

Eighteenth-Century Scotland

The Newsletter of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society

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ECSSS & EC/ASECS: Perfect Together

The "Centers and Peripheries of Enlightenment" conference that was jointly hosted by ECSSS and the East-Central branch of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies last autumn was a great success. Held at the Holiday Inn Independence Mall in the historic district of Philadelphia from 28 October to 1 November 1992, it was by all accounts one of the best conferences ever held by either society. The chemistry of the mix was right, thanks largely to the efforts of joint program committee chairs Peter Briggs and Stephen Smith and a host of arrangements committee members led by Marie McAllister, Linda Merians, Irma Lustig, Peter Perreten, and Howard Cell.

From the beginning the plan was to incorporate Scottish topics into a broader program, and Briggs and Smith were remarkably successful in making the plan work. Besides the regular seminars, there were a large number of special events and highlights. The redoubtable Charles Peterson led a guided walking tour of historic Philadelphia architecture; Irma Lustig, outgoing president of EC/ASECS, hosted a splendid reception high atop Hopkinson House; and Roy Goodman and Beth Carroll-Horrocks of the American Philosophical Society conducted tours of that historic institution. The plenary speaker, Thomas Crawford of Aberdeen, entertained the societies with an analysis of the Boswell-Temple correspondence, which he is editing for the Yale Editions of Boswell's works; at the conference banquet, Tom was surprised to be presented by ECSSS president Andrew Hook with the society's second Lifetime Achievement Award in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies (the first went to David Daiches) - an honor richly deserved. After the banquet, Shoshana Shay, John Davison, and the Bryn Mawr-Haverford Chamber Singers under the direction of Marian Dolan put on a dazzling performance of Robert Burns's *Love and Liberty (The Jolly Beggars: A Cantata)*.

At the ECSSS business meeting held at the conference, outgoing president Andrew Hook paid tribute to the wonderful efforts of the EC/ASECS leadership in making the conference so successful. Elections of new officers were held, with the following results: President: John Robertson (History, St. Hugh's College, Oxford); Vice-President: Deidre Dawson (French, Georgetown); Executive Secretary/Treasurer: Richard Sher (History, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark); Members-at-large: Kathleen Holcomb (English, Angelo State) and Paul Wood

(History/Philosophy of Science, University of Victoria). Discussions were held regarding upcoming conferences, and it was decided to make the focus of the 1995 conference at Aberdeen "Jacobitism, Scotland, and the Enlightenment" (see further details about the Aberdeen conference on p. 3 below).

Due to the high quality of the papers at the Philadelphia conference, the two societies have agreed to pursue the possibility of developing a volume of essays for publication. The program committee co-chairs have agreed to extend their services as co-editors of the volume, and a call for papers was issued at the conference to all participants who may wish to have revised versions of their papers considered for inclusion. If successful, the volume will use the conference name as its title and will be included in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series.

The success of the Philadelphia conference was the result of hard work by many people, but it was above all Mary Margaret Stewart, EC/ASECS executive secretary, who stood behind the enterprise and made it work. Thanks to everyone in ECSSS and EC/ASECS who helped to make the Philadelphia conference such a wonderful experience for all concerned.

Ottawa Beckons!

This summer's joint conference with the Hume Society is almost upon us! To be held 6-10 July at the University of Ottawa, the conference focuses on "Hume in His Scottish Setting." Co-directors Roger Emerson and David Raynor have put together a rich program that will cast David Hume in wide variety of settings. The plenary lectures alone are worth the trip: Ian S. Ross, "Hume's Language of Skepticism"; Janet Broughton, "Skepticism and Naturalism in Book I of the *Treatise*"; James Moore, "Hutcheson, Hume and Mr. William Smith"; Alan Charles Kors, "The French Context of Hume's Philosophical Theory"; David Spadafora, "Re-imagining the British Enlightenment"; and a symposium on John B. Stewart, *Opinion and Reform in Hume's Political Philosophy*, featuring John Robertson, Donald Livingston, Frederick Whelan, Douglas Long, and John Stewart (a member of the Senate of Canada). Among the many other ECSSS members slated to appear on the program are Craig Walton, Ferenc Horcher, Tom Beauchamp, Richard Sher, David Fate Norton, Jane Bush Fagg, Vincenzo Merolle, Michael Kugler,

Roger Fechner, Henry Clark, Diasuke Arie, Anita Guerrini, John Wright, Frits van Holthoon, Jeffrey Smitten, Heiner Klemme, Maria Elosequi, and Roger Emerson.

By now all ECSSS members should have received preliminary conference information, including a registration form and hotel booking information. Ottawa is said to be beautiful in July (and *cool*, compared to many more southern climes), so why not plan to attend? We hope to see you there.

JCBL 8-11 June 94: Call for Papers

The 1994 ECSSS conference on "Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800" has all the makings of a very special event. Hosted by the John Carter Brown Library on the campus of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, 8-11 June 1994, the conference will take place during the JCBL's exhibit on the same topic, which is scheduled to run from May through October 1994.

Under the dynamic leadership of Norman Fiering, a leading scholar of early American thought and culture in its wider British context, the John Carter Brown Library has gained a reputation for its impressive exhibits and sumptuous exhibition catalogues on historical subjects. The library's collection of Scottish-Americana is in some areas unrivaled in the world, and includes both printed and manuscript materials. The guest curator of the exhibition and author of the exhibition catalogue is Robert Kent Donovan of Kansas State University, who has selected 160 relevant works in the library's collection to appear in the catalogue (70 of them will be exhibited). The exhibition will cover seven themes: (1) Exploration and Colonization; (2) Trade and Economic Activities; (3) Politics and Military Affairs; (4) Thought and Education; (5) Religion; (6) Scots in Central and South America; and (7) Darien. Among other ECSSS members who will be involved in preparing the exhibition and catalogue are Michael Fry, who will be a resident fellow at the JCBL in the spring, and David Armitage, a former JCBL fellow.

In order to correspond more fully with the exhibition and catalogue, this ECSSS conference will be open to seventeenth- as well as eighteenth-century topics. The conference program will be organized by Ned Landsman, the eminent scholar of Scottish and American history. Anyone wishing to deliver a paper or organize a seminar at the Providence conference is asked to send a title and brief description to Professor Landsman at the following address: Dept. of History, State University of New York, Stony Brook, NY 11794-4348. The deadline for submission of proposals is 30 September 1993, but early submissions will be appreciated.

Oh, yes, we are anticipating an excursion to lovely Newport, the eighteenth-century port on Narragansett Bay. This is going to be a fine conference, our first ever in New England, so please plan to join us.

Edinburgh Studies in Intellectual History

Edinburgh University Press has announced the commissioning of a new series, *Edinburgh Studies in Intellectual History*, intended to attract major research on Scottish intellectual history. It welcomes inquiries and submissions relating not just to the eighteenth century but to significant Scottish intellectual endeavors in any period, including links to other parts of the world.

It is expected that most of the projects considered initially will be in the history of philosophy, jurisprudence, religion, science, social science, medicine, or academic and learned institutions. But the series is not restricted to any particular disciplinary perspective and hopes to publish works with a broad cross-disciplinary appeal.

The primary aim is to attract new monograph studies, up to 100,000 words long, based on a substantial study of primary sources and demonstrating a sound grasp of historical and cultural context. Studies whose main emphasis is on present-day philosophical or literary analysis are less likely to be accepted. The series will also consider editions of major source materials, particularly of sources that have not been previously published or are not accessible in recent editions, and may also consider occasional collections of thematically coherent original essays.

Works currently under contract include: John Ford, *The Rational Discipline of Law: A Historical Study of Stair's Institutions of the Law of Scotland*; M. A. Stewart, *Warmth in the Cause of Virtue: Intellectual Controversy in the Age of Hutcheson and Hume*; and P. B. Wood, *Thomas Reid's Papers on the Life Sciences*. Also under consideration are a number of proposals for intellectual biographies of some leading Scottish thinkers, and other proposals relating to the manuscripts and published writings of Thomas Reid, among others.

The Editorial Board consists of M. A. Stewart (Lancaster University), who serves as General Editor, Alexander Broadie (University of Glasgow), John Cairns (University of Edinburgh), Roger Emerson (University of Western Ontario), and Knud Haakonssen (Australian National University). Inquiries and proposals may be addressed to any of the above, or to Jonathan Price, Chief Editor at the Press. Inquiries relating to the editing of Thomas Reid's works should be addressed directly to Knud Haakonssen.

Adam Smith Society Formed

The Adam Smith Society is a philosophical organization for fostering and promoting the study of Adam Smith's philosophy, both in its historical context and in relation to issues of contemporary philosophical interest. Although philosophical in orientation, the Society welcomes as members all those whose interests have bearing on the content, scope, influence, or origin of Smith's thought. The first annual meeting of the Society will be held in conjunction with the American Philosophical Association, 27-30 December 1993, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Annual dues are \$10 for regular membership, \$5 for students and retired or unemployed academics. To join or for further information, contact Henry Clark, Secretary/Treasurer, The Adam Smith Society, Dept. of History, Canisius College, 2001 Main St., Buffalo, NY 14208, USA. After 10 August 1993, contact Stuart Warner, Dept. of Philosophy, Roosevelt University, Chicago, IL.

Slezer Exhibit at NLS

From June through October of this year, the National Library of Scotland is featuring an exhibition entitled "Scotland First Portrayed: John Slezer's Views of Scotland in 1693." In that year Slezer published his collection of views of Scotland, *Theatrum Scotiae*. The exhibition includes not only Slezer's published work, which provides by far the best indication of what Scotland looked like three hundred years ago, but also his rare and little-known drawings. The occasion is also being marked by the publication of Keith Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer between 1671 and 1717*.

Cross-Cultural Enlightenment at Victoria

In mid-April 1993 the Humanities Centre at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, was the scene of a splendid conference entitled "The Enlightenment: Cross-Cultural Perspectives." Under the leadership of David Wootton, the Centre's new director, the conference brought together more than two dozen European and North American scholars investigating various ways in which the Enlightenment crossed national and cultural boundaries. J.G.A. Pocock delivered a plenary address on Gibbon and European Protestant culture. Other participating ECSSS members included Nicholas Phillipson on Ciceronian and English influences on the Scottish Enlightenment; John Robertson on Scottish and Neapolitan ideas of political economy; Richard Sher on Scottish print culture in the American Enlightenment; David Raynor on Hume's early French connections; David Fate Norton on the Continental background of the foundations of morality debate in which Hume participated; James Moore on William Smith and reviews of Hume's *Treatise* in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*; and John Wright on contrasting views of the body and health in British medical writings. Paul Wood, who helped to organize the conference, and Roger Emerson were among those delivering commentary on the talks.

The conference was supported by a grant from the Canadian government. In light of the success of the conference, the organizers are exploring possibilities for publishing a volume based on a selection of the papers.

ECSSS at ASECS

Though the ECSSS seminar at the ASECS conference in Providence in April 1993 had to be cancelled due to circumstances beyond anyone's control, ECSSS is making plans for future ASECS appearances. The Society's current vice-president, Deidre Dawson, is organizing a seminar for the Northeast ASECS meeting, to be held at Yale in autumn 1994.

Meanwhile, former vice-president Leslie Ellen Brown is organizing the ECSSS seminar at the national ASECS meeting in Charleston, S.C., in spring 1994, and we have also applied to the organizers of that conference for permission to have a second ECSSS seminar, to be organized by Paul deGategno. In addition, Katherine Haldane, who is on the scene in Charleston, has been working with G. Ross Roy to coordinate an exhibit of Scottish materials held at the University of South Carolina in Columbia.

The Conference Scene in Old Aberdeen

1993 marks the quatercentenary of the founding of Marischal College, and the event will not pass unnoticed in Aberdeen. Under the direction of Jennifer Carter, the University of Aberdeen's Quincentenary History Project is sponsoring a major conference on "The University in Its Urban Setting," from 2 to 5 July 1993. Although the conference themes will range far beyond eighteenth-century Scotland, several ECSSS members are on the program. They include Paul Wood, "Science, the Universities and the Public Sphere in 18th-Century Scotland"; Gordon desBrisay, "An Uncivil Debate: Town, Gown and Quakers in Late 17th-Century Aberdeen"; and Colin McLaren, "On the Town: The Marischal College Class of 1787."

In 1995 King's College, the other component in the making of the University of Aberdeen, will celebrate its 500th anniversary, and ECSSS will contribute to the festivities with a conference on "Jacobitism, Scotland and the Enlightenment." In addition to celebrating AU's quincentenary, the conference will mark the 250th anniversary of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. It will be held in the final days of July and first days of August, just after the meeting of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric in Edinburgh (19-23 July) and just before the Enlightenment Congress that will take place in Münster, Germany, early in August. Conference co-chairs Michael Fry and Joan Pittock Wesson have already begun the planning process, and they will be assisted by Jacobite experts Bruce Lenman and Murray Pittock, as well as Aberdeen Enlightenment specialist Paul Wood and numerous members of the AU academic community. Special excursions to Jacobite castles and battlefields are certain to be part of the conference program.

Sociability and Society in Paperback

After a long delay caused by the dissolution of Aberdeen University Press, the paperback edition of John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher, eds., *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (vol. 3 in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series) finally appeared early in 1993. Originally published as a special issue of the journal *Eighteenth-Century Life* in autumn 1991, the volume has been reissued in a handsome format by Mercat Press of Edinburgh, the publishing arm of the James Thin bookselling firm. The book is being sold at a reasonable £12.95 in the U.K. or \$20 in North America, but ECSSS members can obtain copies at the discount prices of £8 or \$15. All royalties benefit ECSSS.

Hume's Roman Holiday

The Hume Society will meet from 20 to 24 June 1994 at the University of Rome "La Sapienza." The conference will be bilingual, with David Fate Norton and Eugenio Lecaldano sharing the directorship. Submit papers and abstracts in triplicate, with self-references deleted for blind reviewing and the author's name on a front cover sheet only, by 15 Oct. 1993. Send English language papers and abstracts to Saul Traiger, Executive Secretary - Hume Society, Dept. of Philosophy, Occidental College, Los Angeles, CA 90041, USA; send Italian language papers (with English abstracts) to Eugenio Lecaldano, Dipartimento di Studi Filosofici, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza," Via Nomentana, 118, 00161 Roma, Italy.

Members on the Move

Yasuo Amoh has published *Adam Ferguson and the Scottish Enlightenment* (in Japanese) . . . David Armitage is leaving Cambridge to become assistant professor of British history at Columbia University as of September 1993 . . . Jerry Beasley urges ECSSS members to support the appeal for a Smollett memoiral in Westminster Abbey by writing to The Very Reverend Michael Mayne, Dean of Westminster, The Deanery, Westminster Abbey, London SW1P 3PA, UK . . . Barbara Benedict has received an NEH fellowship for 1993-94 for research on literary miscellanies . . . Brian Blench recently retired as keeper of decorative art & design, Glasgow Museums, and is now a free-lance researcher and lecturer . . . Leslie Ellen Brown has been in residence at the main campus of Penn State U. in her capacity as Administrative Fellow for the Executive Vice-President/Provost . . . Deborah Brunton is now a Wellcome research fellow in the history of medicine at Edinburgh U. . . . Henry Clark is the first secretary-treasurer of the new Adam Smith Society . . . Michael Fry has been named a spring 1994 fellow at the John Carter Brown Library for research on the impact of Scottish trade, settlement, and political economy on the

New World . . . Frederick Gill is chairman of the Mores and Education Committee of the St. Andrews Society of Philadelphia, which is sponsoring an exhibit of reproductions of paintings by Scottish artists at the Orniston Mansion, Fairmount Park, from June through August of this year . . . Knud Haakonssen has returned to Canberra after a stint at McGill U. in Montreal . . . Lore Hisky will be offering a "Mary Queen of Scots tour" from Edinburgh in 1994 . . . Gary Hatch is now assistant professor of English at Brigham Young University, after completing his Ph.D. at Arizona State U. under O. M. Brack, Jr. . . . Tom Kennedy has been appointed to a two year term as Director of Valparaiso University's Overseas Study Program in Cambridge, England: he invites ECSSS members to ring him up for a visit to a local pub . . . Anne McClenny Krauss has been lecturing on Scottish music for the Duke U. learning in retirement program . . . in July Leah Leneman resumes her productive association with Rosalind Mitchison as a Leverhulme fellow, working on kirk session materials for Scottish cities, 1660-1780 . . . Donald Livingston has been promoted to professor of philosophy at Emory U. . . . James Boswell was the topic of an NEH summer seminar for school teachers that Irma Lustig directed at the U. of Pennsylvania last summer . . . Kirsteen McCue is pursuing her research on the music publisher George Thomson as a research fellow at the Centre for Scottish Literature and Culture, U. of Stirling . . . Carol McGuirk has been promoted to professor of English at Florida Atlantic U. . . . Clare O'Halloran is now fellow and college lecturer in history at Churchill College, Cambridge . . . having completed her D.Phil degree at Oxford, Fania Oz-Salzberger begins a lectureship in the Modern History Department at the U. of Haifa, Israel, in September 1993 . . . in April Marie-Cécile Révauger directed a conference on freemasonry and religion at U. Stendhal - Grenoble III . . . on the occasion of his retirement from the U. of British Columbia, founding ECSSS president Ian Ross was honored by his colleagues with his own ceilidh in April . . . Paul Scott is now vice-chairman of the Saltire Society . . . Richard Sher spoke on Scottish booksellers in colonial Philadelphia at this year's Robert Smith celebration on 14 January (organized as always by Charles Peterson) . . . Fiona Stafford has accepted a tenure position at Somerville College, Oxford . . . M. A. Stewart has been awarded a personal chair and appointed associate dean for research at the U. of Lancaster; he is also general editor of the EUP series on intellectual history (see above) and has been named, along with Peter Jones, to deliver Gifford Lectures at the U. of Aberdeen as part of their quincenary celebrations in 1995 . . . Ralph Stewart has edited and introduced an edition of *A History of the Church of Scotland, 1660-1679*, written in the 1690s by the Scots Presbyterian minister James Kirkton . . . Gordon Turnbull is co-chair of the 1993 Northeast ASECS conference, to be held at Yale in early autumn . . . Christopher Whatley has returned to the U. of Dundee from St. Andrews to develop the subject of Scottish history . . . Bill Zachs is visiting research fellow at the Boswell Office, Yale U.

**From Male Citizen to Neuter Mensch: The Emasculation of
Adam Ferguson's Civic Discourse by the German Enlightenment**

Fania Oz-Salzberger - Wolfson College, Oxford

Adam Ferguson, one of the most political of eighteenth-century Scottish thinkers, was also one of the least "correct." A keen interest in the active male citizen runs through his writings, from the *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) through *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (1783) to the late compendium of his university lectures, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792). The masculinity of Ferguson's "science of man" transcended the conventions of grammatical gender. Rather than a mere bias, it was a basic principle of his moral and political philosophy: more than any other Scottish writer of his day, Ferguson equated "mankind" with "men," and "society" with active civic life. His famous dictum on the historical and methodological primacy of society, "mankind are to be taken in groups," is in effect complemented by the statement that "nations consist of men."¹ Politics owe their existence and well-being to the exercise of certain natural traits which are essentially and exclusively masculine, such as play, pursuit, and conflict. In "rude" societies man is the hunter, gamester, warrior: in the ancient polities he was the soldier and statesman; in modern States he ought to maintain an all-rounded civic personality, a non-specialized political skill and military prowess. Male nature and manly virtue formed the crux of Ferguson's moral philosophy, defined as "the study of what men ought to be, and of what they ought to wish, for themselves and for their country."² His psychology focused on the "disposition to action" and the love of adversity which "every boy knows at his play" (*Essay*, 45-46). His idea of cognition and moral growth was political, and hence strictly limited to the strong sex ("The reason and the heart of man are best cultivated in the exercise of social duties, and in the conduct of public affairs" [*Institutes*, 291]). At the bottom of this great chain of masculine exertion are "[man's] associates, the dog and the horse," and other "noble" animals who share his love of play and fight;³ at the top are the loftiest human goals, political freedom and individual integrity, which must be supported by constant action and fruitful civic strife. "The rivalry of separate communities, and the agitations of a free people, are the principles of political life, and the school of men," in the words of the *Essay* (61-62). This endorsement of healthy conflict was not abandoned in the later, and politically somewhat mitigated, *Principles*: "The trials of ability, which men mutually afford to one another in the collisions of free society, are the lessons of a school which Providence has opened for mankind" (2:508-9). Competing boys, pugnacious savages, and playful animals were all part of Ferguson's obstinate defense of the active role of individual citizens in a contingent, open-ended, and not necessarily progressive history of civil society.

This insistence on masculine political virtue was, in its eighteenth-century context, a bid to defend the voluntarist and participationist aspects of political identity. Good states, Ferguson insisted, are "states where different orders of men are summoned to partake in the government of their country" (*Essay*, 56). This ran against the grain of fashionable social ideas of sensibility and aesthetics, against the recent ennoblement of the private sphere - in short, against the new-found respectability of the feminine. Ferguson's history of civil society was not a story of growing harmony and peace - "man is too disposed to opposition" - but of perpetual discord which is deliberately poised against the model of feminine domesticity. Men, Ferguson is happy to say, "will be forever separated into bands, and form a plurality of nations," at least until "we have reduced mankind to the state of a family" (*Essay*, 21-22). As the context makes clear, this "reduction" will fortunately never take place. The *Essay* indulges for a brief moment in reproaching the Greeks and the Romans for debasing their women and slaves; but the medieval legacy of gallantry and chivalry coupled with modern commerce and politeness - the great theme of moral advance favored by Voltaire and Hume - is taken up by Ferguson only tongue in cheek. He had little time for the female version of human nature, and even less time for the "feminine principle" in the rise of Western civilization. Nor did he take the trouble, as Hume did, to relate to "my female readers." The only women making any meaningful appearance in the *Essay* are the ladies who "never look abroad," and complain about bored husbands disturbing them on a rainy day, thereby demonstrating men's natural disposition to outdoor life (43). "Looking abroad," in the *Essay* as well as the *Principles*, denotes Ferguson's notion of an essential human (that is, male) cognitive activity: in order to enhance his "improveable capacity," man ought to be accountable to society and "to look abroad into the general order of things" (*Principles*, 1:5-6). Men, unlike women, are in need of "pursuit" (*Essay*, 42 and passim).

"Pursuit," in Ferguson's civic language, is not limited to the perusal of material improvement. It is hunt, war, and play, as much as production or commerce, which for Ferguson epitomized the realization of men's true nature: "business or play may amuse them alike" (*Essay*, 43). At this point Ferguson was dangerously at odds with his friends David Hume and Adam Smith. While agreeing with the founders of political economy that wealth and luxury are not in themselves immoral, Ferguson's idea of the polity nevertheless depended on sustaining the derogatory sense of the effeminate, the economically self-interested, and the apolitically "polite." Prosperity and progress could well be the unintended consequences of commercial selfishness and accumulation of technical skill - indeed, Ferguson was one of the best phrasers of this innovative idea - but political membership must always remain intentional, assertive, and thus (by definition) "manly." Civic participation and military valor, Ferguson argued against Smith, cannot be "delegated and become matter of separate profession" without undermining "the genius and character of man."⁴ A modern society of polite and commercial fellow-subjects is doomed to decline - just like its ancient predecessors - if stripped of its citizens' militia and, so to speak, its agora.

Ferguson's British contemporaries and immediate posterity paid tribute to his civic, and pointedly virile, view of life. He was remembered as the "Scottish Cato," a model character "of the manliest type," who, though "scarcely a man of genius . . . was more than he *did*," and was "typical of the whole [Scottish] race in appearance, character, tastes, and fortunes."⁵ His history of the Roman Republic went through several editions on both sides of the Atlantic and maintained its status, especially in America, as a classic of republican history well into the nineteenth century.

It was a far less "manly" Ferguson who emerged, during the 1770s and 1780s, as the German Enlightenment's (and Counter-Enlightenment's) favorite Scot. For his German admirers, "der edle Ferguson" (the noble Ferguson) was a commendable Stoic, a sound pedagogue, and a beloved philosopher of feeling, faith, and *Geist*. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was prompted by his work to reconsider his concept of religious truth; the young Friedrich Schiller admired him as "a sage of our century"; and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi made him the idol of his lachrymose young *Sturm und Drang* hero, Woldemar, who is engaged in a very private quest for love and self-perfection.

For the majority of these readers, Ferguson was not a political, let alone a civic, thinker. The loss of the political import of Ferguson's works is a recurrent feature of their German reception. The monarchist Christoph Martin Wieland, for example, recommended the *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (1769) to Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar as part of a philosophy course for her sons, apparently oblivious of the explicit republican ideas and the open dislike of absolute monarchy in the *Essay* and the clear advocacy of civic participation included in the *Institutes* itself.

The reasons for this change of focus are complex, involving readers' preferences and intellectual fashion, as well as luck: while the innovative and provocative *Essay*, translated by the mediocre Christian Friedrich Jünger, was relatively neglected by the German public and periodicals, the student textbook *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* made a triumphant entry due to the translation and extensive commentary of the esteemed scholar Christian Garve. This shift of balance, however, was not all a matter of accident. A process of mistranslation and misreading is apparent in the German versions of both these works and in the texts responding to them, such as book reviews and citations. This process made the reception of Ferguson's works, despite their eager German readership, highly selective, and at times inadvertently distorted. The staunchly masculine basis of Ferguson's political language provides one of the best linguistic proofs for the intransferability of Scottish civic humanism into eighteenth-century German discourse.

Ferguson's civic vocabulary is at its most effective when it appears as clusters of mutually enhancing key words - "public" and "political"; "community" and "nation"; "virtue" and "merit"; "pursuit," "courage," and "zeal"; "candour," "ardour," and "vigour" - in linguistic formations whose subject is "man" in its exclusively masculine sense (e.g. *Essay*, 42, 44, 48, 49, 134-35). "After all," the *Essay* tells us, "the merit of a man is determined by his candour and generosity to his associates, by his zeal for national objects, and by his vigour in maintaining political rights; not by moderation alone, which proceeds frequently from indifference to national and public interests" (199). But paragraphs such as this were virtually undone by studious, well-meaning German translators. In both Jünger's translation of the *Essay* and Garve's acclaimed translation of the *Institutes* the word "men" is almost always translated as *Menschen*, a plural form maintaining a masculine grammatical gender but denoting "human beings." The more appropriate *Männer* was eschewed, unless the masculine sense is unavoidable, as where the ladies complain of their bored husbands, for which the term *Mannspersonen* is used.

The shift of meaning, however, went beyond a mere obscuring of gender: many of the terms connoting the outgoing male restlessness, the "looking abroad" which Ferguson contrasted with female domesticity, lost their original meaning in the translation. "Pursuit" became "Streben" or "Bestreben," words denoting the striving for unworldly perfection, typical of the literary style of late eighteenth-century Protestant Germany. Sentimentalist and spiritual vocabulary entered the translated texts, replacing the words "zeal," "candour," and "ardour," which

operated in a strong civic context in the original works. Their typical replacements, "Eifer," "Redlichkeit," and "Hitze," signalled for German readers the distinctive Pietist vocabulary of introvert spiritual quest coupled with political passivity. Ferguson's plausible linking of such terms as "courage," "ardour of the mind," and "public action" became a far less plausible chain of German terms taken from the intensely private language of Pietism and sentimentality - "Herzhaftigkeit" and "Hitze des Geistes" - and the unrelated language of official transactions, or "öffentliche Handlungen." "Calm," a word Ferguson used in the pejorative sense of political effeminacy, became "Stille," the prized Pietist value of inner tranquillity. Typical statements of manly exertion, such as "Sensuality is easily overcome by any of the habits of pursuit which usually engage an active mind," were thus transformed into a German phrase made up of a very different vocabulary - "Die Sinnlichkeit wird leicht durch jede Art von Bestreben überwältigt, das sich einer thätigen Seele gemeinlich bemächtigt" - which, in re-translation, would read more like "Sensuality is easily overcome by any mode of striving, which usually engages an active soul."⁸ For a whole generation, Ferguson became a philosopher of the soul - of "unlimitable striving to an ever greater perfection," as one reviewer put it.

Perhaps the worst fate awaited Ferguson at the hands of Joachim Heinrich Campe, the renowned lexicographer and educationist. Campe's best-selling manual for the education of women, *A Fatherly Advice to my Daughter* (1789), includes Ferguson's work in a miserly list of books deemed sufficient for young women of *Bürger* descent.¹⁰ Campe - to add insult to injury - was precisely the kind of women's educator who disliked erudite and learned females, and would keep his charges strictly within the domestic sphere. Here was a total reversal of Ferguson's intended goals and a complete transformation of his intended audience. The Scottish Cato, who probably never published one sentence in his life which was not intended for politically minded men, thus ended up as recommended reading for future *Hausfrauen* of the German middle classes.

The shift of gender in the German reception of Ferguson's works might have signalled early feminist sensitivity, had there been any traces of deliberate intervention on the part of translators and readers. The evidence, however, points in a different direction: the masculine "bias" was abandoned as part of a more general disregard for Ferguson's political ideas. The German Enlightenment, to be sure, paid more attention to women's education and literacy than its Scottish counterpart. At the same time, it was far less concerned with matters of civic participation and with broadening the (male) constituency of active political agents. Only a few thinkers, notably Johann Georg Herder, shared Ferguson's classicist-masculine image of text and audience. Herder, who admired the Scottish historians, reproached his German contemporaries for writing "für und als Weiber" (for women and like women) and invoked Plato's and Cicero's works of "metaphysics and manly arts" in which "no woman ever spoke."¹¹ Herder's view, however, was an exception to the rule. Classical republicanism did not serve German thinkers as a building-block for modern civic thought, nor was it taken up by students of ancient history in German universities as a model for emulation. Historians of Rome in Leipzig and Göttingen were quick to translate and review Ferguson's *Roman Republic*, but sharply criticized the author for being "dazzled by the beautiful side of the Romans' character: for, basically, the Romans were nothing more than a rude people of barbarians, devastators of the globe to their own ruin" (C. G. Heyne in *GGA*, 1785, 1:629). Military spirit was distinctly less exciting for many of Ferguson's German readers than it was for civic-minded Scots. "To make the belligerent spirit of a nation . . . into a basic goal of the State,"¹² was an idea immediately reminiscent, for better or worse, of Frederick the Great's Prussia. Those hostile to the Prussian state of mind disliked what they saw as Ferguson's atavistic bellicosity. Conflict as a permanent state of human existence horrified several readers into assuming that Ferguson could not possibly have meant it, that the sound Stoic had committed an untypical slip of the pen.

With the heightening of political sensitivities by the French Revolution, Ferguson's civic ideas could no longer be ignored; instead, they were briefly dwelt upon and shunned. By 1793 Ferguson was being rebuked for stating the doctrine of the right of resistance too explicitly, so that it "threatens the respect for the highest authority." His political theory was dismissed as uniquely British ("in general, the author's political principles fully correspond to the constitution of his fatherland"), and untenable for Germans (*GGA*, 1793, 1974). Never entirely forgotten, "der edle Ferguson" was to experience a triumphant comeback a century later, when the early German sociologists unearthed his theory of (masculine) conflict and hailed him as their forebear. That, however, is another story.

Notes

1. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. Duncan Forbes (Edinburgh, 1966), 4.
2. Adam Ferguson, *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (Edinburgh, 1769), 84.
3. *Essay*, 45; cf. *Essay*, 24, and Adam Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, 2 vols. (London, 1792), 1:14-15.
4. Adam Ferguson, "Of the Separation of Departments, Professions and Tasks resulting from the Progress of Arts in Society," ed. Yasuo Amoh, *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* no. 3 (1989), 14.
5. *The Edinburgh Review* 125 (1867): 48-49.
6. G. E. Lessing, *Werke und Briefe*, ed. Wilfried Barner et al., vol. 11/2: *Briefe von und an Lessing 1770-1776*, ed. Helmuth Kiesel et al. (Frankfurt a.M., 1988), 144-45; F. Schiller, "Philosophy of Physiology," trans. Kenneth Dewhurst and Nigel Reeves, in *Friedrich Schiller: Medicine, Psychology and Literature* (Oxford, 1978), 150; F. H. Jacobi, "Woldemar," in *Werke*, ed. F. Roth and F. Köppen, vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1823).
7. Thomas E. Starnes, *Christoph Martin Wieland. Leben und Werk* (Sigmaringen, 1987), 1:445-46.
8. The examples are taken from the translation of the *Essay: Versuch über die Geschichte der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, a.d.E. übers. [von Chr. Friedrich Jünger] (Leipzig: Junius und Gleditsch, 1768), and of the *Institutes: Adam Fergusons Grundsätze der Moralphilosophie*, a.d.E. übers. und mit einigen Anmerkungen versehen von Christian Garve (Leipzig: Dyck, 1772).
9. *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (hereafter *GGA*), 1793, 1791-72.
10. Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter. Ein Gegenstück zum Theophron. Der erwachsenen weiblichen Jugend gewidmet* (Braunschweig, 1789).
11. J. G. Herder, *Werke in zwei Bände*, ed. Karl-Gustav Gerold (Munich, 1953), 2:68.
12. J. G. Feder, *Lehrbuch der praktischen Philosophie*, 3rd ed. (Hanau and Leipzig, 1775), 217.

A Scots-Irish Bookseller in Holland: William Smith of Amsterdam (1698-1741)

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One of the most interesting figures in the book trade of the early eighteenth century was an Ulster Scot, William Smith, whose varied career allows us to recognize some curious connections of persons and events in Scotland, Ireland, and Holland. Born in Belfast in 1698, Smith entered the University of Glasgow in 1711, graduated in 1714, and remained to study divinity.¹ His student years at Glasgow overlap substantially those of another Ulster divinity student, Francis Hutcheson, four years his senior in age. Both men studied with the controversial divinity professor John Simson, who was eventually relieved of his duties at the university on account of heretical teachings. When Hutcheson and then Smith returned to Ulster to take up ministerial vocations, both men supported ministers who insisted on their right to decline subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, in keeping with the challenge of Benjamin Hoadly and other latitudinarians to Church of England orthodoxy and a similar defiance of Reformed orthodoxy in Europe. Smith hoped to become a Presbyterian minister in Ireland; he was entered on trials by the Presbytery of Belfast in 1719 and licensed to preach in 1720;² but he was never ordained to a charge. Instead, with the assistance of Richard Choppin, Dublin's wealthiest Presbyterian minister, and in partnership with John Smith, who had also studied in Glasgow, he "set up a Considerable Booksellers shop" in Dublin.³ There the two Smiths published in February 1725 the one book bearing their joint imprint, Francis Hutcheson's *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*.

According to Robert Wodrow (who knew and corresponded with Smith's father, a Belfast merchant), William Smith went over to London in 1724 or 1725. During that visit, Smith may have arranged for the *London Journal* to publish an abstract of Hutcheson's *Inquiry* in the issues of 14 and 21 November 1724.⁴ From London, Smith went on to Amsterdam, where he met Rudolph Wetstein, the proprietor of an old and established bookselling firm, and Wetstein's daughter, Agatha Cornelia, whom he married in November 1725. In February 1726 Smith became a member of the bookseller's guild, and in 1727 he was partner in the firm with Rudolph Wetstein and his son Jacob.⁵ As Wodrow put it: "Being a Clever Brisk youth he fell in with the knouen Wetstain the Bookseller, and is now

married to his Daughter, a vast Fortune, and Taken In to be partner in Wetsten's Bussiness, the greatest they say of any in Europe" (*Analecta*, 3:467, corrected). Shortly afterwards the Wetsteins with William (now Guillaume) Smith launched an important new journal, the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée des Ouvrages des Savans de l'Europe*.

As the advertisement of the booksellers announced (in July-Sept. 1728), the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* would shield the identities of its various authors from the public and even from each other. It soon became apparent to readers, however, that one of the authors was Armand de la Chapelle, who had written for the recently discontinued journal *Bibliothèque Angloise*. A second regular contributor was Jean Barbeyrac, professor of law at the University of Groningen and well known translator of, and commentator on, the natural law treatises of Grotius and Pufendorf. A third member of the editorial team was the Bayle scholar Pierre Desmaizeaux, with whom Smith corresponded on behalf of the company of booksellers in Holland who had commissioned Desmaizeaux's edition of Bayle's *Oeuvres Diverses*.⁶ Desmaizeaux was prevailed upon to supply the literary news from London for the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. William Smith assumed editorial responsibility for the journal, assisted by Charles de la Motte.

The *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, under Smith's editorship from 1728 to 1741, became the most prestigious of the learned journals of that time. Its reviews were very much concerned with theological subjects. Smith and his contributors were moderate in their theology, critical of traditional Reformed dogmatics. They were inspired by the ecumenical theology of Jean-Alphonse Turretin of Geneva, with whom Barbeyrac in particular maintained a lifelong friendship and correspondence.⁷ Like Turretin, they searched for a common set of fundamental Christian beliefs that would be acceptable to all Protestants. And they were concerned to defend those beliefs against deists, skeptics, and freethinkers; the latter, they thought, undermined not only Christianity but also natural law, natural rights, and the very basis of life in society. Barbeyrac was particularly vigorous in his defense of natural law and natural rights against the arguments of moral and political skeptics. La Chapelle attacked what he took to be deviations from fundamental Christian beliefs. Both men found much to admire in the work of latitudinarian divines of the Church of England and in the writings of moderate English dissenters. La Chapelle translated sermons of the Boyle lecturers and Bentley's attack on Collins and freethinking; and he provided reviews of these and other writings in this genre. Barbeyrac had translated the sermons of Archbishop Tillotson; he reviewed a wide range of theological, moral, and juridical books, among them a long review (in four installments) of James Foster's response to the deism of Matthew Tindal.

Desmaizeaux's literary news from London was often remarkable for the attention accorded the writings of skeptics and freethinkers. In the issue for Oct.-Dec. 1738 Desmaizeaux amused himself (and some of his readers, no doubt) at the expense of Benjamin Hoadly, by attributing to him the same views as the author of a scandalous pamphlet which proposed to a member of Parliament "a Bill to revise, amend or repeal certain obsolete Statutes, commonly called the Ten Commandments" (479-80). Smith was furious that this mischievous attribution should have been published in his journal, while he was in The Hague on other business.⁹

Smith's editorship of the journal ended abruptly with the issue for Apr.-June 1741. He quarreled with his brother-in-law and partner, Jacob Wetstein, over editorial policy and over Barbeyrac's delays in producing a French translation of Bishop Cumberland's *De Legibus Naturae*, a project keenly supported by Smith since 1727 but not destined for completion until 1744.¹⁰ Wetstein wanted to renegotiate Barbeyrac's fee, but Smith resisted. La Chapelle and La Motte urged Smith to dissolve the partnership and start a new journal.¹¹ Wetstein purchased the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* for himself and broke off all connections with Barbeyrac, La Chapelle, La Motte, and Smith; only Desmaizeaux remained to provide literary news from London. Wetstein announced his break with the former staff in the issue for July-Sept. 1741.

William Smith died of an apoplexy on 17 November of the same year. There remains, however, a remarkable story to be told about him, which bears on the relationship between two of the great names in Scottish philosophy, Francis Hutcheson and David Hume. The very critical reviews of Hutcheson's *Inquiry* in the Dutch journals in 1725 and 1726, including charges of plagiarism, by Jean Le Clerc in the Wetsteins' *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, vol. 24, and in somewhat stronger language by La Chapelle in the *Bibliothèque Angloise*,¹² may have led to a temporary estrangement between Hutcheson and Smith. But an opportunity for Smith to renew his former friendship with Hutcheson occurred in 1735. Hutcheson's colleague, Robert Simson, the professor of mathematics at the University of Glasgow, had published a book on conic sections. Smith invited Hutcheson to provide a review of this work. And a long letter from Hutcheson to Smith was published in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* for Apr.-June 1735. It appears, however, from Simson's papers that the review was in fact written by Simson himself.¹³ Smith was delighted to receive this letter from Hutcheson, whom he identified for the benefit of his readers as "his old and intimate friend."

Five years later, the youthful David Hume was looking for ways to boost the flagging sales of the first two books of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, published in January 1739. He prepared an abstract of the first book of the *Treatise* late in 1739 or early in 1740; two years earlier he had attempted unsuccessfully to compose an abridgment, perhaps under the prompting of Pierre Desmaizeaux, who was under pressure from William Smith to find or produce abstracts for his journal.¹⁴ On 4 March 1740 Hume wrote to Hutcheson to tell him what he had done, and to make a further inquiry: "My Bookseller has sent to Mr Smith a Copy of my Book, which I hope he has receiv'd, as well as your Letter. I have not yet heard what he has done with the Abstract. Perhaps you have."¹⁵ The "Mr Smith" of Hume's letter has been identified with different men named Smith who were associated at one time or another with Hume and Hutcheson; but Hume clearly had in mind William Smith of Amsterdam. For one can see what William Smith did with Hume's *Abstract*: he used it to compose the review of the first two books of Hume's *Treatise* that appeared in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* for Apr.-June 1740. Two-thirds of the review is nothing but a translation of the *Abstract*, as John Yolton observed some years ago.¹⁶ The remaining third is also of great interest: together with selected paragraphs translated from the *Treatise*, there are intermittent comments which are in every case consistent with what is known of Hutcheson's logic and metaphysics, as set out in his (as yet unpublished) Latin compends and in his better known English writings and correspondence.

The proposition that it was Hutcheson who provided William Smith with the comments on Hume's *Abstract* that made up the review of the *Treatise*, book 1, in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* for Apr.-June 1740 prompts a second hypothesis: that when William Smith undertook to review book 3 of the *Treatise*, "Of Morals," he again consulted Hutcheson. It would have been curious if Smith had not done so. For moral philosophy was the subject in which Hutcheson had distinguished himself, in his *Inquiry*, published sixteen years earlier by Smith himself. Hutcheson had already been critical of Hume's moral philosophy when he read a first draft of book 3. And one may see from Hume's letters to Hutcheson, in 1739 and 1740, that Hume had rewritten and added certain sections of book 3 before publication: namely, part 1, sections 1 and 2; part 2, section 1, and the conclusion. Those sections became now the primary targets of the reviewer, whose main concern was to disabuse the reader of any idea that Hume was a faithful follower of Hutcheson's in moral philosophy. Hume was an abstract metaphysician, not a friend of virtue; his argument that moral distinctions were not derived from reason contained nothing new; his conception of the moral sense failed to draw any inference from it for our understanding of why men had been created; Hume had not understood that the motive to be just must be either public or private benevolence. The reviewer was also distressed that Hume had not undertaken to defend Hutcheson's moral philosophy from his critics. None of the reviewer's concerns are intelligible if one supposes that the review was written by Barbeyrac or La Chapelle, the regular contributors to the journal: their moral philosophies, like Smith's, were natural law theories, modeled on Pufendorf, Locke, and Cumberland. The critical perspective of the reviewer, on the other hand, was particularly and peculiarly Hutcheson's: these were the issues in moral philosophy on which Hume and Hutcheson differed, before and after the publication of book 3 of the *Treatise*.

The review of book 3 of the *Treatise* appeared in the last issue of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* to be edited by William Smith. The dissolution of the partnership with Westein, and Smith's sudden and early death, meant that the journal would no longer provide the forum for ideas and authors that Smith and his associates had made it. But Smith's achievements in his short lifetime merit notice and provide cause for modest celebration. He had made it possible for liberal Huguenots, English latitudinarians, and Irish and Scottish Presbyterians to express their theological and philosophical ideas in a journal written for informed and judicious readers in all parts of Europe. And, not least, perhaps, his editorial involvement in the reviews of Hume's *Treatise* in his journal, in 1740 and 1741, allows us to recognize him¹⁷ as "Mr Smith," the enigmatic figure referred to in correspondence with Francis Hutcheson by David Hume.

Notes

1. M. M. Kleerkooper and W. P. van Stockum, *De Boekhandel te Amsterdam* (The Hague, 1914-16), 1:956; *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (Glasgow, 1854), 3:119, 254.
2. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster from 1691 to 1820* (Belfast, 1890-98), 1:339, 404.
3. Robert Wodrow, *Analecta*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842-43), 3:467, corrected; M. A. Stewart, "John Smith and the Molesworth Circle," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 2 (1987): 89-102.
4. A. Owen Aldridge, "A Preview of Hutcheson's Ethics," *Modern Language Notes* 61 (1946): 153-61.

5. I. H. van Eeghen. *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725* (Amsterdam, 1967), 4:174.
6. William Smith to Pierre Desmaizeaux, 21 Dec. 1728, British Library Add. MSS. 4288.
7. Lettres écrites à Charles de la Motte, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (BSHPPF), MS. 295.
8. Letters from Jean Barbeyrac to J. A. Turretin, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Genève, MS. Fr 484.
9. Smith to Desmaizeaux, 10 Jan. 1739, British Library, Add. MSS. 4288.
10. *Traité Philosophique des Loix Naturelles* (Amsterdam, 1744). In the translator's Preface, Barbeyrac writes of William Smith: "un Libraire Irlandois . . . Guillaume Smith, homme d'étude, qui s'étoit jetté dans le commerce de la Librairie" (vi and n).
11. La Chapelle to La Motte, 21 Sept. 1741, BSHPPF, MS. 295.
12. On Hutcheson's reply, see David Raynor, "Hutcheson's Defence against a Charge of Plagiarism," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 2 (1987): 177-81.
13. Glasgow University Library, MS. Gen. 196.
14. David Hume to Henry Home (later Lord Kames), 2 Dec. 1737, in *New Letters of David Hume*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and Ernest C. Mossner (Oxford, 1954), 1; William Smith to Pierre Desmaizeaux, 4 Nov. 1738, British Library, Add. MSS. 4288.
15. *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 1:37.
16. John W. Yolton, "Hume's Abstract in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*," in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40 (1979): 157-58.
17. For further discussion, see James Moore and M. A. Stewart, "William Smith (1698-1741) and the Dissenters' Book Trade," in *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland* 22 (Apr. 1993), and James Moore, "William Smith and the Reviews of Hume's *Treatise* in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*," paper presented at the Cross-Cultural Enlightenment Conference, University of Victoria, 15-18 April 1993.

Tales of Boswell: A Review Essay

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Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763. Ed. Frederick A. Pottle. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. Pp. xxxiii + 370.

The Journals of James Boswell 1762-1795. Ed. John Wain. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991 [1992]. Pp. xxvii + 412.

Catalogue of the Papers of James Boswell at Yale University. Ed. Marian S. Pottle, Claude Coleer Abbott, and Frederick A. Pottle. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. Pp. xxvii + 1255.

Boswell for the Defence (1983) and *Boswell in London* (1984; a.k.a. *Boswell's London Journal*). BBC Television and Yale University Films. Available in North America from Films for the Humanities and Sciences, Princeton, N.J.

The fortunes of the Boswell business have always seemed larger than life. The very survival of the manuscripts constitutes a kind of miracle, and the whole project is much like the building of a great cathedral: resilient in the face of delays, political squabbles, and financial crises that might have terminated a more mundane enterprise. During the golden age, when the building was supervised by Frederick Pottle, Yale graduate students in English actually edited portions of the Boswell manuscripts as their doctoral theses. Since Pottle's death in 1987, the editorial work has continued at the high level he defined and demanded, but it has been carried on with greater uncertainty. One wonders if we will ever again see so knowledgeable, committed, and powerful a Boswellian, or if the external climate will ever again be as hospitable to the project as it was during his prime, when the commercial giant McGraw-Hill

(with William Heinemann in Britain) published (and practically every local library purchased) the successive volumes of Boswellian journals. When the trade edition of the journals was completed in the late 1980s, spanning more than three decades of JB's time and nearly four decades of ours, it occurred amidst the news that McGraw-Hill was pulling out - so abruptly, indeed, that unsold copies of the final volume were barely salvaged from the pulping machines. Even the *London Journal*, a steady profit-maker if ever there was one, was suddenly unavailable to the large numbers of university instructors who continue to assign it each year.

Things look a bit better now, thanks largely to the commitment made by Edinburgh University Press and Yale University Press to co-operate the Boswell machine, as well as the appointment of Claude Rawson of the English Department at Yale as an on-the-scene general editor. The Edinburgh-Yale era began, appropriately enough, with a reissue of Pottle's classic edition of the *London Journal*, different only in its cover, thicker paper, and slightly larger format from the familiar McGraw-Hill version, and reasonably priced, in North America at least, at an affordable \$15 (\$12 to ECSSS members taking advantage of the enclosed offer). Very reassuring, but who ever thought that the strong-selling *London Journal* would be the true test? In its next move, EUP aggressively advertised in its autumn 1992 catalogue a paperback edition of *Laird of Auchinleck* (1977), the exceptionally rich and for some time scarce volume of the journals for the years 1778-82, splendidly edited by Pottle and Reed. Getting into print those long unavailable volumes of the journals, in fact the entire trade edition of the journals, was the sort of thing that Martin Spencer, the late head of Edinburgh University Press, was talking about doing when he first embraced the Boswell project in autumn 1988. Unfortunately, somebody forgot to read the fine print of the Yale University Press contract, which evidently gives it the right to pick and choose volumes for co-publication. *Laird* didn't appeal to Yale, and without the big American market, EUP has decided not to proceed with publication as scheduled. Where have you gone, Frederick Pottle?

Meanwhile, Yale has been doing its own thing, with a one-volume abridgment of the thirteen-volume journals, edited and introduced by John Wain under the title *The Journals of James Boswell 1762-1795*. As far as I know, this is the fullest effort of its type and the first since Mark Harris's 1981 condensation of six volumes of the journals under the title *The Heart of Boswell*. In its present, hardcover format, Wain's volume serves no readily apparent function, but assuming that a reasonably priced paperback version appears soon, it is going to be a very tempting choice for classroom adoption. The manageable size of the text and the presence of a chronology of JB's life, introductory discussions keyed to each section, a rather selective glossary of individuals who appear in the journals' pages, and a usable index will make this a good introduction for undergraduates. Wain has wisely decided to preface the work with the text of the autobiographical sketch that JB prepared for Rousseau in 1764. The entries are fairly evenly spaced out through the course of JB's journal-keeping life (except that no entries appear from his last few years), and some correspondence has been inserted at opportune moments. One of the strongest features of this volume is the way that Wain has incorporated entire thematic segments, such as a chapter on the case of John Reid the sheepstealer and the complete text of JB's interview with the dying David Hume. There is no shortage here of Dr. Johnson, as one would expect from an editor with Wain's Johnsonian background, but there is also fair coverage of Paoli and Temple, Voltaire and Rousseau, and other aspects of JB's life. Perhaps the Scottish JB fares worst in these pages, but one suspects that can't be helped.

The Wain collection is eventually going to be far more useful as a class text than as a volume on the shelves in your university library. The latter is advised to save its pennies for Pottle, Abbott, and Pottle's *Catalogue of the Papers of James Boswell at Yale University*. At \$275 the set, one can't exactly call it a steal (only exceptionally devoted Boswellians who have received bumper tax returns this year will be able to take advantage of Yale University Press's generous sale offer of \$220 for ECSSS members); but it's hard to imagine how anyone doing serious research relating to JB himself, or to those with whom he had much correspondence or contact, is going to be able to avoid consulting this colossal cataloguing achievement. In progress since 1949, and in galley proofs since the late 1970s, the *Catalogue* should have appeared a decade ago, as the dating of Mrs. Pottle's Acknowledgements (16 June 1982) clearly indicates. McGraw-Hill's change of heart deprived us all of the work (even though annotated copies of the proofs circulated at the Boswell Office throughout the 1980s and early 90s), and time matters with a work like this one, whose value decreases as previously unpublished materials are put in print. But the real tragedy is that after all those years of labor, Mrs. P. died last spring and thus never saw her life's work in print. Anyway, here it is.

Who will use the *Catalogue*, and how will they do so? The first section, listing the 121 entries that comprise the Boswell journals, is likely to be of little general interest now that the trade edition of the journals is complete and the research edition in the works. The second section, comprising 354 manuscript items by JB, will probably prove more useful. These include many examples of "Boswelliana," none of which, however, duplicate the materials published

under that title in a volume of 1874, which are now in the Hyde Collection rather than at Yale. A collection of eight "articles, or notes for articles intended for publication" is typical of the treasures one may find here, and like most of the entries they are rather fully annotated, so that a reader probably will discover enough about each of the articles to determine whether an examination of the full manuscript is likely to be worthwhile. And, of course, should such an examination be deemed advisable, the reader will know exactly what to ask for (M 9, in this case) - thereby cutting down enormously on reader and staff time spent searching for reference numbers. Other examples of useful items in the manuscript section include: several groups of "foreign tour papers," consisting of articles and discourses JB wrote on his youthful tour of the Continent (M 85 - M 115); a day-by-day account of the reactions of various individuals to the publication of *Letters between the Honourable Andrew Erskine and James Boswell* (M 142); a full listing of manuscript materials relating to the *Life of Samuel Johnson* (M 144 - M 167); JB's "proposals for a periodical paper in the Scots dialect" (M 214); and lots of JB's verses (M 264 - M 343).

Next come the two largest and undoubtedly the most useful parts of the *Catalogue*: the lists of JB's own letters (pp. 135-386) and of letters written by others, mainly to JB (pp. 388-1035), to which I shall return. At the moment let us forge on to a section entitled "Printed Matter and Other Non-Manuscript Material." Most interesting here are large numbers of newspaper cuttings (P 114 - P 126), listing dozens of items by or about JB. It would take years to cull this kind of information from the papers, and only with JB's own markings would one be able to guess his authorship. The editors do a splendid job of identifying the articles and their subject matter. Also worthy of notice are JB's sixteen "Rampager" essays in the *Public Advertiser*, 1770-82 (P 152), containing much criticism of the government's American policy. The last two sections of materials in the *Catalogue*, "Accounts and Other Financial Papers" and "Legal Papers" are for the most part technical and therefore likely to interest only specialists, though the order that they appear to bring to large masses of confusing manuscripts is not to be minimized on that account.

It is the record of letters to and from JB that matters most in this *Catalogue*, and it is therefore to those sections that we now return. As a thorough and orderly list of the correspondence, the value of those sections will be great. Suppose one is interested (as I am) in Hugh Blair. Because JB's letters to Blair are all listed in sequence, alphabetically under Blair, it takes only a moment to locate the six JB-to-Blair letters in the collection and scan the entries to discover dates, locations, and summaries of the contents, and the same process when applied to the section of letters not by JB just as easily yields the same kind of information about the twelve Blair-to-JB letters in the collection. When one of these letters is a reply to another, it is duly noted. Better still, the index under "Blair, Hugh" brings additional order to much of this material and adds references to other letters, manuscripts, etc. in which Blair is mentioned. Of course, one won't find Blair referenced in the index if his name isn't mentioned in the editors' synopsis of a particular letter, even if he is mentioned in the text of the letter itself. So the question arises: just how thorough and accurate are those synopses of the Boswell correspondence?

As a test case, I have compared synopses of the JB-Blair correspondence just mentioned with my transcripts of the actual letters. The result: the synopses are accurate as far as they go, and seem to leave out little that will be of interest to JB scholars; however, if one's principal interest lies not with JB but with his correspondent(s), or with other individuals or events that might be mentioned in his correspondence, beware! Take, for example, Blair's very first letter (19 Feb. 1763). An allusion to the playwright John Home ("I wish our friend Hume would do Something for the honour of the Tragic muse") goes unrecorded. More significantly, perhaps, a critical passage in which Blair unbearably laments his own shortcomings is passed over, as is the important news that Blair gives of Edinburgh ("Our St Giles's Society is already begun to languish, and I am afraid will not be long lived."). One using the *Catalogue* for information about Scottish topics would probably be misled by the synopsis of this letter, and one using the index would find no references to individuals such as Home or institutions such as the St. Giles's Society because they do not appear in the synopsis.

Actually, even if the St. Giles's Society were mentioned in the synopsis of this letter one would not find it separately entered in the index, which contains virtually no separate headings for events, places, and institutions, except insofar as they are sometimes worked in as sub-headings under the biographical entries (exceptions, such as The Club, separately listed under "Literary Club," are very rare). This is a serious flaw in the work which, coupled with the extensive omissions in the annotations themselves, reinforces the point made earlier about its limitations. Suppose, to take another example, that one is interested in Roman Catholicism as it relates to JB personally as well as Scottish and English society more generally. There being no index entry under that subject or any other thematic topic, such as religion, Church of England, Church of Scotland, Presbyterianism, etc., one must turn to the index entry for JB himself. Here one discovers that the entry is divided into three parts: a detailed chronological account, with topical entries listed under each year; an alphabetical listing by publication; and a listing by court cases. I

happen to know that anti-Catholic riots occurred in Edinburgh in 1779, so looking under JB's life for that date and topic I discover a reference to a letter and a journal. But what if I did not already know about those riots and when they occurred? And how would I find out if there are other references to Roman Catholicism in the Boswell Papers at Yale, or at least in this *Catalogue*? Again, if I wish to learn whether there is anything at Yale on the subject of slavery, I will have a hard time finding it out from this *Catalogue* unless I already happen to know that in 1791 JB published a pamphlet on that subject called *No Abolition of Slavery*; even after discovering the many references under that entry in the list of JB's publications in the index, I am at a loss to know whether other references to slavery exist in the *Catalogue*. How would one go about finding them?

The other major limitation of the *Catalogue* has to do with its failure to record which items have already been published. Occasionally this information is most helpfully given for eighteenth-century publications, but one wishes that similar publication facts were given for later works. Granted, this might have taken the editors far afield in some cases, and one certainly would not expect recent publications - say, since 1970 - to be noted. But how helpful it would be if the reader could tell at a glance whether a particular item in the *Catalogue* was published, say, in the eighteen volumes of *The Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle* (1928-34), and if so, in what volume and page(s) of that work. I imagine that many a manuscript letter or other item will be ordered from the Boswell Office by a *Catalogue*-user who would have been much happier to have learned just where the item(s) in question appeared in print.

These criticisms made, it is time to put them aside and give the editors and publishers their due. It took thirty years to put together this catalogue, and we shall be far into the next century before the majority of letters and other manuscripts catalogued here appear in print in the forty-odd volumes of the research edition yet to come. Even after publication has occurred, scholars will sometimes have need to check particular items in manuscript for one reason or another, and some items catalogued here will surely never be published. Mrs. Pottle's *Catalogue*, in short, is going to be a terrifically valuable resource for eighteenth-century scholars for decades to come. Beyond that, as the first fruits of the Edinburgh U.P. - Yale U.P. collaboration, it is to be applauded as proof positive that these publishers may actually mean business, and that the Yale Editions are once again on track, the *Laird* fiasco notwithstanding.

If Mrs. Pottle's *Catalogue* will be of most interest to scholars, two recently available Boswell videos are likely to have much wider appeal. *Boswell for the Defence* (1983) and *Boswell in London* (1984; a.k.a. *Boswell's London Journal*) are both joint productions of BBC Television and Yale University Films. Like every other work discussed in this essay, they bear the mark of the great Frederick Pottle, who served as a consultant along with Frank Brady and our own Irma Lustig. The story of how Mark Harris struggled to adapt these Boswellian episodes is beautifully told by Irma in a recent issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* (vol. 16, 1992), which also includes three other reviews of these films. In spite of my admitted partiality to any production associated with Harris, whose baseball novel *The Southpaw* had an astounding impact on my childhood, I think I can be objective enough to state that each of these videos is in its own, quite different way, marvelous. Ian Sharp's portrayal of the young JB in London is so perfectly attuned to his style and temper that one easily excuses an English accent: there are good portrayals of JB's affair with the actress Louisa and his subsequent bout with "Signor Gonorrhoea," and of his meeting and early friendship with a gruff but caring Dr. Johnson. Even so, the cartoonlike, episodic *Boswell in London* has a hard time competing with its more realistic mate, which is closely focused on JB's unsuccessful, touching defense of the sheepstealer John Reid in Edinburgh in 1774. To see Boswell plotting to revive Reid after his hanging is not only to discover a very different, more engaged JB than one is accustomed to find in London, but also to probe interesting and important issues that involve questions of law, medicine, religion, truth, and humanitarianism in the Enlightenment. It is easy to imagine these films being shown to students as they are reading John Wain's *The Journals of JB*, which contains good coverage of all the major episodes treated cinematically here. Unfortunately, not everyone will get the chance, since in the U.S.A. Films for the Humanities and Sciences (tel. 800-257-5126) is charging a rather steep \$75 (plus postage and handling) for one-day rentals and twice that for purchase of each videocassette (I am unfamiliar with arrangements in Britain). I would like to think that large video rental chains like Blockbuster might be persuaded to purchase copies of these videos for the shelves of their "culture" sections, right next to Van Gogh and Puccini. But based on the unwillingness of public television stations to air them, I would not bet on it. Start working on your department chairperson now.

Editorial note: ECSSS has purchased one copy of each of these videos for the use of its members, who may reserve these videocassettes for three-day loans by contacting the executive secretary. Members must cover all postage costs and guarantee replacement in the event of damage or loss. Not available outside North America at the present time.

Book Reviews

Songs of Robert Burns. Ed. Donald A. Low. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. Pp. 962.

This substantial new edition provides corrected and restored musical texts for each of Burns's 373 songs. Succinct notes and glossed words are given for each text, with general discussion of Burns and Scottish song provided in an introduction and appendices. The simple settings (on a piano they can be picked out using one finger) clearly define the melodies. Low's omission of harmonies is wise, as those suggested by Burns's original musical collaborators now seem dated or (in the case of the settings for George Thomson's *Select Collection*) fussy. Each entry in Low sets Burns's initial words and chorus syllable by syllable under the music; Burns's full stanzas are printed below the music or on the facing page. The volume's large format - about one-third larger than James Kinsley's Clarendon edition of the *Works* (1968) or James C. Dick's edition of the *Songs* (1903) - results in unusually legible texts that invite browsing and reading as well as singing and playing. The only difficulty is that the book's size and heft, despite its being well designed to lie flat and remain open without being held, make it awkward to balance on a piano's music rack or music stand. A cookbook-holder worked for me.

James Kinsley's Clarendon edition, rightly established since 1968 as the standard *Works* of Burns, nonetheless has serious flaws in its song-transcriptions, and it is likely that Donald Low's will set the new standard text for Burns's songs. Though Kinsley broke new ground when he became the first editor of the poet's works to provide brief melody-lines for all extant tunes, he printed only the musical notes, providing no guide-syllables beneath. Burns's intentions remain obscure for many of the tunes, as the heavily trilled, irregular airs can be difficult to place to the poet's words without some memory of the song in performance or some editorial assistance. In addition, Kinsley's musical settings often break the melody in musically illogical places (in mid-phrase, for instance, as in his melody-line for the Tinker's Song in "Love and Liberty") or silently edit the melodies, as in the shortened Clarendon musical text for "A red, red rose." Ironically, the worst flaw in Kinsley's musical transcriptions resulted from his extraordinary editorial scrupulosity: having correctly taken James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* as his musical copy-text for most of the songs (only omitting William and Stephen Clarke's rudimentary left-hand harmonies), Kinsley then painstakingly transcribed the Clarkes' every note, repeating and perpetuating their numerous errors and infelicities.

Among editions of Burns past and present, Donald Low's is most like J. C. Dick's *Songs of Robert Burns* (1903) in comprehensiveness, in clarity of musical transcription, and in working primarily with the vocalist in mind (typically adjusting the fiddle-derived Scots tunes downward to bring them within the compass at least of gifted singers). Low's and Dick's texts for "Jamie Come Try Me," for instance, both lower William Clarke's G major key-signature, printed in *The Scots Musical Museum* and duly followed by Kinsley. Clarke's original transcription leaps between the G above middle-C on a piano - the natural low note on a fiddle, whose lowest string is tuned to the G below middle-C - to a high point at the C two octaves above middle-C, near the limit of a coloratura's range. By contrast, both Dick and Low, taking their hint from the transcription in *The Caledonian Pocket Companion* (c. 1745), change the key-signature to D major, lowering the lowest note to D above middle-C (second-lowest fiddle string) and consequently lowering the high-note to a still-challenging but more commonly attainable A above high C (pushing the upper limits of a mezzo-soprano's range).

Incidentally, the recent selection of Burns's songs edited by John Ashmead and John Davison for Garland (1988) departs from all of the above, simplifying the melody by eliminating as merely conventional each end-of-phrase appoggiatura and trill in "Jamie Come Try Me" and transposing the melody to the key of E-flat major. Though Ashmead and Davison's edition is not complete - they print 43 songs in contrast to Low's 373 - they offer fresh and provocative musical texts as well as the fuller harmonies [chords for both hands on piano] omitted by both Low and Dick.

Unlike Dick or Ashmead/Davison, Low has kept all eighteenth-century appoggiaturas, "leaning" notes that - contrary to "crushed in" acciaccaturas - steal between one-half and two-thirds of the time-value of the following note and so greatly affect the phrasing. Low has also added directions as to expression. The new edition makes no attempt to extend or even to summarize the voluminous historical and cultural notes provided in massive separate volumes by Kinsley - also by Henley and Henderson in their Centenary *Works* (1896-97) - or in 150 pages of reduced-type appendix by Dick. Low's notes bring the songs into quicker focus, often by concentrating on the poet himself. Burns's opinion of each song is given when known, and the poet's letters transmitting the songs to friends and editors are always quoted when relevant. Other notes in Low's edition identify real-life analogues for the songs' heroines or speakers and biographical circumstances surrounding the composition.

Low's is the most comprehensive collection ever made of Burns's songs. It is also among the most logical, his chronological arrangement being far superior to Dick's charming but rather batty categories: "Love General, Connubial, Love Humorous," etc. The new edition, unlike Dick's, provides full texts for all Burns's bawdy songs, material James Dick was probably aware of but could not have published in 1903. (Incidentally, in printing the bawdry, Low often follows the musical settings suggested in *Merry Muses of Caledonia* [c. 1799], a volume probably published under the auspices of The Crochallan Fencibles, Burns's favorite Edinburgh drinking-club. The Fencibles did their deceased brother great service by posthumously printing many of his suppressed songs, but I wonder how freely they had been partaking of punch when they chose their musical settings. Burns's mordant, superb lyric "When Princes and Prelates" is not at all well-matched to the tune "The Campbells are Coming" - any more than "When maukin bucks" belongs with "Push about the jorum," an error in *Merry Muses of Caledonia* Low does catch and correct.) This new edition contains material missing even from Kinsley. Probably Low's most controversial addition to the canon will be "The Tree of Liberty," an uneven song (great in several stanzas) that Kinsley consigned to "Dubia" and that for years has been disputed among scholars.

Low's volume will assist current reassessments of Burns's achievement during the final decade of his life, a period during which the poet worked almost exclusively on the collection, revision, and (in collaboration with his transcribers) the creation of Scottish folk- and art-songs. The poet used the peculiar cadences of these melodies - most of them originally dance-tunes, improvised by fiddlers and notoriously difficult to transcribe, let alone fit to speakers and stanzas - as a kind of extra metrical challenge. Burns mused in 1792 on the "peculiar rhythmus [sic] in many of our [Scots] airs, a necessity of adapting the syllables to the emphasis, or what I would call, the *feature notes*, of the tune, that cramps the Poet, & lays him under almost insuperable difficulties" (Roy/Ferguson, *Letters*, 2:157.) And if "irregularities" of rhythm in Scots songs stimulated Burns the craftsman, the opportunity songs gave him to speak, as "Scotia's bard," for all of Scottish history inspired what we have begun to agree is Burns's most subtle art. The poet created vivid new speakers quite unlike the submerged and shifting multiple "voices" of traditional folk-songs. His range is as wide as human personality - from a touchingly lovesick peasant lass ("Tam Glen") to ferocious Robert Bruce ("Scots wha hae").

Writing of British folksong, Ralph Vaughan Williams noted the difficulties in evaluating the relative quality of songs and song-lyrics: "To pack all one has to say into a tune of some sixteen bars is a very different proposition from spreading oneself out into a symphony or grand opera, especially when the sixteen bars have to be repeated over and over again for a ballad of some twenty verses. We have often experienced music which at first seemed attractive but of which we wearied after repetition. The essence of a good folk tune is that it does not show its full quality till it has been repeated several times, and I think a great deal of the false estimate of folk melodies which are current are due to the fact that they are read through once, or possibly hummed through without their words, or worse still strummed through once on the piano and not subjected to the only fair test, that of being sung through with their words."

Two long-standing obstacles to appreciating Burns as a song-writer have been this old academic prejudice against folk-music itself and also the scarcity of authoritative full texts (Burns's lyrics matched to their original airs). Here at last is a modern complete edition of all the songs, readily available (Dick's volume has been scarce for decades) and highly sensitive to the complex interdependence of words, sentiments, and melody in all Burns's songs. It is not so much for clear texts of "Bonie Doon," "Ae Fond Kiss," or the other universally beloved Burns songs that Donald Low's new edition will be most valuable. It is for the majority reprinted here, songs that have been long and undeservedly forgotten, such as "From thee Eliza I must go," "In simmer when the hay was maun," "Thickest night surround my dwelling," and "O bonie was yon rosy brier." Scholars in Scottish studies have for some time been ready to acknowledge that folk-song forms a crucial element in any true understanding of Scottish literary culture. Now we have a new tool to assist and guide our growing interest in Burns as a writer of songs.

Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. Pp. viii + 320.

Robert Crawford argues the Scottish invention of English Literature. Thus, his argument, wide-ranging and insightfully illustrated, will probably linger on the palate, as smoothly as Talisker's with members of ECSSS. To characterize this book so pecuniarily, however, is reductive, for Crawford's broader thesis extends beyond advocating an awareness of the ironical degree to which the curricular subject of English literature was actually initiated at

Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh universities. Crawford offers what amounts to a cultural anthropologist's reading of the extent to which Scotland's eighteenth-century struggle to emerge from under its provincial identity confronted England's political and linguistic dominance.

His familiar description of Scotland on the periphery and England as cultural center but sets the stage for his most striking pronouncements regarding the dangers of the "Anglocentric notion of English Literature." Crawford sees English Literature as having a seemingly unyielding self-momentum that must, he challenges, be "countered continually by a devolutionary momentum." He arrives convincingly at his thesis that the university subject of English literature not only promoted the dominant English culture and dialect but also worked to silence "other tongues" of Scottish culture, i.e. Scots and Gaelic. Relying on Wilber Samuel Howell, Andrew Hook, and John Hill, Crawford assesses informatively the impact of Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* in Great Britain and America. He also suggests what might be questioned as a curious over-playing of Adam Smith's impact on curricular development, finding Smith's models for university study "entirely non-Scottish": "His lectures are a means of translating his audience, subtly alienating it from the language of its own culture" (p. 33).

In his opening chapter, Crawford positions the eighteenth-century university teachers of rhetoric and belles lettres - familiar names all - as undertaking a "huge attempt at cultural restructuring." He sees Smith, Blair, and even the Princetonian Witherspoon as enunciating in their lectures a "polishing" of provincial prose that resulted in a "levelling-down" of Scotticisms and Americanisms - obvious markers of cultural differences. Crawford sees a direct connection between the Scottish invention of English Literature as a university subject and the parallel Scottish invention of British Literature, the post-Enlightenment advance of which he takes up in his second chapter.

What "devolving" English Literature results in, then, is an articulation in the first place of the distinctions among Scottish, British, Irish, and Welsh - and so-called "English" - literatures. From English eyes, observes Crawford, early eighteenth-century panegyrics to "Britain" were assumed as synonymous toward "England." Such Anglocentrism obfuscates the effect of the 1707 Union of Parliaments on writing in Scotland and distorts our conception of Britishness in English writing, Crawford posits. For viewed from the pens of Crawford's chief cultural and linguistic "brokers," the heart of Britishness involved in the production of Scottish literature of the eighteenth century concerned prejudice. In his chapter "British Literature," Crawford renders his chief examples not as stemming from the pens of Fielding, Richardson, and Sterne, but as the turnip-squeezed amalgams of high and low literature represented by Smollett, Boswell, and Burns. Burns's admixture of provincial Scots with "pure" English in his poems, for example, Crawford sees as characterizing Burns's utilization of the full range of the British language as a Scottish writer. Crawford's reading of Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* is as an expeditionary novel that in its brokering of English and Scottish prejudices parallels the uneasy Union of Scotland and England, thus becoming a "British" novel that paves the way for Sir Walter Scott.

In a later chapter entitled "Modernism as Provincialism," Crawford's take on "modernist" texts follows-through on his general analysis that the development of literature reflects not simply a linear line of chronological comparison - mythical past upon present - but also that it recurrently embodies comparisons that are cross-cultural. His reading encompasses the modernists James, Eliot, and Joyce and, moreover, enlightens our understanding of Scott, Stevenson, and Kipling. Crawford's discerning eye for the anthropological rift finds Kipling calling England "the most wonderful foreign land I have been in." Under the tent of a concluding chapter entitled "Barbarians," Crawford unravels the work of Douglas Dunn, Seamus Heaney, the Glaswegian Edwin Morgan, and Hugh MacDiarmid, among others, arguing forcefully, as has the critic W. N. Herbert, that MacDiarmid's eclectic linguistic and poetic constructions as well as his use of the celebrated "Caledonian antiszygy" place this seemingly provincial poet within the Modernist ambit. Crawford even attempts to chart post-colonial writers such as the Nobel-winning Derek Walcott within an "Anglo-Celtic archipelago."

Crawford finally sees bitter irony in the fact that the Scots were so instrumental in the establishment of the institutional study of English literature yet have progressed only to see their own accented literature cast aside as a result of Anglocentric attitudes that deem it "provincial" or "barbarian." Where Crawford feels bitterness, however, many readers will see his own effort to "devolve" constructions of "Englishness" as a provocative yet forthright and extremely well put forward contribution to the rising interest in "multi-cultural" or so-called "minority" literatures and the reconstruction of the literary canon. While there is a satisfactory index, several continuous pages in my copy of the Oxford paperback edition were bothersomely printed upside down, and there is no bibliography.

Paul Bator, Santa Clara University

John Christian Laursen. *The Politics of Skepticism in the Ancients, Montaigne, Hume, and Kant*. New York: E. J. Brill, 1992. Pp. 253.

What sort of politics is the skeptic committed to? It might seem that eschewing knowledge claims commits one either to quietism or conservatism. John Christian Laursen attempts to show that the various forms of skepticism found in the western tradition are compatible with a wide variety of political positions. Three chapters are devoted to the ancients, two apiece to Montaigne, Hume, and Kant. Laursen argues that the skepticism of these last three figures led each to develop certain views that made major contributions to modern liberalism. His discussion of Hume will be examined here.

According to Laursen, Hume's skepticism led him to replace the category of knowledge, which grounded dogmatic political systems based on supposed truths of religion, republicanism, or natural law, with the lesser epistemological category of belief. It is belief, formed by custom, that actually guides human life. Within his philosophy of custom, Hume developed two non-dogmatic vocabularies of manners and opinion as skeptical vocabularies of political evaluation. With these vocabularies Hume attempted "to show human beings how to develop habits and customs that are more in accord with their nature" (p. 167). Thus, while skeptical, Hume's politics was reformist, rather than quietist or conservative.

There is little doubt that Hume's politics was reformist, but the sort of reformist thinking Laursen identifies is strikingly similar to the sort that a number of recent commentators have claimed to be essentially conservative as opposed to liberal. Furthermore, Laursen does not really make a convincing case for the view that Hume's politics was actually skeptical. Hume clearly rejected appeals to supposed truths of speculative metaphysics found in many traditional political theories. But many recent commentators (e.g., Norton and Capaldi) have argued convincingly that Hume was not a moral skeptic. To reject the apriorism of the political legalists and the moral rationalism of the religionists does not entail embracing moral skepticism. Hume viewed himself as contributing to the science of human nature, and he never doubted that we can have real knowledge of what constitutes human nature. Laursen makes much of Hume's emphasis on manners, claiming that the vocabulary of manners was a skeptical substitute for knowledge claims. Yet Hume's defense of the importance of manners appeals to truths about human nature, e.g., that we are social beings, that we are prone both to overvalue ourselves and to be offended by the pride of others, etc. In what sense is this skeptical?

Not only did Hume believe we could have knowledge of human nature, but he also believed we could have knowledge of the nature of virtue, vice, and the human good. If politics is part of the moral realm, and Hume was not a moral skeptic, then one must ask why his politics should be considered a skeptical politics. Much of Laursen's analysis rests on attributing moral skepticism to Hume. He claims for instance that Hume respected public opinion "not because public opinion expressed any truths or knowledge, but because it is all that we have" (p. 191). But this is completely at odds with what Hume actually claims about the authority of public opinion. Hume defers to the "opinions of mankind" in certain moral matters concerning political obligation because, he claims, in certain circumstances, such judgments are infallible (cf. *Treatise*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 546-47).

Marie A. Martin, *Clemson University*

John B. Stewart, *Opinion and Reform in Hume's Political Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. Pp. 325.

This book reads well. The reader will feel like someone on a smooth train ride through a well-groomed landscape. It is Stewart's thesis that Hume is a liberal rather than a conservative, and that in the nineteenth century "his model of civil society was to be adopted by many reformers - liberals - throughout Europe" (p. 317).

To introduce this thesis, Stewart gives us a balanced account of Hume's moral philosophy against the background of his precursors. Natural law philosophers like Grotius were faced with the dilemma of deciding whether God or natural law itself must provide the ultimate authority for the moral duties that natural law defines. So Hume's precursors started a new beginning for moral science by trying to solve the dilemma in a naturalistic way. The precursors Stewart deals with are Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Hutcheson, and Butler (those mentioned in Hume's footnote to the Introduction to the *Treatise*), and this selection is a *trouvaille*, because it includes Mandeville. No longer do we have to choose between Hume the "Hobbist" and Hume the "Hutchesonian"; Hume took the building

materials for his ethics from Mandeville as well as Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. (The discussion of Butler provided me with the new insight that Hume's theory of the passions and their function for morality bears close resemblance to Butler's.) The only pity is that the selection of precursors is rather narrow. Other writers, such as Cicero, Malebranche, and Bayle, are casually mentioned in a footnote. We still need a book which constructs the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century debate on self love, benevolence, and their mix and their functionality within the moral system. But apart from this critical aside, the chapters on Hume's precursors and Hume's moral philosophy are well done.

Do these introduce us to Hume, the reforming liberal? Hardly. Did Hume endorse policies of reform? No. Did he try to influence his countrymen and did he make propaganda for certain enlightened attitudes of mind? To some extent, yes. Stewart gives us a list of Hume's reforming aims (p. 230). Let me pick out two of them. Hume wanted "to show that the constitution needed radical reform." Did he? He ends his *History* praising the *regnum mixtum* as a system of equilibrium. His concern expressed in the last years of his life (expressed in his letters, not publicly in his essays, by the way) that the system is getting out of order does not make him a reformer. There is more. A reformer is someone who by measure or propaganda wants to change a certain situation. According to this definition, Hume was not a reformer. His *History* is evidence of the fact that he regarded his own time as the most civilized and enlightened period of history, and as I read his essays he wanted to keep it that way, suggesting occasional reform in the margin of that particular civil society.

My second case concerns Hume's critique of the public debt. Like Adam Smith he was against the economic policy of increasing it. He feared its corrupting influence on government and he expected that it would give too great an influence to the merchants. Hume indeed was a critic of mercantilism, but one of his critical aims was to warn of the consequences of monopolies: they further the mercantile at the expense of the agricultural interests and tend to destroy the equilibrium of interests in society. Hume, as I see it, took his civil society for granted: its government, its social ranks, and its morals. And if he wanted to improve on it, then only marginally so. Only in religion does Hume adopt a more radical tone, but the reason for this is that he knows the revolutionary potential of "enthusiasm" from seventeenth-century British history and fears its effect on civil society as he appreciates it.

If Hume was not a reformer in the strict sense, was he a conservative? The trouble with that term is that it is too modern. There are many traditional elements in his thought, as there are "liberal" ones. (And what fascinates me in the study of Hume is to determine the mix and ask why an eighteenth-century intellectual can be both a traditionalist and an innovator.) Hume influenced nineteenth-century conservatives and liberals alike. But between them is the great watershed of the revolutionary era, which radically changed the ideological climate. Since that era, reformers wanted to change the world in a way which Hume would have regarded as absurd. The Industrial Revolution changed the structure of civil society, which Hume accepted rather complacently, in a fundamental way. Referring to the quotation at the beginning of this review: some nineteenth-century liberals may have accepted Hume's "model of civil society" - nineteenth-century intellectual life is full of ambiguities - but English liberals certainly did not accept his recipes for getting there. For John Stuart Mill, Hume was the Tory historian who wrote a most unjustified defense of Charles I. and this (wrong) judgment is representative. For nineteenth-century liberals, Hume was an arch-conservative, whatever we may think of him.

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Giancarlo Carabelli, *Intorno a Hume*. Milano: Mondadori Editore, 1992. Pp. xiii + 212.

This volume deserves a better title than "Around (or About) Hume." It consists of three essays. The first one is titled "Sancho's Cask" and shows how Hume's essay on the standard of taste is an exposition of the social nature of taste. The second one, "The Middle Station of Life," explores the essay of that title by Hume. The third one, "The Ha-ha Garden," shows how the English garden in the eighteenth century reflected and refracted the ideology of the period.

"Sancho's Cask," starting from Hume's retelling of the story from *Don Quixote*, explains Hume's apparent elitism and deference to experts as a recognition of the social construction of taste. Experts represent collective wisdom and relay the cultural inheritance of the community. Taste is an analogue to the common law. Unexpected analogies to Sterne and the sonata, among other things, confirm the interpenetration of taste and politics in eighteenth-century Britain. On this account, Hume emerges as something of a communitarian. Alasdair MacIntyre may not know what

to make of a Hume on his side! Also on this account, the best judge of political matters is the outsider, the man of letters.

"The Middle Station of Life" reads more into that essay than most, and finds the theme of the middle way in many other places in Hume's works. Where one might expect to read that Hume seeks some kind of bland middle way, Carabelli stresses the role of change and dynamics in society in Hume's thought. He finds a cryptostructure at various levels, in which the change of roles is the supreme rule. He deconstructs Hume's tentative effort to make equality the basis of friendship, and shows that for Hume the basis of friendship is really constant flux and reversal of inequality and dependency. In stark opposition to Montaigne and extra-social friendship, Carabelli's Hume makes dynamic friendship the key to a society founded on the middle station.

The ha-ha was the invisible fence around many eighteenth-century English gardens. Usually a slight trench, it was invisible at a distance, yet marked off the end of the garden and the beginning of the wild countryside. Contrasting with French walled gardens, the ha-ha garden was taken to symbolize the open and free, the non-tyrannical, and the non-French. Carabelli shows how English gardens reflected many a political and cultural idea. At one level, Whigs and Tories favored different types of gardens for ideological reasons. At the level of high culture, Lord Kames, among others, wrote on the meaning of gardens and gardening. Carabelli brings much of this together, with references to a wide literature about gardens and their meaning.

This is Carabelli's first full-length book on Hume since his *Hume e la retorica dell'ideologia* (1972) - still one of the best books on Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* - in which he pioneered the contextual approach to Hume years before it became fashionable in the English-language literature. In this volume, Carabelli uses deceptively simple and clear units of analysis that work something like the sonatas that he writes about, building up themes and returning to them in different keys. The whole is an epicurean's delight, and good preparatory reading for the Hume Society's 1994 meeting in Rome.

John Christian Laursen, University of California, Riverside

Adam Smith Reviewed. Ed. Peter Jones and Andrew S. Skinner. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xii + 252.

The first purpose of this collection of essays (all appearing for the first time except those by Bryce, Cairns, and Skinner) is apparently to debunk the myth of Adam Smith - as heroic founder of the science of economics - without "deconstructing" him, to undo the "comprehensive hagiography" that supposedly "obscures the author of the *Wealth of Nations*." Although the editors may have somewhat exaggerated the novelty of their project (this reader would like to have seen a bit more engagement with stimulating reassessments such as those that appeared in Hont and Ignatieff's 1983 volume, *Wealth and Virtue*), they are nonetheless generally successful in assembling some acute critical insights into the nature and limits of Smith's intellectual achievement within a broadly sympathetic framework. The result is a volume which many readers will want to dip into to sample one or another of its attractions, even though few will choose to peruse it straight through.

One way the editors pursue their project is by providing extensive considerations of aspects of Smith's thought that have been mainly overlooked by posterity. Although the latter fate has befallen many of the polymaths of the eighteenth century - Rousseau's music or botany, Hume's social or political thought - it is probably true that the long-term success of the *Wealth of Nations* has done more than usual to eclipse the rest of Smith's own corpus.

Thus, we have essays on Smith's theory of rhetoric (Bryce), his linguistic theory (Plank), his aesthetics (Jones), his history of science (Longuet-Higgins), which together make up more than a third of the volume. The essays under this rubric, which are generally solid and informative, reveal numerous connections with the more familiar aspects of Smith's thought that will come as news to many readers. For example, J. B. Bryce's essay on Smith's teaching of literature reminds us that Smith had a concept of propriety in his theory of style (p. 6) somewhat similar to that anchoring his better-known moral theory, and that sympathy facilitated the communication of the passions essential to rhetoric (p. 8). We learn from Frans Plank that Smith applied his "conjectural history" not only to economics but also to language (p. 24).

A second purpose of the volume, namely to explore the relevance of Smith to contemporary experience, is somewhat more sporadically fulfilled. We are told by Peter Jones of a connection between some of Smith's notions on resemblance and imitation, in his aesthetic theory, and Wittgenstein's later idea of family resemblances (p. 66).

Christopher Longuet-Higgins partially endorses a connection that previous scholars had seen between Smith's emphasis upon surprise, wonder, and imagination as sources of scientific advance, and the Kuhnian notion of paradigm shift (p. 91). But an intriguing suggestion as to the distance between Smith's world and ours comes in a passage Jones brings to our attention, to the effect that the "unsocial, indecent or vicious passions cannot easily be imitated by music" (p. 72).

Perhaps the boldest entry along these lines is Robin Downie's essay on Smith's view of casuistry. Downie attempts not only to rescue casuistry somewhat from the aspersions of Smith and other Enlightenment skeptics but also to claim that Smith actually contributed to the development of a "Protestant" casuistry, related to his natural law jurisprudence and more conducive to the "possessive individualism" of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe (pp. 129, 135). Along the way, we get the provocative claim that Smith's praise of an ethics that touches the heart, though he contrasts it sharply with the drier work of the casuist, is actually comparable to the "consciousness-raising" emphasis of modern moral discourse, as in those medical ethicists whose case-approach resembles that practiced in the casuistical tradition (p. 121).

On the more familiar terrain of moral and economic thought, the essays also contain their share of new developments. In response to Laurence Dickey's argument, in a 1986 article, for a decline in Smith's regard for prudence in the sixth edition of 1790 (due to his growing sense of the materialism of late eighteenth-century society), and his adoption of elements of a German theology of the "divine economy," D. D. Raphael offers the lively, if not unexpected, rejoinder that there is no change in Smith's valuation of that virtue, that he had no knowledge of or interest in German metaphysical theology, and that he preferred to draw upon Stoic ethical ideas for his theory of self-command (pp. 106-16).

Perhaps the most sustained attempt at a new interpretation in these domains is John Dwyer's essay on Smith as civic moralist. Building upon the argument by the historian David McNally (*Political Economy and the Rise of Capitalism*, 1988) as to the primacy of agriculture in early economic theory, and more broadly on the discourse analysis in Pocock's *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975), Dwyer depicts Smith as a sort of agrarian humanist. In arguing that the *Wealth of Nations* is "an ethical as well as an economic tract" (p. 191), he attributes to Smith the view not only that agriculture is the necessary bedrock of a contemporary economy but also that "the country is morally superior to the towns" (p. 195). Independent gentry or yeoman farmers, it seems, are more likely to possess the virtues (frugality, industry, and a more diversified, because less specialized, personality), as well as less likely to possess the vices (ambition, faction, and a livelier instinct for collusion and private interest) of the mercantile or industrial classes. In a particularly suggestive passage (in which he attempts to refute a recent argument on the "republic of needs" by Michael Ignatieff), Dwyer details how Smith envisioned an entire system of legal, historical, and economic measures designed to check the limitless desires of some of the more acquisitive agents in the modern economy (p. 210).

The volume as a whole is handsomely produced, easy on the eyes, and relatively free of editorial or typographical error (see pp. 42, 197, 203, and 210 for the only exceptions of the latter sort that I could find). All in all, it will be a welcome addition to the growing literature on one of Scotland's true luminaries.

Henry C. Clark, *Canisius College*

William Cullen and the Eighteenth Century Medical World: A Bicentenary Exhibition and Symposium Arranged by the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1990. Ed. A. Doig, J.P.S. Ferguson, I. A. Milne, and R. Passmore. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xiii + 256.

William Cullen, one of the central figures of the Edinburgh Medical School's golden age and of the Scottish Enlightenment, is such a well known and well researched figure, that it comes as a surprise to realize that he has not merited a book-length study since John Thomson's two-volume *Life of Cullen* in 1859. The many articles on Cullen published since then have remained scattered through the academic literature, reflecting his typically eighteenth-century diversity of interests. This book therefore represents something of a new departure in Cullen studies, reproducing the papers given at a one-day symposium at Edinburgh's Royal College of Physicians. However, while

the book draws together recent Cullen scholarship, it tends to re-examine previously worked topics to present a comprehensive study rather than a radical reinterpretation of Cullen and his work.

The bulk of the articles concentrate on Cullen's medicine, and particularly on his teaching. In this area, his reputation is secure; Cullen seemed to receive nothing but glowing tributes from his pupils, who carried his ideas and teaching methods around the world, especially to America. Three essays focus on his medical ideas - not so much their content as the manner in which they were structured. Michael Barfoot explores in detail the complex notion of "system" - a concept denigrated as speculation after Cullen's death - and finds that Cullen made it serve multiple purposes. In lectures, system provided students with a framework in which the slightly different accounts given by each lecturer could be made coherent. Cullen also advocated its use at the bedside, to arrange observation in order to arrive at a diagnosis. Epistemologically, system became a tool with which to select significant observations and hence to build and elaborate medical theory. The essay by Robert Kendall shows that Cullen's nosology - another aspect of eighteenth-century medicine that has puzzled modern scholars - was also a means of organizing and simplifying complex knowledge. By categorizing and arranging diseases in a manner similar to botanical classification, Cullen and his contemporaries hoped to reveal underlying patterns of causation. The enterprise rapidly proved impractical, particularly at the bedside, and was superseded by the study of causation through pathological anatomy. W. F. Bynum explores one of the most striking and original features of Cullen's nosology, his category of "neuroses," an odd assortment of complaints, most of which are not recognizably psychiatric. Bynum traces this eclecticism back to Cullen's thinking on the nervous system, where he made no clear disjunction between nerves and muscles and hence understood nervous disease to include all complaints involving some derangement of sense or motion.

Cullen's medical practice - and the central place of diet as part of the therapeutic regimen - is examined in two essays. Guenter Risse points to the central role of diet in treating wealthy patrons suffering from chronic complaints, while R. Passmore describes some of Cullen's theories on the composition of foodstuffs, which rationalized their therapeutic role. Risse contrasts this mild regimen with Cullen's practice in the clinical ward of the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, where poor and powerless patients suffering from acute complaints were subjected to more rigorous treatment centered on drugs and bloodletting.

Compared to his reputation as a teacher and practitioner, Cullen's reputation as a chemist is less secure. Having made no significant discoveries (he published only one scientific paper), he is often recognized simply as the teacher of Joseph Black. John Christie argues that Cullen's legacy is much greater. Recent work by Arthur Donovan has shown that through his lectures in Glasgow and Edinburgh Cullen transformed the status of chemistry, from know-how associated with industry to scientific, gentlemanly knowledge, worthy of study in its own right, while never losing sight of its utilitarian purposes. He neatly combined these two functions in his own researches on bleaching and agriculture, carried out under the patronage of improving landlords.

The book pays rather less attention to Cullen's life and times, with just three essays. These include an excellent piece by Roger Emerson on the politics of university appointments. Emerson argues that the creation and filling of medical chairs were only a small part of the system of power broking in eighteenth-century Scotland. Appointments were controlled by the Argathelians and the Squadrone before 1760, and by Henry Dundas after 1778. For the party managers, filling university chairs with men who shared their religious and political persuasions - or in the case of Ilay, third duke of Argyll, with those who pursued similar scientific interests - was a way of controlling institutions and a means of rewarding their supporters. In Emerson's convincing account, the founding of the Edinburgh Medical School in the 1720s was part of a successful bid for power by Argyll and the Whigs, not the offspring of John Monro's paternal ambitions. The Argathelian interest was also behind Cullen's first appointment in Glasgow, though he subsequently won the Edinburgh chair largely through merit. In turn, Cullen and his colleagues were able to exercise their own patronage in filling chairs in the power vacuum that followed Argyll's death in 1761.

With the exception of Emerson's essay, this book works best as a convenient guide to current Cullen scholarship. It would have benefited from a more structured presentation of the essays (unfavorable comparisons with Bynum and Porter's *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* spring to mind) and, for those unfamiliar with Cullen, from more biographical material. The latter can, with little effort, be pieced together from a long and comprehensive pictorial biography, taken from the exhibition accompanying the conference. Ultimately, the book simply reaffirms Cullen's place as one of the most influential men in the history of Scottish medicine.

Deborah Brunton, University of Edinburgh

Dennis R. Dean, *James Hutton and the History of Geology*. Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1992. Pp. xiii + 303.

Given his elevated standing within the pantheon of the history of geology, James Hutton curiously remains relatively little studied and even less understood. In recent years Arthur Donovan, Jean Jones, Peter Jones, and Roy Porter, among others, have done much to illuminate Hutton's early intellectual development, his chemical theorizing, his involvement in agricultural improvement, his epistemological views, and the conceptual strata of his theory of the earth; but, as yet, no one has managed to fit all of the individual pieces of the puzzle together to make a convincing whole. Consequently, Hutton appears as something of a Jekyll and Hyde figure, schizophrenically alternating between the disparate realms of deistic natural philosophical speculation and mundane practical expertise.

Dennis R. Dean is another scholar who has also made a noteworthy contribution to the Hutton literature. In *James Hutton and the History of Geology*, Dean to some extent sidesteps the problematic issue of Hutton's intellectual identity and takes up the themes of his earlier work, namely the immediate reception and gradual transformation of the various elements of Hutton's analysis of the history of the earth. The ambiguity of the term "history" in English usage nicely captures the dual purpose of Dean's book, for he illustrates both how Hutton's ideas affected the actual development of the newly emerging science of geology, and how Hutton was interpreted in subsequent historical discourse charting that development.

Dean's long-standing familiarity with his sources is reflected in his meticulous discussion of a number of key texts, and the wide range of published materials cited in his narrative. He tells his story with a deft hand, but I must admit that I read the book with an increasing sense of dissatisfaction. Part of my unease was caused by some telling bibliographical omissions. Steven Shapin's work on the early years of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, for example, gets no mention, despite the fact that it reconstructs Hutton's own community of naturalists and the communal debates which Hutton's writings provoked. Nor does Dean make use of Martin Rudwick's seminal article on the argument of Lyell's *Principles*. One wonders why Shapin and Rudwick are passed over in silence. Moreover, Dean has not cast his evidential net as widely as he might have when discussing the reception of Hutton's ideas in Scotland at the turn of the nineteenth century. Attentive readers will note that no mention is made of Glasgow or Aberdeen, yet lectures were being given in both cities on the theory of the earth, and those given in the 1790s by Robert Eden Scott at King's College Aberdeen contain passages which illustrate how responses to Hutton were colored by the anti-Jacobin climate of the period. Furthermore, contrary to Dean's claims (pp. 230-31), Scott's lectures (like those of similar date by James Beattie, the naturalist at Marischal) show that historical reflections on the study of the earth were not a product of the emergence of geology as a distinct science in the early nineteenth century. While Dean is right to emphasize that history was used by the first generation of "geologists" to define the scope of their science and to teach methodological lessons, he does not register the fact that these didactic uses had been a feature of university lecturing on the earth sciences in Scotland well before the birth of "geology."

The extent to which Dean's analytical framework arguably manifests his disciplinary background is striking as well. His close summaries of major works, his fascination with bibliographical minutiae, and his propensity to write the history of Hutton's influence primarily as a history of texts all bespeak his position within the academic discipline of English (and no doubt the outlook and training of his particular generation as well). Twenty years ago these features of his book would not necessarily have seemed all that remarkable, but recent trends in the history and sociology of science have led scholars to think more carefully about the doing of science and about the social matrices within which scientific practice takes place. Indeed, one of the most important works to have demonstrated the fruitfulness of this way of thinking about the production of natural knowledge is Martin Rudwick's *The Great Devonian Controversy: The Shaping of Scientific Knowledge among Gentlemanly Specialists* (1985), which overlaps to some extent with Dean's study in terms of chronology, key players, and disputes covered. A similar concern with geology as a social activity would have added welcome interpretative depth to Dean's narrative. Dean makes a number of pregnant observations about the genesis, reception, and subsequent transmission of Hutton's system which could have been developed further using the kind of analysis employed by Rudwick, and this reader at least was left frustrated by the chances missed.

It would be churlish, however, to end on a critical note, because Dean has genuinely enriched our knowledge of Hutton and his theoretical legacy. In particular, his initial chapters on Hutton provide a succinct guide to the twists and turns in the emergence of Hutton's mature theory of the earth, and much of what follows constitutes a useful and sometimes suggestive overview of the state of geology in early nineteenth-century Britain. Dean's dedication of *James Hutton and the History of Geology* to the memory of Hutton's champion John Playfair also serves as a salutary

reminder of how very little we know about Playfair's career as one of the leading savants in the twilight years of the Scottish Enlightenment. We would certainly all stand to benefit greatly if Dean were to follow up his present book with a biography of Hutton's most prominent apologist.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Paul H. Scott, *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992. Pp. ix + 274.

The intellectual significance of Andrew Fletcher, the fiery republican laird of Saltoun, was first observed by Caroline Robbins and J.G.A. Pocock, and has been richly and diversely confirmed by the studies of Nicholas Phillipson, John Robertson, and Istvan Hont. His handful of densely creative political writings, published first between 1698 and 1704, have earned him a crucial place in the ongoing debates about the British dimensions of early modern civic humanism, the condition of Scotland in the years before the Union of 1707, and the intellectual origins of the Scottish Enlightenment. Yet as each study of his work has added to Fletcher's stature, so his political existence has come to seem both more complex and more cosmopolitan. The need for an up-to-date biographical synthesis has thus become increasingly urgent. Such a biography would have to escape the piety and parochialism of earlier works in order to place Fletcher not only in the context of Scottish politics, but also within the larger patterns of political, intellectual, and martial activity which take in (at least) London, Ireland, Hungary, France, and Spain.

Paul H. Scott's *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union* is not the synthesis which historians now have a right to expect. In its shape, its evidential base, and its conclusions, it makes little advance on G.W.T. Omand's 1897 biography in the "Famous Scots Series," which still provides the most crisp, balanced, and indeed recommendable summation of the facts of Fletcher's life. Scott intersperses the narrative of the life with paraphrases of Fletcher's pamphlets and of the proceedings of the last Scottish Parliament. Two chapters summarizing Fletcher's reputation and his contemporary significance provide bookends to the narrative. Insofar as Scott's book is driven by anything other than a concern to vindicate Fletcher's patriotism and good character, its argument is that the concentration on Fletcher's intellectual achievement in his published writings has diminished his political achievement in the last Scottish Parliament. This argument accords with the long-standing mythology of Fletcher "the Patriot," but it is hard to sustain such a case for imbalance when the evidence for Fletcher's parliamentary activity after 1703 is so fragmentary - indeed, there are no publications definitely attributable to Fletcher after 1704, especially since Scott here recants his earlier attribution to Fletcher alone of *The State of the Controversy Betwixt United and Separate Parliaments* (1706). The book is overbalanced by its blow-by-blow narrative of the parliamentary proceedings from 1703 to 1707, within which Fletcher makes few well-documented appearances. For Scott, Fletcher can do no wrong, and craven bribery and patronage seem to him to be the only motives for Union. No thought is given to the possibility that Fletcher's role became increasingly that of a principled and vigorous spoiler, nor that there might have been any coherence behind the incorporating unionist position, once all other political, economic, and constitutional alternatives had been exhausted.

It is unclear what audience Scott hopes to reach with his book. Too detailed and indiscriminating to appeal to the general reader, the book is nonetheless almost worthless to the scholar of political thought, early modern Scotland, or the Scottish Enlightenment. It is largely derivative in its arguments and uncritical in its attitude to Fletcher, and it lacks any wider perspective on his thought. Even Scott's asides on contemporary Scottish political possibilities already seem very dated, barely a year after they were presumably written. By all scholarly criteria it is a lazy book, which from its plethora of errors, repetitions, and undigested evidence appears to have been neither adequately edited nor proofread.

This is all the more sad in that there are many more materials available for Fletcher's biography than Scott seems to be aware. For example, Fletcher's correspondence with Locke is readily available in De Beer's edition of Locke's letters, and it casts light on his family circumstances, his visits to London in the late 1690s, and his fascinating project "tracing priestcraft from its first original in Aegipt"; evidence of his scientific interests appears in his correspondence about ancient music with the Oxford mathematician John Wallis; some of his financial dealings can be reconstructed from the papers of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies; the only verbatim record of any of his speeches in the Union debate is calendared among the Portland Manuscripts; and there is a copy of his *Political Works* in the National Library of Scotland which contains important manuscript revisions, apparently made on Fletcher's instructions. These scattered crumbs alone considerably expand our sense of the diversity and detail of

Fletcher's life, but none of them appears in Scott's book. And they would be as nothing compared to the thrilling possibility of recovering the mass of material transmitted to Rousseau, who admired Fletcher sufficiently to want to write his biography in the 1760s. That biography must be one of the the most fascinating unwritten books of the eighteenth century, and those papers a great lost archive of Scottish history. Within the limits of existing knowledge, Scott's biography is a great missed opportunity. It is only to be hoped that the existence of this tendentious, ill-digested, and poorly produced work will not prevent anyone from compiling the fully documented cosmopolitan synthesis of Fletcher's life and thought that we still so badly need.

David Armitage, Emmanuel College, Cambridge

Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991. Pp. 198.

Murray Pittock's *The Invention of Scotland* examines the origins and subsequent uses made of the image of the Stuart royal family in Scotland. It is Pittock's intention to investigate the contribution of the "Stuart myth" to past and current concepts of Scottish identity. In the process, he reveals the ambiguities and oppositions that lie at the root of Jacobite nationalism. His book provides a valuable lesson on the ways in which all national identities are in some sense invented.

The first chapter illustrates how even when they were the legitimate rulers of Britain, the Stuarts cultivated a sense of myth, drawing on historical legends of Arthur and Fionn as well as on more ancient fertility traditions to enhance their image as the lawful rulers of all Britain by divine right. The masques performed at Charles I's court, the promotion of retreat and rural society, the curing of the King's Evil through royal touch were designed to foster a sense of royal supernatural authority. As Pittock suggests, the Stuarts "seemed unworldly, even through the eyes of many of their contemporaries: mythic figures living in history" (p. 2). Pittock notes the complicated relationship each of the reigning Stuart kings had with his subjects north of the Tweed. Despite such historical complications, however, after the Glorious Revolution, and especially after the 1707 Act of Union, the Stuart myth and Scottish identity became inextricably linked: the Stuarts' "talent for promoting iconographies of tradition provided a heroic history for a country shorn of its present identity in the years following 1707" (p. 27). In other words, according to Pittock, the adoption of the Stuart myth became the only available avenue of protest against English domination.

Next, Pittock explores the expression of such protest in the cultural realm, drawing on examples from ballads and poems to illustrate his points. He contends that, while underground Jacobite songs in the form of broadsheets continued to assert political insubordination, the "literary culture of printed books nurtured the view of Scotland as fated" (p. 54). This latter view, espoused by such figures as Allan Ramsay in his *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1726), while promoting Scottish identity to a certain extent, also served as a means of sanitizing and distancing the actual political threat of Jacobitism. The author goes further into cultural manifestations of the Stuart myth, identifying the ways in which James Macpherson, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, and James Hogg reflect Jacobite myth as it was interpreted in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The case of Burns, in particular, demonstrates the way in which myths become variously appropriated. For Burns, Jacobitism was not incompatible with radical politics.

This paradoxical split continued in the nineteenth century: Jacobitism could be both comfortably de-politicized and made to represent a permanently inaccessible but glorious past of pageantry and tartan, or it could also be employed as a philosophy of "Celtic communism" to rally support for anti-Clearance Land Leagues and Home Rule. Here Pittock also provides a fascinating account of a number of people who prefigured modern Scottish nationalists, figures like Theodore Napier (Australian by birth), Ruaridh Erskine, Wendy Wood, and Gavin Scott. In the final chapter, Pittock discusses the differences between the artistic nationalists of the Scottish Renaissance, who were eager to draw on the Stuart myth of a Scottish culture, reclaiming what had been too long "tartanized," and the leaders of the SNP, who based their nationalism rather on economic issues. He suggests that this tension has been carried over from eighteenth-century interpretations of Jacobitism. His analysis of the endurance of Jacobitism is carried up to the present day, touching on the Corries' recent attempts to revive Jacobitism and on the Jacobite images found on shortbread tins and whiskey bottles.

The Invention of Scotland fits into the project for a revisionist history of Scotland. Pittock provides the apparatus for deconstructing the myth behind the history of the Stuarts and for understanding the history behind the myth. The book might have been enhanced by a more explicit model of the relationship being suggested between politics,

ideology, and society. At times, the phrasing of certain sentences implies that Jacobite ideology has a life of its own, independent of the people who employ and adapt it. We might also wonder whether there are strategies of resistance in Scotland that do not draw on the Stuart myth. "No one can argue that the Stuart myth is a major issue of our time," writes Pittock in conclusion. "But is it a major premise of Scotland's psychological and cultural inheritance?" The book's answer would seem to be yes, leaving us to inquire about other myths. But these are minor criticisms of an otherwise engaging, informative, and important cultural study of Scotland.

Leith Davis, Simon Fraser University

Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xii + 425.

The appearance of this big book, with its wealth of documentation, is a major and welcome event in the historiography of eighteenth-century Scotland. It is more than that, for Henry Dundas and his son Robert were important figures in the history of the United Kingdom and of its overseas empire. Henry Dundas, known to contemporaries in his heyday as "Harry the Ninth" or "The Satrap of Scotland," has attracted scholarly biographers, but not recently. Cyril Matheson published *The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville* in 1933. It was not without merit but had difficulty seeing the wood for the trees and has inevitably dated. Holden Furber's book with the same title, which was published in 1931, has an enduring appeal to imperial historians because Furber was a great historian of the Honorable East India Company, but his grasp of Scottish history was limited, so he confined himself largely to material on Scottish electoral politics. Robert Dundas, second Viscount Melville is a forgotten figure, probably unknown to the bulk of the members of the Senatus Academicus of the University of St. Andrews, despite the fact that as a former chancellor of that university he still gazes down benignly on them from his fine portrait which hangs on the wall of their Senate Room.

However, it must be said that what Fry here offers us is not a joint biography of the first and second Viscounts Melville. His book is both more and less than that. It is a study of the two men in the context of the Scotland of their day and of the political system which they between them created and used to effect a vitally important synthesis between Scottish and British identity, and to give Scotsmen a disproportionately important role in the development of the British overseas empire. A shade perversely, though dramatically, Fry at the end denounces his own title as misleading. As befits a good Tory journalist, of a somewhat Thatcherite persuasion, he is out to revise the predominantly hostile view of his two heroes which has hitherto tended to dominate modern historiography. Five years of prodigious industry in the vast and scattered manuscript sources and in the secondary literature gives him every right to command our serious attention.

There is also a not too obtrusive subtext which depicts Henry Dundas as an exponent of free-market economics. That rings less true. As a consumer, he was for freer trade when it suited him, but nobody believed more strongly than he in the welfare state, in the sense that from the cradle to the grave he was the beneficiary of state pensions and salaries. After the death of his father, Robert Dundas of Arniston, lord president of the Court of Session, the family was endowed with a trust fund and later with a top-up in the form of an annual pension to each of the children. Later in life, Henry Dundas was able to slot his heir Robert into the House of Commons and to start him on a not dishonorable political career, despite the boy's distinct lack of visible early merit. Pensions from the state or the East India Company were vital to keep Henry just floating in his latter years on his usual sea of financial fecklessness.

This book is extremely ambitious in scope in an entirely admirable way, for it sees politics as a reflection of a changing society and seeks to show the interactions of church, state, law, politics, imperialism, and economic growth. The resulting text is dense, and honesty compels one to say that, though always interesting, it is not an easy read. Fry's central contention is convincing: that his mildly alcoholic, totally workaholic hero Henry Dundas had a real sense of Scottish patriotism and used his mastery of patronage to roll back some of the frontiers of English control of a Scotland whose still vigorous ancient institutions gave it semi-independent status within the Union.

Dundas was a predictably enthusiastic champion of the Act of Union with Ireland in 1800, and also a vocal advocate of immediate Catholic emancipation as its logical corollary. He never seems to have grasped the difficulty of passing such a measure through an overwhelmingly Anglican Parliament, and especially its most important component - George III. Fry is less sure-footed over, though not uninterested in, Henry's role in Indian

developments. It is significant that the only book by Martin Ingram listed in the extensive bibliography is perhaps his least important one: *Two Views of British India*. There is therefore a sense in which some of the most important arguments about the role of Henry Dundas in making the prime aim of policy the recreation of a truly Great Power United Kingdom by expansion in India, as well as by uniting the British Isles, are not adequately discussed. His colleague Lord Grenville thought this a lamentable priority, much preferring to regard the crushing of the French Revolution as the central task of British Government. There are significant omissions at the other end of the scale. For example, the removal of a tax on the coastal shipment of coal in Scotland in the fraught early stages of the war with Revolutionary France is not something which features in the index or text, yet it was in Scottish terms significant. Dundas saw it as a way of damping down discontent; the Scottish burghs, however, saw it as a major achievement, which is why they bombarded Dundas with honorary burgh tickets, often in superb silver presentation cases, one of which was recently purchased for no small sum by the National Museums of Scotland.

That David Brown of the Scottish Record Office recently completed a Ph.D. thesis on Henry Dundas might seem unfortunate timing, but there is still room for a modern "straight" biography of the man. Fry's book is *sui generis*, not least in its frank conclusion that Scotland's semi-independence has become in this century mere dependence. It is no criticism to point out specific areas not covered: this book is long enough already. It is both a learned revision, partially successful, of Scotland's past and an implicit and explicit contribution to the intense contemporary debate on its future. One must be grateful for both aspects.

Bruce P. Lenman, University of St. Andrews

Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake 1740-1800*. Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1992. Pp. viii + 231.

The chiefs of Scottish clans are, like the Scottish race generally, scattered over the world, sometimes in exotic locations. A few years ago the members of Clan Robertson, whose territory lies on the borders of Perthshire and Inverness-shire, were gratified to hear that their chief was coming to visit them all the way from Jamaica. What they did not know until he arrived was that Struan, to give him his proper and feudal title, would turn out to be a black man, or at least clearly of mixed blood. It was an interesting surprise, and a reminder of the Scots' talent for adapting themselves to alien surroundings. That is doubtless the main reason that they have seldom, except for the purpose of sentimental conviviality, formed an ethnic interest in the lands of their exile, as their Celtic cousins of Irish origin so readily do. Jamaica is a case in point. Visitors to the island can discover plantation houses remarkably reminiscent of the baronial castles or classical mansions that dot Scotland, often bearing a name that evokes some spot in the old country. But of the people who once dwelt there no trace remains.

Alan Karras's book tells us why. He deserves our gratitude for going so thoroughly into a subject that has rarely attracted Scottish scholars, and with such fascinating results. He not only deals with the Scots colony that grew up in Jamaica during the eighteenth century, but also compares it to that formed round the Chesapeake at the same time. About this we do know a great deal because it was where the fabled tobacco lords of Glasgow made their money, as well as generating an extensive modern scholarship. There are obvious differences between the two regions, yet a major similarity exists. The economy of both places was based on slavery and geared to the export of semi-tropical products, tobacco in the one case, sugar in the other.

The Scots' presence, none will be shaken to hear, can be almost entirely explained by the chance to make a fortune out of cultivating and distributing these crops, still exotic to much of the Old World and therefore marketable at a fat profit. Beyond that, however, Scots took next to no interest in the welfare of the countries where they were winning a livelihood. The locals' political debates - whether slavery could be defended, whether Americans should rule themselves - left them cold. They did not even seem to share with the English out there much beyond a common citizenship, and certainly evinced little of their southern neighbors' imperialist chauvinism.

Altogether, they were not in the least keen to be where they were. But Scotland, then as now, was too small to offer enough opportunities for all Scots. They had to wander, though most set off in the firm intention of coming back, with a fortune that would enable them to secure and enhance their status at home. In the way of the world, some made no fortune or found one circumstance after another delaying their return until it never happened. But a striking point emerges from their correspondence which, while scattered, has been painstakingly examined and collated by Karras. It is that the bonds of family, locality, social standing and, as seems clear, of nation, too, were so

strong that the Scots could seldom bring themselves to admit that their absence was more than temporary: hence the sojourners of the book's title.

This reminds us about one important aspect of Scotland in the eighteenth century, often lost from sight amid its revolutionary cultural achievement. The Scots of that era had a firm view of their individual station, their place in a great scheme of things. The scheme was moving, and their place in it was improving, but that if anything made them feel the more urgently a need to tend their social roots and strengthen their social bonds. They disliked societies, such as the West Indies, held together by nothing but commercial brutalism, or America, where the people were ready to cast off what they had so far kept of their inheritance, and start anew. Such feelings were intensified in the Scots by their indelible Calvinist conditioning, otherwise called the Presbyterian system of education, as by the closeness and clannishness it fostered.

It often made them unpopular. The revelation of their Jamaican record actually puts them in a kinder light than they seemed to merit at the time, for it does show the private thoughts behind their public face. Their letters demonstrate that they never wanted to come to the island, that they found plantation society distasteful and slavery odious. One can ask, then, why they did not exert themselves to abolish or at least ameliorate it. It may have been Presbyterian hypocrisy, or it may have been the Scots' diffidence in an empire run on English lines, a feeling that it was not their part to change it. What they could do was get out as soon as possible - but only after making their pile.

Among the English, the Scots were often depicted as the lackeys of tyrants. The same notion spread among the Americans as relations with the British government worsened in the 1770s. It scarcely seemed dictated only by economic self-interest, by a sole wish to prevent disruption of the trade in tobacco. They had to endure increasing aggression from the locals, and remained long afterwards bitter about the experience, not to speak of the losses they suffered.

Given their undoubted mercenary motivations, perhaps they could never have been converted to the American cause anyway. But intimidation was certainly not the way to win them over. Rather, it reinforced their sense of forming an ethnic and cultural minority among a large Anglo-American majority, from which only the government in London had the power, or even the wish, to protect them. When the Revolution came, they either got out or enlisted on the loyalist side. This demonstrative fidelity did in the end bring impressive compensation, by conclusively proving that the Scots could be relied on as members of the British Empire. They gained an assured place in it so long as it lasted, and with that a role in the international economy, and even in the global political system, that no other small country has enjoyed.

Michael Fry, Edinburgh

Ian and Kathleen Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape 1500-1800*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991. Pp. xiii + 251.

Either by accident, or more likely by design since it is a volume within a series called "The History of the British Landscape," this work bears close allegiance to the traditions of landscape study advanced by W. G. Hoskins in his hugely influential book, *The Making of the English Landscape*. It is a pity that this historiographical connection is not made more forcibly by the authors, since the parallels and differences between the Scottish and English landscapes are points to which they return on several occasions, notably in reviewing the agricultural economy and society of the Scottish Lowlands.

No doubt because of their background as academic geographers, the Whyte's focus is on the general spatial transformation of the landscape. Full explanation of the processes and causes of landscape change generally receives less attention, as perhaps it should in a work of this nature. About one-half of the book is concerned with the pre-Improvement landscape and countryside, a period Ian Whyte especially has made his own in a range of scholarly books and articles. In turning to "Improvement" or "post-Improvement" landscapes, we are rightly told that notions of agricultural revolution are now better replaced by evolutionary paradigms of rural socio-economic change. No single moment or period marks the beginning of the "modern" Scottish landscape, since both the patterns and processes of transformation had different geographical expression. This is an obvious but important point, and it does bear crucially upon this work. What we are given is, as the title suggests, a story of geographical change within a nation as a story of *the* Scottish landscape. But it is clear that there were many Scottish landscapes, not just in the sense of differing regional and local geographies and their causes, but also in the social attachment to those

landscapes. What for some was a landscape of Improvement was for others a landscape of social disruption, as old ways gave way to new modes of production. Urban growth and the expansion of rurally located proto-industrialization are closely linked to changes in the Scottish countryside, particularly in the Lowlands. But of the voices of the people involved, of the opposition to new agricultural systems, of the ballads of the farm towns and, broadly, of the cultures of rural Scotland in this period, the book is wholly silent. Landscape change is irredeemably progressive and not shown as a contested enterprise at all.

Within its own terms as a survey of the changes in the Scottish landscape over three centuries, this book is generally successful. It is well illustrated, written with economy of style, and covers a lot of ground. One wonders, however, just who the audience for a book of this type can be. There are no footnotes or other references to contextual material other than a short note on further reading, and to academic workers in the field, much of what is said here will be familiar territory. It is clear from the prefatory sections that the book is intended to stimulate individual explorations, and the map references throughout locate sites of importance, just as the need for maps is stated as an aid to discovery. Yet a 250-page hardback text is not the sort of guide one might take in a rucksack on a day's walking.

As a general guide to the reader unfamiliar with the reasons why the Scottish rural landscape looks as it does, and to what relics of previous social formations the current countryside contains, this book will be both informative in its own right and a possible *entree* into a more detailed literature. It will not be seen as a major contribution to the academic literature. In a way, perhaps, an opportunity has been lost in not departing from established traditions of landscape inquiry and taking a view of Scottish landscape as layered cultural productions in which certain institutions have more power than others in shaping those forms and functions within the countryside with which the Whytes are here so concerned.

Charles W. J. Withers, Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education

Architectural Heritage 1: William Adam. Ed. Deborah Howard. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. 124.

Architectural Heritage is the journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, and acts as its academic arm (its other arm, more frequently exercised, is used to fight for the preservation of endangered historic buildings in Scotland). The journal has existed in a variety of formats, and the AHSS were particularly fortunate to form a partnership with Edinburgh University Press, who now produce *Architectural Heritage* in a very attractive form and with typically high typographical standards.

The volume under review is dedicated to the architect William Adam (1689-1748). Adam's tercentenary was marked in 1989 by a large exhibition in Edinburgh, and by the publication of a biography. The essays in this volume were first presented at the conference held by the AHSS as its contribution to the festivities.

Known mostly as father of the talented late eighteenth-century Adam brothers - especially Robert - William Adam was one of a trio of very distinguished Scottish architects of the earlier period. But he was unlike James Gibbs, who studied in Rome and practiced in London, and whose style and *Book of Architecture* were so attractive to the American colonists, or Colen Campbell, whose polemical role in establishing the primacy of High Renaissance ideals - particularly Palladian ones - and whose excellent fortune in having both prime minister Robert Walpole and Lord Burlington as clients enabled him to enjoy fame in his lifetime and honor since. Adam, by contrast, is little known outside Scotland, and insufficiently appreciated there. Therefore his work has presented architectural historians with problems of interpretation. This is largely because Adam, no less talented perhaps, chose to stay in Scotland to practice. There he was very busy, became rich, and mixed with ease with the socially well placed of his time. Indeed, there was talk in the late 1720s of his being given a viscounty. When noticed, his reputation has been either as an architect "thorough, sound and traditional" (not terms of praise from an architectural historian) or somewhat more perceptively but no less damning as "freely translating Palladio into broad Lallans," and exhibiting "a quaintly barbaric richness."

Despite the celebrations of his tercentenary, many problems remain to impede a proper understanding of Adam and his architecture, and these problems are reflected in the papers under review. The most easily accessible to scholars of eighteenth century Scotland as a whole is W.R.M. Kay's account of Adam as business man, or in the terms of his time, as a "projector." Adam's activities included barley mills - the new model of which he had

introduced from Holland, and which appear to have made him master of that trade in Edinburgh. More predictably, perhaps, were his interests in brick manufacture, timber milling, marble working, and contracting to build roads. Coal mining and salt extraction were also lucrative interests. Adam made his fortune from these activities and could therefore accept very modest fees for his practice of architecture. He is a transitional figure between the gentleman architect such as Pratt or Adam's own master, Sir William Bruce, and the more recognizable professionals of the nineteenth century.

Two other papers in this collection require special notice. Terry Friedman's "Mr. Inigo Pilaster and Sir Christopher Cupolo" treats the subject of taste in architecture by reference to the fashionable papers of the day such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* or the *Grub Street Journal*, and the more popular and accessible writing, for example Batty Langley. Clearly, architectural terms had become fashionable accessories, but whether they carried any very precise meaning, even to the practitioners, is doubtful. Palladio's name was often used, but what was to be meant by Palladian was still being worked out.

Ian Gow's "A Planner of Genius" is about the arrangement and uses of rooms - especially the Rooms of State in Adam's great houses. The problem of planning eighteenth-century houses is essentially this: the ideals of classical architecture call for symmetry, and this is most powerfully presented by flanking the two great reception rooms - the Hall and the Saloon - by identical suites of lesser rooms. This works very well when one suite can be dedicated to the monarch, and the other, slightly less favorable, to the owner. The eighteenth century brought this pattern into general use. Adam, and Adam's clients, stuck to the more sensible notion of a single apartment hierarchally arranged from entrance through to the owner's private rooms. Fitting these functional arrangements into a symmetrical block with Hall and Saloon in line was indeed a tricky performance. But his skill in reconciling these opportunities further distances Adam from his metropolitan counterparts and has laid him open to the charge of being provincial, which Gow thinks quite unfair.

The collection includes essays on Adam as a "Practical Architect," and on living in an Adam house (by the descendant of the builder of one of his most extraordinary plan arrangements). There are accounts of Adam's library, and of his seal, plus miscellaneous reviews and appreciations. With one significant exception, all contributions are good natured, and though the reliance on scholarly apparatus varies, the standard of editing is very high.

W. A. Brogden, The Robert Gordon University

Greg Clingham, *James Boswell: The Life of Johnson*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Landmarks of World Literature Series, 1992. Pp. xviii + 131.

This study is much more than an introduction to Boswell's landmark biography. It speaks primarily to readers familiar with the *Life of Johnson*. To get the most from it, therefore, a fair knowledge of Johnson's primary works (especially *Rasselas*, the *Lives of the Poets*, and the *Rambler*) and of Boswell's other writings (*Corsica*, the *Tour of the Hebrides*, and the journals) would be helpful. The determined layman or keen undergraduate would not come away empty-handed (or headed). On the contrary, there is a lot to digest. The grist in Clingham's critical mill is provocatively wholesome. In a way, perhaps, he writes more in the manner of Johnson than Boswell: he is more often instructive and dogmatic than entertaining and familiar.

Although only 127 pages, the book contains a complex and often original account of Boswell the man and Boswell writer. These two dimensions are intrinsically related in Clingham's psychological (and psycho-sexual) approach and therefore central to his understanding of the "making" of the *Life*.

Clingham successfully integrates and readily acknowledges the best secondary sources on Boswell and Johnson. He puts his account in the context of the ongoing debate between Johnsonians and Boswellians (and among Boswellians themselves) about the authenticity of Boswell's picture of Johnson in the *Life*. He himself comes down nearer to the Johnsonians: "Boswell's inescapable effort and conscientiousness to incarnate the image of Johnson he imagined . . . sometimes left him caught with the confines of his own self, unable . . . either to comprehend or to imagine the general nature of Johnson's writing and character" (p. 9). No hero-worship here.

The core of Clingham's analysis is found in chapters 3, 4, and 5. These follow concise ground-laying chapters on Boswell's reputation as a biographer and his "art," or artifice, in the *Life*. He analyzes the relationship between the *London Journal* and the *Life* and concludes: "The *London Journal* . . . documents how difficult it was for Boswell to let go of Johnson, and the *Life* how difficult it was to hold on to him" (p. 21). Central to the discussion is Boswell's

relationships with his father and with Johnson (an idealized father figure). Johnson, unlike Lord Auchinleck, accepts Boswell as an individual. However, these dynamic relationships, as manifested in Boswell's artistic development, cannot be fully understood without considering the *Tour to the Hebrides*. Clingham's summary of parallel psychological and literary processes is thoughtful: "While Boswell's father is acknowledged and released in the *Tour*, Boswell's surrogate father - the antithesis of the real father in terms of principles and temperament - is thoroughly internalised in the *Life*" (p. 39).

No study of Boswell would be complete without sex. A section entitled "Boswell's sexuality and the [bodily] representation of Johnson" is like a miniskirt - long enough to cover the topic but short enough to attract attention. Clingham also touches upon the themes of money and death in relation to sex in an engaging, if speculative manner. Later in the book he generalizes about Boswell's sexuality in the context of the famous scene in the *Life* between Johnson and Wilkes: "The unacknowledged, artistically sublimated propensity to control events, and the image of Johnson, is rooted in Boswell's psyche and sexuality . . . His own gratification is uppermost because his own idea of Johnson is so important to him" (p. 75).

Close readings of important passages in the *Life* as they relate to Boswell's biographical process and psychological ("self-reflexive") makeup are where Clingham is at his best. He also makes valuable, if contentious, remarks about Boswell as a critic of Johnson's writings: "Boswell is unable to feel and to articulate the connection between Johnson's writing and his character, and therefore some essential part of Johnson's thought, of his soul . . . is silently excluded from Boswell's portrait of Johnson's mind and character" (p. 94). Clingham then considers why in fact Johnson is a "great writer."

On the back cover the general editor informs (or warns) the reader that full consideration is given "to the linguistic issues raised by each text," but reassuringly adds that "critical jargon is avoided." A certain amount of technical language may be necessary to reinforce Clingham's psychological analysis. But it would be best to have a dictionary of literary terms nearby for a reader who is unfamiliar or uncomfortable with phrases and figures of speech like "metonymic paradigms" (p. 10), "independent otherness" (p. 27), "experiential imperatives" (p. 52), "voyeuristic self-empowerment" (p. 75), "the aporia of language" (p. 78), "cultural praxis" (p. 92 and 98), "experiential substantiality" (p. 94), and "spirit sublimated by transcendence" (p. 97). Admittedly, such examples should be seen in context, but even so, they are often unnecessarily challenging.

Another criticism: parenthetical references to later discussions and, as the study progresses, to earlier ones hinder rather than help to digest Clingham's ideas. Is the reader meant continually to jump forward and backward? These interruptions undermine the sound organization and logical flow of Clingham's arguments. Moreover (although a minor point), the form of these references is inconsistent (see, for example, pages 8 and 9).

Reading Clingham compels us to reread the *Life*, if only to balance the weight of his psychological analysis and understand, as far as is possible, the extent to which his and, indeed, our own psychologies are projecting themselves onto texts and their creators.

William Zachs, *Boswell Papers* - Yale University

Philip Flynn, ed. *Enlightened Scotland: A Study and Selection of Scottish Philosophical Prose from the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1992. Pp. xxii + 356.

Sensing an urgent need for students to have access to scholarly editions of major texts from Enlightenment Scottish philosophy, Philip Flynn has organized this collection of selections of philosophical writings. He provides a general introduction to the period, broadly explaining the great philosophical achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment. The book is then divided into four sections of readings, each with its own introduction: On the Mind; On Morals; On Creativity and Aesthetic Taste; and On Society.

To my knowledge, this is the only available volume devoted exclusively to the philosophical prose of the Scottish Enlightenment, and that alone makes this an important book. Flynn's general introduction and his section introductions are solid, un-nuanced surveys of the intellectual, political, religious, and economic climate; students new to Scottish Enlightenment studies will find these introductions valuable resources for their further pursuits. Flynn helpfully provides a list of works of the authors included in the volume and a general bibliography as well.

The excerpts in this volume are from the pens of those who were either professors or intellectual heirs of those who taught the courses in moral philosophy at the Scottish universities. And this is a fairly diverse group of

individuals. For example, in *On the Mind* there are excerpts from David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, Thomas Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind* and *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, the Dugald Stewart-Francis Jeffrey debate of 1802-10, and Sir William Hamilton's writings on perception c. 1830. Selections from Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, and Reid appear in *On Morals*, and in *On Creativity and Aesthetic Taste* we find again Hutcheson and Hume along with Lord Kames, William Duff, and Archibald Alison. *On Society* includes Adam Ferguson, John Millar, Adam Smith, and William Robertson.

Although readers are appropriately informed of the teleological and, hence, theological character of the thought of most of the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, they may be surprised to find no section on religion and so few of the excerpts dealing explicitly with religion. In this respect, the actual readings may be at cross-purposes with Flynn's introductions, in which he draws attention to the religious character of the Scottish Enlightenment. And scholars will find certain omissions unjustified. For example, I remain puzzled that William Duff, and not Alexander Gerard, appears in the section on taste. One is glad, at any rate, to have some Aberdeen philosophical reflection included.

The particular editions of works excerpted in the collection sometimes mystify, e.g., why the first edition of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* rather than the sixth? And the volume would have been improved by offering the reader more from the early part of the eighteenth century and less from the nineteenth century. I think, especially given how little motivation the introductions seem to provide for the inclusion of nineteenth-century philosophy. Furthermore, although the volume is nicely bound, the hardcover format may restrict student access, and the quality of the print is rather poor and unpleasant to read.

Still, Flynn and the Scottish Academic Press are owed the gratitude of all of us who seek a general introduction to, and collection of, Scottish Enlightenment philosophy.

Thomas D. Kennedy, Valparaiso University

Briefly Noted

Francis Hutcheson: *A Supplement to Fortnight*. Ed. Damian Smyth. [Belfast, 1992]. Available from: Business Manager, *Fortnight*, 7 Lower Crescent, Belfast BT7 1NR. Pp. 23.

This slickly produced, large format supplement to issue no. 308 of *Fortnight* will be of interest to anyone wishing to learn more about Hutcheson's role in the Scottish and Irish Enlightenments. Don't be fooled by the format or size - if you have any interest in Hutcheson, you will want to own a copy, especially at the price of just one pound. Note the titles of the articles by Moore, Norton, Raphael, and Stewart in the list of recent articles below.

Andrew G. Fraser, *The Building of Old College: Adam, Playfair & the University of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. xvi + 384.

Somehow this magnificently illustrated and produced volume escaped ECS's notice at the time of publication, but anyone interested in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century transformation of the university, and to some extent city, of Edinburgh will want to consult it. Available in both paperback and hardback formats.

Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland 1560-1707*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, paperback ed. 1992 (orig. 1981); distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. x + 406.

The new paperback edition of this stimulating attempt to validate Max Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis in the context of seventeenth-century Scotland is most welcome. Highly recommended.

David Dobson, *Scottish-American Wills, 1650-1900* (1991); *Scottish-American Court Records, 1733-1783* (1991) *Scottish-American Heirs, 1683-1883* (1990, 1992). Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.

More resource volumes for researchers investigating aspects of Scottish-American connections in the eighteenth century.

Recent Articles and Theses 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 articles and major review articles that (1) deal with eighteenth-century Scottish topics and (2) were published in 1992, except for items published in 1990 or 1991 that were not included in last year's list. Recent doctoral theses are also included in this year's list.

Christopher J. Berry, "Adam Smith and the Virtues of Commerce," in *Virtue* (Nomos 34), ed. J. Chapman and W. Golston (New York, 1992).

Deborah Brunton, "Smallpox Inoculation and Demographic Trends in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Medical History* 36 (1992): 403-29.

Deborah Brunton, "Pox Britannica: Smallpox Inoculation in Britain, 1721-1830" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1990).

John W. Cairns, "John Spotswood, Professor of Law: A Preliminary Sketch," *Stair Society Miscellany Three*, ed. W. M. Gordon (Edinburgh, 1992 [1993]), 131-59.

John W. Cairns, "The Influence of Smith's Jurisprudence on Legal Education in Scotland," in *Adam Smith Reviewed*, ed. Peter Jones and Andrew S. Skinner (Edinburgh, 1992), 168-89.

John W. Cairns, "History of the Faculty of Advocates to 1900," in *The Laws of Scotland: Stair Memorial Encyclopedia*, vol. 13 (Edinburgh, 1992), 499-536.

Henry C. Clark, "Conversation and Moderate Virtue in Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*," *Review of Politics* 54 (1992): 185-210.

Greg Clingham, "Johnson's *Prayers and Meditations* and the 'Stolen Diary Problem': Reflections on a Biographical Quiddity," *The Age of Johnson* 4, ed. P. J. Korshin (New York, 1992), 83-95.

C. P. Courtney, "An Eighteenth-Century Education: Benjamin Constant at Erlangen and Edinburgh (1782-1785)," in *Rousseau & the Eighteenth Century: Essays in Memory of R. A. Leigh*, ed. Marian Hobson et al. (Oxford, 1992), 295-324.

A. J. Durie, "Market Forces as Government Intervention: The Spectacular Growth of the Linen Industry in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Scotia* 15 (1991): 1-12.

Roger L. Emerson, "Calvinism and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *Literatur im Kontext - Literature in Context: Festschrift für Horst W. Drescher*, ed. Joachim Schwend et al. (Frankfurt, 1992), 19-28.

Roger L. Emerson, "Henry Home, Lord Kames," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 104 (Detroit and London, 1991), 217-25.

Mark Goldie, "Common Sense Philosophy and Catholic Theology in the Scottish Enlightenment," *Studies on Voltaire & the Eighteenth Century* 302 (1992): 281-320.

Knud Haakonssen, "Vom Naturrecht zu den Menschenrechten," *Studia Philosophica* 51 (1992): 203-20.

Gary Hatch, "Appropriations from Adam Smith in Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*" (Ph.D. thesis, Arizona State University, 1992).

Brian Hillyard and David Fate Norton, "The David Hume Bookplate: A Cautionary Note," *The Book Collector* 40 (1991): 539-45.

A. M. Kinghorn, "Watson's Choice, Ramsay's Voice and a Flash of Fergusson," *Scottish Literary Journal* 19 (1992): 5-23.

A. M. Kinghorn, "William Walker and The Bards of Bon-Accord," in *Selected Essays on Scottish Language and Literature*, ed. Steven R. McKenna (1992), 211-39.

Heiner F. Klemme, "Anmerkungen zur schottischen Aufklärung (in Aberdeen). Neue Briefe von Baxter, Beattie, Fordyce, Reid und Stewart," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 74 (1992): 247-71. [contains full transcriptions of the following letters: Andrew Baxter to William Warburton, 16 May 1740; David Fordyce to Robert Dodsley, 29 Aug. 1747; James Beattie to William Strahan, 23 Feb. 1783; Thomas Reid to John Bell, 27 June 1785; Dugald Stewart to Andrew Strahan, 15 Dec. 1796; to William Davies, 5 April 1811; to William Davies, 16 Nov. 1812]

Heiner F. Klemme, "Neuere Bücher zum Werk David Humes," *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 47/1 (1993): 118-31.

Eugenio Lecaldano, "Hume e le teorie psicologiche dell'identità personale," in *Individui e istituzioni*, ed. A. E. Galeotti (Torino, 1992), 107-38.

- Eugenio Lecaldano, "Paradigmi di analisi della filosofia morale nell'illuminismo scozzese." in *Passioni, intelessi, convenzioni: Discussioni sette centesche su virtù e civiltà*, ed. M. Geuna and M. L. Pesante (Milano, 1992), 13-40.
- Bruce P. Lenman, "The Poverty of Political Theory in the Scottish Revolution of 1688-90," in *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. Lois G. Schworer (Cambridge, 1992), 244-59.
- Bruce P. Lenman, "'Garrison Government'?: Governor Alexander Spotswood and Empire," in *The Scottish Soldier Abroad 1247-1967*, ed. Grant G. Simpson (Edinburgh, 1992), 67-80.
- William C. Lowe, "George III, Peerage Creations and Politics, 1760-1784." *Historical Journal* 35 (1992): 587-609. [partly on eighth duke of Hamilton]
- Irma S. Lustig, "On the Making of *Boswell's London Journal* and *Boswell for the Defence*," *Eighteenth Century Life* 16 (1992): 137-39 (film criticism).
- Marie A. Martin, "Hutcheson and Hume on Explaining the Nature of Morality: Why It Is Mistaken to Suppose Hume Ever Raised the 'Is-Ought' Question," *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 8 (1991): 277-89.
- Marie A. Martin, "Misunderstanding and Understanding Hume's Moral Philosophy: An Essay on *Hume's Place in Moral Philosophy* by Nicholas Capaldi," *Interpretation* 19 (1991-92): 169-83.
- Alan T. McKenzie, "Robert Fergusson," *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 109
- Carol McGuirk, "James Currie and the Making of the Burns Myth," in *Selected Essays on Scottish Language and Literature: A Festschrift in Honor of Allan H. MacLaine* (1992)
- Carol McGuirk, "The Politics of the Collected Burns," *Gairfish* 2 (1991): 21-36.
- Carol McGuirk, "Burns, Bakhtin, and the Opposition of Poetic and Novelistic Discourse: A Response to David Morris," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 32 (1991): 58-72.
- Christopher Maclachlan, "The Year's Work in Scottish Literary and Linguistic Studies: 1988," sect. 2: 1650-1800, *Scottish Literary Journal - Supplement* (1992), 5-11.
- James Moore, "The Moralists and the Metaphysician," in *FH*, 12-14.
- Mark A. Noll, "Contexts: Comparative Evangelical History," *Evangelical Studies Bulletin* 9 (1992): 5-9
- David Fate Norton, "Salus Populi Suprema Lex," in *FH*, 14-17.
- Karen O'Brien, "Johnson's View of the Scottish Enlightenment in *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*," in *The Age of Johnson* 4, ed. P. J. Korshin (New York, 1992), 59-82.
- Fania Oz-Salzberger, "Scottish Political Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Germany: The Case of Adam Ferguson" (D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1991).
- Murray G. H. Pittock, "The Making of the Jacobite Relics," *Studies in Hogg and His World* 3 (1992): 10-17.
- D. D. Raphael, "Adam Smith 1790: The Man Recalled: the Philosopher Revived," in *Adam Smith Reviewed*, ed. Peter Jones and Andrew S. Skinner (Edinburgh, 1992), 93-118.
- D. D. Raphael, "A New Light," in *FH*, 2-3.
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