco firm of William Cunninghame and Co. (1768-1775). This section ends with an important discussion of the sources of capital for the trade, long considered a paradox, since Scotland has often wrongly been seen as an economically backward and impoverished country.

Parts III and IV deal with the American War of Independence and the mercantile problems that were created both before and after it. Using certain merchants as case studies, Devine states that although the war did affect trade to a great degree, many of the merchants continued to trade with New York and the Caribbean. He also puts to rest common misconceptions about the problem of Glasgow's pre-war debts and the renewal of trade with North America after 1783. Glasgow's pre-war debts were long considered the reason for massive bankruptcies in the 1770s. Devine points out, however, that many of the debts were merely credit extended to planters for goods at inflated prices in exchange for tobacco, and therefore inconsequential because tobacco was the main source of wealth. The credit crises of 1772 were more responsible for bankruptcies, which resulted in a new Scottish bankruptcy law in 1783, making the conversion of heritable estates into real money more fluid. Finally, Devine explains away the long-held myth that the American War of Independence ended the Glasgow tobacco trade, by showing that the situation was far more complex. The growth of manufacturers toward the end of the eighteenth century, originally initiated by these merchants, resulted in "functional specialisation," "a trend which was indicative of the new wealth in society and of the more complex needs of a rapidly growing economy" (p. 167).

Devine's appendices are invaluable for students of this merchant group. The first appendix is a biographical listing of 163 merchants involved in the trade from 1740 to 1790. Though not exhaustive in content, the volume of information contained in these biographies is a testimony to the author's thorough research. He includes information on year of birth, year of death, year of membership as merchant burgess, father, father's occupation if

known, industrial interests, estate interests, and whether or not each merchant was matriculated at the University of Glasgow. The second appendix lists partnership groupings in the Glasgow trade from 1765 to 1790.

Carolyn Peters, *Biographical Dictionary of Early Pennsylvania Legislators*

Peter Womak, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*. London: Macmillan, 1989. Pp. xi + 211.

Historians should not, ashen-faced at the prospect of francophila theory having penetrated north of Fort William, immediately close this book on discovering that Peter Womak's model for perceiving the post-1745 Highlands is derived from Roland Barthe's definition of mythology as an area colonized "by an empire of signs." Though theoretical jargon does, on occasion, clot Womak's prose, this shortcoming is more than balanced by the book's provocative, acerbic intelligence and its very considerable erudition in terms of a mass of writing about the Highlands which he has revealingly resurrected. Who among us, for example, has heard of John O'Keeffe's *The Highland Reel*, inspired by Boswell's tour?

In its particular analysis the book is also a major contribution to the vexed general problem of using literary texts as essential forms of historical evidence. In principle, Womak commits the crime common to the new historicism: seeing all literary texts as (in Robert Alter's words) "a reflection in any society of the values of the ruling class, abetted by a learned or priestly elite." Younger academics often have a power-derived fantasy that the fate of empires depends on how literary departments treat the texts they choose to teach. To quote Alter again, "the literary imagination develops a momentum of its own, in indifference or in actual contravention to reigning ideology." What practically saves Womak is that he is dealing not with works of imagination but ephemeral literary fantasies which, invariably, are products of the dominant ideology of their age. The Highlands attracted such fanciful writers like midges. Womak, therefore, rarely has the problem of dealing, as occasionally in Burns, with a genuinely imaginative response to the land and its people. Oddly, too, in someone who so stresses the repression of the Highland voice, Womak has little to say of past or present Highland creative writing. Gunn, Sorley MacLean, and Crichton Smith would surely have added tangibly to his cause. On the positive side, however, Womak's interpretations are in direct line of descent from the modified Marxism of Raymond Williams's *The Country and the City*, in particular with its penetrating skepticism concerning bourgeois pastoralism's troubled, often illusory, relationship with the world it had left behind.

In thematic chapters devoted to militarism, terrain, the supernatural, and social organization, Womak traces the relationships of two apparently contradictory phenomena which appeared simultaneously almost immediately after the '45: the Smithian ideology of improvement, and what was to become the flood of sentimental writing about the Highlands. Their apparent contradiction is that while one stresses the economic practicality of development, the other enthusiastically broods over a landscape of emptiness and loss. Womak is least convincing when he tries to display an intentionally direct connection between these phenomena. Much more cogent and revealing is his concluding argument - that bourgeois progress needed a fabulous, falsely edenic world of compensatory fantasy to set over against the anxieties of its own chosen, economically individualistic historical path. Womak believes that the intensity and extent of this Highland fantasy created in non-Highland minds a "reality," a Highland "otherness," which set the Highlanders apart, thus significantly contributing to their economic decay.

Even if one does not wholly accept this general argument, the book is extremely informative on particular examples of the Highlanders as plastic projections of Lowland Scottish and subsequent British political, economic, and psychological compulsions. Space does not permit detailed comment on this point, but Womak is particularly convincing and incisive on the Pitt-inspired metamorphosis of the Highlanders from bestial insurrectionaries to ultra-loyal "indispensable atavistic natives in the Victorian triumph of peace and progress." He is also excellent on "Ossian" Macpherson's ingenious employment of eighteenth-century aesthetics to fill empty space with pad poetry and to satisfy the ambiguous, erotically morbid craving for the supernatural of an increasingly secular age. He also argues convincingly against seeing Ossian as a national epic and relates wittily its "suppression of the genital with a historical nation which doesn't reproduce itself."

Though Womak, as a Marxist, is uneasy with nationalism, the book is very revealing about the sorry story of the evolution of Scottish nationalism in terms of fake Celticism. Initially the Lowland Scots hated the Highlanders. An early Lowland medieval poem contemplates God's creation of the slothful, thieving Highlander from a horse turd. Later, the satire in Defoe and Fielding regarding the political consequences of Jacobite militarism came from genuine terror. Womak has a radical weakness for seeing the oppressed as victims. During Bute's term of office, the Lowland Scots in England were tarred with the Highland brush. This insult the Lowlanders quickly shook off, however, and, inspired by Walter Scott, created a national identity which was practically committed to the imperial British state and emotionally attached to a Scotland largely compounded of narcissistic "Highland" fantasy: "For the Scottish bourgeoisie, therefore, the Highlands had the aspect of residual historical nation - a reminder, certainly, of an economic stagnation they were relieved to have left behind, but also an accreditation, held in

reserve, of the national identity which was both required and eroded by their participation in the imperial adventure." It is still uncertain how powerfully this truly toxic fantasy operates in the Scottish bloodstream.

Andrew Noble, University of Strathclyde

Briefly Noted

Tom D. Campbell, ed., *Law and Enlightenment in Britain*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press (Enlightenment, Rights and Revolution Series), 1990. Pp. viii + 160.

Despite its general title, *Law and Enlightenment* is largely a Scottish Enlightenment volume, with ten of the fourteen essays devoted mainly to Scottish thinkers. David Hume (six essays) and Adam Smith (three essays) are as usual the best represented. (See the supplement to this issue for specific contributions by ECSSS members.)

Nagoya International Symposium to Commemorate the Bicentenary of the Death of Adam Smith. 1990.

The Nagoya conference, sponsored by the Adam Smith Society of Japan, was by all accounts one of the more interesting tributes to the bicentenary of Smith's death, and this printed (but apparently not published) volume of conference proceedings is therefore of great interest. There are sixteen papers (counting both versions of Norbert Waszek's essay on "Adam Smith in Germany"). The following ECSSS members have papers included in this volume: D. D. Raphael, "AS's Moral Philosophy;" Peter Jones, "The Aesthetics of AS;" John W. Cairns, "AS's Lectures on Jurisprudence;" Andrew S. Skinner, "Smith, Steuart and Hume;" John Dwyer, "AS in the Scottish Enlightenment;" and Roger J. Fechner, "AS and American Academic Moral Philosophers and Philosophy."

Because this volume does not appear to be published, readers wishing more information may want to contact the secretary of the sponsoring society, Professor Yoshiaki Sudo, at Keio University in Yokohama, Japan.

David Lieberman, *The Province of Legislation Determined: Legal Theory in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Pp. xiii + 312.

This book devotes only two brief chapters to Scottish legal thought, wholly confined to Lord Kames, but the book - and particularly those chapters - deserve the attention of our readers. Lieberman makes an interesting case for Kames as a legal reformer who looked to enlightened jurists rather than (as in the case of Bentham) enlightened legislators to spearhead the rationalization process.

Antonia Forster, *Index to Book Reviews in England 1749-1774*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990. Pp. xi + 307.

Though a useful library reference book, this volume suffers from a serious limitation: it references only works of poetry, fiction, and drama. Thus, under "James Macpherson" one will find references to five reviews each of *Fingal*, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, and his translation of the *Iliad*, and three reviews each of *Songs of Selma* and *Temora*; but there are no entries for prose works by major authors such as Hugh Blair and Lord Kames.

Maureen Townley, *The Best and Fynest Lawyers and Other Raire Bookes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1990. Pp. 163.

This handsome paperback facsimile edition of the earliest list of books in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, dates from 1683. It presents the principal Latin texts of late seventeenth-century Scottish legal thought and culture.

Alexander Hamilton, *The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*. Edited by Robert Micklus. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. 3 vols. Pp. 1416.

This attractive boxed set contains a mock-heroic narrative of ten years in the life of an eighteenth-century social club. It will be of interest to some of our members not only because its author was the Scottish physician Alexander Hamilton, but also because it deals with many Enlightenment themes.

Helen and Keith Kelsall, *An Album of Scottish Families, 1694-96: Being the First Instalment of George Home's Diary*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990. Pp. 158.

Economic and social historians of the Scottish Borders will find this struggling laird's diary interesting, as will students of eighteenth-century Homes and Humes.

Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. Pp. vii + 460.

This volume contains at least four essays of particular interest to our members: Jacob M. Price on the impact of the colonies on Britain; Eric Richards on Scotland and the Atlantic empire; Maldwyn A. Jones on the Scotch-Irish in British America; and J. M. Bumstead on the cultural landscape of early Canada.

New in Paper

Pall S. Ardal, *Passion and Value in Hume's Treatise*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981, 1989. Pp. xxxix + 220 (includes a lengthy new introduction).

Knud Haakonssen, *The Science of a Legislator: The Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume & Adam Smith*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 1989. Pp. 240.

Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985, 1990. Pp. xix + 390.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan 1990 - 31 Dec 1990

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

Balance 1 Jan 1990: £191.50
Income (dues): +£439
Income (Glasgow conference surplus): +£535
Expenses: -£87.82
Balance 31 Dec 1990: £1137.68

II. Bank of Scotland Savings Account (Chambers St, Edinburgh)

Balance 1 Jan 1990: £354.82
Interest: +£32.89
Balance 31 Dec 1990: £387.71

III. Maplewood Bank & Trust Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1990: \$804.74
Income (dues): +\$1399.59
Income (royalties, *Scotland and America*): +\$199.96
Expenses: -\$669.42*
Transferred to savings account: -\$500
Balance 31 Dec 1990: \$1234.87

* Does not include postage, services, and supplies provided by New Jersey Institute of Technology.

IV. Maplewood Bank & Trust Passbook Savings (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1990: 0
Balance 5 Feb 1990: \$500
Interest: +\$23.61
Balance 31 Dec 1990: \$523.61

V. Credit at Jack-B-Quick Quality Printing (Millburn, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1990: 0
Balance 1 July 1990: \$588 (credit from NJIT)
Expense (stationery printing): \$40.45
Balance 31 Dec 1990: \$547.55

VI. Total Assets as of 31 Dec 1990: \$2306.03 + £1525.39

Eighteenth-Century Scotland is published annually by the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society (ECSSS) and is sent to all ECSSS members each spring. Submissions of articles, announcements, and news items are welcome. Address all correspondence to the editor: Richard B. Sher, Executive Secretary - ECSSS, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Room 504M, Newark, NJ 07102, USA.

ECSSS officers for 1990-92: President, Andrew Hook (literature, Glasgow U.); Vice-President, Leslie Ellen Brown (music, Penn State U. - Beaver Campus); Executive Secretary/Treasurer, Richard B. Sher (history, NJIT); Members-At-Large: Thomas Kennedy (philosophy, Valparaiso U.), John Robertson (history, St Hugh's College - Oxford).

ECSSS Board of Trustees: Andrew Hook, Leslie Ellen Brown, Richard Sher, Roger Emerson (history, U. of Western Ontario); Andrew Noble (literature, U. of Strathclyde), M. A. Stewart (philosophy, U. of Lancaster).

Special thanks to New Jersey Institute of Technology for providing desktop publishing facilities and other assistance, and to Kelly Griffin for help with word processing.

Tell a Friend - or a Library - about ECSSS

If you appreciate this newsletter, others may, too. Please tell a friend or your university library about us. Increased membership will enable us to continue to provide members with excellent services at bargain rates. Our membership fees are payable to "ECSSS" in either U.S. dollars or pounds sterling:

Individuals: \$10 or £6

Institutions: \$20 or £12

Copies of back issues, when available: \$5 or £3 each for individuals (\$10 or £6 for institutions). Donations to a projected Scottish studies publication prize fund (for the best publication in eighteenth-century Scottish studies) will also be gratefully accepted.

Eighteenth-Century Scotland
Department of Humanities
New Jersey Institute of Technology
Newark, NJ 07102 USA

Supplement to "Eighteenth-Century Scotland" No. 5 (1991)

Recent Articles by ECSSS Members

The items below either appear in collections received by the editor or else have been brought to the editor's attention by individual members, many of whom submitted offprints or copies of their work. The list is limited to studies that (1) deal with eighteenth-century Scottish topics and (2) were published in 1989 or 1990 (the publication date is 1990 unless otherwise noted).

- Michael Barfoot, "Hume and the Culture of Science in the Early Eighteenth Century," in *SPSE*, 151-90.
- Paul G. Bator, "The Formation of the Regius Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at the University of Edinburgh," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 75 (1989): 40-64.
- Barbara M. Benedict, "Literary Miscellanies: The Cultural Mediation of Fragmented Feeling," *ELH* 57:407-30.
- Christopher J. Berry, "Adam Smith: Commerce, Liberty and Modernity," in Peter Gilmour, ed., *Philosophers of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1989), 113-32.
- Elaine G. Breslaw, "An Affirmation of Scottish Nationalism: The Eighteenth-Century Easy Club," *CLA Journal* (College Language Association) 33:308-29.
- Callum G. Brown, "Protest in the Pews: Interpreting Presbyterianism and Society in Fracture during the Scottish Economic Revolution," in *CSSS*, 83-105.
- Deborah Brunton, "The Transfer of Medical Education: Teaching at the Edinburgh and Philadelphia Medical Schools," in *SAAE*, 242-58.
- D. J. Bryden, "John Gardner's Coin-Scale: A Scottish Gold Coin Scale of 1773," *Equilibrium*, no. 1: 1303-11.
- D. J. Bryden, "The Edinburgh Observatory, 1736-1811: A Story of Failure," *Annals of Science* 47:445-74.
- R. H. Campbell, "Continuity and Challenge: The Perpetuation of the Landed Interest," in *CSSS*, 122-35.
- Jennifer Carter, "British Universities and Revolutions, 1678-1718," in *CR*, 8-21.
- Harvey Chisick, "David Hume and the Common People," in *SMSE*, 5-32.
- Henry C. Clark, "Passions, Interests, and Moderate Virtues: La Rochefoucauld and the Origins of Enlightenment Liberalism," *Annals of Scholarship* 7 (contains remarks on Hume)
- Thomas Crawford, "Boswell and the Tensions of the Enlightenment," in *SMSE*, 178-98.
- David Daiches, "*Style Périodique* and *Style Coupé*: Hugh Blair and the Scottish Rhetoric of American Independence," in *SAAE*, 209-226.
- David Daiches, "Burns and Pope," *Scottish Literary Journal* 17.
- David Daiches, "Burns in Russian," *The Scotsman*, 26 Jan. 1990.
- T. M. Devine, "The Failure of Radical Reform in Scotland in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Social and Economic Context," in *CSSS*, 51-64.
- Peter J. Diamond, "Witherspoon, William Smith and the Scottish Philosophy in Revolutionary America," in *SAAE*, 115-32.
- Robert Kent Donovan, "The Popular Party of the Church of Scotland and the American Revolution," in *SAAE*, 81-99.
- Horst W. Drescher, "Apostles of Emigration," in R. Bardeleben, ed., *Wege der amerikanischen Kultur - Ways and Byways of American Culture* (Bern, 1989), 105-14.
- John Dwyer, "Clio and Ethics: Practical Morality in Enlightened Scotland," *The Eighteenth Century* 30:45-72.
- John Dwyer, "The Caledonian Mercury and Scottish National Culture, 1763-1801," in K. Schweizer and J. Black, eds., *Politics and the Press in Hanoverian Britain* (*Journal of History and Politics*, 7 [1989]): 147-69.
- John Dwyer, "The Nation as Community: Group Identity in an Eighteenth-Century Province," *Scotia* 14:30-41.
- John Dwyer, "The Imperative of Sociability: Moral Culture in the Late Scottish Enlightenment," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 13:169-84.
- Maria Elosegui, "Revolution, Freedom and Law in David Hume," in *LEB*, 45-56.
- Roger L. Emerson, "Science and Moral Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *SPSE*, 11-36.
- Howard Gaskill, "German Ossianism: A Reappraisal?," *German Life and Letters* 42 (1989): 329-41.
- Anita Guerrini (and Jole R. Shackelford), "John Keill's *De Operationum Chymicarum Ratione Mechanica*," *Ambix* 36 (1989): 138-52.
- Knud Haakonssen, "Natural Law and Moral Realism: The Scottish Synthesis," in *SPSE*, 61-85.

- Knud Haakonssen, "Natural Jurisprudence in the Scottish Enlightenment: Summary of an Interpretation," in N. MacCormick and Z. Bankowski, *Enlightenment, Rights and Revolution* (Aberdeen, 1989), 36-49.
- Knud Haakonssen, "Enlightenment Philosophy in Scotland and Germany: Recent German Scholarship," in Karl Eibl, ed., *Entwicklungsschwellen im 18. Jahrhundert, Aufklärung* 4:109-26.
- Lore H. Hisky, "U.S. Owes Major Debt to Ideas of Scots Enlightenment," *Dubh Ghlaise*, 16:20-21.
- James Holloway, "John Urquhart of Cromarty: An Unknown Collector of Italian Paintings," in *Scotland and Italy* (Scottish Society for Art History).
- James Holloway, "Scotland and Europe," in *Scotland Creates* (publication coinciding with exhibition of the same name held at the McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 1990-91).
- Andrew Hook, "Philadelphia, Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *SAAE*, 227-41.
- Peter Jones, "On Reading Hume's *History of Liberty*," in *LHHE*, 1-23.
- Peter Jones, "Hume and the Beginnings of Modern Aesthetics," in *SMSE*, 54-67.
- Anne McClenny Krauss, "James Bremner, Alexander Reinagle and the Influence of the Edinburgh Musical Society on Philadelphia," in *SAAE*, 259-74.
- Colby H. Kullman, "Boswell Interviews Rousseau," *South Carolina Review* 21 (1989): 30-45.
- Ned C. Landsman, "Witherspoon and the Problem of Provincial Identity in Scottish Evangelical Culture," in *SAAE*, 29-45.
- Robert Lawson-Peebles, "William Smith in Aberdeen (1745) and Philadelphia (1778): Fratricide and Familialism," in *CR*, 46-59.
- Robert Lawson-Peebles, "On First Looking into Cunliffe's Weems's Washington," in B. H. Reid and J. White, eds., *American Studies: Essays in Honour of Marcus Cunliffe* (London), 21-44 (partly on William Smith).
- Leah Leneman, "Prophaning the Lord's Day: Sabbath Breach in Early Modern Scotland," *History* 241 (1989): 217-31.
- Bruce P. Lenman, "Aristocratic 'Country' Whiggery in Scotland and the American Revolution," in *SAAE*, 180-92.
- Bruce P. Lenman, "Alexander Spotswood and the Business of Empire," *Colonial Williamsburg*, 44-55.
- Bruce P. Lenman, "Scotland and Ireland, 1742-1789," in *British Politics and Society from Walpole to Pitt, 1742-1789* (London), 81-100.
- Donald W. Livingston, "Hume's Historical Conception of Liberty," in *LHHE*, 105-53.
- Donald W. Livingston, "Hume, English Barbarism and American Independence," in *SAAE*, 133-47.
- Donald W. Livingston, "Hume on the Natural History of Philosophical Consciousness," in *SMSE*, 68-84.
- Donald A. Low, "Introduction" and "Bibliography" in *The Scots Musical Museum, 1787-1803* (Edinburgh).
- Warren McDougall, "Scottish Books for America in the Mid 18th Century" and "Appendix: A Catalogue of Hamilton, Balfour and Neill Publications 1750-1762," in R. Myers and M. Harris, eds., *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550-1850* (Winchester), 21-46, 187-232.
- Kenneth A. B. MacKinnon, "The 'Reasonable Man' as an Impartial Spectator," in *LEB*, 87-101.
- Thomas A. Markus, "Class and Classification in the Buildings of the Late Scottish Enlightenment," in *IE*, 78-107.
- Marie A. Martin, "Utility and Morality: Adam Smith's Critique of Hume," *Hume Studies* 16:107-20.
- Thomas P. Miller, "Witherspoon, Blair and the Rhetoric of Civic Humanism," in *SAAE*, 100-14.
- Rosalind Mitchison, "Webster Revisited: A Re-examination of the 1755 'Census' of Scotland," in *IE*, 62-77.
- James Moore, "The Two Systems of Francis Hutcheson," in *SPSE*, 37-59.
- Pierre Morère, "Historicité d'une théorie de l'esthétique chez Thomas Reid," *Etudes Ecossaises*.
- Stana Nenadic, "Political Reform and the 'Ordering' of Middle Class Protest," in *CSSS*, 65-82.
- Stana Nenadic, "Exploring Social Networks and Patterns of Communication from a Computer-Aided Analysis of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Diaries," in E. Mawdsley et al., eds., *History and Computing 3* (Manchester), 188-94 (based on Scottish material).
- Andrew Noble, "James Boswell: Scotland's Prodigal Son," in *IE*, 22-42.
- Mark A. Noll, "Revivalism, Enlightenment, Civic Humanism, and the Development of Dogma: Scotland and America, 1735-1843," *Tyndale Bulletin* 49 (1989): 49-76.
- Charles E. Peterson, "Robert Smith, Philadelphia Builder-Architect," in *SAAE*, 275-99.
- Murray G. H. Pittock, "Rights of Nature: The Ideal Images of Jacobite Ruralism," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 13:223-37.
- Murray G. H. Pittock, "New Jacobite Songs of the Forty-Five," *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century* 267:1-75.
- Murray G. H. Pittock, "Jacobite Literature: Love, Death, Violence," in *CR*, 33-45.

- Murray G. H. Pittock, "The Jacobite Song," *The Jacobite*, 2-13.
- Murray G. H. Pittock, "Were the Easy Club Jacobites?," *Scottish Literary Journal* 17:91-94.
- D. D. Raphael, "Enlightenment and Revolution," in N. MacCormick and Z. Bankowski, *Enlightenment, Rights and Revolution* (Aberdeen, 1989), 3-18 (deals extensively with Scottish thinkers).
- D. D. Raphael and Tatsuya Sakamoto, "Anonymous Writings of David Hume," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 28:271-81.
- D. D. Raphael, D. R. Raynor and I. S. Ross, "'This Very Awkard Affair': An Entanglement of Scottish Professors with English Lords," *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century* 278:419-63.
- David R. Raynor, "Hume and Berkeley's *Three Dialogues*," in *SPSE*, 231-50.
- Wade L. Robison, "David Hume's Political Revolution," in *LEB*, 31-44.
- Leigh Eric Schmidt, "Sacramental Occasions and the Scottish Context of Presbyterian Revivalism in America," in *SAAE*, 65-80.
- Richard B. Sher, "Professors of Virtue: The Social History of the Edinburgh Moral Philosophy Chair in the Eighteenth Century," in *SPSE*, 87-126.
- Richard B. Sher, "1688 and 1788: William Robertson on Revolution in Britain and France," in *CR*, 98-109.
- Richard B. Sher, "Witherspoon's *Dominion of Providence* and the Scottish Jeremiad Tradition," in *SAAE*, 46-64.
- Richard B. Sher, "Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and the Problem of National Defense," *Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989): 240-68.
- Kenneth Simpson, "Complicated Anguish: Henry Mackenzie as Poet and Dramatist," *Scotia* 13 (1989): 32-43.
- Andrew S. Skinner, "Adam Smith and America: The Political Economy of Conflict," in *SAAE*, 148-62.
- Jeffrey R. Smitten, "Moderatism and History: William Robertson's Unfinished History of British America," in *SAAE*, 163-79.
- Fiona Stafford, "Dr Johnson and the Ruffian: New Evidence in the Dispute between Samuel Johnson and James Mapherson," *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 36 (1989): 70-77.
- M. A. Stewart, "The Origins of the Scottish Greek Chairs," in E. M. Craik, ed., *"Owls to Athens": Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford), 391-400.
- Ralph Stewart, "A Gust of the North Wind: James Kirkton's History of the Covenanters," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 24:79-91.
- Shannon C. Stimson, "A Jury of the Country: Common Sense Philosophy and the Jurisprudence of James Wilson," in *SAAE*, 193-208.
- H. Lewis Ulman, "Discerning Readers: British Reviewers' Responses to Campbell's *Rhetoric* and Related Works," *Rhetorica* 8:65-90.
- Craig Walton, "Hume's *England* as a Natural History of Morals," in *LHHE*, 25-52.
- Howard D. Weinbrot, "William Collins and the Mid-Century Ode: Poetry, Patriotism, and the Influence of Context," in H. Weinbrot and M. Price, eds., *Context, Influence, and Mid-18th-Century Poetry* (Los Angeles), 3-39.
- C. A. Whatley, "How Tame Were the Scottish Lowlanders during the Eighteenth Century?," in *CSSS*, 1-30.
- Charles W. J. Withers, "Gaelic in Glasgow, 1723-1981," *Scottish Language* 8:1-20.
- Charles W. J. Withers (and R. A. Houston), "Population Mobility in Scotland and Europe, 1600-1900: A Comparative Perspective," *Annales de Demographie Historique*, 1-24.
- Paul B. Wood, "Science and the Pursuit of Virtue in the Aberdeen Enlightenment," in *SPSE*, 127-49.
- Paul B. Wood, "The Natural History of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment," *History of Science* 28:89-123.
- Paul B. Wood, "Enlightenment and Academe: The University in the 18th Century," *Queen's Quarterly* 97:23-35.
- David Wootton, "Hume's 'Of Miracles': Probability and Irreligion," in *SPSE*, 191-230.
- John P. Wright, "Metaphysics and Physiology: Mind, Body and the Animal Economy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *SPSE*, 251-301.

Key to Books Abbreviated Above

- CR*: Paul Dukes and John Dunkley, eds., *Culture and Revolution* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1990).
- CSSS*: T. M. Devine, ed., *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society 1700-1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990).
- IE*: T. M. Devine, ed., *Improvement and Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989).
- LEB*: Tom D. Campbell, ed., *Law and Enlightenment in Britain* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990).
- LHHE*: Nicholas Capaldi and Donald W. Livingston, eds., *Liberty in Hume's History of England* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990) [we hope to include a review of this book in our next issue].

SAAE: Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten, *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

SMSE: Peter Jones, ed., *The 'Science of Man' in the Scottish Enlightenment: Hume, Reid and their Contemporaries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989).

SPSE: M. A. Stewart, ed., *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

New ECSSS Members

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

J. Malcolm Allan, Lib, Strathclyde U.: libraries; printing; Episcopal Church

Daisuke Arie, Nikon-Fukushi U. (Japan): relationship of religion & socioeconomic idea of society

David Armitage, Hist, Cambridge U.: intellectual history; colonial & British history

Tom L. Beauchamp, Phil, Georgetown U.: Hume; moral sense theory

Brian Blench, Art/Arch, Kelvingrove Art Gallery: industry & topography of Glasgow

Alexander Broadie, Phil, Glasgow U.: philosophy in the SE

Derek R. Brookes, Phil, Australian National U.: Thomas Reid

John Butt, Hist, Strathclyde U.: economic history

Gerard Carruthers, Lit, Glasgow U. (postgrad): Robert Fergusson; Smollett; SE & literature

J.R.R. Christie, Hist/Phil, U. of Leeds: history of science & philosophy; social theory; ideology

Edward P. Corbett, Rhet, Ohio State U. (retired): rhetoric

Maria Elosegui, Phil, U. of Valencia: political philosophy; Hume; Smith; Ferguson

Simon Frith, Lit/Mus, Strathclyde U.: music theory

Philip Hamburger, Law, U. of Connecticut: law & philosophy

David W. Hoyte, Old Saybrook, Conn.: Scottish emigration to America & Canada; Scotland & the American Revolution; early maps

Fleda Brown Jackson, Lit, U. of Delaware

Gordon Jackson, Hist, Strathclyde U.: maritime developments

Catherine Kerrigan, Lit, U. of Guelph: literature & history

A. M. Kinghorn, Lit, Canterbury: Allan Ramsay & the vernacular tradition; literary criticism

Heiner F. Klemme, Phil, Philipps University - Marburg, Germany: Scottish correspondence in German archives

Elizabeth Mitchell, Lit, Christ Church College: philosophy; literature

Jose Montoya, Phil, U. of Valencia: political philosophy; Hume; Millar; Ferguson

Edwin Morgan, Lit, Strathclyde U.

Donald J. Newman, Lit, University of Southern California (postgrad): Boswell

Maria A. Segura Noya, Phil, U. of Alicante (postgrad): moral philosophy; jurisprudence; economics; theory of knowledge

Clare O'Halloran, Hist, Clare Hall - Cambridge: antiquarianism in Scotland & Ireland

Michihiro Otonashi, Chuo U. (Japan): law & political economy

Fania Oz-Salzberger, Hist, Wolfson College - Oxford: Adam Ferguson; Scottish social & political thought in Germany

Carolyn M. Peters, Hist, Biographical Dictionary of Early Pennsylvania Legislators (Temple U.): Glasgow & Philadelphia

Outi Pickering, Turku, Finland: Robert Burns; folk music

Ralph S. Pollock, Hist, Folger Center: SE; political economy

Nina R. Reid, Hist, U. of Toronto (postgrad): history of science; colonial Americans & Scottish universities

Marie-Cécile Révauger, Lit, U. of Stendhal - Grenoble III: Freemasonry; history of ideas; history

Francisco Rodriguez-Valls, Phil, Glasgow U.: theory of knowledge; moral theory

Donald T. Siebert, Lit, U. of S. Carolina: Hume

Andrew S. Skinner, Econ, Glasgow U.: Sir James Steuart; Hume; Smith

Jack Truten, Lit, Lafayette College: James Macpherson; Robert Burns; preromantics

Howard D. Weinbrot, Lit, U. of Wisconsin: James Macpherson; Smollett; Celtic historiography

Abbreviations: Art/Arch - art, architecture, fine arts; Econ - Economics; Hist - history; Lib - library; Lit - literature; Mus - music; Phil - philosophy; Rhet - rhetoric; SE - Scottish Enlightenment