

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

Number 8 Spring 1994

The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

Ottawa Conference a Smash!

The July 1993 joint conference with the Hume Society, on "Hume in His Social Setting," was a great success, thanks largely to the labors of co-directors Roger Emerson and David Raynor, a generous grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the gracious hospitality of the University of Ottawa.

Like our 1992 joint conference in Philadelphia with East Central ASECS, the Ottawa conference was an exercise in successful collaboration, resulting in a unique event for both societies. In this case, the orientation of the conference was more philosophical than at previous ECSSS meetings, and more social and historical than at previous Hume Society gatherings. Many new contacts were made among members of the two societies, and the exchange of ideas was beneficial to all concerned. The only thing against us was the weather, which was so hot and humid that even a river cruise failed to produce much fresh air. (So much for the credibility of this newsletter, which last spring pitched the Ottawa conference as an opportunity for many members to escape to the cool, dry weather of Canada!)

In such a full conference, it's always difficult to pick out highlights, but among them, surely, were the six plenary sessions: Ian S. Ross, "Hume's Language of Scepticism"; Janet Broughton, "Scepticism and Naturalism in Book I of the *Treatise*"; James Moore (at the magnificent National Gallery of Canada), "Hutcheson, Hume and Mr. William Smith"; Alan Charles Kors, "The French Context of Hume's Philosophical Theology"; David Spadafora, "Re-imagining the Enlightenment in Britain"; and a symposium on *Opinion and Reform in Hume's Political Philosophy*, featuring Donald Livingston, Frederick G. Whelan, Douglas Long (whose wit and humor brought down the house), and the book's distinguished author, John B. Stewart, a member of the Senate of Canada.

ECSSS would like to extend particular thanks to the co-directors and to President Wade Robison and Executive Secretary Saul Traiger of the Hume Society for making the Ottawa conference so successful.

See You in Providence

As this issue is being prepared in May, the excitement is building for ECSSS's 1994 conference on "Scotland and the Americas 1600 to 1800," to be held from 8 to 12 June at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. Program Chair Ned Landsman has done a remarkable job of putting together a program that offers a fresh look at the topic, and Norman Fiering, Director of the JCBL, has gone out of his way to make certain that this will be a conference to be remembered.

In addition to thirty-five papers in twelve regular sessions, the conference will feature two plenary lectures on the theme of Scottish identity crises in North America—Bruce Lenman of the University of St. Andrews on Chesapeake merchants and J. M. Bumsted of the University of Manitoba on Scots in Canada; a conference banquet with a special lecture by Norman Grabo of the University of Tulsa on Dr. Alexander Hamilton's Tuesday Club in Maryland; a half-day and evening trip to Newport; a showing of the film classic "Culloden"; a malt whisky tasting arranged by our own Michael Fry; and a luncheon concert presentation by David Ingle on "Scottish Songs and Ballads on Historical and Social Themes." Meanwhile, a major exhibit on the conference topic will be presented by the JCBL, which boasts one of the world's finest collections of Scottish Americana. And there's to be no leaving early, because just before the closing lunch on Sunday 12 June Ned Landsman will deliver a conference summary talk that will attempt to tie together many of the main themes of the conference.

At the ECSSS Business Meeting scheduled for 9 June at 4:45 PM, the Society will elect a new President, Vice-President, and two Members-at-Large for two-year terms. We can only hope that the choices are made as wisely as they were at our 1992 conference in Philadelphia, which gave us the outstanding outgoing administration of John Robertson, President; Deidre Dawson, Vice-President; and Kathleen Holcomb and Paul Wood, Members-at-Large.

Jacobites in Aberdeen: Call for Papers

All members should have received with the annual membership renewal mailing a Call for Papers for our conference on "Jacobitism, Scotland and the Enlightenment," to be held at the University of Aberdeen, 29 July - 3 August 1995. As noted there, this conference will mark both the 250th anniversary of the Forty-Five and the quinqucentenary of King's College, Aberdeen. It will also mark the retirement of the Conference Co-Director, Joan Pittock, Director of the Centre for Cultural History at the University of Aberdeen, who has assembled a distinguished group of individuals in Aberdeen to organize the conference along with Co-Director Michael Fry. The conference will feature special musical entertainment, a walking tour of Old Aberdeen, an excursion to a number of outstanding castles and Jacobite houses in the Northeast, and much more. Although the conference is still over a year away, more than two dozen proposals have already been received. We expect this to be a major event in the history of Jacobite and Enlightenment studies.

Proposals for papers of 20-25 minutes will be welcomed on any topic relating to Jacobitism and the Scottish Enlightenment, whether literary, historical, musical, philosophical, religious, economic, political, military, or cultural. Proposals should include a title, 300-word abstract, and abbreviated (one-page) c.v., mailed or faxed to Joan Pittock, Director—Centre for Cultural History, University of Aberdeen, Humanity Manse, Old Aberdeen, UK; fax: 0224-272515; or Michael Fry, c/o Richard Sher, Executive Secretary—ECSSS, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark, NJ 07102 USA; fax: 201-565-0586. The official deadline for proposals is 1 October 1994, but since this conference is filling up very quickly we urge those interested in presenting papers to submit their proposals as soon as possible.

10th Anniversary Conference in France

It may be hard to believe, but ECSSS will be celebrating its tenth anniversary in 1996, and what better way to do so than by holding our conference in France? For some years now Pierre Morère and his colleagues have maintained an active Scottish studies group at Université Stendhal in Grenoble, with major conferences and several published volumes of conference papers. The first volume of a new series, called *Études Écos-saises*, appeared last year and included papers by several ECSSS members. Participation in one of the Grenoble conferences by our current vice-president, Deidre Dawson of the French Department at Georgetown University, cemented the relationship between our organizations. Now we are fixing the details for a major collaborative conference under Pierre's capable direction, with Deidre as the conference coordinator for ECSSS.

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The topic of the conference will be "Scotland and France in the Enlightenment." This rich subject has received remarkably little scholarly attention, and we are hopeful that the conference will stimulate further research by uncovering new connections and opening up new opportunities for study. Naturally, there will be much interest in the exchange of ideas and personal relationships among French philosophes and Scottish literati. But we hope the conference will also provoke new insights into economic, religious, political, and other kinds of ties between the two poles of "the auld alliance."

The time of the conference has been set for the first week of July 1996. Though the conference site has not yet been fixed, it will be either Grenoble or Paris. Either way, this is going to be a very special event. A Call for Papers will accompany next year's membership renewal mailing. Watch for it!

ECSSS Studies in 18th-Century Scotland

The Society's publication series continues to produce interesting and informative volumes of articles by our members, often drawn from our increasingly thematic conferences. The latest news concerns volumes 4 and 5, which will be published in 1994 and 1995, respectively.

The Glasgow Enlightenment

After much delay, *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, edited by Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, will be published by Canongate Academic of Edinburgh in late summer or early autumn of this year. This volume grew out of our "Glasgow and the Enlightenment" conference at the University of Strathclyde in summer 1990. It has since gone through many changes and will appear in considerably stronger form as a result. Among other things, the book will include illustrations made possible by a publication subsidy from the University of Glasgow.

The Glasgow Enlightenment consists of twelve essays, plus an essay-length introduction by the editors on "Glasgow and the Enlightenment." The majority of the contributions deal with academic culture, including Roger L. Emerson on the Glasgow professoriate, Thomas P. Miller on Francis Hutcheson and civic humanism, Thomas D. Kennedy on William Leechman's pulpit eloquence, Ian Simpson Ross on Adam Smith's Glasgow years, Kathleen Holcomb on Thomas Reid's contributions to the Glasgow Literary Society, Paul Wood on John Anderson as a man of science, and John W. Cairns on Glasgow legal education during the era of John Millar. The remainder of the essays probe aspects of the Glasgow Enlightenment that lie outside the university. Gordon Turnbull provides the transition with a chapter on the significance of James Boswell's brief Glasgow experience, especially as a student of Adam Smith. H. L. Fulton looks at the career of the

Glasgow medical man turned London novelist and European traveler, Dr. John Moore. Richard B. Sher investigates images of Glasgow in the popular poetry of John Mayne and Robert Galloway. And Ned C. Landsman and Robert Kent Donovan study eighteenth-century Glasgow's dynamic religious culture and its relationship with the Enlightenment, focusing respectively on contested clerical calls and the controversial minister of Govan during the age of the American Revolution, Rev. William Thom.

The publisher of *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, Canongate Academic, is a newcomer to the Scottish publishing scene. Its director, however, is an old friend to Scottish studies: John Tuckwell, who was responsible for building up John Donald during its heyday as a publisher of scholarship on Scottish history and culture. Working out of an East Lothian mill house in a place with the enticing name of "Phantassie," Tuckwell intends to establish a strong list in Scottish studies in a relatively short period of time. In so doing, he will be attempting to fill the vacuum created by the demise of Aberdeen University Press and the withdrawal of Edinburgh University Press from publication of multi-authored volumes.

As usual, *The Glasgow Enlightenment* will be made available to members of this society at a special price, to be announced at a later date.

Boswell, Citizen of the World, Man of Letters

ECSSS is pleased to announce that *Boswell, Citizen of the World, Man of Letters*, edited by Irma S. Lustig, has been accepted for publication by the University Press of Kentucky as volume 5 in our series *Studies in 18th-Century Scotland*. This is an exceptionally strong collection of Boswell essays, put together by one of the world's foremost Boswell scholars. The contributors include many leading Boswellians, among them five editors past or present of volumes in the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell.

"The book has a dual focus," Irma Lustig explains. "Part of it deals with the development and expression of a persona of which Boswell himself was particularly proud—the 'citizen of the world.'" The essays in that part of the volume investigate topics such as Boswell's European travels, his political views and activities, his relationships with powerful and eminent Scots such as Lord Kames and Henry Dundas, and his life as an enlightened laird at Auchinleck. Contributors include Marlies K. Danziger, Peter F. Perreten, Richard B. Sher, Michael Fry, Thomas Crawford, and John Strawhorn. "The other part of the book focuses on the *Life of Johnson*, the work that not only established Boswell's reputation as a 'man of letters' but also, ironically, confirmed him indisputably as a 'citizen of the world.'" Carey McIntosh, William P. Yarrow, Isobel Grundy, John B. Radner, and Irma S. Lustig comprise the contributors to the second part of the book. The volume will also contain an Introduction by the editor and an

Appendix containing a new count of Boswell's meetings with Johnson, compiled by Hitoshi Suwabe.

In Irma Lustig's opinion, *Boswell, Citizen of the World, Man of Letters* will be distinguished by its scholarly rigor and its freshness. "All the essays on the *Life of Johnson* are critical," she points out, "and every essay in the volume contributes new information and analysis that will be of great interest to students and scholars of Boswell." Publication of the book will be timed to commemorate the bicentenary of Boswell's death on 19 May 1795. Next year's newsletter will contain more information on this volume, including details about how ECSSS members can purchase copies at a special discount price.

The Scottish Conference Scene

Hume and 18th-Century America. Dorothy Coleman and Wade Robison have issued a Call for Papers for this interdisciplinary conference, to be held 6-8 April 1995 at The College of William and Mary (see enclosed notice).

Hume in Rome and Utah. The Hume Society will hold its 1994 meeting in Rome, 20-24 June, under the joint leadership of ECSSS members Eugenio Lecaldano and David Fate Norton.

The 1995 conference will meet at the University of Utah, 25-29 July, on the theme of "Reason and Sympathy." Those wishing to give thirty-minute presentations at the Utah conference are asked to submit their papers (with self-references deleted and the author's name on the front cover sheet only, for purposes of blind reviewing) by 1 November 1994. Submissions should include an abstract and be sent in triplicate to: Saul Traiger, Executive Secretary—Hume Society, Dept. of Philosophy, Occidental College, Los Angeles CA 90041.

William Robertson in Edinburgh. Last October Professor Stewart J. Brown of New College, University of Edinburgh, organized a major conference on William Robertson's life and thought on the occasion of the bicentenary of Robertson's death in 1793. Among the ECSSS members who participated were Horst Drescher, Bruce Lenman, Karen O'Brien, Nicholas Phillipson, David Raynor, and Jeffrey Smitten. Jeffrey Smitten and Bill Zachs also helped to prepare an impressive exhibit of Robertson's manuscripts and books at the Edinburgh University Library. A volume of papers from the conference is now being prepared.

Francis Hutcheson in Glasgow. On the weekend of 8-11 April 1994, the Scots Philosophical Club held a conference on Hutcheson at the University of Glasgow. Among the speakers were ECSSS members David Fate Norton, Peter Kivy, John D. Bishop, David Raynor, R. G. Frey, and Susan Purviance.

Charles Peterson Honored in Philadelphia. On 11 May 1994 Charles Peterson was honored at historic Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, for his many achieve-

ments as an architect and man of letters. The festivities included an unveiling of a portrait of Peterson and a reception, sponsored by the Carpenters' Company. Among Charles Peterson's many accomplishments was the rehabilitation of the Scottish-born architect and builder Robert Smith, including an annual celebration on his birthday, 14 January. This year was no exception, as the Friends of Robert Smith joined with the Scottish Historic & Research Society of the Delaware Valley and the St. Andrews Society of Philadelphia to mark the occasion in style.

ECSSS at Charleston. At the March 1994 meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Charleston, South Carolina, Leslie Ellen Brown chaired an ECSSS session on "Scotland and Its Southern Connections." Papers were delivered by Sara Burroughs on "Scottish News and English Readers" and Paul deGatigno on "James 'Ossian' Macpherson's Tour of Duty in West Florida." The session was further enriched by a display of Burnsiana and other Scottish materials brought by G. Ross Roy from the collection at the University of South Carolina.

Strathclyde Symposium in Scottish History. On 23 September 1993 the University of Strathclyde launched its new Research Centre in Scottish History with a one-day symposium on the topic "Whither Scottish History?," sponsored by the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The day was divided into five chronological periods, with the eighteenth century covered by Rab Houston, Christopher Whatley, and the Centre's enterprising director, Tom Devine, who promises to keep us informed of future developments.

Provincial Book Trade Seminar at Aberdeen. Iain Beavan of the University of Aberdeen Library has organized a seminar on the provincial book trade, to be held at King's College, Aberdeen, 12-14 July 1994. Although not limited to eighteenth-century Scotland, the seminar will have several talks on aspects of that topic.

Two Interdisciplinary Scottish Journals

Scotlands. Edinburgh University Press has announced the publication of a new interdisciplinary journal of Scottish culture, *Scotlands*. Under the editorship of ECSSS member Christopher MacLachlan of the School of English at St. Andrews University, *Scotlands* will appear twice each year. Its avowed purpose is to include essays from leading scholars in the arts, literature, music, history, and current affairs that will "construct the crucial debate on the state of Scotland today." The first issue of *Scotlands*, published in spring 1994, is devoted to the theme of "Canons in Scottish Culture" and includes essays by Duncan Macmillan on art, Colin Kidd on historiography, and Robert Crawford on Bakhtin and Scotland, plus a new story by Alasdair Gray. The second issue, to be published later this year, focuses on issues of "Gender and Identity." The third issue, due out early in 1995, may be of more

interest to ECSSS members, as its theme is "Scotland and the Colonial Experience." Christopher MacLachlan reports that there may still be space for one or two new articles in that issue, if polished work is submitted to him for consideration by 1 September. Individuals and institutions interested in subscribing to *Scotlands* should contact Edinburgh University Press at 22 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LF, Scotland, UK.

Scotia. *Scotia: Interdisciplinary Journal of Scottish Studies* is an international publication sponsored by Old Dominion University in Virginia. First published in 1977, *Scotia* appears annually and incorporates articles on Scottish history, literature, thought, society and the arts as well as book reviews. Contributions are welcomed, ideally on diskette (WordPerfect 5.1 preferred). Two copies of each manuscript should be sent to: William S. Rodner, Editor-*Scotia*, Dept. of History, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA 23529-0091, USA; fax: 804-683-3241; phone: 804-683-3949. Subscriptions to *Scotia* are US \$10 per issue.

The Smollett Edition

The University of Georgia Press edition of *The Works of Tobias Smollett* is clearly one of the most impressive editorial projects in eighteenth-century studies. Under the skilled guidance of General Editor Jerry C. Beasley, the Edition has now produced four volumes: *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1988), *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1989), *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1990), and most recently *Poems, Plays, and The Briton* (1993), which will be reviewed in the next issue of this newsletter. A fifth volume, Smollett's translation of Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus*, is scheduled for publication in 1995, to be followed by *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*. All the volumes are handsomely printed and reasonably priced, both in hardback and paper.

Considering the high standard of the Smollett Edition, it comes as no surprise to learn that the National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded this project \$115,000 for two years of work on future volumes: *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, Smollett's translation of Lesage's *Adventures of Gil Blas*, a collection of Smollett's *Miscellaneous Writings*, and *The Complete History of England* and its *Continuation*. Unfortunately, an additional \$30,000 in NEH funding, vital for the project, depends on the Edition's ability to raise matching funds (i.e., NEH will provide \$15,000 if the Edition raises the same amount). Jerry Beasley has appealed for our assistance in helping to raise this additional funding. Donations of any size will be welcome in order to support this valuable Edition. Send checks (payable to the University of Delaware) to: Friends of the Smollett Edition, Office of Development, University of Delaware, Newark DE 19716, USA.

The Drambuie Collection

The corporate art collection of the Drambuie Liqueur Company consists of important 18th, 19th, and 20th century Scottish paintings. These include many works of art of Jacobite significance, having obvious links with the brand image (Prince Charles Edward's Liqueur being the motto, with an illustration of a dashing Bonnie Prince Charlie) and story of Drambuie. The greater part of the Jacobite collection is of drinking glasses and is the largest collection in public or private hands. Delicately engraved and replete with symbolism, Jacobite glasses have been the subject of much scholarship, and many of the glasses from the Drambuie Collection will be considered in Dr. Geoffrey Seddon's forthcoming monograph on the subject, *Toasts and Treason*. The collection includes rarities such as the Spottiswoode "Amen" glass and a number of unusual enameled and engraved portrait glasses of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

In addition, the collection includes a number of fine portraits and miniatures of the Stuart Royal Family, Jacobite propaganda medals and a large quantity of prints, maps, and manuscripts of the 1688-1788 period.

Most of the Jacobite collection and a portion of the collection of Scottish paintings will be on display from June 1994 in a mews building in the center of Edinburgh, a stone's throw from the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Interested members of ECSSS will be welcome to visit the collection and can make arrangements by telephoning Robin Nicholson (a member of the Society) or George Neilson at 031 556 1357.

MindLift's Tam O Shanter

MindLift Press of San Francisco has announced the publication of a special hand-styled, illustrated version of Robert Burns's *Tam O Shanter*. In addition to the original text of this classic poem, the book features a faithful adaptation into modern American idiom by David Kosak, the president of MindLift Press and a published poet in his own right. The drawings have been designed to lend the poem some of the intensity with which it was initially greeted in Burns's day. The book itself is printed on an antique gold parchment paper, featuring an individually stamped oil block print cover and calligraphy text in brown ink. The end sheets are handmade.

MindLift's *Tam O Shanter* is 45 pages long. Produced in a limited print run of only a few hundred copies, it will make a welcome addition to the library of anyone who loves Burns. The price of the book is US \$20, including shipping within North America, but MindLift is making it available to ECSSS members at the special price of US \$18.50 (outside North America, add \$5 postage and handling). Send checks (payable to MindLift Press) to: MindLift Press, 1448 Bush St. Suite 2A, San Francisco, CA 94109. Visa or MasterCard will also be accepted.

18th-Century Reprints on Scottish Thought and Culture

Thoemmes Press has announced a new series of reprints: "Scottish Thought and Culture, 1750-1800." Under the general editorship of Richard B. Sher, the series will regularly publish groups of thematically connected titles, most of which have not been reprinted for a century or more. The volumes are handsomely produced and include new, specially commissioned introductions by scholars from a variety of countries and academic disciplines.

The first set of books in the series, to be published late in 1994, is entitled "Conjectural History and Anthropology." It features six seriously neglected books by lesser known figures in the Scottish Enlightenment—books that have until now been inaccessible to most scholars except on microfilm. The titles are: Gilbert Stuart, *A View of Society in Europe, in Its Progress from Rudeness to Refinement* (orig. 1778; 2nd ed., 1792), with Introduction by William Zachs; James Dunbar, *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages* (orig. 1780; 2nd ed., 1781), with Introduction by Christopher J. Berry; John Logan, *Elements of the Philosophy of History* (1781), bound with *A Dissertation on the Governments, Manners, and Spirit of Asia* (1787), with Introduction by Richard B. Sher; Samuel Stanhope Smith, *An Essay on the Causes of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species. To which are added Strictures on Lord Kaims's Discourse on the Original Diversity of Mankind* (1788), bound with David Doig, *Two Letters on the Savage State* (1792), with Introduction by Paul B. Wood; John Adams, *Curious Thoughts on the History of Man; Chiefly Abridged from the Celebrated Works of Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, Dr. Dunbar and the Immortal Montesquieu* (1789), with Introduction by Alice E. Jacoby; and William Alexander, *The History of Women, from the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (orig. 1779; 3rd ed., 1782), with Introduction by Jane Rendall. These titles will be available upon publication at prices ranging from £40 for the Logan to £100 for the two-volume Alexander, but the entire seven-volume set can now be ordered at the special pre-publication price of £300.

The second set of books in the series, on the topic "Contemporary Memoirs," will be published in 1995. Among the titles will be *The Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831*, with Introduction by Horst W. Drescher; *French and Indian Cruelty: Exemplified in the Life . . . of Peter Williamson*, with Introduction by Michael Fry; and Thomas Somerville, *My Own Life and Times, 1741-1814*, with Introduction by Richard B. Sher.

For further information and orders, contact: Thoemmes Press, 85 Park St., Bristol BS1 5PJ, UK.

Members on the Move

Yasua Amoh has received a grant from the Japanese ministry of education to go to Edinburgh for work on his edition of Adam Ferguson's unpublished essays. Last October he published a book in Japanese titled *Ferguson and the Scottish Enlightenment* . . . **Leslie Ellen Brown** has accepted an appointment as Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs at Alma College in Michigan . . . **Daniel Brühlmeier's** pamphlet *Adam Smith* has appeared (in German) in the "Denker der Freiheit" series published by COMDOK Verlagsanstalt . . . **Gerard Carruthers** is now a Research Fellow in Scottish Literature at the University of Aberdeen . . . **Henry Clark** enjoyed a year of research in Lyon, France . . . **Greg Clingham** moved to the English Department at Bucknell University this year . . . **C. P. Courtney's** new biography of Boswell's Continental infatuation, the novelist *Isabelle de Charrière (Belle de Zuylen)*, was published by the Voltaire Foundation in 1993 . . . ECSSS vice-president **Deidre Dawson** has had the unusual distinction of obtaining tenure, promotion, and appointment as Chair of the French Department at Georgetown University in the same year . . . **Paul deGateño**, newly appointed Jefferson-Pilot Professor of English at North Carolina Wesleyan College, recently published *Ivanhoe: The Mask of Chivalry* with G. K. Hall of New York . . . **Ian Duncan** is now Associate Professor of English at Yale University . . . **John Dwyer** has been appointed Assistant to the Vice-President for External Relations at York University in Toronto . . . **Robert Edgar** writes that Marylhurst College in Oregon has begun an aggressive drive to offer new courses in Scottish studies, sponsor Bob's summer tours to Scotland, build a 2000-volume Scottish studies library, and establish by 1997 a Scottish summer studies program in suburban Portland . . . **María Elósegui** is now Professor Titular de Filosofía at the University of Zaragoza in Spain . . . **Jane Bush Fagg** spoke on Rev. Adam Ferguson, father of the famous moralist (who dropped one "s" from his name), at the Scottish Church History Society in Edinburgh . . . **Roger Fehner** gave his advanced students at Adrian College a rigorous seminar on the Scottish Enlightenment in fall 1993 . . . **Henry Fulton** has stepped down as Director of International Programs at Central Michigan University . . . **Knud Haakonssen** co-edited the first volume of the *History of Philosophy Yearbook* . . . last summer **Anne Krauss** did a lecture-recital on "Chopin in Scotland" at Gordonstown in northern Scotland . . . **Helen Lillie** returned to her childhood town of Strathblane on a promotional tour for her new novel, *Home to Strathblane*, and was photographed there in an 18th-century carriage manned by two actors in period dress; she is now working on a sequel that moves from Strathblane and other Scottish sites to New York . . .

Thomas Markus published a new book with Routledge in 1993: *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* . . . **Marie Martin** has received a summer travel grant for research on Francis Hutcheson and the Scottish moral sentiment school . . . this year **Roger Mason** published *Knox: On Rebellion* in the Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought series, and his *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* is due out with Cambridge this summer . . . **Kirsteen McCue** has been appointed Director of the Scottish Music Information Centre in Glasgow . . . **Tom Miller** has been named Director of Composition at the University of Arizona . . . **Christopher Mitchell** is now Director of the Marian & Wade Center at Wheaton College . . . **David Fate Norton** edited the *Cambridge Companion to Hume*, which will be reviewed in next spring's issue . . . **Karen O'Brien** has joined the Department of English at the University of Southampton . . . **Dean Peterson** is now Assistant Professor of Economics at Seattle University . . . **Nicholas Phillipson** co-edited *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1993) . . . **Susan Purviance** is now a tenured Associate Professor of Philosophy at Toledo University . . . among the speakers in the spring 1994 18th-century seminar at the University of Western Ontario were **Nina Reid-Maroney** (on the Enlightenment in the American Presbyterian academies) and **Jeffrey Suderman** (on the thought of George Campbell) . . . in April **Marie-Cécile Révauger** and **David Stevenson** spoke at a conference in Grenoble on Freemasonry . . . founding ECSSS president **Ian Ross** writes that his long-awaited biography of Adam Smith will be published by Oxford University Press next spring . . . **Rev. Kenneth Roxburgh** has been appointed principal of Scottish Baptist College near Edinburgh . . . the prolific **Paul Henderson Scott** reports that his *Daniel Defoe in Edinburgh and Other Papers* will soon be published by Canongate Academic, while his *Walter Scott and Scotland* (1981) has been reprinted in paperback by the Saltire Society . . . **Rick Sher** has received a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1994-95 for his projected book on the Scottish book trade and Enlightenment print culture in 18th-century Britain and America . . . **Ken Simpson** has edited *Burns Now* for Canongate Academic and has written *The Poetry of Robert Burns* for the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, both expected in 1994 . . . **Eric Wehrli** has been teaching history at Indiana University and Purdue University at Fort Wayne in addition to his regular position at the Canterbury School . . . **Howard Weinbrot** spent the 1993-94 academic year as a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, School of Historical Studies, in Princeton . . . **Bill Zachs** is now Senior Academic Editor of the Boswell Editions at Yale University.

Adam Smith's Accusations of Plagiarism Against Hugh Blair

Gary Layne Hatch, Brigham Young University

In his *Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair* (1807), published seven years after Blair's death, John Hill recorded allegations made by Adam Smith and others that Blair had plagiarized portions of his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* from a manuscript set of lectures on rhetoric delivered by Smith. Because Smith ordered this manuscript to be burned just before his death, along with many of his other papers, scholars could not examine the truth of these allegations. Despite the lack of documentary evidence, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century biographers of Smith assumed that the allegations were true. John Rae, in his important *Life of Adam Smith* (1896; rpt., New York, 1967), rejected the view that Blair's lectures are a mere reproduction of Smith's. Although he believed that Blair borrowed extensively from Smith, Rae argued that Blair was not capable of borrowing anything worthwhile. William Robert Scott also addressed the question of Blair's plagiarism in his *Adam Smith as Student and Professor* (Glasgow, 1937). Scott assumed that Blair borrowed extensively from Smith, although he provided no basis for this assumption. Scott believed that Blair's lectures were similar enough to Smith's to enable scholars to use them as a means for speculating about Smith's ideas on rhetoric. However, because of the lack of documentary evidence, the attempts of these early biographers of Smith to measure the extent of Blair's borrowing were highly conjectural and necessarily incomplete.

The prospects for judging the truth of the charges made against Blair improved significantly in 1958, when John M. Lothian discovered a set of student notes for Adam Smith's rhetoric lectures. When the notes were published as *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London, 1963), Lothian predicted in his introduction that his discovery would finally allow scholars to measure the extent of Blair's indebtedness to Smith. The response to Lothian's discovery has been disappointing, however. Although a number of scholars have used the student notes to study Smith's views on rhetoric, the most thorough being Wilbur Samuel Howell in his *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric* (Princeton, 1971), only one attempt has been made to compare the notes to Blair's lectures. In the Introduction to his two-volume reprint of the first edition of Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill., 1965), Harold F. Harding provided a brief list of similarities and differences among Smith's lectures and Blair's lectures, based on a comparison of the student notes of Smith's lectures with the first edition of Blair's *Lectures*. Harding identified what he considered to be instances of borrowing and concluded that Blair's indebtedness to Smith had been overstated.

Scholarly opinion remains divided. Some assume, along with Rae and Scott, that Blair borrowed extensively from Smith. Others accept Harding's analysis as definitive, believing that Blair borrowed little from Smith.

The Charges of Plagiarism

In the Preface to his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), Blair disavows any claims to complete originality of thought, admitting that he has relied on the ideas of others: "The Author gives them [the lectures] to the world, neither as a Work wholly original, nor as a Compilation from the Writings of others. On every subject contained in them, he has thought for himself. He consulted his own ideas and reflections: and a great part of what will be found in these Lectures is entirely his own. At the same time, he availed himself of the ideas and reflections of others, as far as he thought them proper to be adopted" (1:iv). Blair is also careful not to offend any unacknowledged author, adding that he may have inadvertently neglected to credit a source: "In order to render his Work of greater service, he has generally referred to the Books which he consulted, as far as he remembers them; that the Readers might be directed to any farther illustration which they afford. But, as such a length of time has elapsed since the first Composition of his Lectures, he may, perhaps, have adopted the sentiments of some Author into whose Writings he had then looked, without now remembering whence he derived them" (1:v).

As a rule, however, Blair is quite careful to identify the sources he has used in the lectures. These acknowledgements usually take the form of causal references in the text of the lecture, but Blair also acknowledges

a few sources in detailed footnotes, some filling as much as half the page. In Lecture 6, on the "Rise and Progress of Language," for example, Blair includes three such notes (1:97-98, 104, 114), and the first of them mentions Smith's "Dissertation on the Formation of Languages" along with twelve other books on the history of language. Moreover, when discussing characters of style in Lecture 18, Blair uses a detailed and personal note to acknowledge his debt to Adam Smith: "On this head, of the General Characters of Style, particularly, the Plain and the Simple, and the characters of those English authors who are classed under them, in this, and the following Lecture, several ideas have been taken from a manuscript treatise on rhetoric, part of which was shown to me, many years ago, by the learned and ingenious Author, Dr. Adam Smith; and which, it is hoped, will be given by him to the Public" (1:381n.). Blair also credits Smith's "Dissertation on the Formation of Languages" in Lectures 6 and 7, and refers to Smith on pp. 97, 140, and 163.

Despite Blair's careful footnotes, John Hill reports that Smith and others found Blair's acknowledgement of Smith inadequate: "It was alleged by him [Adam Smith] and his friends, that Dr Blair had availed himself largely of his remarks, both on the construction of sentences, and on the general characters of style" (*Hugh Blair*, p. 55). In Hill's opinion, the footnotes Blair provides to Smith's lectures should absolve him of any charge of plagiarism: "It appears, in Dr Blair's Lectures, that he had had the use of certain manuscripts of Dr Smith, from which, he acknowledges, that he had taken a few hints. When he made the confession, his doing so should have saved him from the charge of plagiarism" (p. 180).

Hill, who was a friend of both Smith and Blair, also reveals that Smith's charges of plagiarism against Blair were communicated to him privately and that Blair was never aware of the accusation: "Dr Blair did not know, that this was urged against him, both by Dr Smith and his friends. The harmony that subsisted between them accordingly suffered no interruption. As few men were less apt to be suspicious than Dr Blair, so his love for his friend continued unimpaired till his death" (pp. 180-81). Hill argues further that Blair had no intention of stealing Smith's ideas: "In this case, however, there was no plagiarism . . . It is the wish of a plagiarist to shine in borrowed feathers, which Dr Blair disdained. He avowed his obligation to his learned friend; and understood when he did so, that the public would have it in their power to judge of its extent" (p. 55).

The details surrounding the charges of plagiarism made against Blair can be summarized as follows. Adam Smith gave a popular series of lectures on rhetoric from 1748-50. Blair attended those lectures and probably remembered some of the ideas he had heard when he began preparing his own series of lectures on rhetoric in 1759. As part of his preparation for his lectures, Blair borrowed Smith's manuscript, perhaps during the three-year break between the end of Robert Watson's lectures (delivered after Smith left for Glasgow) and the beginning of Blair's. When he revised his lectures for publication, twenty-four years after he first began lecturing on rhetoric, Blair added footnotes in an attempt to acknowledge those from whom he had borrowed ideas, including Smith. He admitted, however, that he may have neglected to acknowledge some authors whose works he may have examined a number of years previously. Despite Blair's footnote in Lecture 18 on his borrowings from Smith, Smith and others apparently commented to John Hill that they found Blair's acknowledgement inadequate, that Blair had borrowed more extensively than his acknowledgement admitted. These allegations were not made public until Hill published his biography of Blair in 1807, seven years after Blair's death.

Examining the Charges of Plagiarism

Assessing Blair's indebtedness to Smith is not as simple as comparing the student notes of Smith's lectures with the published version of Blair's. My Ph.D. dissertation on this subject, "Appropriations from Adam Smith in Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*" (Arizona State University, 1992), discusses textual problems in examining these two sets of lectures: the reliability of student scribes and the possibility that both Blair and Smith may have revised their lectures. I argue, more fully than is possible here, that one may, with caution, compare the two sets of lectures. Here I can only report some of my conclusions.

My analysis of the two sets of lectures indicates that Blair probably borrowed the overall pattern for his lectures from Smith. Blair divides his lectures into five parts: taste (lectures 1-5), language (lectures 6-13), style (lectures 14-24), eloquence (lectures 25-34), and species of literary composition (lectures 35-47); Smith's apparent division is quite similar: [the mind?] (lecture 1), language (lectures 2-5), style, including figurative language (lec-

tures 6-11), literary types (lectures 12-21), oratory (lectures 22-30). Smith's first lecture is missing, but John Millar's description of Smith's class, in Dugald Stewart's "Account of the Life and Writings of Adam Smith," suggests that Smith may have begun with "a general view of the powers of the mind" (in Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, ed. W.P.D. Wightman and J.C. Bryce [Oxford, 1980], p. 274). If Smith's introductory lecture really did present his views on mental faculties, then the first sections of the two sets of lectures would be quite different. But this difference is a difference in subject and not in purpose. Both Blair's discussion of taste and Smith's discussion of the powers of the mind are intended to introduce students to the faculties that will inform the rest of the lectures, the powers that will enable them to become more effective writers and speakers and more critical readers. That Blair would emphasize taste rather than logic reflects his emphasis on literary criticism and belletristic rhetoric. That Smith would begin with a discussion of logic may reflect the fact that he began at Glasgow as a professor of logic; and the emphasis in his lectures is on discursive types of writing: history, scientific writing, philosophical writing, judicial and parliamentary rhetoric. The rest of the lectures follow a very similar pattern, with the exception that Smith and Blair discuss oratory and species of literary composition in a different order.

Blair follows the specific topics in Adam Smith's lectures much more closely in his sections on language and style than he does in his sections on eloquence and literary types. The second section of each set of lectures is concerned with language. Here, in overview, are the major topics of Smith's lectures on language: perspicuity of style (lecture 2), origins of language (lecture 3), defects of English (lecture 4), the proper structure of sentences (lectures 4-5). And here are the topics from the section on language in Blair's lectures on language: the rise and progress of language and writing (lectures 6-7), the structure of language (lectures 8-9), the English tongue (lecture 9), style, perspicuity, and precision (lecture 10), the structure of sentences (lectures 11-13).

The topics discussed by Blair bear a strong resemblance to the topics discussed by Smith. Blair includes a separate section on the structure of language in general in which he discusses the traditional parts of speech. Blair also discusses perspicuity after discussing the structure of English.

Blair's section on style also bears a strong resemblance to the corresponding section from Smith's lectures. Here are the contents of Smith's section on style: tropes and figures of speech (lecture 6), characters of style, the plain and simple (lecture 7), the style of Jonathan Swift (lecture 8), a comparison of Swift and Lucian (lecture 9), the style of Addison (lecture 10), the style of Shaftesbury (lecture 11). Smith begins with a general discussion of tropes and figures of speech. He delineates the relationship between moral characters and style, and then analyzes the style of some of the best English writers.

Blair's section on style is more comprehensive than Smith's, but it includes many of the same topics: origin and nature of figurative language (lecture 14); metaphor (lecture 15); hyperbole, personification, apostrophe (lecture 16); comparison, antithesis, interrogation, exclamation, and other figures (lecture 17); general characters of style: diffuse, concise, feeble, nervous, dry, plain, neat, elegant, flowery (lecture 18); general characters of style: simple, affected, vehement (lecture 19); directions for forming the proper style (lecture 19); critical examination of *Spectator* numbers 411-414 (lectures 20-23); critical examination of Jonathan Swift's writing (lecture 24). Blair devotes much more attention to Addison, while Smith devotes more attention to Swift. Blair also discusses more figures and tropes than Smith does.

The general organization of both of these sections, however, is the same. Both begin with a general discussion of figurative language. They both move to a discussion of the general characters of style and finally to a discussion of particular writers. Both discuss Swift, Temple, Shaftesbury, and Addison, although they each emphasize different writers. The general correspondence between the sections on language and style is important because Smith blamed Blair for some of his ideas in these particular areas. The fact that Blair arranged similar topics in a similar order may have given Smith some cause for concern.

As Blair admitted in his footnote to Lecture 18, he borrowed some ideas on the general characters of style from Smith. In particular, he borrowed from Smith's discussion of the plain and simple style. Yet even though Blair used the same terms and some of the same authors as models, he transformed the ideas he borrowed from Smith. Instead of focusing on the moral characters of the author and mentioning linguistic features incidently, as Smith had, Blair focused on linguistic features of style, relating these linguistic features to the personality of the author only incidently.

Since the charges of plagiarism focus in part on Smith's ideas on the structure of sentences, these ideas deserve some particular attention. Smith presents his ideas on the structure of sentences in Lectures 4 and 5. He divides a sentence into three principal parts: the subjective and objective "affirm some thing or other," and the attributive "connects them together and expresses the affirmation" (*Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, ed. J. C. Bryce [Oxford, 1983], p. 17). The subjective is "the chief part or subject" of the member of a period. The objective is "of inferiour rank" to the subjective. The attributive "connects the extremes" (p. 17). This passage is somewhat obscure, but Smith appears to be referring to the relationship expressed between a noun phrase, a verb phrase, and another noun phrase functioning as complement or object. Adjectives would probably be included as part of the subjective.

Smith includes a number of other terms with these principal terms: terminative, circumstantial, conjunctive, and adjunctive. The terminative expresses "how far" and the circumstantial expresses "in what circumstances, the proposition expressed by the three forementioned terms is to be understood" (p. 17). The terminative appears to refer to adverbs of time and place. The circumstantial probably refers to adverbs of manner. The conjunctive "connects the different terms of a sentence or period together" (p. 17). The conjunctive appears to include conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs, and relative pronouns. The adjunctive "points out what particular opinion the speaker has of it, the person to whom it is addressed, and such like" (p. 17). The adjunctive includes sentence modifiers and other metadiscourse, nouns of direct address, and interjections.

Smith claims that the simplest type of sentence would present the terms in the following order: subjective, attributive, objective, terminative, circumstantial. He states that the conjunctive and adjunctive would probably be at the beginning or end of the sentences, although he admits that the adjunctive can be placed in various positions in the sentence.

Blair mentions three principal parts of the sentence: substantives, attributives, and connectives. Perhaps Smith and his friends had this reference in mind when they accused Blair of stealing Smith's ideas on the structure of sentences. Smith uses the term "attributive." Blair's term "substantive" sounds similar to Smith's term "subjective," and Blair's term "connective" suggests the connection between two terms that is the fundamental principle in Smith's system of grammar.

An examination of Blair's definitions of these terms, however, reveals that these three terms have little in common with Smith's terms. Substantives "express the names of objects, or the subjects of discourse." Attributives "express any attribute, property, or action of the former." Connectives "express the connections, relations, and dependencies, which take place among them" (1:139). Blair uses "connective" to express the same relationship expressed by Smith's term "conjunctive." Blair uses "substantive" to refer to subjects and objects, Smith's "subjective" and "objective." Blair's term "attributive" refers to verbs just as Smith's term does, but Blair's term also includes adjectives, participles, and most adverbs.

Furthermore, Blair's footnote in Lecture 8 to Book 1 of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* indicates that he got these three terms from Quintilian, not Adam Smith. Smith may also have gotten his three terms from Quintilian, although he added four more terms to the three principal ones and used his three principal terms in a sense different from that of Quintilian and Blair. It is clear, however, that Blair did not get his ideas on the structure of sentences from Smith. In fact, Blair did not even use the three terms he translated from Quintilian, even though he believed these terms represent "the most simple and comprehensive division of the parts of Speech" (1:138-39). He decided instead to use the eight principal parts of speech devised by the Stoics because those terms would be more familiar to his audience. Perhaps those who accused Blair of plagiarizing Smith's ideas on the structure of sentences did not examine Blair's lectures very closely and were not as familiar with Quintilian as Blair was.

Conclusion

Blair apparently borrowed from Smith exactly what he claimed he did in his footnote: some ideas on language and style. In fact, Blair's reference to Smith's ideas on language is quite generous considering that Blair relied much more on authors other than Smith. Although Blair was certainly guilty of borrowing, and probably borrowed his idea for the overall structure of his lectures from Smith, such borrowing was common in the eighteenth century and would not have been considered plagiarism.

George Thomson (1757-1851): A Reappraisal

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Between 1793 and the mid-1840s George Thomson published numerous volumes of Scottish, Welsh, and Irish folk songs with new lyrics by over eighty literary men and women—including most importantly Robert Burns—and with new musical arrangements by Ignaz Pleyel, Leopold Kozeluch, Joseph Haydn, Ludwig van Beethoven, Carl Maria von Weber, and Johann Nepomuk Hummel. These collections have become something of a historical curiosity, primarily through the contributions of Haydn, Beethoven, and Burns. In the only biography of Thomson, published in 1898, James Cutbbert Hadden expressed surprise that Thomson's close connection with Burns had not previously encouraged any biographical survey of Thomson. Hadden's volume, entitled *George Thomson: The Friend of Burns*, was written in an attempt to inspire a new view of Thomson and his work. Almost one hundred years later, I am trying to do the same.

Until the late nineteenth century George Thomson was known to the public chiefly through his Burns connection, but by 1898 Thomson and his work were viewed with some skepticism. His controversial decisions relating to the editing of Burns's lyrics, in particular, had already produced a history of misrepresentation of Thomson and his editorial procedure. Even today, Thomson is known and unquestionably accepted as James C. Dick's "egregious editor," or James Kinsley's "priggish Thomson."¹ He is the publisher who had the "absurd idea" of employing European composers to arrange national melodies,² and who produced, eventually, nothing but a "monstrous white elephant,"³ or, at best, "huge pretentious volumes" which are "a sad memorial to misplaced enthusiasm and ignorant amateurishness."⁴ Most scholars have accepted, without question, the little information available in print, which is often untruthful or, at the least, biased. Few have queried Thomson's editorial decisions, and few have examined them in the context of performance skills, or literary and musical tastes in Scotland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

George Thomson was born in Limekilns near Dunfermline in 1757, though rumor has it that he liked his public to believe he was two years younger, thereby sharing his year of birth with Burns. At an early age the Thomson family moved north to Banff, where Thomson's father, Robert, had attained a position in one of the new burgh schools. Thomson's mother died shortly after this. Robert remarried and by the early 1770s, with more mouths to feed and huge changes in the rural community, he decided to move his family south again to the metropolis. From 1774 until his death in 1851—with the exception of short periods with family in London and Bristol—Thomson's home was in Edinburgh, "the most beautiful city in Europe."⁵ After working first in the office of a Writer to the Signet, Thomson moved, in 1780, to the position of the Junior Clerk to the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures in Scotland, a government body established by an Act of 1726.⁶ The Board's chief concerns lay with the export of Scottish produce, mainly herring, wool, flax, hemp, and linen. Thomson worked in an administrative capacity, arranging meetings, minutes, and trustees' reports. He quickly grasped the procedure of exporting and importing materials to and from Europe and beyond, familiarized himself with the management of the Board's funds in association with leading bankers, and became accustomed to dealing at first hand with the transportation of government documents through the diplomatic service. The Board also indirectly encouraged the fine arts by establishing the Trustees' Academy (often referred to as the first British School of Design), where fine artists, including Alexander Runciman (1736-85), trained a small number of youngsters in the skills of drawing with particular reference to design in the linen industry.

Thomson's daily business until 1839 was with the Board of Trustees. Through personal connections at the Board, however, he was introduced to several members of a select social group called The Edinburgh Musical Society, at whose weekly concerts he heard (and often performed) for the first time the compositions of the European masters. The EMS library held copies of works by Pleyel, Haydn, Mozart, Abel, J. C. Bach, Handel, Stamitz, Arne, Gluck and Boyce, and pieces by Scottish composers, including the Earl of Kelly, William McGibbon, and James Oswald. Thomson was even more impressed by the caliber of performers. Several foreign performers, the majority of whom were Italian, played or sang at EMS concerts. Above all others, the Italian castrato, Guisto Ferdinando Tenducci (who had reduced Robert Fergusson to tears in the 1760s) greatly affected the young Thomson with his renditions of Scottish songs. Thomson decided in the 1780s that he would produce the greatest of all collections of Scottish songs: sophisticated volumes incorporating newly commissioned musical settings by

the finest of European composers, and including newly commissioned words or lyrics for those songs "which are exceptionable," or those "absurd and improper ones by which the music has been debased."⁸

While the information about Thomson's early years and details relating to the Board of Trustees can be gleaned from Hadden's biography and the Board's records now housed in the Scottish Record Office, the bulk of the information about Thomson's publishing house and his editorial procedure is presented in his letterbooks at the British Library. As his biography proves, Hadden studied these documents closely—he was the first outwith the Thomson family to have seen them. He persuaded Thomson's great grand daughter to gift these manuscripts to the British Library, which she did shortly after the publication of Hadden's biography. Since 1899, these manuscripts have been the basis of any research on Thomson and his volumes. However, most researchers have concentrated on Thomson's relationship with individual composers or writers rather than on Thomson himself. Geiringer and H. C. Robbins Landon have looked specifically at the Thomson/Haydn letters, for example, and Willy Hess, Emily Anderson, and Barry Cooper have examined the Beethoven/Thomson correspondence alone. Since the 1890s, no one has written about the Thomson letterbooks as a body of material. In fact, this correspondence tells the story of the formation and administration of a part-time Scottish music publishing firm, the activities of which covered the period between 1793 and 1841. Almost 1200 letters are divided chronologically into seven letterbooks—the first three of which are letters to Thomson (Add. MSS. 35,263-35,265), and the last four of which are Thomson's letters (Add. MSS. 35,266-35,269). There are letters to and from composers, lyricists, publishers, papermakers, engravers, printers, bankers, diplomats, music sellers, agents, concert organizers, and biographers. Even more impressive, the correspondence is virtually complete. Though some financial details are missing, and though Thomson's accounting infuriates the reader, there is still little room for speculation.

Close study of these letterbooks has shown that Thomson was initially sponsored by the Edinburgh-based strand of the Arbuthnot family, who hailed originally from Kincardineshire. Robert Arbuthnot worked with Thomson at the Board of Trustees and was the first to step in with financial aid to start the publications in the early 1790s. Help was continued, after Robert's death in 1803, by his sons William and George: the former was Edinburgh's lord provost in the periods 1815-17 and 1821-23, and the latter was a banker in Madras. The Arbuthnot connection led to help from the London bankers Coutts & Co., who dealt with most of Thomson's Viennese payments. Indeed the Coutts archive contains a financial history of Thomson's collections. The British Library letterbooks, allied to records at the Suffolk Record Office, also show that Robert's connection with a Scottish diplomat in Vienna resulted in Thomson's collaboration with the Viennese-based composers Kozeluch, Haydn, and Beethoven. Alexander Straton, who worked for the British Legation in Vienna, and who was the assistant to the famous Sir Robert Murray Keith, was responsible for maintaining physical contact with the composers, for keeping Thomson up to date with developments, and for persuading the composers to cease their fight for a larger fee from Edinburgh. It was Straton who suggested that Thomson woo the aged Haydn with gifts, rather than increasing his payments. His suggestion was well received. Thomson sent a snuff box, some India handkerchiefs, and complimentary copies of his volumes to Haydn, who was so delighted that he never mentioned his fee again! Straton was also partly responsible for ensuring the safe transportation of letters and musical manuscripts to and from Vienna, which he managed most often through diplomatic connections.

The letterbooks also contain enough information to show that Thomson did not have an established publishing house. He employed a freelance papermaker (Cowan & Sons of Valleyfield near Penicuik), freelance printers (John and Thomas Preston of London, John Moir, and William Balbirnie, both of Edinburgh), and freelance engravers (Balbirnie, and William Home Lizars) to produce his volumes. He spent a great deal of money on the appearance of his collections and insisted on producing elaborate illustrations which were originally created as an added incentive for subscribers, but which quickly became an integral part of his large folio volumes. Thomson commissioned his illustrations from the best of contemporary Scottish artists and engravers including David Allan and David Wilkie. His fourth Scottish volume contained his brother Paton Thomson's impressive stipple engraving of Nasmyth's portrait of Burns, and two of the three volumes of Welsh songs contained striking gothic prints by Thomson's step-brother, David, who had studied alongside Wilkie at the Trustees' Academy. A great deal of Thomson's capital was spent on the production of the volumes themselves, as opposed to their content, and it was money never recuperated from sales.

In an artistic context, the letterbooks present us with the views and opinions of Thomson and his composers/lyricists on song. These letters show clearly that Thomson edited the music and the words of his songs quite separately. A melody was sent abroad to be arranged, while the words to be printed with the song were commissioned at the same time from one or more of Thomson's pool of writers. On most occasions Thomson hoped that his writer was musical enough to discern the basic characteristics of rhythm and meter from the melody that he sent to them. Frequently, however, the writers' musical skills left much to be desired, and Thomson's letters

often contained information on meter and the number of syllables required to match the phrases of a particular melody. Thomson was also persnickety about the language used by his writers, and frequently demanded that single words be changed. There was long and controversial debate concerning the nature of Scots as a language, though Thomson often found himself caught between Scots and English as his decision to incorporate songs in both languages illustrates. The correspondence with Burns, now principally available through James Currie's edition of the poet's work, was the most detailed of all, though Thomson maintained close connections with several other of his main lyricists including William Smyth (1765-1849), Alexander Boswell (1775-1822), David Vedder (1790-1854), Joanna Baillie (1762-1851), and Amelia Opie (1769-1853).

Musically, the correspondences with Kozeluch and Beethoven are the most enlightening. Both were strong and forceful personalities, and the debate between editor and composer was therefore always heated. Kozeluch, whose compositions were extremely popular with British audiences at the end of the eighteenth century, lost patience with Thomson on numerous occasions, once referring to Scottish traditional tunes as "une musique barbare."⁹ Beethoven's refusal to simplify settings, which Thomson continually complained about, resulted in multiple settings of the same songs. Fortunately, the existence of Beethoven's sketches and the invaluable work of Willy Hess allow us to compare several versions of the same song, which reveal at first hand the changes demanded by Thomson. This information is crucial to our understanding of Scottish musical skills at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it is also crucial to our awareness of Scottish musical tastes during the period. Beethoven's works were clearly regarded as beyond the means and the taste of most. His works never achieved the popularity in Scotland which Thomson hoped for.

Details about Thomson's editing of the songs that are missing from the letterbooks are found by examining the volumes and following the changes between issues. It is important to note initially that there are huge bibliographical problems with Thomson's publications. In addition to short thumbnail sketches of Thomson in biographies of Burns, Haydn, Beethoven, and Weber, or articles in Scottish musical histories, the only major work on Thomson to be completed this century was a bibliographical survey by Cecil Hopkinson and C. B. Oldman, "Thomson's Collections of National Song," published in the *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* in 1940 (part 1, pp. 3-64), with amendments in 1954 (part 2, pp. 123-24). I am personally indebted to these men for their invaluable study. Hopkinson wrote in a letter to the American musicologist Walter Harding in 1964: "this Thomson enquiry of yours raises the most complicated problems, for it is about the most intricate bibliographical enigma that I have encountered" (see Thomson volumes in the Harding Collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford). Starting from the point where Hopkinson and Oldman left off has been difficult enough, but starting from scratch would have been a nightmare!

Thomson's Welsh collection appeared in three volumes between 1809 and 1817, and his Irish collection was published in two volumes in 1814 and 1816. These volumes were issued only once and are consequently easy to follow, but following Thomson's Scottish volumes is complicated and confusing. The main problem is that this collection spanned a period of over fifty years, during which Thomson published various issues of the same six volumes of songs. His original intention, as stated in the preface to his First Set of 1793, was to produce only two sets (i.e. books) of Scottish songs in the 1790s. The First Set of twenty-five songs appeared in 1793, but Thomson produced three more sets by 1799. These four sets, with some changes, became in 1801 his first two volumes of "Original Scottish [later "Scottish"] Airs," and they were followed by third and fourth volumes published in 1802 and 1805, and a fifth volume in 1818. Forty-eight years after his first set of Scottish songs, Thomson's sixth and last volume, dated 1841, appeared, but he was still dabbling with the volumes in 1846, as two new settings, usually included in volumes bearing the date 1838, illustrate.

Naturally, because of the long periods between the publication of brand new volumes, Thomson was obliged to produce new issues of existing volumes as copies ran out. Copies of volume 1 dated 1814, and volume 4 dated 1808 and 1812, were probably issued to revitalize stock.¹⁰ Moreover, Thomson decided that whenever a new volume appeared for the first time, the previous volumes should also be newly presented. While each volume was produced quite separately from the others, it was marketed, at the same time, as part of a set of matching volumes. Volume 3 of 1802 was issued to match volumes 1 and 2 of 1801; volumes 1-3—all dated 1803—were released as a set for which the new volume 4 of 1805 was also intended; volumes 1-4 produced between 1815 and 1817 were clearly issued as a set to stand alongside the new volume 5 of 1818; volumes 1-5, with many new songs incorporated, were presented as a "new edition" in 1826 and in 1831; and volumes 1-5 appeared again in 1838, and possibly once more after this, to match the new volume 6 of 1841. The fact that these volumes were frequently bound together by their purchasers illustrates that Thomson's marketing of volumes in sets was successful.

Yet while these sets of volumes were most commonly advertised by Thomson as new and improved editions, the individual volumes of each set have a unique bibliographical description. For example, the five volumes pro-

duced in 1826, which Hopkinson and Oldman termed "the sixth edition," comprised volume 1 in its sixth issue, volumes 2-4 in their fifth issue, and volume 5 in its second issue. This multiple identity of each volume presents an insoluble problem when trying to find the correct bibliographical terminology. Should the second issue of volume 5 dated 1826 be regarded as a second issue, or as the fifth part of a new "sixth edition"? And what does the bibliographer do with the various forms of the same volume? Volume 1, for example, appeared in eight different forms between 1801 and 1838, but it had also appeared before this as the first two sets of 1793 and 1798. Furthermore, the First Set had been issued twice, in 1793 and 1794. No volume was ever identical from one issue to the next. Numerous issues of a volume appeared sometimes with exactly the same content as their predecessor, but sometimes with new musical arrangements or lyrics, sometimes with new title pages and prefatory material, or different thicknesses of paper, sometimes with different pagination, sometimes with newly engraved musical plates or adjustments to plates, and nearly always with new letterpress.

Sadly, few of the volumes now kept in libraries are found in their original state: most of them were bound by the library, or by the individual who owned them. In normal circumstances this would not be problematic, but in the case of Thomson's volumes it further complicates matters. Volumes of varying dates are bound with title pages, illustrations, and prefaces from other volumes, resulting in confusion for any bibliographer. Cataloguers naturally list volumes by their latest date, when often title page, preface, and colophon dates conflict hopelessly with one another. Thus, the volumes that arrive on the reader's table seldom follow their catalogue description and frequently contradict it. Frontispieces, title pages, prefatory material, illustrations, indices, and glossaries are sometimes bound with the volume, but are often missing. Occasionally they appear at the front of the volume, but sometimes at the back. Suffice it to say that while this information can certainly help in dating a volume, it can also be misleading. The contents of a volume are the safest method when it comes to dating individual volumes.

There is no need to proceed further with bibliographical problems. They are apparently insoluble! Anyone wishing to work with Thomson's volumes needs first of all to consult Hopkinson and Oldman's article, and then pray for endless hours of patience!

It was not my intention to drive interested parties away by this description of the bibliographical complexities of Thomson's publications. This brief article is intended, rather, to give an overview of the subject and to show that there is much work to be done. So little material exists to enable us to draw a detailed picture of music publishing or musical tastes in Scotland during this period, and to find a body of material like that presented in Thomson's letterbooks and in his volumes is an exciting prospect.

Notes

1. James C. Dick, *The Songs of Robert Burns* (1903; rpt. Hatboro, Pa., 1962), xiii; James Kinsley, "The Music of the Heart," delivered as part of the Gregynog Lectures, University of Wales, February 1963, and printed in *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, University of Nottingham 8 (1964): 25-36. Part of the essay was reprinted in *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*, ed. D. A. Low (London, 1975), pp. 124-36.
2. C. Thorpe Davie, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 16.
3. David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972), p. 146.
4. Davie, *Scotland's Music*, p. 16.
5. Thomson to Dr. Harden, 8 Sept. 1844, National Library of Scotland, MS 9814, fol. 104.
6. Details of the establishment of the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, and their records, are available at the Scottish Record Office, ref. NG.1.
7. Discussion of the Trustees' Academy is found in Hugo Arnot, *History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1779), p. 541, and Duncan MacMillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age* (Oxford, 1986), p. 44. David Wilkie was among the Academy's early students.
8. See the Preface to Thomson's first set of twenty-five songs entitled *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (Edinburgh and London, 1793).
9. Straton to Thomson, 28 Oct. 1797, British Library, Add. MS 35,263, fols. 34-35.
10. See Thomson's order for Preston in a letter of 1812, British Library, Add. MS 35,267, fols. 36-37.

David Hume: An Approach to an Interpretation of His Work

F. L. van Holthoorn, Groningen University

In his article "The Dogmatic Slumber of Hume Scholarship," published in a recent issue of *Hume Studies* (18 [1992]: 117-35), Nicholas Capaldi has taken the entire community of Hume scholars to task. We are the victims of the "Enlightenment Project," which "is the attempt to define, explain, and control the human predicament through the use of scientific technology" (p. 118; original emphasis). The project induces a "canonic misreading of Hume," which places Hume in the "analytic history of philosophy." Does this verdict apply to a number of outstanding Hume scholars, beginning with Norman Kemp Smith, whose *The Philosophy of David Hume* (1941) set the rules for modern Humean scholarship?

Attacking the "project," Capaldi scores many points. Indeed, Hume is not an empiricist "if by empiricist is meant someone who thinks that all concepts can be totally cashed out in such experiential terms." For Hume "complex ideas are not just combinations of simple ideas" (p. 126). But Capaldi is not the first to make this point (read the works of Kemp Smith, Donald Livingston, John Wright, and recently Annette Baier), and he brushes aside the evidence of Hume's First Principle: Hume did maintain that "all our simple ideas . . . are derived from simple impressions" (*Treatise of Human Nature*, I.i.1.4), making it at least arguable that according to Hume one can analyze complex ideas in terms of simple impressions. So Hume appears to be an "empiricist," which he is not. The problem of the interpretation of Hume seems to be that he does not fit into any philosophical pigeonhole, and Capaldi's attempt to move him from one pigeonhole to another is not helpful.

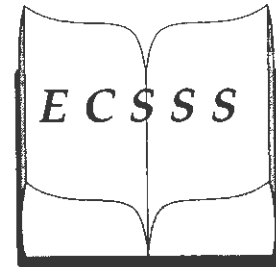
What we need is Baier's approach. Her *A Progress of Sentiments: Reflections on Hume's Treatise* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991) is a splendid book, because she reads the *Treatise* without philosophical preconceptions and as it should be read: as the autobiography of a man trying to answer the question: what is experience? She shows that Hume needed both the Aristotelian-Lockean approach (stimuli outside the individual determine our experience) and the introspective approach. Kemp Smith had already written that Hume took the Lockean approach as far as it would get him and then switched to the introspective one; Baier gives a better description of the relationship between Hume's two approaches. She reconstructs a dialectic between them which starts right at the beginning of the *Treatise*. See pp. 97-98 of her book, which is her reconstruction of Hume's explanation of cause. It leads to the exciting vista of how Hume, starting with the dogmatic (my word) postulate of nature's constancy, comes to a skeptical (my word) awareness of it by way of "an open-ended spiral" (p. 99).

The exploration of that "open-ended spiral" is, it seems to me, one of the key issues in modern philosophy, and philosophers, not only the Hume scholars among them, would be well advised to read Baier's book or for that matter Hume's *Treatise*. Being a historian I have a different task: finding the biographical and circumstantial evidence that can help to explain certain peculiarities in Hume's thought. Regarding this evidence, Kemp Smith did a disservice to the interpretation of Hume's philosophy by focusing almost entirely on Hutcheson's influence on Hume. Recently scholars like James Moore have discounted that influence, but the damage of Kemp Smith's argument has still not been undone. By making Hume an adept of Hutcheson we make him into a believer in natural religion, and it is at least questionable whether Hume held this belief (Capaldi's blunt statement that Hume was a theist is bizarre), but it makes a lot of sense to read the *Treatise* as an attempt to develop an explanation that does not need the argument from design to reach moral judgments. Given this interpretation, Hume's "Letter to a Physician" can be read as describing his struggle in reaching this alternative to the natural theology explanation of human existence. And when Hume wrote that "the understanding, when it acts alone . . . entirely subverts itself" (*Treatise*, I.iv.VII.267), this is evidence of the fact that at times he was the victim of this idle speculation, this understanding acting alone. Only after finding his way out by way of his "open-ended spiral" could he condemn it.

This is a possible interpretation and I am not insisting on it. (Though, given it, I was very excited to learn that the piece of manuscript, newly found, and discussed by M. A. Stewart at the joint ECSSS-Hume Society conference in Ottawa last summer, may have been an excision from the *Treatise* like the section on "Miracles." For this would indicate that Hume originally meant to include arguments against design, which now appear in the *Dialogues*, in his *Treatise*. That "evidence" would nicely fit my interpretation.) My point here is that this biographical interpretation can explain Hume's dogmatic stance on reason. Baier concludes that the *Treatise* "used reflection first to destroy one version of reason, then [to] . . . reestablish a transformed, active, socialized reason" (p. 288). This conclusion is a marvellous exegesis of Hume's "Reason is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions" (*Treatise*, II.iii.XIV.415), but it smoothes over another sentence: "Reason alone can never give rise to any original idea" (I.iii.XIV.157). Here Hume dogmatically ignores the evidence of eighteenth-century mathematics, which started to prove that pure speculation can point at new sources of reality. I agree with Kemp Smith's verdict that it is "to his failure to consider what is involved in the discursive comparing activity of reason that some of the chief weaknesses of his system can be traced." Hume's dogmatism is the more puzzling, because he had an excellent theoretical frame of mind and used theories all the time with great heuristic effect. And, as I see it, Hume's dogmatism in this case can only be explained by the accident of his life.



BOOKS *in* *REVIEW*



David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. viii + 276.

There are various ways in which the Scottish Enlightenment can be dated, situated, characterized, and understood. Most of them are fairly discussed in the twenty-six page introduction to this book or in subsequent chapters. The author rightly points out that too many interpretations trace it to foreign causes or influences but not to native roots. In short, they assiduously avoid discussing the humanist and Calvinist culture of early modern Scotland. The Scottish Enlightenment is then too closely related to moral and political thought, to economic changes, or to the historical materialism they seem to imply. Moreover, explanations have generally been focused on Edinburgh, the university towns, or only the most notable of the literati. Dr. Allan's book puts the Scottish Enlightenment, particularly its historical, political, and religious discourse, into a longer time frame, where it can show its affinities with that of sixteenth-century writers. Humanists and Calvinists, like the enlightened, had been nourished by the historians and rhetoricians of the classical world. The Scots among them had dwelt on the piety, learning, dignity, independence, and valor of their countrymen and had contemplated virtue, the nature of social ties, the bases of political power and authority, and much else as the enlightened were to do between c. 1740 and 1800. Humanists and Calvinists alike had had to explain to themselves and others how men could reasonably act in a world which Fortune ruled or in which the providence of God seemed to take away human freedom. In their histories they "deployed the lessons of experience in order to cultivate the rational and moral faculties of man" (p. 58); in their histories and polemics they constructed what was "conceived in Scotland as a medium ideally suited both for the training of rhetoricians and as the source of material for their subsequent oratory" (pp. 80-81). This entailed higher standards of criticism of evidence, conjectural historical elements, and attention to the means of achieving elegance.

Allan shows this to have been the case until the mid-seventeenth century. By then determinisms, originating with the Stoics and new mechanical philosophers or predestinarian divines, were eroding the Scottish "humanist theory of active and rational leadership" (p. 128). By c. 1740 (his date for the beginning of the Scottish Enlightenment) these debates were occurring under changed conditions. For historians, the issues, topics, and methods remained much the same despite protestations of innovation and progress. Scots praised Voltaire or Montesquieu but their histories "derived from a much older tradition of Scottish scholarship" (p. 176). What had altered were the claims to attention made by classicists, rhetoricians, and historians. In a land without a resident king or parliament, whose noblemen lived in London, intellectuals sought to lead. They became ideologues training a new elite, from which they mostly came, and justifying the power put into its hands by political and economic changes. They wished to be seen as "not only possessed [of] learning and cultivation" (p. 195) but as tolerant, urbane, polished, and virtuous. But to defend such a view as determinisms became more acceptable raised anew problems concerning theories of reasonable action. Was vice due to sin or ignorance? Was virtue owed to learning, to the heart and senses, or to grace? Calvinists, humanists, and the enlightened (most he thinks were sincerely all three during the Enlightenment) wanted to have to be all three—just as they wished to reconcile freedom, providence, and fortune. Doctrines of unintended consequences, of action by God's instruments, who truly acted for themselves and Him, could not in the end be made compatible. "The construction of an enlightened history in Scotland, then, saw both the practical triumph and the increasing disablement of a heroic enterprise originally begun by Calvinists and humanists in the sixteenth century" (p. 217). The bases of rhetoric and oratory shifted as the grounds of rational actions were undercut. The roles of historians and intellectuals as moral and persuasive writers with a right to lead were curtailed. That diminished belief in "the immense social utility of learning" which Allan sees as the principal foundation of the Scottish Enlightenment. The literati's "unique window of opportunity" (p. 241) to assert

moral leadership closed the more rapidly because Scottish independence was being further undermined by economic, social, moral, and religious changes which drained the country of talent. The Scottish Enlightenment gave way to romanticism, irrational religion, and the need to cope with industrialism and its attendant problems. The older historical continuities with humanism and Calvinism snapped as well.

Allan has written a book which many will find too religious or too humanistic in its orientation. Others will find it too focused on historical discourse or possessed of too little social, political, or economic background. Still others will find gored oxen. Think what you will, this is a considerable achievement by a scholar whose erudition will put many old hands to shame. Since there are clearly areas where future work must be done to make this view stick, let me list a few of them.

First, Calvinism may not be as simple an entity as it appears here to be. Predestination on some accounts was asserted to be only as true as the equally well warranted biblical view of human freedom and responsibility. How they were to be reconciled was beyond us for a theologian like Wittsuis—a Scots favorite by 1700. Calvinists' support for learning, for the belief in ministry, callings, witnessing, and acting for the glory of God all presupposed active men with prevenient or supervenient graces. The "four-fold states of man" also bear upon the heroic enterprise of reconciling freedom to predestination, taken here as pretty much equalling fatalism. All that needs more careful exposition.

Second, there is no argument to show that these problems were peculiar to Scots rather than to European Calvinists generally. Indeed, this Scottish Enlightenment takes place almost without a European context. Since the book deals principally with history, this is very surprising. It was late continental humanists whom the eighteenth-century university reformers were eager to emulate when they introduced history chairs between 1690 and 1753. Scottish humanists, too, retained a European context, but not much of that is noted.

Third, both history and Calvinism maintained and changed their relationship to philosophy. This study notices but does not deeply explore the Scots' interest in Francis Bacon and his attempts to put civil and ecclesiastical history on a more equal basis by finding in both natural and civil history facts that support inductions. Historical explanations after Montesquieu and Hume (c. 1748) seem to me far more complex, and the range of materials considered much greater. Since George Turnbull (c. 1725) wanted more and more kinds of facts to enter into the formation of explanations of natural and moral phenomena, and since university reformers insisted on this at St. Andrews (1747) and Aberdeen (1753-54), there was probably a stronger and more complicated tie between history and philosophy than we are getting here. This was equally the case with Calvinism, history, and philosophy. These problems become acute when we consider the Scottish virtuosos (c. 1650-1720). They were generally classicists, were often historians, and almost always had some natural historical or natural philosophic interests which sometimes related to improving concerns. The enlightened were not so different. But that probably means we should ask more questions about how they believed their various interests were related. It is not clear that the answers would all be compatible with this view of Scottish cultural history. Were the values of the historians the same values affirmed by philosophers (logicians, moralists, and natural philosophers) whom we would call enlightened? Did their systems, which seem so intertwined, all disintegrate together c. 1800? If not, why not?

This is largely a sensitive analysis of historical discourse over time. Less attention than one might wish has been given to the changing social composition of the writers cited and the sorts of things they wrote or did. Few patrons show up in this work, and too often the contexts are not socially grounded. Allan has written a thoughtful and provocative book, but the story is by no means fully told.

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Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c. 1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xiii + 322.

The Scottish historical theories of the eighteenth century were of benefit to all the disciplines which took them up, with the sole, curious exception of the traditional historiography in Scotland itself, which to all intents and purposes they killed off. This intellectual matricide has made an enduring contribution to the chronic confusion of identity suffered by Scots since 1707.

In his penetrating analysis, Colin Kidd charts the process. Like most European nations, the Scots entered the modern era with a quiver of mythologies which, in the guise of explaining their origins, vindicated their independent existence and exemplified their character. In this case, the story went back to Fergus MacErch, who was supposed to have brought the Scots from Ireland to Britain and founded a kingdom in 330 B.C. The spurious royal portraits that line the walls of the great hall at Holyroodhouse, purportedly demonstrating the unbroken succession of Scots kings since Fergus, attest the vitality of the myths right up to the period preceding the Union.

Indeed the myths remained alive for some time afterwards. Scots called on them to bolster their wounded vanity when abused by the English, generally on the grounds that they were lackeys of arbitrary executive power.

The history of Scotland, such as they then understood it, gave contrary proof that the nation had always defended its honor and freedom. Their concept of freedom might differ from the notions of liberty south of the border, but was none the worse for that. From the comparison, Scots retaliated with a critique of England's most comforting myth, that it was uniquely blessed with an ancient constitution which had passed down parliamentary institutions from the Anglo-Saxons, or even the prehistoric Britons.

But the act could not be kept up for long. For one thing, the Scots now inhabited, in plain fact, an Anglo-British polity, a United Kingdom owing precious little to its non-English components. They could legitimately criticize it, but none of the criticisms, even those from much nearer the center of power, had much effect before 1832. Nor was the criticism ever potent enough to make people want more than reform of the state, as opposed to reconstructing it entirely in the manner of the French or Americans, models which in any case were loathed and despised in Britain.

For another thing, the emergence of a modern historical discipline in Scotland exposed the mythologies for what they were, mere mythologies. That then cast doubt on the antiquity and value of the superstructure of Scottish institutions guaranteed by the Union. Indeed, on closer investigation, they were all found to be fatally flawed. The Scottish political tradition had nothing to contribute at Westminster because it had been primarily tyrannical. Scots law was a quasi-medieval jumble. The Scottish nobility, so far from being the champions of national liberty, had spent their time cutting each others' throats.

If Scottish historians had to their own satisfaction exploded the English myth of the ancient constitution, they now still had to admit that the history of England represented a progress toward ordered liberty in a way that the history of Scotland did not. On that view, the only permanent change for the better in it had come with the events of 1707. The heart of Kidd's thesis is that the Scots created a vacuum in Scottish identity which could only be filled by an Anglo-British identity. This may in large part have been a Scottish construction. It still represented a surrender of Scotland's claims to shape the identity of the Union on equal terms.

Kidd presents a closely argued case, in most respects convincing. It is to my mind a pity, though, that he breaks off the story in 1830, just on the eve of the political triumph of Scottish scientific Whiggery. When the country afterward found out that its new rulers had a program of wholesale anglicization in store, discord and disillusion set in. The Whigs had it easy in the old days, because they could put themselves forward as the people's champions against the Dundas despotism. But once in power they soon ran up against difficulties they had never reckoned with, many presented by what might be called the survival of a Scottish identity, if now fragmented. Still, in the last quarter of the century it would reassert itself, and the Whigs would disappear before Scotland did. That makes me wonder whether Kidd does not somewhat overdo the subliminal Whiggery of Henry Dundas and Sir Walter Scott. Scottish identity is notoriously difficult to characterize, but all the more so if one starts by defining it as non-existent above the county level of the kailyard.

Michael Fry, John Carter Brown Library

Linda Colley, **Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837**. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. Pp. x + 429.

In this masterful book Linda Colley examines the creation of British national identity in the era from the Act of Union until the beginning of Victoria's reign. National identity grew out of the almost continuous conflicts between Britain and France in the eighteenth century, conflicts which required the active cooperation of massive numbers of Britons if the political and religious foundations of the nation were to be protected. While not ignoring those at odds with this national effort, Colley urges us to consider those who did not dissent. Support of the government was not simple-minded jingoism or passive deference; it was a means of establishing a stake in the nation and ultimately of demanding wider rewards of citizenship. This active patriotism cut across, but did not extinguish, demarcations of class, gender, and regional identity. Colley sees Great Britain as "an invented nation, superimposed, if only for a while, onto much older alignments and loyalties" (p. 5).

This is a thesis with particular relevance for those of us in Scottish studies. The creation of Britishness was not the imposition of uniformity upon the peripheries, but was part of a dual nationality; Scotland became British as well as Scottish. (Wales, however, remained more distinct. Colley does not systematically discuss Ireland, which for a variety of reasons did not adopt this British identity.) Because so much of the historiography of eighteenth-century Scotland has focused on Scottish efforts to retain cultural distinctiveness, it is worth reminding ourselves that many Scots also saw themselves as willing participants in a new and larger nation.

The book is organized topically and chronologically. The first three chapters have the most relevance for those interested in Scottish matters. Here Colley examines the "cements" which bound the nation together in the first part of the century: religion, commerce, and the empire. Most inhabitants of the three kingdoms shared a common Protestantism, which both differentiated them from their continental enemy and allowed them to view Britain as the new Jerusalem, placed under God's special care—a chauvinistic identity perhaps, but one that provided a

genuine and shared sense of self worth. Patriotism was also seen as profitable, an important consideration. Colley finds a harmonious relationship between land and commerce, a crucial source of stability under the recently established dynasty. The growth of commerce also showed Britons of different classes that the new nation was a "usable resource" (p. 55). The territories obtained after the Seven Years' War provided a third cementing force; the colonial dominions proved to be an outlet for Scottish energies and loyalty, creating a truly *British* empire.

Colley's reading of Jacobitism is especially intriguing, and to this reviewer at least, persuasive. She refuses to romanticize Stuart supporters. Many in the eighteenth century recognized that a Stuart restoration would mean prolonged civil war: violence, economic disruption, and political change. Most Britons, Colley argues, saw the Jacobites as a divisive force, bent on destroying the Protestantism which gave the nation its strength. Protestant preachers across the nation interpreted the Jacobites as agents of the Antichrist. Most Britons also recognized the potential danger to Britain's new economic prosperity. She sees the widespread inaction of British citizens in 1745 as hostility, not indifference, and finds that opposition was especially strong in commercial regions of Britain—those who had made the most economic gains from the new regime were loath to risk them over dynastic issues. Colley's claim that the empire provided a means for Scottish integration is perhaps less original, but nonetheless useful. She contends, for instance, that the Scotophobia expressed by John Wilkes was actually evidence not of regional divisiveness but of the growth of Scottish influence within the United Kingdom.

The rest of the book continues to speak to the theme of integration. In the wake of the disaster of the American Revolution (a particularly painful loss, as the British were defeated not by "the Other," but by fellow Protestants, descended from themselves) and the pressures of the Napoleonic wars, the governing elite grew more cohesive, more genuinely British, and sought to demonstrate their usefulness and importance to the realm. Likewise, the monarchy was reconstituted as more patriotic and popular, reaching out to the community. At the same time, ordinary men and women found outlets for their patriotism—and ways to promote their various agendas. Men of all social groups indicated willingness to join the volunteer corps and defend Britain in the event of an invasion. Women raised money, presented colors, spoke out on public issues, and generally took on the role of the moral voice of the nation. Colley reads these actions as the claiming of citizenship—a claim with radical implications. She concludes with an intriguing reading of the post-war reform movements as a redefinition of the nation, and as evidence of the new unity and cohesiveness of Britain.

A short review cannot do justice to this rich, well illustrated, and beautifully written book. Colley makes imaginative and insightful use of a wide variety of sources: sermons, ballads, art, architecture, prints, "Defence of the Realm" questionnaires. She reconsiders much that has been taken for granted and cautions us against overlooking the obvious. She thoughtfully reinterprets evidence both new and old, leading to the questioning of old assumptions. Her compassionate understanding of human behavior restores the autonomy of those she calls the "seeming conformists" (p.5), the many souls who demonstrated their commitment to the state, while striving to achieve their own personal objectives. Colley's approach is a genuinely integrative one, combining the often too-separate stories of England, Scotland, and Wales into the study of Great Britain. Her belief that the forces of unity were stronger than the forces of division in eighteenth-century Britain deserves the careful attention of scholars of Scottish studies. And, as she observes, this understanding of the invention of national identity has implications for modern discussions of the nature of the British state.

Katherine J. Haldane, *The Citadel*

John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher, eds. *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1993; published in association with the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society. Pp. xi + 252.

In 1988 an ECSSS conference on "The Social World of the Scottish Enlightenment" was held in Virginia. Most of the essays in this collection were developed from papers given at the conference. The emphasis in the collection (which was first published in 1992 as volume 15 of the journal *Eighteenth-Century Life*) is on a principal theme in the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, the sociable nature of human beings. The approach is interdisciplinary, including contributions from the realms of history, philosophy, literature, and music.

At times the detailed scholarly explanations of theories and ideas make demanding reading, as the essayists explore the social element in Scottish Enlightenment thinking, the variations in such thinking between individuals and as time progressed, and aspects of its dissemination and application. In her essay on Francis Hutcheson, Susau M. Purviance establishes the intellectual foundation of the social philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment. She explains how Hutcheson's view, "which has come to be known as sentimentalism, proposes that feeling rather than reason is the root of moral judgement," and how "by portraying humanity as an interconnected web of sentiment, motivation and judgement, Hutcheson's moral sense theory gave a critical impetus to a distinctively Scottish philosophy of society." An important aspect was the interplay between classical and Christian values: Hutcheson, "in grounding moral judgement in a natural faculty rather than in God's law," opened the way "for appeals to

Greek and Roman civic virtues," while education in Christian doctrine could "concentrate and refine the natural faculty." John Dwyer argues that the most sophisticated theoretical contribution made to this eighteenth-century discourse on sentiment was Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (particularly the final edition of 1790), a work which "underlined the sociable nature of man but demonstrated the ways in which sociability leads to the Stoic virtue of self-command and, by implication, to civilisation and social order."

At first sight such discussion may seem a bit remote from modern historical interests. However, a point of reference here is the American conference from which the collection owes its beginnings. If the collection is viewed in its American context, then a key area of relevance becomes strikingly clear. An invaluable contribution in this respect is David Daiches's essay on "John Witherspoon, James Wilson and the Influence of Scottish Rhetoric on America." he shows how for the literati rhetoric was rooted in human relationships, inseparable from morality, politics, and education, capable of changing the structure of relationships and therefore of bringing about individual, social, and political change. Thus Hugh Blair, the greatest Scottish Enlightenment teacher of rhetoric—who referred in his very first lecture to "the elevated sentiments and high examples which poetry, eloquence and history are often bringing under our view"—taught that rhetorical techniques could bring an advancement in liberty and virtue. Given that many of the Founding Fathers were educated in such precepts by Scottish teachers they studied under, or whose work they read, American students of politics, thought, and society will find vitality in the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment which this book examines.

The book is no less useful for Scottish historians. It is an eloquent testimony to the benefits that have accrued to eighteenth-century Scottish studies in recent decades from an innovative and powerful contribution from North America (Daiches's essay demonstrates, moreover, that the traffic in ideas is not one-way). Not only do the essays delve into the social philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment and look at some elements of its interaction with America, England, and France; they also discuss a number of more material aspects relating to Scottish society. Among areas covered are Scotticisms and the problem of cultural identity, Benjamin Franklin's interest in Scotland, the attitudes of the publisher William Creech, the role of the sentimental writer Henry Mackenzie in shaping culture and manners, and Robert Burns's relationship to the world of the literati. Ned C. Landsman provides a particularly refreshing slant when discussing the evangelical enlightenment in the West of Scotland, following the Cambuslang Revivals of the early 1740s. He suggests how those ministers who tempered evangelism with intellect, such as John Erskine, John Witherspoon, and Thomas Gillespie, acted to limit the enthusiastic character of evangelical Christianity and notes the evangelical movement's contribution to the formation of artisan communities in that part of the country.

It may be appropriate to end on a cautionary note. If the theme of the book owes something to a scholarly enthusiasm to investigate those principles and tenets which the Scottish Enlightenment shared with the American Founding Fathers, then there may be lessons to be drawn in relation to the wider study of Scottish eighteenth-century history. There is a danger, no more than a danger, that in the very proper pursuit of this enthusiasm an over-emphasis could be placed on certain factors at work in Scottish society and politics, so affecting our general understanding of the latter. For example, just as the emphasis in this book on the higher social virtues expounded by the Scottish Enlightenment could have been tempered by a contribution on *The Wealth of Nations* and the inferior virtues following from self-interest, so any conclusions on Scottish society in the second half of the eighteenth century which are swayed by a contemporary enthusiasm for "civic virtue" may be assessed against Adam Smith's remark that "it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest."

John Stuart Shaw, Scottish Record Office

Paul B. Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment: The Arts Curriculum in the Eighteenth Century*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1993; distributed by The Mercat Press. Pp. x + 240.

Jennifer Carter has been a key figure in the whole enterprise entitled Quincentennial Studies in the History of the University of Aberdeen: to read in her Foreword how publication of Paul Wood's *The Aberdeen Enlightenment* was delayed by the embroiling of the publisher's title in the imbroglia that engulfed the Maxwell empire gives an appropriate jolt to the serving academic of today, heightening our awareness of the world in which we operate. We are reminded by the author more than once that the institutional history of universities has held a peculiar fascination during the era of change that has characterized the history of higher education since Lord Robbins's report and, it might be added, during the particular political and economic climate that has prevailed since 1979. In like manner, the state and history of Scottish Enlightenment studies since the Second World War has a significance for the contemporary history of Scotland.

While detailed examination of the theme is not appropriate here, landmarks can be fixed of some fifty, forty, and nearly thirty years standing in the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment. They are the work of Gladys

Bryson (1945), of John Clive and Bernard Bailyn (1954), and of Hugh Trevor-Roper (now Lord Dacre) (1967). The major themes of all three of these seminal works bore on the importance of Aberdeen in the period, less directly in two cases than in the other.

Clearly, Bryson pioneered our understanding of the thought of key literati, several of whom had their base in Aberdeen and who figure in Wood's book. Clive and Bailyn raised the significance of being provincial in eighteenth-century cultural terms, and Aberdeen was clearly an important province, though after reflection, the reader of Wood's book may want to revisit that assumption. Trevor-Roper concentrated idiosyncratically on Aberdeen and again, the reader of this book will find it difficult to accept wholly what was first uttered at the St. Andrews first international Enlightenment Congress. So, in terms of traditional and crucial historiography, this book is a necessary antidote and a stimulus to reflection. Nonetheless, the issue of an Edinburgh-centered Enlightenment has surely been laid to rest, not least by Jennifer Carter and her colleagues, by Roger Emerson, and others, so that one of the professed themes may have been unnecessary, or if still considered so, called for some greater comparative treatment than it receives.

However, there have been other issues of interpretation raised since the 1960s: let two suffice. The first concerns the seedbed of the Scottish Enlightenment, whether the origins lay in the later seventeenth century or whether they are to be found in the wake of the Treaty of Union. The second issue can be called in shorthand, for readers of this newsletter, the debate over civic virtue. The two issues are related but the debate on them does draw on discrete evidence and arguments. Wood's work is interesting because implicitly he demonstrates conclusively that as far as the Aberdeen literati are concerned, their intellectual wellsprings do lie in the later seventeenth century—the influence overwhelmingly of Newton and the Aberdonians' place in the vanguard of propagating Newtonianism as well as the stimulus of religious motivation to intellectual inquiry are amply documented here (as in the early pages on the 1690 Commission of Visitation). For instance, on p. 27 we read that Turnbull arguably laid the groundwork for the transformation of Scottish Calvinism that took place in the first half of the eighteenth century. Then on p. 47 the reader is told that the origins of the Scottish Enlightenment pre-date Francis Hutcheson's appointment at Glasgow in 1729: "new philosophical currents had made considerable headway . . . prior to Hutcheson's appointment."

The overwhelming message, however, points to a period of time more precisely, namely that despite all that happened in 1690 and the Episcopalian and Jacobite struggles, the new intellectual currents were either being or had been accepted. On civic virtue, the study is partly devoted to showing the place of the two Aberdeen colleges in carrying through the government's policy for shaping a Hanoverian state (though what was done in Aberdeen had been foreshadowed by William III in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the 1690s, pre-dating Hanoverianism), and how the curricula served to form those who were to shape modern Scotland (Whig history in more than one sense?).

The structure of the study is straightforward: an Introduction on the Aberdeen colleges at the turn of the century is followed by two parts, covering the period 1717-1800, with 1753 as the dividing line. The three chapters in Part I concern themselves with the remodeling of the natural philosophy and mathematics curricula, reconstructing the humanities and human sciences, and the significance of the post-1747 reforms for pursuing politeness and utility. The same academic subjects are followed through in Part II, which considers the legacy of reform in mathematics and the natural sciences and proceeds to examine the teaching on the human mind and sciences and how classical teaching furthered the cultural aims of the institutions. The conclusion is concerned with the purposes of politeness—the King's and Marischal masters aspired to promote learning that would nurture moral and intellectual growth applied to task.

The book is concerned to deal with the external factors that impinged on King's and Marischal (such as the complexion of the town council and its policies) and the differences between the two institutions (such as Marischal's relative weakness in the humanistic disciplines, or the need of King's students, predominantly from the Highlands, for more supervision than the Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire students who went to Marischal, or the different record of each college in attracting students). The study is concerned to relate such developments as agricultural improvement to Marischal's interest in natural knowledge and the acquisition of science equipment and to compare the two colleges' different responses to the issue of replacing regents with professors. The recurrent theme of Jacobitism receives attention, too, such as the scheme for union of the colleges in 1749 designed to engender effective learning in former Jacobite settings and to win over the disaffected. After 1753, Marischal flourished whereas King's entered the nineteenth century much less prosperously.

It is impossible to do justice here to the immense amount of detail in the book: a taster only is given above. Indeed, the principal criticism would be the lack of sustained reflection that emerges from some 160 pages of text (the very full notes predominate in the remainder). The reader is taken painstakingly through the material of professorial lectures (e.g., Alexander Gerard at pp. 65-67 and again at pp. 110-17, or James Beattie at pp. 122-29). The process is lightened by the variety of illustrations, but overall it would have been helpful, given the present

state of the historiography, if the wealth of material here, in so manageable a compass, had been used to illumine and to relate to the interpretation of the Scottish Enlightenment as a whole and Aberdeen's place in it. The Trevor-Roper article might have been a starting point.

Anand C. Chitnis, LSU Southampton

Ian Adams and Meredyth Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope: Scottish Emigration to North America, 1603-1803*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1993. Pp. xii + 258.

David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785*. Athens, Ga., and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1994. Pp. vii + 255.

Overlooked in the past and sometimes described under the broad-based term Scotch-Irish, Scottish emigration to colonial North America is finally being systematically studied by scholars. T. M. Devine's *The Tobacco Lords* (1974) and Ned Landsman's *Scotland and Its First American Colony* (1985) have shed new light on the contextually rich involvement of Scottish merchants in the lucrative trading opportunities opened up in the New World. The two works under review here are part of this relatively recent trend of research.

David Dobson, in his solidly-researched and well-written *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785*, has made an important contribution to this field. Through the use of primary sources in the United States, Canada, England, France, Jamaica, Sweden, and Scotland, he has produced a definitive and ground-breaking study which is so interesting it can be read at one sitting. Dobson divides his work into three separate time periods—1660 to 1707, 1707 to 1763, and 1763 to 1785—and discusses in detail Scottish emigration to New England, the Middle Colonies of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Chesapeake, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, the West Indies, and Canada. He identifies many of the more prominent Scottish merchant families of British North America, such as the McCalls, the Coutts, and the Trents, and he has systematically used colonial wills as a way of identifying many of the transatlantic links. Dobson, however, does not limit his coverage to the wealthy merchants; he also identifies many less well known Scots and has evidently scoured an enormous variety of primary sources for indentured servants and banished Covenanters and Jacobites.

Particularly refreshing is Dobson's emphasis on, and detailed analysis of, previously little known Scottish involvement in trade to the Americas in the seventeenth century, which invariably led to settlement through the exportation of Scottish indentured servants to work on the plantations, some of whom were acquired in kidnapping rounds in the Highlands by the more unscrupulous Lowland merchants. Part of an emigrant tradition whose destination from 1550 to 1650 was, interestingly enough, Poland, Scottish emigration in the seventeenth century ranged from transportations by Cromwell of Scottish soldiers defeated at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, many of whom ended up in Boston, to the later exodus of other religious dissidents, such as Quakers, Covenanters, and Episcopalians. The Scottish presence was apparently so strong in Boston in the seventeenth century that the Scots Charitable Society was founded in 1657.

Dobson also intelligently discusses the Scottish influence in the West Indies and particularly Barbados, which was granted to a Scot, James Hay, earl of Carlisle, by Charles I in 1627 by a proprietary patent. Accounts of other more obscure Scots, such as Robert Christie, a merchant from Culross who wrote from Florida in 1667 of his intention to go to Mexico, blend nicely with Dobson's work on more colorful and well-known men such as Captain William Kidd, born in Dundee in 1654. Dobson also gives one of the best accounts of the ill-fated colony of Darien on the Isthmus of Panama (the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies created by an act of the Scottish Parliament in 1695), which was abandoned by June 1699 because of attacks by the Spanish, and which resulted in the death and dispersal of over 2,500 Scottish immigrants.

Dobson's coverage of eighteenth-century emigration is just as innovative as his work on the seventeenth century. His narrative on Georgia, which was first settled by Scottish immigrants who sailed from Leith in 1734, is particularly interesting. Dobson also gives new life to the well-trodden Highland emigrations by placing them in their American context, and his research on the Scots in the West Indies is unparalleled. As Dobson relates, Janet Schaw, who visited Antigua and St. Kitts in 1774, wrote in her diary: "Here was a whole company of Scotch people, our language, our manners, our circle of friends and connections, all the same" (p. 180).

Dobson's work will undoubtedly pave the way for future research, and should be an invaluable source for historians and genealogists alike. Compared to it, Ian Adams and Meredyth Somerville's *Cargoes of Despair and Hope: Scottish Emigration to North America, 1603-1803* has somewhat less to offer. Although professing to cover emigration from 1603, the year of James VI's accession to the throne of England, the book concentrates for the most part on the eighteenth century. Particularly useful and interesting are the discussions of the Scottish settlements at Cape Fear, North Carolina, and at Cherry Valley, Otsego County, New York, and the active involvement of Scotland's prominent agricultural improver, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, in settling Florida with Scot-

tish colonists after the French and Indian War. The Glengarry emigrations of 1773 from the Scottish Highlands to New York State and eventually Glengarry, Canada, and the Scottish settlement on Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, are also well covered. The authors' treatment of the Highland clearances and the breakdown of the feudal ties once joining clansmen to their chiefs is excellent.

Cargoes of Despair and Hope synthesizes a vast and diverse amount of material relating to Scottish emigration and chronicles the unique conditions in Scotland, ranging from religious persecution to famine and eviction, that forced many Scots to leave. By far the strongest parts of the book are the discussions on the often arbitrary actions of the Highland landlords and the numerous schemes of improvers and tenants alike for establishing Scottish settlements, such as the Inchinnan Company of Dumbarton and Renfrew, also known as the Scots American Company of Farmers, which was formed in 1772. The contribution of the Highland regiments in the Seven Years' War is well chronicled, as are the often disastrous effects of agricultural improvement on the northern regions of Scotland, which resulted in rack rents and absentee landlords. There are also a number of useful maps and appendices, in particular a list of ships carrying emigrants from Scotland between 1764 and 1804.

The book, however, does have its distractions and shortcomings, not least of which are numerous gaps in the typesetting, which distract the reader from the flow of the text. The chapter headings bearing uncited quotes are also confusing and fail to give the book any sense of direction or organization. Chronology at times seems to be lacking, and the overuse of quotes lends to the general sense that this work has still to be digested. The book also relies too heavily on secondary sources, and although claiming to be a study of the ordinary person, it never achieves that result due to its lack of primary manuscript material. The index would be more helpful if it were more complete, and the glossary is too brief and somewhat general in its definitions—for example, describing a spinster merely as someone who spins; such brevity leaves the reader to wonder why some of the more obscure Scottish terms, such as runrig (the Scottish system of joint landholding) were not included.

An ambitious work, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope* is a useful reference for students and scholars of Scottish emigration in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but it lacks the comprehensive scope, innovative research, and fresh insights that mark David Dobson's study.

Carolyn Peters, *Biographical Dictionary of Early Pennsylvania Legislators*

Pat Rogers, ed. *Johnson & Boswell in Scotland: A Journey to the Hebrides*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. Pp. 330.

Pat Rogers and Yale University Press have done a huge favor for all of us who study, teach, and admire both Johnson and Boswell's narratives of their joint tour through Scotland and the western islands. What this edition does—for the first time—is to print the two accounts side-by-side, with Boswell's text in italics on the verso pages and Johnson's text on the recto pages. Supplementing Johnson's account are excerpts from letters he wrote to Robert Chambers and Hester and Henry Thrale. Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) is presented in full, and Boswell's *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (1785) is, in some places, cut and reordered to dovetail more manageably with its companion text. Interspersed throughout the volume are prints depicting people, literary works, pictorial views of Scotland, and maps of the area. The inside and backside covers present a map of the path the two men beat through this land of mystery, misperception, and majesty.

The delight Pat Rogers must have had editing this volume shows, especially in his short introduction, wittily titled "The Grand Detour of Johnson and Boswell," and in the helpful glossary of names that provides biographical, historical, and literary information for the uninitiated reader. The accounts themselves are organized in the following manner. The prologue presents Boswell's representation of how the journey came about and a record of the days the two spent in Edinburgh before setting out. The first chapter, "Outward Bound," chronicles the first stage, from 18 August through breakfast at Cullen on 26 August. The second chapter, "Into the Highlands," presents the march to the coast, roughly 26 August to 2 September. Three chapters on Skye follow: "The Arrival in Skye," "The Travellers Take Stock," and "Johnson on Skye." The sixth chapter presents the account of the other western islands; the seventh focuses on the return to Edinburgh; and the epilogue gives a brief farewell from Johnson and a more verbose close from his tour guide. This includes Boswell's well known (and well deserved) paragraph of self-congratulation: "Had it not been for me, I am persuaded Dr Johnson never would have undertaken such a journey; and I must be allowed to assume some merit from having been the cause that our language has been enriched with such a book as that which he published on his return" (p. 318). The arrangement affords the reader the luxury of seeing—almost page by page—how these two men did indeed have very different subjects and motivations for their works. As so many others have observed, Johnson is omnipresent in Boswell's view,

while Johnson's "english eyes" took in a people and landscape that challenged him in complex and interesting ways.

The only reservation I have in regard to the presentation of the texts is that the necessary deletions from Boswell's text are not indicated by any kind of mark or note. The guiding principle behind the decision of what to delete seems evident and sound. As perhaps they must be, those remarks of Boswell that are tangential to the journey experience and his reflections that are unrelated to Scottish concerns are sacrificed to the focus of the volume. While graduate students and scholars who dedicate themselves to elucidating these two texts might still want to work with the acknowledged authoritative editions, undergraduates and others will find this edition to be an ideal one. In fact, I recommend it most enthusiastically to those who teach seminars on Boswell and Johnson. With its special presentation of the texts, the volume does for us what we sometimes fail to do for ourselves; that is, see in these two works, separately and together, complex accounts of self and country.

Linda E. Merians, La Salle University

Howard D. Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xvii + 625.

This is a book that is built to last. Not only is it physically imposing in its design and weight—over six hundred beautifully designed pages of thick, creamy paper—but its overall tone is that of the definitive statement, of a scholarly confidence rare in these postmodernist, poststructuralist days of the relative and the reader-bound interpretation. Howard Weinbrot's critical model is not Derrida or Foucault, but Edmund Burke and, in particular, the principle that seeks truth from numerous examples and comparisons ("The greater number of these comparisons we make, the more general and more certain our knowledge is like to prove"). And, true to the Introduction, *Britannia's Issue* contains a wealth of judicious quotation from primary sources, substantiated by detailed references and even directions to further examples in the footnotes. From the bibliographical point of view alone, the book is invaluable.

While Weinbrot's concentration on primary rather than secondary sources is, in many ways, admirable, it is still rather disconcerting to encounter such wholesale dismissal of recent critical work ("The reader keen on race, class, historicizing, the 'Other' and the like, will find them here aplenty, but more on the eighteenth century's terms than their own"). Although such an approach renders the ensuing history wonderfully free of theoretical jargon, it nevertheless has the effect of bulldozing aside issues too important to be dismissed as mere trendiness. The "rise of British literature" could, after all, appear very differently even to eighteenth-century readers, depending on whether they hailed from North, South, East, or West. Ossian's harp may well have been "heard in Caithness, Cornwall and Chelsea," but it does not follow that Macpherson's works were read for the same reasons by every enthusiast. Nor would all readers of the early 1750s necessarily comply with Weinbrot's view that Collins's "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland" recounts a "friendly series of events," whereby "the dominant English share with the subordinate Scots."

One of the great strengths of *Britannia's Issue* is its challenge to the perennial emphasis on neoclassicism in the period, and its alternative highlighting of the Jewish/Hebraic and Celtic elements of the developing British tradition (whether the "British" were as hostile to the Gothic/Germanic and Scandinavian strands of their culture as is suggested here is highly debatable, but the central thesis is nevertheless important and persuasive). Given such a promising framework, and such a comprehensive range of texts and genres for discussion, it is thus a little disappointing to find this learned author opting for overtly progressive readings, rather than complicating his narrative by an awareness of the inherent ironies. His very choice of title, for example, drawn from Gray's "The Bard," is open to alternative interpretations. For while Weinbrot sees it, perceptively, as the statement of "an eighteenth-century English poet, about a thirteenth-century fancied event, and British national pride and history resumed under a sixteenth-century Welsh-British queen, predicted by a Celtic Bard carrying on the wisdom of first century Druids, in turn often thought the outgrowth of itinerant Hebrew-speaking perhaps Jewish Phoenicians long before the birth of Christ, and expressed in a fifth-century B.C. rigidly regular, but thought irregular, Greek poetic form," it is questionable whether this cultural amalgam is as "amiable" or indeed assured as he assumes. Gray's line, "All hail, ye genuine Kings, Britannia's Issue, hail!" is complicated not only by being put into the mouth of the last Welsh bard, driven to suicide by the invading English army, but also through the echo of *Macbeth* ("All hail, Macbeth! that shall be king hereafter"), which hardly seems the most optimistic association for the future line of British monarchs and the attendant literary tradition.

But if not all readers share Weinbrot's interpretations of the examples and comparisons he has assembled, there will be few who do not find plenty to stimulate fresh thought and further research on national identity, canon-making, literary history, and the invention of tradition. The parallel with Burke may extend further than the merely methodological, for there is much to debate in this urbane and elegant account. Given the implicit denial of the

Irish dimension in the construction of British identity in *Britannia's Issue*, Burke is at once an ironic and appropriate muse for this book, with its emphasis on national synthesis and amalgamation as a positive and enriching process.

Fiona Stafford, Somerville College, Oxford

Robert Burns, *Selected Poems*. Ed. Carol McGuiirk. London: Penguin Books, 1993. Pp. xxx + 335.

Any edition which reads "selected" is a daunting task for its editor, much more so if the author, like Burns, has seen a couple of thousand books, pamphlets, and ephemera containing his works. Carol McGuiirk has taken up the challenge and acquitted herself admirably with the present Penguin edition. The book contains a ten-page preface, a useful table of dates, a chronology of Scottish history and literature before Burns, as well as the indispensable glossary. All these are helpful, but it will be because of the 103 pages of notes that readers should elect to use the McGuiirk edition. Her selection contains an even 100 poems (out of about 630; scholars do not agree about several others) which she has arranged chronologically as they were written. She notes that the alternative arrangement, chronologically as published, has been followed by many other editors. Both systems have their drawbacks: McGuiirk's is complicated by the fact that there are a good many of Burns's poems for which we do not have much idea of the date of composition; publishing works in the order in which they were originally brought out can also lead to confusion because there were several poems that Burns chose not to publish during his lifetime, particularly the church satires and his bawdy verse. "Holy Willie's Prayer" is an example: first printed in 1789 in a chapbook that was almost certainly not authorized by the poet (who may not even have known of its existence), the satire did not reappear until three years after Burns's death. More than once Burns cautioned friends to whom he was sending a ribald poem to be careful not to let it be known that the work was his own.

Most people know of Robert Burns as a poet rather than poet *and* song-writer (how many revelers on New Year's Eve know Burns as the author of "Auld Lang Syne"?), and it is a real strength of this edition that the best songs have been included, with the music for them in the notes—the only quibble I have with the edition is that I think the music should have been printed in the text. Much research remains to be done on Burns and the relationship of his work to folk song (words and particularly music), a statement emphasized by McGuiirk, who lists James C. Dick's *Songs of Robert Burns* of 1903 for recommended further reading. (In fairness, she was probably at proof stage with her edition before Donald Low's *The Songs of Robert Burns* was published in 1993.)

Penguin has kept a selection of Burns's works in print since Henry W. Meikle and William Beattie's edition of 1946, but I am quite at a loss to know why this publisher issued Angus Calder and William Donnelly's *Selected Poetry* of Burns in 1991 (and still in print), to be followed by McGuiirk two years later. In this instance Penguin appears to be following the words in Matthew, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

Carol McGuiirk has edited an excellent collection of the important poems and songs of Burns in a well laid out and easy to use edition which will answer the needs of both student and non-academic reader alike.

G. Ross Roy, University of South Carolina

James Mackay, *Burns: A Biography of Robert Burns*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1992 (out of print); London: Hodder Headline (paperback edn.), 1993. Pp. 749.

To the usual double challenge of literary biography—rendering individual character and the context and circumstances of a life while keeping in full view the creative drives and literary output that confer its special interest—the biographer of Burns adds the extra one of writing about a figure iconic in terms of Scottish national identity, who accordingly trails clouds of controversy, legend, and fictional accretion. James Mackay justly claims to offer the first fully researched biography of Burns since Franklyn Bliss Snyder's *The Life of Robert Burns* (1932) which, he points out, appeared too early to make full use of Ferguson's edition of Burns's *Letters*. Starting from a strong position of a particular kind—editor of the *Burns Chronicle* for fourteen years, and of the Burns Federation's editions of the *Complete Works* and *Complete Letters*, which he cites in preference to the Clarendon editions by Kinsley and Ferguson/Ross Roy—Mackay finds "the entire life of Robert Burns . . . riddled with half-truths, contradictions and myths." His approach is "to examine every so-called fact . . . and trace it right back to its source as far as possible," using manuscript and printed primary sources of Burns's period, modern forensic analysis of documents and, notably, the International Genealogical Index compiled for religious purposes by the Mormon Church. Having resolved discrepancies, corrected identities, and ascertained hundreds of facts great and small, Mackay admits that "none of this materially alters the truth about Burns." His life of the poet, though definitive, "will not be the last word on the subject" (though he makes it clear that here he is thinking of specific gaps in his account, the possible rediscovery of lost documents and the like) and "no attempt has been made to

consider [Burns's] writings from a critical viewpoint," the reader being referred for this purpose to Daiches, Keith, Crawford and recent collections of essays. Equally, there is at work no specific notion of eighteenth-century Scottish cultural or intellectual history—neither complacent accounts of enlightenment and improvement nor alarmed ones of linguistic and material impoverishment, neither David Craig's sense of the whole culture as constrictingly anti-literary nor Bruce Lenman's perception of "cultural shock and identity crisis" during Burns's formative years and "systematic persecution" during his maturity. For Mackay, one feels, Marx, Freud, and MacDiarmid might as well not have written.

Within its stated aims, Mackay's work is impressively thorough and balanced, and there is more common sense and informative discussion of the writing than Mackay suggests—especially in the account of the Kilmarnock edition at the end of chapter 8 and in the emphasis on the individual occasions of the satires and of many of the best songs. Yet, in the absence of a higher-level criterion of relevance, the hook, driven by the chronological facts-and-problems approach, allocates space and attention according to local density of "half-truths, contradictions and myths." Reading it is like walking an inquisitive terrier which constantly darts off on its own agenda of smells and by-paths and lamp-post-marking, while the reader/walker whistles and waits.

Nonetheless, the early chapters are well served by much of the compulsive detail in the well-known tale they tell—of diet, soil, farming practices, etymologies of place names, descriptions of houses, identifications of friends male and female, conflicting accounts of problematic episodes (the dancing-school, the flax-dressing project and its terminal fire). Mackay establishes a very strong sense of the density of the society in these Ayrshire parishes, mixed populations of small-town professionals and rural craftsmen, and brings out well how far "farming" for the Burnses and their contemporaries meant something much more entrepreneurial and pioneering than it did later—breaking in land, enclosing fields, creating viable soil—not merely running the farm and maintaining an established agricultural landscape.

The Edinburgh and Dumfries sections are less successful. After useful introductory overviews of controversial matters, the writer loses himself in the involutions of his slippery material. The Edinburgh chapters lose thrust and focus as large blocks of primary evidence well justified by its interest (including extensive quotation of Burns's letters) mingle with a chronological narrative which keeps stopping to over-annotate in the text the ancestors, descendants and careers of almost everybody mentioned—material which a strong-minded copy-editor ought surely to have removed to a biographical reference section or to notes. Later, making the best of Burns's last years in Dumfries, Mackay quotes the early posthumous accounts in order to reject them as contaminated by political hostility and small-town envy and malice, without apparently perceiving how much ground his tactic really concedes to a deeply dismal interpretation of the late period. Here some of his judiciousness deserts him; rejecting Catherine Carswell's account of Jean Armour's response to the Ellisland farming failure as mere speculation, he counter-speculates in his turn, and an eyewitness of Burns's anxious behavior on the street in Dumfries is crisply told by Mackay that he ought to have known better. The unheated treatment of the Dumfries theater disturbance and of Burns's denunciation to the Commissioners of Excise during the counter-terror of the early 1790s perhaps underestimates what even Scott called the "lack of political tolerance shown by the men above Burns in the Excise."

Mackay's larger reinterpretations of Snyder (some, naturally, synthesizing other scholars' work of the intervening sixty years) include: greater emphasis on the "physical effects of chronic depression" on Burns's health, against Snyder's stress on the origin in early hardships of the rheumatic heart condition which, both writers agree, is the most probable cause of the poet's premature death; a more positive account than Snyder's of Burns's father's financial and legal position in late years (he won the law-suit that destroyed his health and virtually ruined him!); some upward revision of Jean Armour's social standing and level of literacy, and some speculative clarification of the episode of the "unlucky paper" (later mutilated and now lost) which acknowledged their relationship; clarification of the Highland Mary episode by renaming Mary as Margaret, de-emphasizing the inscribed Bible (though Mackay's blue-green light which showed only Burns's name on the end-papers "revealed" something already apparent to Lockhart in 1828), and closely arguing a "not proven" verdict on the supposed baby in her grave while regarding as "exploded" the specific counter-claim that the coffin was really Agnes Hendry's; support for the publisher William Creech's claim that he parted with some £1100 to Burns, against Burns's view, endorsed by Snyder, that only some £450 effectively changed hands between them; acceptance of the actuality of Burns's second Galloway tour and of Burns's role in the capture of the smuggling brig *Rosamond*, and of "strong presumptive proof" of the truth of Lockhart's tale of Burns's dispatch of cannon to the French Assembly—all rejected by Snyder; support for the current rehabilitation of George Thomson, whose very obtuseness as a song editor happily elicited from Burns fifty-seven letters on "the mechanics of composition . . . and the mending and re-working of old ballads"; skeptical destruction of a fair number of "carousal" stories from the late period, in service of a general thesis rejecting Burns's alleged over-drinking (the main positive argument here, from literary productiveness and efficient discharge of responsibilities as an exciseman, again being at least as old as Lockhart); and denial that Burns was ostracized by his social superiors in his last years (a denial that might seem hard to

sustain in the face of his apparent breaches with the Duchess of Gordon, Mrs. Dunlop, and the Riddells, which do at least display a pattern of friction and misunderstanding in such relationships).

Many of Mackay's small corrections and amplifications of detail will rightly enter the record, but despite his powerful negative analyses, many of the larger issues remain unresolved—something that Mackay sometimes directly acknowledges though his tone and stance work to deny it. If he does clear Burns of the charges of drinking to excess (and it isn't certain that he does), he quite fails to interrogate the psychosexual constitution of a subject who was both so notably and successfully promiscuous and so highfalutinly and explicitly "in love" so often in his life, and who made the presentation of self such a leading issue in his epistles in verse and prose.

Some odd notions intrude—that in the eighteenth century haggis (already mentioned by Dunbar) was an innovation and birth control non-existent, that the nobility in old Edinburgh lived in the top floors of the tenements rather than on the piano nobile, that the student-age Walter Scott (located in Edinburgh and the eastern Borders, anchored there by studies and work except when exploring the Highlands and wooing near Montrose), was at fault in neglecting opportunities to visit Burns in Dumfries. Too much effort is devoted to exposing the lack of factual basis for the ingenious and frankly fictional speculations of Alistair Campsie's *The Clarinda Conspiracy*, while the late and apparently genre-fictional "Robin Cummell" is treated as a potentially credible source. The footnotes to the second half of chapter 9 are each out by one number; not all the index entries lead to the expected reference, and there are no illustrations.

Mackay's *Burns* is both a remarkable achievement and a book with irritating weaknesses, whose nature, like the subject of the biography, stands astride the fault-line between the academic and the popular terrains of Scottish literary and cultural questions. At the level of information and of review of evidence and of past controversy, it probably justifies its claim to be definitive: this work will not need to be done again. But the purposes for which the evidence is marshalled, and the questions to be addressed, remain more problematic. John Carswell, introducing the 1950 reprint of his mother's *Life of Robert Burns*, summed up her aim as "to write seriously of Scotland's national poet for the common reader, not for a circle of students and admirers." Mackay's book doesn't show a strong enough working notion of the literary, or of the literary within society, to control the array of contingent information that it deploys; and on the other hand there isn't enough attention to character and experience to make the biography penetrating as a portrait or an analysis. Rightly rejecting the moralism of earlier biographers, Mackay fails to escape from their definitions of the issues and consequently remains trapped in their moralistic dialectic which—the dynamic having perhaps gone out of Burns's dealings with religion—now leaves the sex and the drinking to usurp the role of leading topics. There is still room for an account which addresses character, writing, and the latter's role in the articulation of nationhood, in addition to the details of biographical narrative and context that Mackay explores so thoroughly.

Tony Inglis, University of Sussex

Barbara Warnick. *The Sixth Canon: Belletristic Rhetorical Theory and Its French Antecedents*. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993. Pp. xii + 176.

Warnick's argument on behalf of what she terms "the sixth canon" effectively contextualizes the rhetorics of Hugh Blair and George Campbell as products of their own age. In the aftermath of the Ramistic and Cartesian elision of classical rhetoric, the Scottish rhetoricians embraced a largely managerial sense of rhetoric's function. Perhaps still entrapped by the classical canons, however, the managerial interpretation does not do justice to the aesthetic dimensions found in Blair's and Campbell's respective theories.

Written with an economy of style and an analytic precision that remain tightly focused on the central themes, Warnick provides a fresh reading which serves to highlight this dimension as a "canon" in its own right. While others have noted the presence of a concern for the role of such concepts as vivacity and ideal presence in stimulating the imagination of listeners, Warnick goes a step further in illustrating the significance of these and related ideas in the rhetorics of Adam Smith, Blair, and Campbell. In the process, she illustrates the heretofore largely neglected relationship between Blair and Campbell and their French predecessors—Lamy, Dubos, Fenelon, Boileau, and others.

With this overview in mind, the remainder of this review offers a more descriptive analysis of the argument. Warnick begins, appropriately enough, with Adam Smith. His shift from elements involved in the invention or creation of discourse to those elements involved in its reception by listeners foreshadows the Scottish re-orientation of rhetoric's province. Blair follows this with a clear commitment to provide his students with the tools needed to be responsible participants in a civil society. This involves, in his view, an understanding of what produces response in listeners, the better to function as "true critics" in the analysis of all the arts. In his hands, propriety, sublimity, and taste coalesce into a coherent "sixth canon" that supplants classical invention. The source

for these ideas, as Warnick amply illustrates in subsequent chapters, is found in the writings of Lamy, Fenelon, Boileau, and others.

Chapter 1 begins with a brief review of Gibert's *Regles de l'eloquence*, which served, in France, as a parallel to the classically oriented rhetorics of Ward and Lawson. As was true of their British counterparts, Gibert's orientation disappeared in late seventeenth-century French treatments of rhetoric. Bernard Lamy's *L'Art de parler* provides the counterpoint, and serves as the primary influence for later French treatments of the elements comprising the sixth canon. Though this work was not directly influential in later Scottish rhetorics, Warnick appropriately begins with it. However distilled and altered, its orientation is under the surface of Blair's and Campbell's subsequent borrowings from their French predecessors. Lamy's treatment of four major concepts—portraiture, propriety, vraisemblance, and clarity—serves as the grounding for a narrower examination of the key concepts of propriety, sublimity, and taste. In treating these, the question that animates Lamy, and is followed by later theorists, is "how is the mind affected?" The answer shifts the focus from techniques of invention to an analysis of the audience and how and why they will receive ideas.

Chapters 2-4 treat propriety, sublimity, and taste respectively. Chapter 2 begins with Fenelon, followed by the development of propriety in the rhetorics of Smith, Campbell, and Blair. In each case, what is significant is the manner in which propriety meets the needs of the respective cultural milieu in which it is to be utilized. For example, while for Fenelon the concept functioned in an architectonic manner, Campbell sees it as a dimension of purity of language. Blair returns the concept to its more global dimension. Chapter 3 provides an extensive analysis of Boileau's recasting of sublimity to better meet the needs of French society. Warnick presents a cogent argument for its subsequent treatment by Priestley, Campbell, and Blair, with each giving the term a place within their respective theories that is dependent on Boileau while not being constrained by his assumptions. Chapter 4 focuses on taste as a central component of both French and Scottish life: one simply could not function in polite society without a refined sense of taste. Because of its stronger grounding in Scottish philosophy, Hume's and Reid's oppositional theories of taste are given close scrutiny. Warnick provides an important corrective in noting that Blair, fully conversant with both theorists and their respective positions, horrors from both in creating a rather philosophically contradictory account. As part of this reconstruction, Warnick reviews the contributions of Dubos, whose sensationist theories were influential for Hume's account, and hence for Blair's as well. Campbell's derivation of taste is attributed in part to Francis Hutcheson's earlier analysis.

In her concluding chapter, Warnick offers a provocative parallel between the classical conception of logos, pathos, and ethos: each is replaced in turn by an emphasis on propriety, sublimity, and taste. The explanation offered for each parallel is defensible, and offers a solid summary of the sixth canon. Readers also will appreciate the fact that Warnick includes the original French in footnotes and clearly identifies her own translations.

The relevance of this work should be clear to those studying seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French and Scottish theory. The book is a significant resource for understanding the rhetorics of Smith, Campbell, and Blair, and is an analysis that will be influential in subsequent work on modern rhetorical theory.

Raymie E. McKerrow, University of Maine

Winifred Bryan Horner, *Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric: The American Connection*. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993. Pp. ix + 211.

Although Winifred Horner's book focuses on the nineteenth century, it has much that may interest scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland, particularly those who focus on the turn of the century or who are interested in the influences of Scottish thought into the nineteenth century or in the United States. The Scottish Enlightenment, after all, did not come to a halt in 1800, and the Scottish rhetorical tradition that flourished in the eighteenth century and that exercised such a profound influence on higher education in the United States continued into the nineteenth century in Scotland, influencing thinking about writing and reading.

After a brief introduction, Horner provides some historical background on the history of Scottish education, the Scottish Enlightenment, and Common Sense philosophy. She then focuses on the teaching of rhetoric, writing, logic, and language at the Scottish schools from the eighteenth century through the nineteenth century. These chapters are largely derivative and add little to that which historians generally know. And they add little to what Horner has written about Scottish rhetoric on other occasions. In addition, Horner often relies too heavily on secondary source material rather than returning to primary historical documents. For instance, most of her material on Hugh Blair comes from Henry Meikle's brief article on the history of the Regius Chair, an article that is itself quite derivative. She refers very little to Robert M. Schmitz's important book on Blair and mentions John Hill's biography of Blair not at all. Horner does give a helpful review of the important secondary sources even though her conclusions about the connections between the Scottish tradition and writing instruction in the United

States are fairly commonplace. But to her defense, Horner appears to be addressing a general audience interested in rhetoric and writing rather than an audience of historians.

Unfortunately, Horner shows an occasional carelessness with facts. At one point she states that in 1760 Hugh Blair was "appointed to the newly established Regius Professorship of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres" (p. 10). Later, she states that Blair was appointed to the position in 1762 (p. 38). Actually, Blair began lecturing in 1759 without the sponsorship of the University of Edinburgh. He began lecturing at the university in 1760 and was appointed to the Regius Chair in 1762. The 1762 date is important because Blair's appointment came during the ministry of Bute, a time when a number of preferments were given to Scottish intellectuals. Horner repeats this error in other places, twice on one page (p. 59). In another instance, Horner writes that "when Adam Smith left Edinburgh, Hugh Blair took over his highly successful lectures" (p. 38). Actually when Smith left Edinburgh, his lectures were continued by Robert Watson, who lectured until 1756, when he was elected to the chair of logic at St. Andrews University. Blair began his lectures in December 1759.

The most useful parts of Horner's book are the middle chapters, in which she describes archival material related to Scottish rhetoric. These chapters are the core of the book and probably could have been published separately as an article without all the background material. Although much of this material has been listed elsewhere, it has never been as fully annotated as here. Unfortunately, Horner only includes eighteenth-century materials that continue into the nineteenth century. As a result, student notes of James Finlayson's lectures are included (for the years 1795-97) as are William Greenfield's (for the years 1785-86), but notes of Blair's lectures (of which there are several sets) are not. Horner could have given a more complete picture of the Scottish rhetorical tradition by surveying eighteenth-century archival material along with the nineteenth-century material, particularly since the nineteenth-century figures (Alexander Bain excepted) were not nearly as influential as Blair, George Campbell, and John Witherspoon.

Gary Layne Hatch, Brigham Young University

Helen Lillie, *Home to Strathblane*. Glendaruel, Argyll: Argyll Publishers, 1993. Pp. 350.

Anyone taking up the practice of the historical novel in or around Scotland these days takes her life in her hands, for that nation has spawned two of the foremost practitioners of the genre: Sir Walter Scott and the contemporary novelist Dorothy Dunnett, whose cult following would not be the least surprised to find her work mentioned in the same breath as that of her illustrious predecessor. To say that Helen Lillie's *Home to Strathblane* is not in the same league is then surely no serious dispraise, though it does offer fair warning that readers will not find the full pleasure this genre is able to convey.

Home to Strathblane is set in the eighteenth century, primarily in the rural parish of its title, though it reaches out to compass Glasgow, Edinburgh, and at one remove, a revolutionary France still in turmoil as well. A young gentleman latterly of Paris who has suffered unnamable horrors in the Terror comes to a prosperous but simple farmhouse in Strathblane to be nursed back to health. He falls in love with the improbably named Primrose Moncrieff, a gentlewoman who seems to him to work harder and seem better educated than her French counterparts, though she is in some ways more provincial than they. The young man recovers his health due to the enlightened intervention of a country doctor, who takes the opportunity to lecture his captive audience on the history of medicine, and also to enter the barter in smuggled goods of the farm on which his patient is confined. He and the hero challenge the forces of traditional order stemming from kirk and countryside; the young man recoups his fortune in Edinburgh but chooses the gentry life over the life of law and commerce; and all ends well.

The plot is slight, the characterization weak, and the prose undistinguished (though anyone capable of writing the sentence "she clung to him with a charming lack of inhibition" in this day and age has a great deal of truly charming inhibition going for her), but the novel is redeemed by a strong sense of place and a deep immersion in social history. One of the best parts of the book concerns the efforts of the doctor to close the local school in order to reduce the incidence of influenza. "They kept the bairns home in Killearn last winter when the measles came and there were nae sae many o'them died," pleads the sensible young farmer's daughter. "Aye, but this is Strathblane," comes the inevitable riposte, versions of which can no doubt still be heard in parishes and towns across the land wherever innovations and novelties of the day are contemplated. The author pays tribute in her dedication to Henry Grey Graham's *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, but she has brought a good deal of feeling for her own countryside to this book, and the introduction of medical history is learned and has its surprises for those not *au courant* with that field. Any student of Scottish history would benefit from Lillie's recreation of a social network the more interesting for its small scale, and by no means beyond the purview of larger movements and events.

Cleo Kearns, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Ian Gow, **The Scottish Interior: Georgian and Victorian Decor**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press. Pp. 174, with 79 figures.

This architecture book is unusual in two respects. First, though it seems such an obvious thing to do, it looks at buildings not as objects to be seen from outside, but as objects to be lived in and used—that is from the point of view of their interior space; or rather, because space itself is an abstract phenomenon, from the point of view of the enclosing surfaces which create this space. These surfaces have a physiognomy articulated by color, texture, moldings and classical features, pictures, carpets, tapestries, and hangings. The spaces are also articulated by the objects of use they contain: furniture, ornaments, light fittings, and musical instruments. These small, detailed items give direct clues about lifestyle, economic status, and social custom. In other words, by focusing on furnished interiors it is impossible to pretend, as much of architectural discourse today does, that buildings are large pieces of public sculpture whose function is of little or no significance.

The second respect in which the book is unusual is that the illustrative material—drawings, prints, sketches, paintings, and early photographs—is contemporary with the creation of the interiors, and therefore the artists' emphases, suppressions, and distortions make analysis easier and give it richer possibilities. There are some outstanding paintings, such as James Giles's of the 1816 drawing room at Haddo House which the author regards as "the most considerable work of art illustrated in this book." But a picture such as this is not only notable for its artistic qualities but is rich in social narrative. The house itself was designed by William Adam in the 1730s. Its modernization by Lord Aberdeen reflects his taste for Hellenic art. The room is occupied by two ladies, one at work on embroidery, the other relaxing with her complexion shielded from the fire by a fire screen. The french doors are open onto a park scene in which the earl had spent a fortune planting trees—reputedly fourteen million of them! On the walls the family's history is validated by the family portraits and the heraldic emblems. In the foreground there is a harpsichord and a writing table, conventional symbols for cultivated leisure and business achievement. Above all, both the interior, with its sparse and delicate furniture, and the exterior, emphasize spaciousness, a veritable superfluity of space which is one way of signifying the economic surplus invested in both house and land. We see this, much later, in Mackintosh's Helensburgh Hill House. Another way, in striking contrast, is to stuff the space full of valuable antiques, precious fabrics, and modern furniture, as, for instance, in Lady Henrietta Gilmour's drawing room at Montrave.

The material is mainly drawn from the architectural collection of the National Monuments Record of Scotland, of which the author is curator, and covers seventy-nine examples of interiors, ranging from royal apartments in Holyrood Palace, Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford, and great mansions, to a Hebridean weaver's cottage, an artist's workshop, and Edinburgh slum houses. In between there are interiors of bourgeois and minor landed gentry's town and country houses, including their kitchens and servants' quarters, the matron's room in a hospital for limbless servicemen photographed during the First World War, and the showroom of a firm of decorators. Especially fascinating are the interiors which architects such as Rowand Anderson and Lorimer design for themselves.

The text accompanying each case is scholarly and traces through in detail the historical context of the room, building, and estate, as well as that of the illustration and of the more notable pieces of furniture or works of art represented. The opportunity is missed, however, to analyze the meaning of these in terms of changing social relations. For example, there is an illustration of the communal breakfast room at Ardcheanochrochan Inn in the Trossachs in 1854. Hotels for Highland tourists were a novelty. Eating together and yet maintaining privacy is achieved here by placing an enormous table (seemingly some four meters by eight) in the middle of the room, allowing guests to sit around its periphery with the maximum possible space between the pairs or small groups. The era of a multiplicity of separate tables had not yet arrived. The picture of such a table and its breakfasting cries out for comment.

The failure to grasp this opportunity is all the more evident in a book which, unavoidably, touches on every aspect of personal, family, and public life. Nevertheless, the systematically thorough treatment, the wealth of illustrations, mostly of hitherto unpublished or little known material, the elegance of the production, and the modest price of £25 makes this a very desirable volume.

Thomas A. Markus, University of Strathclyde (Emeritus)

Thomas Mautner, **Francis Hutcheson On Human Nature**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. 194.

The purpose of this smallish book is to make easily available two texts by Francis Hutcheson which were never lost, but which have been difficult to obtain and much overlooked. Since together these texts total only thirty-five pages, Mautner has filled the book with a long introductory essay on the context of Hutcheson's philosophy (87 pages), overviews of the texts (22 pages), many appendices (21 pages), and an annotated bibliography (21 pages). The result is in total fairly interesting; despite the appearance of a collection of miscellanea, the book contains lit-

the padding, (though the overviews could have been shorter). The book should be ordered forthwith by any library with collections on eighteenth-century British or Irish intellectual history, and read by those with an interest in the moral, philosophical, or theological thought of that period, as well as, of course, by Hutcheson scholars, for whom it is now required reading. The book is especially relevant to both the philosophical and the theological aspects of the debate about self-interest or benevolence as the motive for virtuous actions.

The first text by Hutcheson, "Reflections on our common systems of morality," is an essay that appeared in *The London Journal* in 1724 with the signature Philanthropos. It is a preview of the *Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, which Hutcheson published early the next year (1725, new style), and as such throws interesting light on Hutcheson's thinking in its earliest phase.

The "Reflections" does not go into the philosophical arguments of the *Inquiry*; instead it explains Hutcheson's views on the purpose of writing on moral theory. Moral theories ought to inspire virtuous characters in people, and thereby persuade them to virtuous actions. Hutcheson complains that the common systems of morality based on self-interest, (he has in mind Hobbes, Mandeville, and many theological views), do not do this, and he outlines his views on moral motivation and moral precepts as a corrective. The motive for moral actions is, of course, benevolence, so Hutcheson is here launching his lifelong attack on egoism. The "Reflections" makes clear the role of persuasion or "preaching" in Hutcheson's thought, and how different his purposes were from Hume's or Smith's science of morals.

The other text dates from much later, after the publication of all of Hutcheson's main works except the posthumous *System of Moral Philosophy*. In 1730 Hutcheson arrived in Glasgow to fill the chair of moral philosophy; this second text is a translation of his inaugural lecture, given in Latin and published that year. Mautner's is the only available English translation; it reads well, and Mautner acknowledges careful review by two Latinists. The Latin text is not given.

Unlike the "Review," the lecture is a sustained philosophical argument. Hutcheson attempts to prove that "sociality" (i.e., altruism or benevolence) is a natural part of human nature, and would be a natural aspect of human society even without a civil government (i.e. in a "state of nature," though Hutcheson objects to that phrase). Obviously, Hobbes and other egoists are again his targets. The approach is basically Aristotelian.

Mautner says that neither of these texts elaborates on Hutcheson's theory of the moral sense (p. 6), but I do not agree that they are not relevant to that topic. The moral sense is only mentioned once or twice, but the theory is discussed briefly in both texts. I think "Reflections," paragraph 6, refers to Hutcheson's early theory of how the moral sense motivates virtuous action, though the moral sense is not mentioned directly here. The Lecture tends to talk of conscience rather than a moral sense, but this is normal in Hutcheson's later writings, as is explicitly acknowledged in the Lecture, paragraph 15. This and other references are a clear statement of how in Hutcheson's later philosophy the moral sense fits into the structure of human nature—it properly rules and controls the other affections and appetites.

Mautner's introductory essay is interesting for more than the light it throws on Hutcheson. Regretting that "there is a tendency to read the great philosophers of the past as if they were conducting a debate amongst themselves" (p. 28), Mautner proceeds to place Hutcheson in the theological debates of his time. The resulting discussion of self-interest in theological moral theories is the most original and important part of the essay.

Like an unexpected prize in a box of Crackerjacks, the appendices contain some interesting tidbits. Each is a page or so mini-essay on some vaguely relevant topic; for example, who wrote for *The London Review* and how Hutcheson became connected with it. The bibliography, containing works by Hutcheson and secondary sources, is very meticulous, but Mautner admits it is not definitive. Having done most of the job, it is not clear to me why Mautner didn't make it definitive; it will probably remain one of the better ones for a while.

The two Hutcheson texts are short, but they will be much referred to now that they are readily available. They need to be read by anyone interested in this key figure of the Scottish Enlightenment.

John D. Bishop, Trent University

Jerry Z. Muller, *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours: Designing the Decent Society*. New York: Free Press, 1993. Pp. x + 272.

Both the scholarly apparatus and the authorial tone or "voice" of this truly enjoyable work are downright inviting, which is more than can be said for much of the recent output of academe. The ample endnotes, written with real consideration for the reader, direct one to a discerning selection of first-rate sources in several disciplines. The "Guide to Further Reading" may well be as interesting to the specialist scholar as the main text of the book. The "Guide" groups Muller's sources according to themes as varied as "Smith's Place in the History of Economics" and "Psychological Institutionalism." In the process, of course, it identifies key elements of Muller's approach to reading Smith. It is one thing, for example, to characterize Adam Smith as a "psychological in-

stitutionalist.” It is quite another to say exactly what that label means and to defend in detail its applicability to Smith’s work.

Muller’s central aim is clearly to see Smith whole. He wastes no time flogging the dead horse of “Das Adam Smith Problem,” proceeding on the “working assumption . . . that Smith’s thought is relatively coherent” (p. 9). In fact, Muller’s Smith was committed throughout his intellectual life to a single “civilization project”; “his overarching goal was to improve human character” (p. 8). It was to this end that Smith developed a “mode of thought” more important, in Muller’s view, than any of his specific policy recommendations (p. 6). T. D. Campbell and I. S. Ross once referred to this mode of thought as “contemplative utilitarianism” (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, 42:73-92). Muller’s name for it is “psychological institutionalism.” He summarizes it in his Introduction as an approach to “almost every aspect of social life” which is concerned above all with “the institutional direction of the passions” (p. 6). Smith’s “purpose,” Muller asserts, was “to make people more decent by designing social institutions which draw the passions toward socially and morally beneficial behavior” (p. 6). Muller describes his book as “an essay in historical recovery” (p. 7), and what is to be recovered is an understanding of Smith’s “civilizing project” as the “designing [of] the decent society.”

Muller’s candid explanation of his methods and goals, taken together with the useful scholarly apparatus to which I have referred above, and further complemented by a prose style that is a delight—lucid, economical, and disciplined but never dry or sententious—make this a book I shall recommend highly to advanced students looking for an introduction to Smith’s thought. The first of its three parts, “Adam Smith in His Time,” contextualizes Smith beautifully. It would be the perfect *point d’entrée* into Smith’s intellectual world for an interested student. Part 2, “Designing the Decent Society,” offers ten short chapters anatomizing Smith’s theory of commercial society. Its centerpiece is chapter 7: “Commercial Humanism: Smith’s Civilizing Project.” It is in this section of the book that Muller develops his argument that Smith was in fact a “piecemeal social engineer.” In part 3, “From Smith’s Time to Ours,” Muller assesses some of Smith’s critics and disciples, and tries to rescue him from extreme and/or simplistic interpretations.

Muller is well aware of Smith’s distaste for “the propensity to account for all appearances from as few principles as possible” (p. 196). Nonetheless, Muller’s re-thinking of Smith seems to me to fall into the error of reducing a mode of thought nicely balancing principles and pragmatism, and a cast of mind strongly influenced by the skeptical “philosophical politics” of David Hume, to a formulaic commitment to a single, architectonic “civilizing project.” Muller refers frequently to the “design” of “institutions” without ever giving a very rigorous account of what he means, or what Smith would have meant, by either word. Such an account is greatly needed, for without one we cannot be sure where to situate Smith in relation to two contrasting models of “institutional design”: the “spontaneous order of actions” postulated by Hayek (p. 203) and the comprehensively and programmatically “engineered” society of Jeremy Bentham (pp. 177-79). Did Adam Smith, the father of the doctrine of unintended consequences, in fact advocate a comprehensive program of “institutional design” for commercial society? Did he really believe that “the greatest misery comes from knowing we have *violated moral law*” (p. 203; emphasis added)? Muller believes that the answer is yes. I still need some convincing.

Muller himself quotes Smith on the “delicacy and reserve” required to execute the office of legislator in commercial society with “propriety and judgment” (p. 202). To my ear, the characterization of Smith as “designer of the decent society” suggests too much of the sort of programmatic enthusiasm which we know Smith distrusted and too little of “delicacy and reserve”—too much of architectonic ambition and too little of sensitivity to the conditionality of the shifting criteria of “propriety and [sound] judgment” to quite succeed in capturing the (admittedly elusive) essence of Smith’s “mode of thought.”

This is a “decent” book of “civilizing” intent. As such, it captures an important part of the spirit of Smith’s work. It also succeeds admirably in combining serious scholarship with accessibility. These are no trivial accomplishments. Rightly or wrongly, however, I remain convinced that there is more of open-ended inquiry and less of “social control” (p. 204) in Smith’s “project” than Muller’s portrait suggests.

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Hiroshi Mizuta and Chuhei Sugiyama, eds. **Adam Smith: International Perspectives**. London: St. Martin’s Press, 1993. Pp. xii + 328.

This is yet another book trying to come to terms with Adam Smith as a thinker of “a system of social philosophy of commercial or civilized society, as he put it” (preface). It is an anthology of contributions presented at a symposium of the Adam Smith Society of Japan, commemorating the bicentenary of Smith’s death in 1990. The collection has been edited (although without particularly high standards of accuracy) by Hiroshi Mizuta, whose contribution concludes the volume, and Chuhei Sugiyama.

The first contribution, I. S. Ross's "Biographical Sketch," gives us a well-rounded portrayal of Smith (though it cannot, of course, replace the biography, still to be published by the same author in the Glasgow Edition). What seems interesting and innovative are the Newtonian influence in the early Smith (p. 3) or the still underrated place of rhetoric in Smith's overall work (pp. 8-10); the fact that Smith should have published for the first time in 1748 (p. 14) is not known by all the contributors. However, the insistence on John Millar being a student of Adam Smith in Edinburgh (pp. 5, 8) is insufficiently established and in contradiction to what we know of Millar's life from John Craig's contemporary biography and William C. Lehmann's modern one.

Hisashi Shinohara shows that Smith's "practical system of morality" (*Smith Correspondence*, no. 287), the main addition to the sixth edition of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, largely issued from a thorough reply to the criticisms of Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* of 1788. Here again, the whole argument would not be possible without heavily relying on the *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, mainly on character-drawing, sticking to one's own character, and the developments on the plain and simple style of character (pp. 33-37).

Peter Jones's contribution on the aesthetics of Smith underlines this rather happy, but probably unintended result of the prominent significance of the *LRBL* in this volume (see also pp. 73ff.). He shows that Smith had a general theory of taste and arts, based on his overriding interest in effective communication and in the meaning and understanding of the conveyed information (also of passions and affections). It has intimate links with Smith's theory of sympathy or of (mainly historical) causality, as well as with his analyses of the influence of custom and fashion and of the concurrence of propriety and utility. Though Smith mainly concentrated on literature and "narrative" arts, i.e. mediated by language, Jones concludes with considerations on the surprisingly rich comments on music, the paradigmatical case of non-representational ways of imitating and communicating. In Jones's opinion, Smith failed to build on this in regard to other non-verbal acts.

John W. Cairns excellently summarizes Smith's natural jurisprudence, a theory of the general principles of law and government that Smith conceived as both a systematic and a historical development of the rights of man and of the forms and functions of government, including political economy. Cairns's information that the first known possessor of the original set of jurisprudence lectures known as LJ(B) was the son of Allan Maconochie (p. 77), himself professor of public law and the law of nature in Edinburgh, and whose teaching approach was very similar to Adam Smith's historical natural jurisprudence, is indeed intriguing and a partial answer to two interesting questions raised by Cairns: why did the Faculty of Advocates, the Scottish bar, insist (unsuccessfully) on a more thoroughgoing teaching of natural law at the University of Edinburgh at the beginning of the 1760s, at a crucial juncture in the development of legal education? And what role did Smith play in that process?

In his interesting and finely tuned, but also very poorly proof-read contribution, Donald Winch puts emphasis on the need to know Adam Smith as a moral philosopher in order to truly understand him as a political economist. The contrary opinion is not only historically false but "seems to arise only from forgetfulness by economists—though such forgetfulness has frequently been turned into a virtue by professional deformation and pride" (p. 106). A. S. Skinner stipulates that a true assessment of Smith's contribution to political economy cannot be given through looking at him in isolation, but only by knowing Hume and James Steuart. Hume provided Smith with a historical dynamics and an empirical study of human nature, incorporating economics into it. Steuart appears as Hume's true if neglected disciple. In turn, Smith not only built on the "history of civil society" in the historical part; his momentous achievement was to delineate the systematic character of political economy in his *Wealth of Nations*, to provide a concentration on policy recommendations for an economy based on exchange and capital, and to focus concern on an efficient organization of government. Later, this brought gains in terms of theoretical elegance and precision, but losses in terms of realism and relevance (p. 136), apparent in the vanishing of historical method, and in the loss of perspective for unemployment and underdevelopment.

John Dwyer detects confusion and misunderstanding in almost everything written on Smith until now; he tries to develop "an alternative picture of Smith [. . . as] a recognizably neoclassical writer" (p. 146): *Wealth of Nations* thus becomes the bible of the frugal yeoman, promoting small-scale agrarian capitalism, and Smith appears as the foe of all the merchants, industrialists, and the corrupting town life.

The international perspectives hinted at in the subtitle of this anthology refer to the internationality of the contributors, as well as to the diffusion and reception of Adam Smith in different cultures and countries. Norbert Waszek takes the case of Germany, where economic disciples like K. H. Rau and F.B.W. v. Herrmann unduly triumphed over Garve and Hegel (who, incidentally, both took a wider interest in Smith). Roger J. Fechner forcefully shows that, despite some earlier stereotypes, Smith's moral philosophy had very little impact on political and academic moralists in America. One contribution by Takaho Ando is devoted to the French reception of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, another by Daniel Diatkine to an interesting misunderstanding—probably by Condorcet himself—of *Wealth of Nations*. Other contributions deal with Smith in Italy (Gabriella Gioli on economic thought in the first century after *Wealth of Nations*), in Russia (by Andrei Anikin), in India (by J. S. Narayan

Rao), in China (by Zhu Shaowen), and last but not least, in Japan (Chuhei Sugiyama, Ikuo Omori, and Hiroshi Takemoto). Recurrent patterns are the predominant interest in the *Wealth of Nations* and the conflict with the German "Historical School," mainly involving the nationalist Friedrich List.

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The General Correspondence of James Boswell 1766-1767. Ed. Richard C. Cole et al., vol. 1: 1766-1767. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. Pp. xlvi + 282.

Boswell: Laird of Auchinleck 1778-1782. Ed. Joseph W. Reed and Frederick Pottle. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993. Pp. xxxvi + 570.

Comparing this reprint of Reed and Pottle's 1977 edition of Boswell's journal for the years 1778-1782 with the first published volume of Boswell's "general correspondence," covering the years 1766-1767, one is struck by overwhelming contrasts. In terms of the subject's place in the world, the contrast is between the youthful Boswell—just back in Edinburgh after several years on the Continent and very much in the process of forming himself personally, professionally, and intellectually—and the mature Boswell who finally inherits the family estate and becomes laird of Auchinleck in 1782. In the earlier period Boswell is thinking about taking a wife, preparing to make his mark in the world of letters with a book on Corsica, and trying to establish himself as an advocate in a legal profession dominated by an elite that includes his father, Lord Auchinleck of the Court of Session. In the latter period he is an established, if somewhat jaded, man of law, husband, and father who must endure the deteriorating health of both his wife and his hated/beloved father. Filled with self-doubt as a man of letters ("I am making no considerable figure in any way," he writes), burdened by his recurring bouts of alcoholism and venereal disease, trapped in Scotland by increasing responsibilities that keep him from his cherished London, the fortyish Boswell is both deeply troubled and unwilling to give up his struggle for independence and greatness.

In terms of texts and genres, the contrast is between the compelling readability of the mature journal and the miscellaneous character of the general correspondence. Because the 233 letters in the Cole volume are spread among more than 125 correspondents, it is sometimes difficult to discover in them coherent discourse or sustained relationships. No fewer than 185 additional letters that would have gone into this volume are known of but not extant, so that gaps are almost the rule rather than the exception. In fairness, there are a few interesting letters here, and the value (and, one hopes, coherence) of the general correspondence will surely become clearer as more volumes of it are published. And the editing standards are generally high, in the tradition of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell.

It is in the area of book presentation, however, that the contrast between these volumes is most apparent. Though the principal publisher of both books is the same, *Laird* embodies the publishing conventions of the McGraw-Hill/Heinemann era of Boswell studies, when the print was large, the leading generous, the paper thick, and the illustrations plentiful, whereas the *General Correspondence* goes about as far as one can in the opposite direction. The reduced-size footnotes of the one book are roughly as readable as the main text of the other, whose footnotes are now reduced accordingly to microscopic size. Moreover, the decision to save money on the *General Correspondence* by gathering all the notes for a particular letter at the end of that letter, rather than (as in previous editions of the correspondence) placing each note at the foot of the page on which it is cited, makes for much unnecessary page-turning and a most distracting appearance. Perhaps the ultimate irony is that all this textual corner-cutting is combined with the prefatory trappings of a bygone era (i.e., two pages devoted to a list of previously published volumes in the series, two to a pointless second title page, two to an acknowledgment of support from the NEH, and two to lists of the full membership of the project's Editorial and Advisory Committees—replete with the members' academic degrees and fellowships in royal societies), none of which have been reproduced in the reprint of *Laird*, which puts the care where it counts.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT—Rutgers University-Newark

Brian Hillyard, David Stuart Esquire, an Edinburgh Collector: The 1801 Sale Catalogue of Part of His Library . . . with an Introductory Essay. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society (in association with the National Library of Scotland), 1993. Pp. 88.

This is a thirty-page essay on Stuart followed by the reprinted sale catalogue and four short appendices which add something to our knowledge of Stuart's collections or the book trade in Scotland. David Stuart was a merchant, banker, speculator, and bankrupt whose political career peaked 1780-82, when he served as lord provost of Edinburgh. That this Highland lad was far more than a mere businessman is made clear by his interests in innovative commercial and industrial schemes and prison reform, and by his collections of books and *objets d'art*.

Steuart's books are not all listed in this study, but they must have numbered well over 1200 titles and 4000 volumes, of which we have here information and sale prices on about 1000 titles. His collection was small but included outstanding incunables and examples of fine Scottish, English, and continental printing. Hillyard surmises that Steuart may have been unique as an important book collector in Edinburgh or even Scotland. He wonders if there were other Scottish collectors, and about who formed Steuart's "circle of acquaintance."

This is an interesting question which is here unanswered, partly because aesthetics, the fine arts, and collecting are under-studied aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment. We hear far too little about the aesthetics taught in the universities and usually do not notice collections outside the great houses where some can still be studied with ease. What we need are more studies like this one, which focus on the sort of men depicted in David Allan's painting "The Connoisseurs" (c. 1780). Among the *virtù* and art collectors Hillyard is likely to find Steuart's contacts with the world of the auction houses and the collecting *virtuosi*. We need to know more about men like John MacGowan, Jr., Andrew Lumisden, and their expatriate friends such as the abbé Grant, James Byres, and Gavin Hamilton—all men who helped to make the Scottish Enlightenment not only philosophical but also tasteful.

Roger L. Emerson, University of Western Ontario

Briefly Noted – New in Paper

Jacqueline Jenkinson, **Scottish Medical Societies 1731-1939: Their History and Records**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993. Pp. 237.

This book deals primarily with the changing roles of medical societies in the nineteenth century but includes a brief description of the social and professional activities of earlier societies, stressing their aim to foster cooperation among different branches of the profession. The comprehensive catalogue of societies and their records will also prove useful to students of the eighteenth century.

Deborah Brunton, University of Edinburgh

Tobias Smollett, **The Expedition of Humphry Clinker**. Ed. Thomas R. Preston. Athens, Ga., and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992; paperback ed., 1993. Pp. lx + 500.

The new standard edition of this epistletory classic features rigorous textural editing, a helpful Introduction, thorough notes, a map of the expedition, and more than a dozen contemporary and near-contemporary illustrations—handsomely printed and fairly priced at \$20.

The Journals of James Boswell 1762-1795. Ed. John Wain. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992; paperback ed., 1993. Pp. 448.

As noted in last year's issue of this newsletter, this volume is an excellent selection of materials from the journals. In paperback format for just \$15, it is now the easiest way to expose one's students to Boswell's other masterpiece.

Iain Gordon Brown, **Monumental Reputation: Robert Adam & the Emperor's Palace**. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1992. Paperback. Pp. 52.

This delightful little book tells a cynical tale: how the young Robert Adam used his *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764) in order to shape his own image as an architect with a solid classical foundation. As the author puts it: "The evidence suggests that Adam's principal concern in publishing his book was the enhancement of his reputation by appearing as the author of a splendid folio. In this almost shameless campaign of self-promotion, he was less concerned with questions of strict archaeological accuracy" (p. 33). Nicely illustrated and laid out, and a bargain at £3.50.

George Pottinger, **Heirs of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh Reviewers and Writers 1800-1830**. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1992 [i.e., 1993]. Paperback. Pp. viii + 271.

This book is so poorly researched that one wonders what good it can be to anyone. The author appears never to have heard of Biancamaria Fontana's *Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society: The Edinburgh Review 1802-1832* (1985) and most other recent scholarship on Scottish cultural history.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT – Rutgers University-Newark

Collected Works of Henry Home (Lord Kames). 13 volumes in a boxed set. With new introductions by John Valdimir Price. London: Routledge Thoemmes Press, 1993. Pp. 5776.

The first thing to be said about this collection is that it costs £695, and individual volumes cannot be purchased separately. The second thing to be said is that many librarians and scholars will find it money well spent.

Besides the high standard of production quality that we have come to expect from Thoemmes, these books will please for their utility. All of Kames's most important works are here, and the inclusion of Alexander Fraser Tytler's valuable contemporary biography of Kames adds considerably to the usefulness of the collection. Prefixed to Tytler's first volume is a 40-page biographical introduction by J. V. Price, including a chronology of Kames's life and a bibliography of writings by and amount him. Though this introduction and the other brief ones that precede each of the eight titles in the set do not probe the subject as deeply as a Kames specialist might have done, they provide a suitable context for understanding Kames's life and work.

My only substantial criticism is that no justification is ever given for choosing the particular books and editions that comprise this set. Why include, for example, *Loose Hints upon Education* (1782), which the editor derides in the biographical introduction, at the expense of, say, *Historical Law-Tracts* (1758), which was influential for the development of Scottish conceptions of "conjectural" history? Similarly, why reprint the first edition of Tytler's *Memoirs* rather than the second edition, which contained new material on Kames's early life drawn from Boswell's manuscripts? And why use the 1788 edition of *Elements of Criticism* rather than one of the various editions of that book which appeared during Kames's lifetime? There may be perfectly good reasons for these decisions, but readers deserve to be told what they are.

This point aside, it is certain that this set contributes significantly toward the work of reprinting the Scottish Enlightenment that Thoemmes, and now Routledge Thoemmes, have taken it upon themselves to do.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT – Rutgers University-Newark

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

I do not normally comment on reviews of my own books, but David Armitage's remarks about my *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union* [no. 7 (1993): 24-25] are so eccentric and intemperate, and so much at variance both with the facts and with the opinions of other reviewers, that I think they call for some response.

Other reviewers have taken the opposite view from Armitage on virtually every point he makes. Some examples: Michael Lynch in *The Scotsman*: "An impeccably researched and convincing portrait, which will remain the definitive study for many years to come . . . This book's very considerable achievement is to show how much Fletcher lay in the mainstream of Scottish politics and guided its direction." David Daiches in *Books in Scotland*: "What emerges clearly in this lucid account of his life and thought is Fletcher's comprehensiveness of vision . . . His faults are not played down." Andrew Marr in *The Economist*: "It ought also to be bought by anyone interested in British constitutional history, and the history of political ideas." Mario Relich in *Chapman*: "Highly perceptive in his analysis of Fletcher's lucid political pamphlets . . . Impartial in its sifting of evidence."

What then has upset David Armitage? I think that a clue might lie in his phrase: "craven bribery and patronage seem to him [i.e., P.H.S.] to be the only motives for Union." (He evidently means, although his use of language is imprecise, motives for the eventual majority for the Treaty in the Scottish Parliament, although the same Parliament had been determined in their assertion of Scottish independence for some years before.) This is the view taken by both Fletcher and Lockhart at the time. Later in the century both Robert Burns and Walter Scott thought the same. As I show in my book, an examination of the contemporary evidence leads irresistibly to the conclusion that they were right. David Armitage may not like the message, but he has fallen into the trap of blaming the messenger.

Yours sincerely,
Paul H. Scott, Edinburgh

P.S. According to David Armitage, there is a copy of Fletcher's *Political Works* in the National Library of Scotland which "contains important manuscript revisions, apparently made on Fletcher's instructions." I have had another look at all the copies of the book in the National Library. None contain any manuscript comments of any kind. This is hardly surprising because the first edition appeared in 1732, sixteen years after Fletcher's death. The verbatim records of Fletcher's speeches in the Portland Manuscripts are in the reports from the secret agent, William Greg. There are many references to them in my book.

Dear Editor,

I stand by my scholarly criticisms of Scott's book. Readers of my review will see that Scott has not addressed any of those criticisms; readers of his book will be able to decide whether they were fairly grounded.

David Armitage
Department of History, Columbia University

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 1993, except for items published in 1991 or 1992 that were not included in last year's list. Recent doctoral theses are also included.

John W. Cairns, "William Crosse, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Glasgow, 1746-1749: A Failure of Enlightened Patronage," *History of Universities* 12 (1993): 159-96.

John W. Cairns, "A Note on *The Bride of Lammermoor*: Why Scott Did Not Mention the Dalrymple Legend until 1830," *Scottish Literary Journal* 20 (1993): 19-36.

John W. Cairns, "Hamesucken and the Major Premiss in the Libel, 1672-1770: Criminal Law in the Age of Enlightenment," in *Justice and Crime: Essays in Honour of The Right Honourable The Lord Erslie*, ed. Robert F. Hunter (Edinburgh, 1993), 138-79.

John W. Cairns, "The Origins of the Glasgow Law School: The Professor of Civil Law, 1714-1761," in *The Life of the Law: Proceedings of the Tenth British Legal History Conference, Oxford, 1991*, ed. P. Birks (London, 1993), 151-95.

John W. Cairns, "Adam Smith's Lectures on Jurisprudence: Their Influence on Legal Education," in *AS*, 63-83.

Gerard C. Carruthers, "Robert Fergusson," in *Encyclopedia of British Humour*, ed. Steven Gale (New York, 1993).

Henry C. Clark, "Women and Humanity in Scottish Enlightenment Social Thought: The Case of Adam Smith," *Historical Reflections* 19 (1993): 335-61.

Greg Clingham, "Boswell's Historiography," in *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment* (1993), 1765-69.

Paul J. deGategno, "The Sublime Savage in America: James 'Ossian' Macpherson's Tour of Duty in West Florida," *Scotia* 16 (1992): 1-20.

Horst W. Drescher, "Sir Walter Scott: History, Tradition, and the Experience of National Identity," *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 163-72.

Alastair Durie, "Imitation in Scottish Eighteenth-Century Textiles: The Drive to Establish the Manufacture of Osnaburg Linen," *Journal of Design History* 6 (1993): 71-76.

John Dwyer, "The Construction of Community in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *History of European Ideas* 16 (1993): 943-48.

John Dwyer, "Adam Smith in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *AS*, 141-61.

María Elósegui, "Hume y la polémica sobre el lujo en la ilustración española," *Taula. Quaderns de pensament*, no. 16 (1991): 59-77.

María Elósegui, "Mujer, propiedad y matrimonio en los ilustrados escoceses," in *Debates sobre el género* (Castellón, 1992), 17-66.

María Elósegui, "Utilidad, arte, virtud y riqueza en la ilustración escocesa," *Telos* 1 (1992): 51-59.

María Elósegui, "El descubrimiento del yo según David Hume," *Anuario Filosófico*, no. 26 (1993): 303-26.

María Elósegui, "Pensamiento y lenguaje en Thomas Reid," *Cuadernos Salmantinos de Filosofía* 20 (1993): 85-104.

Roger L. Emerson, "Medical Men, Politicians and the Medical Schools at Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1685-1803," in *William Cullen and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World*, ed. R. Passmore et al. (Edinburgh, 1993), 186-215.

Michel Faure, "Femmes, civilisation et société dans *The Origins of the Distinction of Ranks* de John Millar," *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment* (1993), 854-56.

Roger Fechner, "Adam Smith and American Academic Moral Philosophers and Philosophy in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution," in *AS*, 181-97.

R. G. Frey, "Butler on Self-Love and Benevolence," in *Joseph Butler's Moral and Religious Thought*, ed. Christopher Cunliffe (Oxford, 1992), 243-67.

Athanassia Glycofrydi-Leontsini, "Neohellenic Aesthetics and the European Enlightenment," *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment* (1993), 1522-26.

Anita Guerrini, "'A Club of Little Villains': Rhetoric, Professional Identity and Medical Pamphlet Wars," in *Literature and Medicine during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Roberts (London, 1993), 226-44.

Anita Guerrini, "Ether Madness: Newtonianism, Religion, and Insanity," in *Action and Reaction*, ed. Paul Theerman and Adele F. Seeff (Newark, Del., 1993), 232-54.

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

Knud Haakonssen, "Republicanism," in *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, ed. R. E. Goodin and P. Pettit (London, 1993), 568-74.

Knud Haakonssen, "The Structure of Hume's Political Theory," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hume*, ed. David Fate Norton (Cambridge, 1993), 182-221.

Tony Inglis, "'And an Intertextual Heart . . .': Rewriting Origins in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*," in *Scott in Carnival*, ed. J. H. Alexander and D. Hewitt (Aberdeen, 1993), 216-31.

Heimer F. Klemme, "Neuere Buecher zum Werk David Humes," in *Zeitschrift fuer philosophische Forschung* 47 (1993): 118-131.

Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison, "Clandestine Marriage in the Scottish Cities, 1660-1780," *Journal of Social History* 26 (1993): 845-61.

Bruce P. Lenman, "Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity," in *Colonial Williamsburg*, spring 1993, 40-48 [on Virginia Freemasonry and Scottish influences]

Bruce P. Lenman, "The Catiline Band," in *Empire and Revolutions*, ed. Gordon J. Schochet (Washington, D.C., Folger Institute, 1993), 141-64.

Roderick A. McDonald, "The Duff House/Moncoffer Papers: A Documentary Source for the History of the British West Indies, with Particular Emphasis on Jamaica," *Journal of Caribbean History* 26 (1992): 210-15.

K.A.B. Mackinnon, "Giving It All Away? Thomas Reid's Retreat from a Natural Rights Justification of Private Property," *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence* 6 (1993): 367-88.

Christopher MacLachlan, "The Year's Work in Scottish Literary and Linguistic Studies: 1989, 1650-1800," *Scottish Literary Journal Supplement* (1993).

Susan Manning, "Falstaff and the Police: The Act of Pleasure from Boswell to Byron," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 16 (1993): 21-33.

Marie A. Martin, "The Rational Warrant for Hume's General Rules," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 31 (1993): 245-57.

Thomas P. Miller, "John Witherspoon and Scottish Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy in America: An Acknowledgement of the Transition to the Contemporary Cultural Idiom in 18th-Century Higher Education as Evidenced in the *Federalist* Essays of James Madison," *Rhetorica* 10 (1992): 381-404.

Rosalind Mitchison (see Leah Leneman)

James Moore and M. A. Stewart, "A Scots-Irish Bookseller in Holland: William Smith of Amsterdam (1698-1741)," *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 7 (1993): 8-10.

James Moore and M. A. Stewart, "William Smith (1698-1741) and the Dissenters' Book Trade," *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland* 22 (1993): 20-27.

Pierre Morère, "History and Historicity in Hume's *Essays*," *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 155-62.

David Fate Norton, "An Introduction to Hume's Thought" and "Hume, Human Nature, and the Foundations of Morality," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hume*, ed. David Fate Norton (Cambridge, 1993), 1-32, 148-81.

Karen O'Brien, "Enlightenment History in France, Britain and America, 1731-1789" (D.Phil., Oxford Univ., 1992).

Karen O'Brien, "Between Enlightenment and Stadial History: William Robertson on the History of Europe," *British Journal for 18th-Century Studies* 16 (1993): 53-63.

Fania Oz-Salzberger, "From Male Citizen to Neuter Mensch: The Emasculation of Adam Ferguson's Civic Discourse by the German Enlightenment," *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 7 (1993): 5-8.

Fania Oz-Salzberger, "The Rejection of Conflict: Adam Ferguson's German Readers," *Transactions of the Eighth International Congress on the Enlightenment* (1993).

Nicholas Phillipson, "Propriety, Property and Prudence: David Hume and the Defence of the Revolution," in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge, 1993), 302-320.

Nicholas Phillipson, "Politics and Politeness in the Reigns of Anne and the Early Hanoverians," in *The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500-1800*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock et al. (Cambridge, 1993), 211-45.

Outi Pickering, "Robert Burns and Eighteenth-Century Poetic Diction," in *English Far and Wide: A Festschrift for Inna Koskenniemi*, ed. Risto Hiltunen et al., Publications of Turku University series B, vol. 197 (1993): 43-58.

John Valdmir Price, "Historicity and Narratology in David Hume's *History of England*," *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 143-53.

Marie-Cécile Révauger, "18th-Century Scottish Freemasons: Builders of the Scottish Nation?" *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 111-22.

John Robertson, "Universal Monarchy and the Liberties of Europe: David Hume's Critique of an English Whig Doctrine," in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge, 1993), 349-73.

Ian Simpson Ross, "Adam Smith: A Biographical Sketch," in *AS*, 1-26.

- G. Ross Roy, "Robert Burns and the Brash and Reid Chapbooks of Glasgow," *Literatur im Kontext/Literature in Context*, ed. Joachim Schwend et al. (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 53-69.
- G. Ross Roy, "Scottish Poets and the French Revolution," *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 69-79.
- James Sheets, "Adam Ferguson: The 'Good Preceptor' of Empire" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Rochester, 1993).
- Richard B. Sher, "Between Johnson and Auchinleck: Boswell's Lord Kames," *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 93-103.
- Richard B. Sher, "Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and the Problem of National Defense," in *Empire and Revolutions*, ed. Gordon J. Schochet (Washington, D.C., Folger Institute, 1993), 17-44.
- Hisashi Shinohara, "The Practical System of Morality in Adam Smith," in *AS*, 27-42.
- Hisashi Shinohara, "Exponents of the Scottish Enlightenment and Some Issues in its Last Period," *Annals of the Society for the History of Economic Thought* 31 (1993): 90-97 [review article, in Japanese].
- Andrew S. Skinner, "The Shaping of Political Economy in the Enlightenment," in *AS*, 113-40.
- David Stevenson, "Scotland and the Origins of Freemasonry," *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 105-10.
- M. A. Stewart (see James Moore)
- Jeff Suderman, "The Foundation of Moral Belief: Shaftesbury to Smith," *The Western Journal of Graduate Research* 3 (1991): 48-60 [University of Western Ontario, Canada].
- Craig Walton, "Attacks on Cause and New Theories of Experience, 1555-1748," in *Studies in Early Modern Philosophy* 3, ed. S. Tweyman (Delmar, NY, 1993), 7-35 [deals with Hume and the Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay].
- C. A. Whatley, "From Handcraft to Factory: The Growth and Development of Industry in Montrose, c. 1707-1837," in *The Port of Montrose: A History of Its Harbour, Trade and Shipping*, ed. G. Jackson and S.G.E. Lythe (New York and Tappan, 1993), 256-76.
- Arthur H. Williamson, "A Patriot Nobility? Calvinism, Kin-Ties, and Civic Humanism," *Scottish Historical Review* 72 (1993): 1-21.
- Arthur H. Williamson, "'A Pil for Pork-Eaters': Ethnic Identity, Apocalyptic Promises, and the Strange Creation of the Judeo-Scots," in *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, ed. Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson (San Francisco, 1993).
- Stefan Zabieglik, "Filozofia Szkockiego Oświecenia" [Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment], *Edukacja Filozoficzna* 16 (1993): 179-88 [in Polish].

AS = *Adam Smith: International Perspectives*, ed. Hiroshi Mizuta and Chnhei Sugiyama (New York, 1993).

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 1993 - 31 Dec. 1993

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

Balance 1 Jan. 1993: £1161.48
 Income: +£833.17 (dues & book orders: £556.71; book royalties: £226.46; mailing fees: £50)
 Expenses: -£231 (book orders: £167; general expenses: £64)
 Transferred to savings: -£1000
 Balance 31 Dec 1993: £763.65

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

Balance 1 Jan 1993: £962.36
 Transferred from checking: +£1000
 Interest and deposit: +£39.56
 Balance 31 Dec 1993: £2001.92

III. Summit Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1993: \$2848.17
 Income: +\$3508.59 (dues & book orders: \$2247; reimbursement for 1992 conference: \$1161.59 (from EC/ASECS); mailing fee: \$100)
 Expenses: -\$2270.71 (book orders: \$835.89; printing: 498.84; films: \$312.90; travel: \$451; supplies: \$120; bank charges: \$52.08)*
 Balance 31 Dec 1993: \$4086.05

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

IV. Summit Bank Savings Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1993: \$566.89
 Interest: \$12.54
 Balance 31 Dec 1993: \$579.43

V. Total Assets as of 31 Dec 1993 [vs. 31 Dec 1992]: \$4665.48 [\$3415.06] + £2765.57 [£2123.36]

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