

# *EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND*

*Number 9 Spring 1995*

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

## **Great Days at JCBL**

Held on the lovely campus of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, from 8 to 12 June, ECSSS's 1994 conference on "Scotland and the Americas" was an affair to remember. Ned Landsman put together a brilliant program, and the John Carter Brown Library, under the direction of Norman Fiering, hosted the event with New England hospitality and charm. Even the weather was spectacular!

The key to this conference was the breadth of its coverage. With much attention devoted to Canada and the Caribbean, the program was true to the pluralistic notion of the "Americas" in the conference title. There was much new material on the familiar topic of the transatlantic Enlightenment, but there were also sessions on such diverse subjects as emigration, Scottish women in the Americas, printers and booksellers, Presbyterian connections, and the New World role of Scottish conceptions of ethnology. A surprise appearance by the renowned early Americanist, Jack P. Greene, enhanced the program. There were some thirty-five regular papers, three plenary ones (by J. M. Bumsted, Norman Grabo, and Bruce Lenman), and a summary paper by Ned Landsman, delivered at a concluding session that included a distinguished panel consisting of Bumsted, Lenman, and Susan Manning. Other highlights included a magnificent day in Newport (featuring a splendid walking tour led by John Hattendorf of the Naval War College) and a never-to-be forgotten malt whiskey tasting, hosted by the indomitable (but not, apparently, impenetrable) Michael Fry, and followed immediately after by a glorious conference banquet for all those still capable of ingesting it.

This was a conference that will live on in several ways. The superb exhibit of artifacts that the JCBL mounted to coincide with the conference will travel to the Forbes Gallery in New York City in October 1995. The JCBL is also producing an exhibit catalogue, with text written by several of the conference participants. Finally, Ned Landsman and David Armitage are far along in the preparation of a volume of essays drawn from the conference proceedings (see "ECSSS Studies in 18th-Century Scotland," below).

Our thanks to everyone who helped to make last year's conference so successful, but in particular Ned Landsman and Norman Fiering for their immense contributions.

## **Jacobites Return to Old Aberdeen**

ECSSS's 1995 conference on "Jacobitism, Scotland and the Enlightenment" is going to be a very special event. It will take place from 29 July through 2 August at the University of Aberdeen, which is in the process of celebrating its quincentenary. Conference directors Michael Fry and Joan Pittock Wesson have put together a splendid program, consisting of more than seventy papers, including six plenary talks by eminent scholars from several disciplines: Jeremy Black, Alexander Broadie, Tom Campbell, T. M. Devine, William Donaldson, and Andrew Skinner. The 250th anniversary of the '45 will be commemorated, as will the bicentenary of the death of that sentimental Jacobite, James Boswell. It is certainly not too much to say that this conference will be the largest and most important ever devoted to the topic of Scottish Jacobitism and the Enlightenment (see the enclosed Preliminary Program).

As if all this were not enough, the Association for Scottish Literary Studies will be running its fifth International Scott Conference simultaneously, and those registered for the Jacobite conference will be able to attend events at the Scott conference as they please. A common social program has been planned for both conferences, including concerts and recitals by Anne Lorne Gillies, Jean Lionnet and Jane Clark, and Katherine Williams, and a reception sponsored by Drambuie Liqueur Company that will feature artifacts from their incomparable Jacobite collection (and that may well be attended by several descendants of leading clan chiefs who fought at Culloden). Those wishing to visit the battlefield at Culloden may do so on an all-day excursion, while less hearty souls may choose to attend an afternoon excursion to breathtaking Dunottar Castle and the House of Dun.

The conference is jointly sponsored by ECSSS and the Thomas Reid Institute of the University of Aberdeen, with additional support from that university's Centre for Cultural Studies and Departments of Celtic,

English, and History, and from the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. It is being managed by ASLS. For registration materials (which all ECSSS members should have received early in the year), contact Catherine McInerney, ASLS, c/o Dept. of English, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland, UK. Tel: 01224 272634; fax: 01224 272624.

You won't want to miss this one, so make plans to be there!

### **Manning, Holcomb Elected**

At the general meeting of the Society at Brown University on 9 June 1994, elections were held for the two-year offices of President, Vice-President, and Member-at-Large. Susan Manning of Newnham College, Cambridge, was elected to the presidency. Author of *The Puritan-Provincial Vision: Scottish and American Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, Susan has published widely on various aspects of eighteenth-century Scottish literature, philosophy, and religion. Kathleen Holcomb, the Lee Drain University Professor of English at Angelo State University in San Angelo, Texas, was elected Vice-President. Kathy is an authority on Thomas Reid and the intellectual culture of eighteenth-century Aberdeen. Elected Member-at-Large was Thomas Miller, a specialist on Scottish theories of rhetoric who teaches at the University of Arizona. In addition, Paul Wood of the History Department at University of Victoria, an authority on eighteenth-century Scottish universities and science, was elected to a four-year term on the Board.

The meeting was conducted by outgoing President John Robertson of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, whose outstanding service to the Society was gratefully acknowledged by the Executive Secretary and the membership at the conference luncheon on 11 June. Also thanked on that occasion were the outgoing Vice-President, Deidre Dawson (French, Georgetown University), and the two outgoing Members-at-Large, Kathleen Holcomb and Paul Wood.

### **Grenoble in 1996: Call for Papers**

Grenoble, France, will be the scene of ECSSS's tenth anniversary conference, to be held from 6 to 9 July 1996. As noted in last year's issue of this newsletter, Grenoble is the scene of an extremely active Scottish studies group, *Études Écossaises*, based at the Université Stendhal and directed by Pierre Morère, who will serve as Director of the Grenoble conference. Deidre Dawson, immediate past Vice-President of ECSSS, will be in charge of the program, which is to be focused on the theme of "France and Scotland in the Enlightenment."

Located in the eastern region of the French Alps, Grenoble has been capital of the Dauphiné since the fourteenth century. Its university, founded by Humbert II in the same century, is one of the largest in France, with more than 35,000 students. The metropolitan area

of Grenoble, with a population of roughly 400,000, is considered to be the industrial, sporting, and cultural capital of the Alps. One can ride the cablecars around the city to visit sites such as the Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture and the Renaissance Palais de Justice, or walk along the riverbank admiring the eighteenth-century houses.

The conference will feature an excursion north of Grenoble to La Grande Chartreuse, the historical monastery founded by St. Bruno in 1084, and home of the famous liqueur. There will also be a banquet underwritten in part by ECSSS, whose Board and members voted at the Providence meeting to provide a subsidy for this purpose as a special way of commemorating the Society's tenth anniversary.

Those wishing to give a conference paper, in English or French, should send a one-page proposal and a brief c.v. to Deidre Dawson, Chair-French Department, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057-1054, USA. Fax: 202-687-5712; email: dawson@guvax.acc.georgetown.edu. The deadline for proposals is 1 December 1995.

### **Dutch-Scottish Connections: 1996 and 1998**

A fruitful collaboration between ECSSS and the Dutch Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies is now underway. After a preliminary meeting between your executive secretary and W. W. Mijnhardt of the Dutch Society, at the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies conference in Charleston in March 1994, both societies approved plans to pursue a joint conference in the Netherlands in 1998. At this spring's ASECS meeting in Tucson, Arizona, ECSSS's Vice-President, Kathy Holcomb, met again with Professor Mijnhardt. They agreed that the conference will be held around 10 July 1998, either in Middleburg or Utrecht, and that the tentative conference title will be "Atlantic Urban Culture: The Netherlands, Scotland, and North America." Kathy Holcomb will head the conference planning committee for ECSSS. Other ECSSS members who have kindly agreed to participate in the planning of this conference are Joyce Goodfriend (American History, University of Denver), James Moore (Political Science, Concordia University), and Frits Van Holthoorn (American Studies, University of Groningen).

A second agreement, reached preliminarily in Charleston and definitively in Tucson, concerns plans to hold a trial panel on "Scottish-Dutch Relationships" at the 1996 ASECS conference in Austin, Texas (27-31 March). Papers in this panel may be on any relevant subject, from institutional relationships (e.g. churches, universities, clubs and societies) to intellectual and ideological connections to mercantile ties. Send paper title, brief abstract, and c.v. to Richard B. Sher, Executive Secretary - ECSSS, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark, NJ 07102, USA. Fax: 201-565-0586; email: sher@admin.njit.edu. The deadline for submissions is 1 September 1995.

## Tucson and Williamsburg

**ASECS at Tucson.** This spring ECSSS participated in the sponsorship of two simultaneous events at opposite ends of the United States. On 8 April, at the annual meeting of ASECS in Tucson, Arizona, the Society sponsored a panel entitled "The Transformation of Cultural Studies by the 'Science of Man' in the Eighteenth Century." Organized by Thomas Miller of the University of Arizona, it featured talks by Roger Fechner of Adrian College on "John Witherspoon and Scottish Cultural Studies in Enlightened America"; Kathleen Holcomb of Angelo State University on "The Science of Human Nature and the Teaching of Rhetoric"; and Catherine Peaden of the University of Oklahoma on "Belles Lettres—The Connection between French and Scottish Theories of Rhetoric." A fourth speaker, Bruce Lenman of St. Andrews University, was prevented from attending the conference by a medical emergency.

**Hume at Williamsburg.** Meanwhile, in the Hospitality House in Williamsburg, Virginia, where our society was founded nine years ago, ECSSS joined the Hume Society, The College of William and Mary, and the Institute for Early American History and Culture in co-sponsoring a marvelous conference on "Hume and 18th-Century America." Co-directed by Dorothy Coleman and Wade Robison, both of whom are best known for their contributions to the Hume Society, the conference rehashed the old problem of Hume's possible influence on James Madison and the American Founding Fathers and also explored some new avenues of research on Hume and America. One of the many highlights came at the conference banquet, when Thomas Jefferson impersonator Bill Barker put on a lively show that included some good-natured taunting of the eminent Hume scholar and Canadian Senator John Stewart for the political allegiances of the "northern colonies" he represents. Among the many ECSSS members who participated in the conference were Donald Livingston, James King, James Moore, Frederick Whelan, Frits Van Holthoon, Richard Sher, Craig Walton, Nina Reid Maroney, John Moore, Adam Potkay, Peter Fosl, and the conference directors, who deserve full credit for putting on such a fine event.

## ECSSS Studies in 18th-Century Scotland

Last spring's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* announced two new titles in this series: Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, eds., *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, which was to be published in September 1994 by Canongate Academic of Edinburgh, and Irma S. Lustig, ed., *Boswell, Citizen of the World, Man of Letters*, which was to be published this spring by University Press of Kentucky. Well, in the world of publishing one can never be sure of anything. Both books should have been published by the time this newsletter appears, but the first bears an unexpected imprint, and the second is no longer part of the ECSSS series.

## *The Glasgow Enlightenment & Tuckwell Press*

Canongate Academic was born in 1993, when John Tuckwell, formerly publishing director of John Donald, was invited by Canongate Press of Edinburgh to set up a new academic imprint. That summer, Tuckwell accepted the manuscript of *The Glasgow Enlightenment* as one of the new press's first volumes. After just thirteen months of operation, however, the new imprint was terminated by Canongate's parent company, which was beginning to experience problems of its own. And indeed Canongate in its entirety was shortly thereafter put into receivership.

Toward the end of 1994 Canongate Press reemerged under new ownership as Canongate Books, but without an interest in academic publishing. Tuckwell Press Ltd. came into being, therefore, to take up the cause of Scottish scholarly publishing, and it began by buying the Canongate Academic list and work in progress from the receiver. It has been operational since the beginning of 1995, with titles bearing its own imprint appearing since April. Its main interests are in history, literature, and ethnology, mainly Scottish but not exclusively so. John Tuckwell's partners are Colin Kirkwood, former managing director of Aberdeen University Press (a victim of the Maxwell empire crash) and Sandy Fenton, former director of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, and before that director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. It is certainly a seasoned and experienced team publishing team.

For *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, the emergence of Tuckwell Press has made publication possible after a delay of less than a year—not bad under the circumstances. Furthermore, the book is being made available to ECSSS members at the same reasonable price as last year, (\$22.50 or £15, postpaid), and members who ordered it using the Canongate Academic order form that was distributed at the Providence conference will be able to receive it at no extra charge. Please use the enclosed form to order directly from Tuckwell Press, paying either by credit card or by check (in pounds sterling or U.S. dollars).

At a time when scholarly publishing in Scotland is in a state of crisis, it is good to find Tuckwell Press fully operational. Let's hope it can continue to publish monographs, multi-author collections, and reprints of classics in eighteenth-century Scottish studies.

## *Other Titles in the Works*

At the present time, two other collections of essays are being prepared for publication in this series. Stewart J. Brown is editing a volume of William Robertson papers, several of which were first presented at the Robertson conference that was put on at the University of Edinburgh in October 1993. At the Providence meeting, the Board and general membership both approved the editor's request that this book be part of the ECSSS publication series.

Meanwhile, David Armitage and Ned Landsman are reporting excellent progress in their efforts to put together a volume of essays on Scotland and the Americas, based on the Providence conference last June.

Further information on these works in progress will appear in future issues of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*.

### SHR Monographs

The *Scottish Historical Review* Trust, in conjunction with Tuckwell Press Ltd., has announced a new series of Scottish Historical Review Monographs. The series will include quality works of scholarly research in any field of Scottish history. Special consideration will be given to the first books of promising authors. Collections of essays or editions of texts are not eligible. Among the first books in the series is one that may be of particular interest to ECSSS members: Helen Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries: Edinburgh's Medical Profession 1580-1726*.

Inquiries and manuscripts for submission should be directed to John Tuckwell, Tuckwell Press Ltd., Mill House, Phantassie, East Linton EH40 3DG, Scotland, UK. Fax: 01620-860164.

### The Scottish Conference Scene

**Scots at Münster.** At the International Enlightenment Congress in Münster, on 28 July 1995, a (mostly ECSSS) seminar will be held on "The Reception of Learning: Scotland and Europe." Chaired by Rüdiger Ahrens and Horst Drescher, the seminar will include talks by Gerhard Streminger, Norbert Waszek, Roger Emerson, David Raynor, Ian Simpson Ross, Samuel Fleischacker, and Fania Oz-Salzberger, among others.

**Age of Enlightenment: Scottish Catholics in the 18th Century.** This was the topic of the fourth annual conference of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association, held at the University of Strathclyde on 3 June 1995. Papers were presented by Mark Goldie on "Alexander Geddes: At the Limits of the Catholic Enlightenment"; Dom Aidan Belinger on "The Enlightenment and Monasticism before the French Revolution"; James Macauley on "Scottish Catholic Architecture in the Eighteenth Century"; and Colin Kidd on "Antiquarianism, Religion and the Scottish Enlightenment."

**Natural Law and the British Enlightenment.** On 10-11 March 1995 the University of Western Ontario and Huron College joined forces to sponsor an important conference on natural law. Organized by ECSSS Past President Roger Emerson, the conference featured papers by a number of Society members, including Henry Clark, Knud Haakonssen, James Moore, Ray Frey, and Douglas Long.

**Robert Smith Commemorated.** As usual, on 14 January 1995 the birthday of the great American colonial architect and builder Robert Smith of Dalkeith was celebrated in style by Charles Peterson and his

friends in Philadelphia. This year's speakers were architectural historian Joseph W. Hammond on Smith's pioneering roof designs, and George E. Thomas on Smith's design for St. Peter's Church.

### Marking the Boswell Bicentenary

The bicentenary of the death of James Boswell on 19 May 1795 is being marked by at least five separate events in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Ayrshire, New York, and Washington, D.C.

The most important was a conference on "Boswell in Scotland and Beyond," sponsored by the Association for Scottish Literary Studies and held with precision timing at the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, on 19-21 May 1995. The speakers were William Prosser, "Boswell and the Law"; David Daiches, "Boswell and the Scottish Enlightenment"; Paul Scott, "Boswell and the National Question"; Tom Crawford, "Boswell and Structure: The Major Writings"; Irma Lustig, "Women in Boswell's Writings"; Pat Rogers, "Boswell and the Diurnal"; Roger Craik, "Young Boswell in Town and Country"; Marlies Danziger, "Young Boswell—Advocate of Enlightened Cosmopolitanism"; Gordon Turnbull, "Boswell and the Idea of Exile"; Susan Manning, "Boswell's Pleasures; the Pleasures of Boswell; Claire Lamont, "Boswell, Johnson and Images of Scotland"; Morris Brownell, "Singing Boswell: Songs from the Journals." Rarely has a more distinguished group of Boswellian scholars gathered together in one place, and all reports indicate that this was a very special celebration of Boswell the man and the writer.

Meanwhile, over in the New World, the British Embassy in Washington hosted a reception on 12 May to commemorate "The Life of James Boswell and the Yale Editions of his Papers" (as well as the quincentenary of the University of Aberdeen). It is certainly fitting that the Yale Editions of the Papers of James Boswell should be singled out for this distinction, since for roughly half a century that venerable institution has functioned as the intellectual and editorial center of Boswell studies. The Yale Editions gets into the act in another way this year when it organizes an original exhibit at the Grolier Club in New York City on Boswell as a collector. Drawing heavily on Boswelliana at Yale University and the Hyde Collection in Somerville, New Jersey, it is scheduled to run from 13 September until 17 November 1995.

ECSSS will feature two commemorative panels on Boswell at our Aberdeen conference this summer, with talks by Tom Crawford on the Boswell-Temple correspondence, Donald Newman on Boswell's romance with the past, Richard Sher on Boswell and the booksellers, and Gordon Turnbull on Boswell and Jacobitism.

Finally, the Auchinleck Boswell Society will commemorate this event with a bicentenary dinner at the Burns Monument Hotel, Alloway, Ayr on 18 August. For more information on the dinner and the society, contact Colin N. McDonald, Hon. Secretary, Auchinleck Boswell Society, R. D. Hunter & Co.-Solicitors, 1

The Square, Cumnock, Ayrshire KA18 1BQ, Scotland, UK.

Naturally, there are also new books to mark the occasion. Irma Lustig's collection has already been mentioned. In addition, St. Martin's Press of New York has announced the publication this summer of *Psychological Interpretations of Boswell*, edited by Donald J. Newman. *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* will review both of these volumes in next spring's issue.

### **Burns Bicentenary Approaches**

If the Boswell Bicentenary is occurring in 1995, celebrations to commemorate the bicentenary of the death of Robert Burns (1759-96) cannot be far behind. At least two major events are planned.

**Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies, University of Strathclyde.** On 11-13 January 1996 the Centre will sponsor an International Burns Conference which will also be part of the bicentenary celebrations of the founding of the University of Strathclyde as Anderson's Institution. This will be an exceptionally wide-ranging conference, with papers on all aspects of Burns and his relationship to Scottish and world literature, language, and song. The Centre is fortunate to have as its director one of the leading experts on Burns and eighteenth-century Scottish literature generally, Ken Simpson. For more information, write to him at the Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies, Livingstone Tower, Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XH, Scotland, UK. Fax: 0141-552-3493.

**University of South Carolina at Columbia.** On 28-31 March 1996 the bicentenary of Burns's death will be marked with an international research conference on the topic "Robert Burns and Literary Nationalism." Papers are particularly invited on such issues as "Burn's Relations to his Scottish Literary Predecessors and to Scottish Folk Tradition"; "Burns's Influence, and Reaction to Burns, in his Time and in Subsequent Scottish Literature"; "Responses to Burns in Europe, North America, and Elsewhere, and his Significance as a Model of Literary Nationalism"; and "The Special Interest and Difficulties of Translating Burns." The program will allow participation both by established and younger scholars, and will also feature special library exhibits on Robert Burns, and on Scotland and America, drawing on the university's world-renowned G. Ross Roy Collection of Burns, Burnsiana, and Scottish Poetry.

To propose a paper, or to be on the conference mailing list, contact Patrick Scott or G. Ross Roy, Dept. of English, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208, USA. Email: scottp@hsscls.hssc.sc.arolina.edu.

### **Strathclyde Scottish History Centre**

The Research Centre in Scottish History at the University of Strathclyde was formally established in September 1993 with a major conference, "Whither Scottish History?," sponsored by the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The proceedings of the symposium, in which a distinguished audience of about eighty scholars discussed the future research agenda for Scottish history, were recently published in a special issue of the *Scottish Historical Review* (73:1994), with eighteenth-century coverage provided by ECSSS members R. A. Houston and C. A. Whatley (pp. 64-88).

The Director of the Research Centre is Tom Devine, whose outstanding contributions to Scottish history have recently been recognized by his election as a Fellow of the British Academy. Two postdoctoral research fellows, John Young and Michael Brown, were appointed in September 1994, and a third postdoctoral fellow was to be appointed in 1995. Also attached to the Centre are other eminent figures in Scottish history and related fields, including Christopher Smout and Thomas Markus.

In addition to providing a focus for scholarly work in Scottish history, the Centre also offers facilities for postgraduate research studies to the level of M.Phil. and Ph.D. Seminars and conferences will also constitute important parts of the Centre's function. It is hoped that through all these initiatives the Centre will not only help to maintain Strathclyde's prominent position in the field of Scottish history but also give a further impetus to the subject itself by encouraging the comparative historical method and interdisciplinary studies.

### **Stewart Delivers Giffords**

M. A. Stewart, professor of philosophy at Lancaster University, gave the Gifford Lectures at the University of Aberdeen in February and March 1995, as part of that university's quinquennial celebrations. His theme was "New Light and Enlightenment." Starting from the profound impact of "new light" ideas in Ulster Presbyterianism, he traced the debate over the rational foundations of natural and revealed religion in the Scottish universities during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the controversy with the kirk over toleration and credal tests. John Simson was identified as the paradigm rational theologian, whose spiritual allies included the Hutcheson circle at Glasgow, the Rankenian Club at Edinburgh, and the Newtonian natural philosophers.

The challenge to orthodoxy stimulated the defenders of traditional Calvinism to new sophistication, instanced in the work of Thomas Halyburton and Archibald Campbell, who challenged the pretensions of natural religion, at the same time as they rejected the Lockean dilemma that believers in revelation must either prove the historicity of the biblical miracles or fall prey to enthusiasm. Their skeptical strategies, derived from Pierre Bayle, anticipate Hume's critique of rational religion,

which can be seen as being aimed directly at the fashionable trends in both natural and revealed theology. The common-sense backlash in Aberdeen was a derivation from the philosophical critique of Berkeley which formed part of the earlier defenses of rational religion. The lectures will be published in due course.

### The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid

Since his death, there has never been a satisfactory edition of any of the works of Thomas Reid (1710-96), let alone all of them. The most common edition, edited by Sir William Hamilton, is textually inaccurate and marred by the editor's intrusions. Except for the facsimile edition of the fourth edition of the *Inquiry into the Human Mind* (published in 1993 by Thoemmes Press, with a new Introduction by Paul Wood), the more recent editions are inaccurate and incomplete. Furthermore, the books Reid himself published are far from exhaustive of his work. He left behind a huge amount of manuscripts, most of which are preserved in Aberdeen University Library. These papers not only provide massive supplementation of the published works but also cover several areas on which Reid never published, such as mathematics and science, practical ethics and politics, aesthetics and natural religion.

A few years ago it was hoped that Princeton University Press would establish a Reid edition, and in 1990 the Press did publish *Practical Ethics. Being Lectures and Papers on Natural Religion, Self-Government, Natural Jurisprudence, and the Law of Nations*, with an Introduction and Commentary by Knud Haakonssen [reviewed in *ECS*, no. 5 (1991): 25-26]. In view of the decision of Princeton University Press not to pursue this project, however, Edinburgh University Press has now adopted a plan for a Reid edition under the general editorship of Knud Haakonssen. It is hoped that this edition will eventually comprise critical editions of all of Reid's published works as well as the more significant parts of his manuscripts.

The first volume, edited by Paul Wood, presents manuscript papers under the title *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation: Papers Relating to the Life Sciences*; it will be published during the second half of this year. The second volume, due out in spring 1996, will be an edition of Reid's *Inquiry* edited by Derek Brookes. This will provide a full collation of all four life-time editions of the work as well as a selection of manuscripts relating to Reid's composition of the *Inquiry*. Other manuscript volumes being planned include Reid's correspondence and his papers on politics.

Inquiries about the Reid edition may be directed to Knud Haakonssen, Dept. of Philosophy, Boston University, 745 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215, USA. Fax: 617-353-6805; email: haakon@acs.bu.edu.

### Prize and Conference at Guelph

The Frank Watson Scottish History Prize, awarded every two years for the best book, monograph, dissertation, or edited set of papers on Scottish studies, will be awarded for the second time in the fall of 1995. The first winner of the prize was David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment*, published by Edinburgh University Press in 1993.

Preference will be given to original work on a topic in early Scottish history or in any area of Scottish history that has been largely unexplored. Works published between 1 January 1994 and September 1995 are eligible, but material for consideration must be submitted by 15 June 1995 (submit prepublication copies of works due to be published between 15 June and September). Submissions received after the 15 June deadline will automatically be entered in the 1997 competition.

The prize (which includes a cash honorarium of several hundred dollars) will be awarded at the Fall Scottish Studies conference at the University of Guelph. The awardee is expected to receive the prize in person and to present a seminar and possibly a lecture while visiting Guelph. Transportation and accommodation will be provided. Nominated works, as well as requests for further information about the prize or Scottish Studies at Guelph, should be addressed to Dr. Elizabeth Ewan, Scottish Studies, History Dept., University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada N1G 2W1. Email: eewan@uoguelph.ca.

This fall's colloquium, tentatively scheduled for 23 September 1995, is entitled *The Highland Soldier: At Home and Abroad*. The conference will examine the role of the Highland regiments in Scotland and the colonies, with special emphasis on the social implications of the raising of the regiments, their impact on colonial life, and the relationship between the regiments and emigration. For further details about the conference, contact Scott McLean at the History Department address or the email address given above, or telephone 519-371-8304.

### Hume's Philosophical Relations

Those attending the joint ECSSS-Hume Society conference in Ottawa two years ago saw some remarkable genealogical charts on "Hume's Philosophical Relations," put together by Dallas L. Ouren of the University of Minnesota. The charts show the amazing network of Lowland kinship relations to which Hume (and most other Scottish literati) belonged. Now Dallas Ouren has made smaller versions of these charts available to the membership at cost, while he completes a larger project of this kind. The version available to members consists of sixteen charts and costs roughly \$5. For more information, write directly to D. L. Ouren, RJ 2 Box 275, Glenwood, MN 56334, USA.

### "1650-1850" and "Scotlands"

Two new journals with strong potential for eighteenth-century Scottish content were launched in 1994. First, AMS Press of New York City published the initial number of *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*. If that title sounds more like a book than a journal, there is a good reason for it: the first issue of *1650-1850* is a rock-solid, hardback volume of approximately 400 pages, suitable for placement on your library bookshelf. As editor Kevin Cope states in his Foreword, the journal has four foci: early modern aesthetics, the history of ideas, the idea of modernization, and "the intersections of these areas of emphasis—for example, an essay on Adam Smith's prose style."

Whether by chance or design, Cope has filled the first number of his new journal with strong Scottish content, mostly by ECSSS members. Howard Weinbrot, "Celts, Greeks, and Germans: Macpherson's Ossian and the Celtic Epic" kicks off the issue with an interesting piece on James Macpherson's Ossian as a critique of Greek and Germanic values (though it is unfortunate that Weinbrot insists on reading recent attempts to reopen critical assessment of the Ossian controversy as wrong-headed attempts to whitewash Macpherson and exalt his Ossianic poetry). In "The Philosophy of Rhetoric in Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*," Joel Weinsheimer offers a fascinating philosophical approach to George Campbell's classic work. M. A. Box asks "How Disturbed Was Hume by His own Skepticism?" and concludes that Hume's naturalistic optimism protected him from taking such concerns too far. Irwin Primer, "Lord Forbes of Pitsligo and the Maxims of La Rochefoucauld" probes the intellectual connections between this Scottish Jacobite and his French precursor in regard to the forgotten genre of maxims. Colby H. Kullman, "Appreciating Gall: Boswell's Frank Wit" is itself a witty little piece, which argues that "amazing 'chutzpah'" is the key to understanding Boswell's genius. The volume contains eight other articles, including two non-Scottish ones by ECSSS members Barbara M. Benedict and Alan T. McKenzie.

Judging from the brief closing remarks by book review editor Deborah Ann Jacobs, the look of *1650-1850* is likely to change with the next issue, which will include more than a score of book reviews. Will this move require a significant reduction in the number of articles? One also wonders exactly what will become of the editor's admirable declaration of interdisciplinarity (p. xiv)—will it amount to more than scholars of English literature writing in a broader and less technical manner than they might otherwise do? And is the presence of six Scottish articles in the first number a mere fluke? Our members can help to affect the answers to these questions by participating in this welcome enterprise. For more information about article submissions, write to the Editor, Dept. of English, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803, USA; for

information about reviewing, contact Deborah Jacobs at Pike County Offices, Prestonburg Community College, 405 Main St., Pikeville, KY 41501, USA.

The second new journal to appear in 1994 is *Scotlands*, a slick, ambitious undertaking from Edinburgh University Press. With the subtitle *The Interdisciplinary Journal of Scottish Culture*, *Scotlands* is clearly intended to bridge gaps not only between academic disciplines but also between academia and the rest of the world. Each issue is thematically conceived. The first, on the canons of Scottish culture, ranges from Colin Kidd on "The Canon of Patriotic Landmarks in Scottish History" to Duncan Macmillan on "The Canon in Scottish Art" to a couple of short pieces by Alasdair Gray—one of them characteristically bizarre in its typography. The second issue, on Scottish women and feminism, will contain no eighteenth-century pieces, but it is hoped that the third issue, on "Scotland and the Colonial Experience," will begin to emphasize the eighteenth-century contribution to Scotland's cultural multiplicity.

*Scotlands* is published twice a year and is edited by ECSSS member Christopher MacLachlan of the Department of English at St. Andrews University.

### Smollett News

Last spring's issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* included an appeal for funding support for the splendid edition of *The Works of Tobias Smollett* that Jerry Beasley edits for the University of Georgia Press. Our members may be interested to know that the campaign raised almost \$7000 that will be matched by funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Thanks to all our members who heeded the call.

In other news, the Smollett Edition is now preparing to publish the first of a number of translations by Smollett: *Telemachus*, edited by Leslie Chilton. Meanwhile, Barbara Fitzpatrick has been appointed to edit another of Smollett's translations, Voltaire's *Candide*, following the completion of the major portion of her editorial work on *Sir Launcelot Greaves*.

### Susan and Andrew in Our Thoughts

The Society extends its best wishes to our President, Susan Manning, who is steadily recovering from a case of meningitis that disabled her for much of the 1994-95 academic year. At press time in May, Susan had resumed a large part of her normal schedule at Newnham College, Cambridge, and was expecting to make a full recovery by the time of the Society's conference in Aberdeen this summer.

The Society extends its sincere condolences to Past President Andrew Hook on the death of his daughter Sarah, which occurred in London earlier this year. Members wishing to show their sympathy on this sad occasion are asked to make contributions in Sarah's name to the British Diabetic Association, 10 Queen Anne St., London W1M 0BD, UK.

## Members on the Move

**Yasua Amoh** was in Edinburgh for part of 1994, completing his edition of Adam Ferguson's unpublished essays . . . **Daisuke Arie** has moved to Yokohama National U. as Professor of the History of Social Science . . . **James Basker** has been promoted to Professor of English at Barnard College, Columbia U. . . . after serving as Acting Chair of the English Department at Trinity College this year, **Barbara Benedict** is looking forward to teaching in Rome next fall . . . **Christopher Berry's** *The Idea of Luxury*, recently published by Cambridge U. P., contains a chapter on the eighteenth-century debate . . . **Elaine Breslaw** spent the academic year as Visiting Professor of History at the U. of Tennessee . . . **Alexander Broadie** has been appointed to the Chair of Logic and Rhetoric at the U. of Glasgow . . . **John Cairns** passed the spring term teaching at U. of Miami School of Law . . . last September **Pierre Carboni** submitted his doctoral dissertation at the Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III) to a jury that included P.-G. Boucé, Horst Drescher, and Pierre Morère; the work is entitled "Adam Smith, Lord Kames, Hugh Blair, et le mouvement des belles-lettres à Edimbourg entre 1748 et 1783" . . . **Deidre Dawson's** book *Voltaire's Correspondence: An Epistolary Novel* was published by Peter Lang in 1994; Deidre has also been selected for a four-year term as ASECS's representative to ISECS . . . **P. Clarke de Dromantin** has delivered several papers on Jacobite refugees in France . . . **Linda Colley** is now the Richard M. Colgate Professor of History at Yale U. . . . **Richard Drayton** has moved from Cambridge to Lincoln College, Oxford . . . **John Dwyer** has been appointed Associate Director of the Centre for the Support of Teaching at York U. near Toronto . . . **Michel Faure** has submitted his monumental doctoral thesis: a three-volume edition of John Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, together with a collation and French translation; weighing more than ten pounds and covering more than 1600 pages, Michel's work is proof that the traditional *thèse d'Etat* still lives in France! . . . **Hamish Fraser** is now Reader in History at the U. of Strathclyde . . . **Joyce Goodfriend** delivered the keynote address on "The Coming of Age of Colonial Dutch Studies in the United States" at a conference on Nieuw Nederland at Roosevelt Study Center in Middleburg, Netherlands . . . **Knud Haakonssen** is now Professor of Philosophy at Boston U.; his inaugural address, delivered on 29 March, was entitled "Natural Law, Natural Rights, and the Enlightenment 'Science' of Morals" . . . **Rab Houston** has been appointed to a personal Chair in Modern History at St. Andrews U. and has received a Leverhulme Fellowship for research on the perception of insanity in Scotland, c. 1660-1850 . . . **Colin Kidd** is now Lecturer in Scottish History at Glasgow U. . . .

**Anne McClenny Krauss** recently presented "Robert Burns and the Music of 18th-Century Scotland" at a program sponsored by Duke U. . . . **Mike Kugler** is now Assistant Professor of History at Northeastern College in Iowa . . . **Leah Leneman** has received an eighteen-month grant from ESRC to research divorce in Scotland from 1684 to 1832, while she and **Rosalind Mitchison** examine urban kirk session records for a sequel to their book on *Sexuality and Social Control* . . . **Roger Mason** has been appointed Reader in History at St. Andrews U. . . . **Elizabeth Mitchell** has been appointed Senior Lecturer at Canterbury Christ Church College . . . **Karen O'Brien** has moved to the English Literature Department at the U. of Wales in Cardiff . . . **Michihiro Otonashi** has been promoted to Professor in the Faculty of Economics at Chuo U. in Tokyo . . . **Fania Oz-Salzberger** has given birth to twin boys as well as a book on the reception of Scottish civic discourse in Germany (to be reviewed in our next issue) . . . **Carolyn Peters** now teaches at Martrell College in Salinas, California . . . **Outi Pickering** completed her licentiate degree at Turku U. in Finland with a thesis on "Personification in the Poetry of Robert Burns" . . . **Murray G. H. Pittock** has been appointed Reader in English Literature at the U. of Edinburgh . . . **Joan Pittock Wesson** will be retiring from the U. of Aberdeen at the end of this academic year . . . **Ian Ross** has been invited to give lectures on Hume and Smith at Yokohama City U. in Japan . . . **P. H. Scott** spoke on "The Rise and Fall of Britishness" at the fourth International Symposium of the Scottish Studies Centre at the U. of Mainz at Gernersheim, Germany . . . **Gentaro Seki** of Kyushu U. has published *Economic Thought for Making an Economic Society: A Study of the Economic Proposals in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Kyoto, 1994; in Japanese) . . . **Janet Sorensen** is now Assistant Professor of English at Indiana U. . . . **Jessica Spector** heads for Scotland this summer to find materials for her U. of Chicago dissertation on Hume . . . **Fiona Stafford** celebrated 1994 with the birth of her second child (a daughter) as well as the publication of her second book, *The Last of the Race* . . . **Mary Margaret Stewart** has stepped down as the Executive Secretary of East Central ASECS after many years of exemplary service, fondly commemorated in the latest issue of the EC/ASECS newsletter . . . **Christopher Whatley** has been appointed Reader in History at the U. of Dundee . . . **Arthur Williamson** received the 1994-95 President's Award for Research and Creative Activity at California State U. . . . **Charles Withers** has been appointed Professor of Geography at the U. of Edinburgh . . . **Paul Wood** is now a tenured Associate Professor of History at the U. of Victoria.



## The Context of George Campbell's The Philosophy of Rhetoric: A New Perspective

Jeffrey M. Suderman

George Campbell's *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) is generally considered one of the eighteenth century's most important philosophical treatments of the art of rhetoric. Consequently, modern scholars have attempted to place the work within the histories of both rhetorical and philosophical thought. They have, by this approach, discovered Campbell's profound debt to the thought of Francis Bacon and David Hume. But this intense concentration on *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* itself (not unlike Humean scholars' concentration on Book 1 of the *Treatise*) has, for the most part, prevented them from seeing Campbell's rhetoric within the context of his own thought as a whole. It is unlikely, considering the breadth of Campbell's interests, that the epistemology and theory of evidence found in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* was developed exclusively for the benefit of a new approach to rhetoric. This essay will consider the context in which Campbell himself viewed *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* and his other writings.

Lloyd F. Bitzer, in his recently revised introduction to the now standard edition of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, has rightly suggested that Campbell's rhetorical philosophy cannot be properly understood without considering the religious aspects of his thought.<sup>2</sup> As a general rule, this applies to many (perhaps most) participants in the Scottish Enlightenment. But what does it specifically mean for Campbell? As a starting point, we should consider the context in which *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* was first conceived and written. It is well known that Campbell read a considerable part of it, in the form of eighteen discourses, before the Aberdeen Philosophical Society between the years 1758 and 1771.<sup>3</sup> The genesis of Campbell's rhetorical philosophy, however, goes back even further, to about the year 1750, when the young Campbell was establishing himself in his first pastoral charge of Banchory Ternan, in the Aberdeen countryside.<sup>4</sup> Campbell evidently took his pastoral duties very seriously. Even in the isolation of his country parish, he forced himself to improve his ability to teach and minister to his parishioners. He worked out for himself a methodology for first understanding and then communicating gospel truth. These private studies would eventually culminate in his two greatest achievements, *The Four Gospels, Translated from the Greek, with Preliminary Dissertations, and Notes Critical and Explanatory* (published in two massive volumes in 1789) and *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* itself.

It is clear that the greater part of Campbell's life-work was inspired by what he perceived to be the requirements of the pastoral office, a large part of which concerned Christian persuasion. We ought, therefore, to consider Campbell's rhetorical theory in the context in which it originated, that is, in light of his pastoral theory as a whole. To do this, we must turn to the primary source of Campbell's pastoral theory: the lectures he delivered as professor of divinity at Marischal College, Aberdeen.

Campbell was appointed professor of divinity at Marischal in 1771, twelve years after assuming the duties of principal, and henceforth conducted both offices until his retirement in 1795. His opposite number at Aberdeen's other university, King's College, was Alexander Gerard (author of *An Essay on Taste* and *An Essay on Genius*), whose relationship with Campbell, despite a previous friendship and a remarkable similarity of thought, appears to have been cool at best. The two professors broke the long-standing tradition of sharing the duties of Aberdeen's two divinity chairs, and each tried to give a complete four-year course of divinity instruction to his own students. Thus, Campbell's lecturing scheme contained a fairly comprehensive view of his pastoral theory. This was set out most explicitly in the "Introductory Discourses," which described Campbell's ideal four-year pedagogical scheme, and which were repeated each year for the benefit of new students.<sup>5</sup>

Campbell divided divinity training into two parts, "The science of theology" and "The pastoral office," the first being theoretical and the second practical. Under the first heading he included sacred history, biblical criticism, and systematic or polemical divinity. Sacred history encompassed ancient history (primarily Jewish antiquities) and ecclesiastical history, while systematic divinity subdivided into "The Christian system" and "Theological controversy." This last was again divided according to the source of the controversy, that is, controversy with infidels and controversy with misinformed Christians. The practical side of divinity training was divided by Campbell into "Instructing" and "Governing." The former included instruction by example and instruction by teaching; the latter encompassed church discipline and ordination.<sup>6</sup>

Campbell's pedagogical scheme ideally surveyed all that a minister needed to know in order to carry out the particular duties of his profession. It was in no way novel, and would have been immediately recognizable to any eighteenth-century Scottish divine. What is interesting, however, is the manner in which Campbell's pedagogical scheme informed the entire body of his own written works.

Campbell's published and unpublished writings included something on virtually every aspect of his divinity course. The most obvious correlation is the published lectures themselves, which were given to the world in three posthumous installments. The *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* appeared in two volumes in 1800, reproducing twenty-eight manuscript lectures that Campbell had intended for the press. These included all of his church history

lectures, and represented about a year's worth of lecturing. (Campbell provided only a reading list for ancient or Jewish history; this may have been all that his students received on this topic.) The *Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence* (1807) reproduced the four "Introductory Discourses," six lectures on "Systematic Theology" and twelve on "Pulpit Eloquence." The "Pulpit Eloquence" lectures clearly corresponded to that portion of Campbell's course entitled "Teaching" or "Christian eloquence," the second part of the "Instructing" category. Considering Campbell's dislike for theological controversy, his six "Systematic Theology" lectures (which were almost exclusively on the method of Christian study) were probably all that he gave on the subject of "The Christian System." (He certainly would have expected his students to know their Bible, as well as their creed and catechisms.) The *Lectures on the Pastoral Character* (1811) reproduced, according to James Fraser of Drumoak (the editor of this and the 1807 volume), the last of Campbell's extant lecture manuscripts. These nine lectures encompassed that portion of the lecturing scheme entitled "Teaching by example" (also known as "Propriety of character").

What, then, of the remainder of the lecturing scheme? The manuscript of that portion of Campbell's course entitled "Biblical criticism" does not appear to have survived. Nevertheless, it is clear that the seven hundred or so pages of "Preliminary Dissertations" that made up the first of the two volumes of the *Four Gospels* included the equivalent of at least a year's worth of divinity lectures. The one surviving set of student notes of Campbell's divinity course demonstrates that the topics covered under the heading "Biblical criticism" were closely reproduced in the published "Preliminary Dissertations."<sup>8</sup> Though no lectures survive on "Theological controversy" (that is, the defense of true Christianity), Campbell did publish extensively on the topic. Against "infidels" (in this case David Hume), Campbell published *A Dissertation on Miracles*, which, next to *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, is Campbell's best-known publication today. It came to be regarded as perhaps the best philosophical answer to Hume's skeptical view of Christian testimonial evidences. Campbell's sermon *The Success of the First Publishers of the Gospel a Proof of Its Truth* (1777) is likewise a defense of Christianity against those who discounted its historical evidences. Another sermon, entitled *The Happy Influence of Religion on Civil Society* (1779), vindicated the moral character of Christianity from libertines' claims that it was the invention of politicians for the purpose of social control. Against "misinformed Christians" (primarily Roman Catholics and Protestant "enthusiasts"), Campbell published a popular but controversial sermon entitled *The Spirit of the Gospel, A Spirit neither of Superstition nor of Enthusiasm* (1771). This he followed up twenty years later with two substantial manuscripts aimed more directly at his Catholic critics (particularly the then-anonymous Scottish Catholic bishop, George Hay). The first was a tract entitled "Of Implicit Faith" (which, like Calvin, he opposed), and the second was a "Defence" (of the *Spirit of the Gospel* sermon) which came to more than four hundred pages of close handwriting. Both were written for the press, but neither piece was ultimately published. The same is true of the manuscript "Strictures on Dodwell," which defended Christianity against the ultra-highchurchmanship of Henry Dodwell the elder.<sup>9</sup> In addition, Campbell's *Address to the People of Scotland, Upon the Alarms that Have Been Raised in Regard to Popery* (1779), which chastised Campbell's brethren within the established Church of Scotland for their intolerant treatment of Scottish Catholics, may also be considered a defense of the true spirit of Christianity against enthusiasts. Campbell's students would have been familiar, at the very least, with the *Dissertation on Miracles* and *The Spirit of the Gospel*, both famous in their time.

Thus, Campbell published something on every aspect of his divinity course, with the exception of that part of the practical side entitled "Governing" (which he may have thought could only be learned through experience). This does not, however, exhaust the usefulness of Campbell's pedagogical scheme for understanding the unity of his body of writing. Campbell's very first publication, a sermon entitled *The Character of a Minister of the Gospel as a Teacher and Pattern* (1752), nicely encapsulated the concern for the pastoral office which Campbell exhibited from his early Banchory Ternan days. It also may be viewed as a dry run for what would eventually become the *Lectures on the Pastoral Character*. Finally, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* itself, which, as has been noted, dates to the time of *The Character of a Minister*, also falls within the scope of Campbell's pastoral theory.

A number of modern scholars have already noted the similarities between *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* and the obviously rhetorical *Lectures on Pulpit Eloquence*. The extensive parallels between the structures and arguments of these two works demonstrate that much of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* was conceived with the pulpit in mind. Campbell believed that a minister, in order to communicate the true spirit of Christianity to his congregation effectively, had to be familiar not only with the rules and ends of rhetoric, but also with the principles of human nature that made those rules effective.<sup>10</sup> The central concern of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, as is well known, was to link the classically established ends of speaking with the various faculties of the human mind that influenced the will. To put it another way, as Campbell did to his divinity students, the ultimate end of pulpit oratory (and the whole ministerial office) was the reformation of mankind.<sup>11</sup> This largely explains *The Philosophy of Rhetoric's* concern with the nature and uses of evidence. The *Dissertation on Miracles* is a fine example of how Campbell's Enlightenment-inspired theory of evidence could be used in the service of Christian apology. Campbell, like Hume, treated miracles as problems of testimonial evidence. But he argued, against Hume, that since virtually all natural knowledge (including knowledge of the laws of nature) is based on human testimony, miracles are as capable of being believed with moral certainty as any other testimonial claim. The tone and methodology of

Campbell's rhetoric partook fully of the spirit of the Scottish Enlightenment, but its purpose belonged to a scheme of Christian education. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, then, was not only conceived within the context of Campbell's developing pastoral concerns, but ultimately found its proper place within the mature pastoral theory of Marischal College's professor of divinity.

Every aspect of Campbell's educational scheme (with the exception of church governance) found expression in Campbell's body of writing; everything that Campbell wrote (with the possible exception of the hitherto unmentioned tract on the American War, *The Nature, Extent, and Importance, of the Duty of Allegiance*) falls within the scheme of Campbell's conception of Christian education. This remarkable correlation suggests several important conclusions. The first and most obvious is that Campbell's explicit pedagogical scheme throws light onto the whole structure of his thought. It suggests that the ends of virtually all his intellectual activities were Christian ends. Such a seemingly secular work as *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, when viewed in light of the context within which it was created, becomes a useful tool for Christian persuasion. Campbell's scheme further suggests that the structure of his thought was meant to stand as a unified whole. His defense of Christian evidences against the attacks of infidels would have been ineffective without a coherent notion of what constituted proper evidence, and how evidence brought about belief in a human mind. Such a doctrine of evidence was in turn indefensible without a notion of the inherent believability of one's own memory and of the testimony of others; thus Campbell turned to the philosophy of Common Sense. The assumptions of Common Sense philosophy, likewise, depended upon the existence and attributes of a Supreme Being known by means of natural religion. But for such a system to stand as an integrated whole, it was also liable to fall as a whole if any of its parts were seriously compromised. Thus can be explained Campbell's intense concern to battle the skeptical implications of Hume's philosophy with regard to Christian evidences (miracles) and with regard to the epistemological foundations of his rhetorical theory.

Campbell's intellectual scheme also provides a useful example of the way in which the thought of the Enlightenment and the thought of traditional Protestantism interacted and ultimately fused in the minds of so many eighteenth-century Scots. It supports the notion that the Scottish Enlightenment flourished within the context of traditional Scottish ideals and institutions. Campbell took an active interest in both the enlightened and religious realms of knowledge without believing that either compromised the other. In fact, he developed and used the methods and techniques of the Enlightenment for the most Christian of ends.

Note: This article introduces ideas that will be more fully developed (and diagrammed) in my forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: George Campbell (1719-1796) and the Aberdeen Enlightenment" (University of Western Ontario). I am pleased to acknowledge the assistance of an award from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

### Notes

1. The primacy of Hume's philosophy in Campbell's thought has been convincingly argued by Lloyd F. Bitzer in an article entitled "Hume's Philosophy in George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 3 (1969): 139-66, but more fully documented in his doctoral dissertation, "The Lively Idea: A Study of Hume's Influence on George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*" (State University of Iowa, 1962). Wilbur Samuel Howell, *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric* (Princeton, 1971), addresses the question of Bacon's influence, as does Vincent M. Bevilacqua, "Philosophical Origins of George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*," *Speech Monographs* 32 (1965): 1-12.

2. Lloyd F. Bitzer, "Editor's Introduction" to George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill., 1988).

3. See H. Lewis Ulman, ed., *The Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society 1758-1773* (Aberdeen, 1990), table A-4.

4. Campbell himself gives 1750 as the date of composition of the first two chapters of book 1 of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (p. lxxv). Campbell's rhetorical interests actually go back even farther than this, at least as far back as the time of his discussions of pulpit rhetoric with the members of the "Theological Club," during his days as divinity student at Marischal College (1741-46).

5. Some of this information appears in the manuscript (but not the published) version of the "Introductory Discourses," Aberdeen University Library, MS M 191, pp. 42-43.

6. This summary has been abstracted from the four "Introductory Discourses" of the *Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence* (London, 1807).

7. James Fraser's "Advertisement" to the *Lectures on the Pastoral Character* (London, 1811).

8. The student notes by "R.E.S" (probably Robert Eden Scott) are in the Aberdeen University Library, MS M 190. Scott later became a regent and then professor of moral philosophy at King's College.

9. These three pieces survive only in manuscript in the Aberdeen University Library as follows: "Of Implicit Faith," MS 649; "Defence," MS 651-55; "Strictures on Dodwell," MS 650.

10. See, for example, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, p. 61; *Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence*, p. 257; *The Character of a Minister of the Gospel as a Teacher and Pattern* (Aberdeen, 1752), p. 49.

11. *Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence*, p. 355.

## Thomas Munro and the Malthusian Attack on Communist Utopias

Salim Rashid, University of Illinois

Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827) may be numbered among several Scots who achieved fame as a successful soldier, an innovative civil servant, and one of the men of vision who founded British Rule in India. Yet a curious letter of his, written in 1795, suggests that some of the essential parts of Thomas Malthus's *Essay on Population* (1798) were afloat in Scotland well before Malthus ever wrote. The letter was published in George Gleig's two-volume biography, *The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro Bart. and K.C.B.* (London, 1830), but the fact that it has drawn no comment—either then or in subsequent scholarship, such as Burton Stein, *Thomas Munro: The Origins of the Colonial State and His Vision of Empire* (Oxford, 1989)—is perhaps a good indication of the apolitical manner in which the origins of economic theories are often viewed.

The first edition of the *Essay on Population* was begun after an argument with Malthus's father on the consequences of "French" principles, and it dealt in equal parts with the mechanics of population growth and the unappealing features of the new ideas of Godwin and Condorcet. In the space of one long letter, which takes up about nine printed pages (Gleig, *Life of Munro*, 1:161-70), Munro follows a similar pattern. This unusual letter is interesting for the light it casts on Scottish intellectual culture at the end of the eighteenth century as well as for enabling us to assess more accurately both the originality and the impact of the *Essay on Population* of 1798, commonly known as the *First Essay*.

The letter in question is dated 5 March 1795 and addressed to Munro's sister, Erskine, whom Thomas reproves for her interest in French revolutionary doctrines. This is exactly how Malthus's interest in population growth began! Munro had left Scotland early in 1779 (arriving in Madras in 1780), and yet he chides Erskine for being like Mrs. Mary Wollstonecraft. Since Mary Wollstonecraft's first book, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters*, was published in 1787, and her more famous *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* dates from 1790, Munro was clearly being kept up-to-date about literary events in Britain. It is curious to note that Mary Wollstonecraft was expressing views at this time which epitomized those that Munro was to attack. In her *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark*, Wollstonecraft muses on the importance of population to civilization.

I never, my friend, thought so deeply of the advantages obtained by human industry as since I have been in Norway. The world requires, I see, the hand of man to perfect it; and as this task naturally unfolds the faculties he exercises, it is physically impossible that he should have remained in Rousseau's golden age of stupidity. And, considering the question of human happiness, where, oh! where does it reside? Has it taken up its abode with unconscious ignorance, or with the high-wrought mind? Is it the offspring of thoughtless animal spirits, or the elve of fancy continually flitting round the expected pleasure?

The increasing population of the earth must necessarily tend to its improvement, as the means of existence are multiplied by invention.

After chiding his sister for her radical tendencies, Munro goes on to describe how the new cosmopolitanism would immediately breed an enormous swarm of people. It is well known that Robert Wallace's *Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence* (London, 1761) had contained an account of a utopia that would eventually be overcome by overpopulation—was Munro familiar with Wallace? But Munro shows no sign that he only feared distant overpopulation.

TO HIS SISTER.

Wamlere, 5th March, 1795.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I FIND that all my arguments in favour of ignorance and old customs have been lost upon you, and that I might as well have attempted to put out the light of Mrs. Mary Woolstonecroft, as to turn the heart of such a stubborn reformer as you are now become. All nations are now, it seems, to be one family; and we are to have no more quarrelling, nor more fighting, except intellectual combats; and every man of us is to cultivate philosophy and the arts, and to talk of nothing but urbanity, and humanity, and gentleness, and delicacy, and sympathy, and love—every desert spot is to be converted into a garden, and the whole face of the earth is to swarm with the sons and daughters of reason and liberty!

The contrast between the two viewpoints is brought out sharply by juxtaposing Munro's words with those of Mary Wollstonecraft, written, ironically, at almost the same time:

The view of this wild coast, as we sailed along it, afforded me a continual subject for meditation. I anticipated the future improvement of the world, and observed how much man had still to do, to obtain of the earth all it could yield. I even carried my speculations so far as to advance a

million or two of years to the moment when the earth would perhaps be so perfectly cultivated, and so completely peopled, as to render it necessary to inhabit every spot; yes; these bleak shores. Imagination went still farther, and pictured the state of man when the earth could no longer support him. Where was he to fly to from universal famine? Do not smile: I really became distressed for these fellow creatures, yet unborn. (p. 163)

We know that Malthus was led to prophesy an immense overpopulation if the principles of Condorcet and Godwin took hold, that Malthus subsequently elaborated upon the loss of leisure and culture, and that it was John Stuart Mill who took the argument to the point where humanity had standing room only. Munro jumps at once to John Stuart Mill's position:

What then? Suppose all these fine things realized, shall we have changed for the better? Let agriculture and manufactures be carried to their utmost possible extent, where does it all end? but in our being more effeminate in our dress, and more epicurean in our food, than we are now. We must also admit, that the increase of population has kept pace with the improvements of the arts; and that the whole face of the country will be covered with habitations, except what is required for the purposes of agriculture; but this cannot be a very extensive space; for, as the earth will then be forced to yield at least an hundred fold more than at present, I reckon an area of twenty feet square a very ample allowance for each person. This is making a very great concession; for, you know that every inch of the surface of dry land might be covered with houses, and the inhabitants, by having terraced roofs, might on the top of them raise food enough for their sustenance, as was formerly done by the Babylonians in their hanging gardens; but as I wish, contrary to the practice of the learned, to be moderate in argument, I give you twenty feet square for your maintenance and recreation.

Munro saw nothing but misery as the consequence of a population which rivalled that of China:

What will be the consequence of this advanced state of society? We shall, like the Chinese, throw our new-born children into rivers, with as little remorse as if they were puppies. We shall not be able to walk out without being jostled on all sides by crowds of enlightened men and women. All the sports of the field, and all rural pleasures, will be at an end. There will be no rambling across the meadows; for every man will fence his territorial possessions of twenty feet against all intruders. There will be no hunting or shooting, for all wild animals will have been destroyed; and there will be no fishing, because every living thing in the rivers will have been poisoned by manufactures. There will be no poetry, no silence, no solitude; and if by chance some genius should arise and invoke the muse, he will sing more of being lulled to sleep by the clattering of fulling-mills and other machinery, than by the whispering of the zephyrs, or the sweet south, upon a bank of violets. The hard-handed peasant will then wear dog-skin gloves, silk stockings, and a solitaire, and be wrapt in silk from top to toe like a cocoon; and as the plough will then, by the power of machinery, go by itself, he will look at its motions, mounted on the horse which, in these barbarous times, would be employed in drawing it. And the rich man, dressed in the finest stuffs that art can produce, will sit in his marble palace gasping for fresh air; for amidst the steam of human bodies, and the smoke of engines and workshops, it will be impossible to get a mouthful, unless by going to sea.

Eventually mankind shall be eager to recover the art of war, just to be rid of a few of their brethren:

When the world, by the progress of knowledge, shall come to this pass, (if the art of war, after being lost for many ages, is again discovered,) it will be hailed as a noble invention, and the author of it will perhaps receive the honours of the Pantheon, for giving elbow-room to the half-stifled inhabitants of the globe, by such ingenious machinery as fire-arms, instead of its being effected by pestilence and famine: it will no doubt be considered as a learned profession, and probably be classed as one of the branches of the medical art.

It is curious how Malthus, the economist, prophesies that the abolition of private property would be followed by a return to private property, while Munro, the soldier, predicts that the abolition of war would be followed by a yearning for the same.

Munro, who never lost his contempt for the French threat (Gleig, *Life of Munro*, 1:201), shows the characteristic aversion of the practical man for "theory"—particularly French political theory:

Their disquisitions on government are not likely ever to do much good—for its best rules will always be drawn from experience; and whatever is good in their theories, comes from the same source, though they often absurdly enough regard it as the offspring of their own genius. I never had much faith in the soundness of their political doctrines, and still less after what has passed in France. If they could ever discover and demonstrate mathematically the origin of ideas, or senti-

ments, or whatever they please to call them, they might still be very ignorant of the characters of men, and, of course, very unfit for the administration of public affairs. We have never yet had any proof that the knowledge of abstract sciences makes those who cultivate them, either more able or more virtuous. I rather suspect that they have a contrary tendency.

With a few sarcastic words on the incompatibility of French ideas with those of Christianity, Munro closes by declaring that the former are unattractive because they would produce a dry uniformity:

But could this prophecy be accomplished, it is not an event that ought to be wished for by Christians, because we should become attached to this vain world, and would have no motive for praying to go to a better; and pain and poverty, two apostles who have perhaps made as many converts as all the bishops that ever existed, would be turned out of doors.—But religion out of the question. I am much afraid, that could the Doctor's schemes be brought to bear, they would not even contribute to our worldly bliss. The human race, as I told you before, is to be one great family. All malignant passions, and with them war, are to cease—all nations are to be alike enlightened. The gentlemen of Timbuctoo are to speak French, and the ladies to warble Italian; and the tranquil pleasures of mankind are never to be ruffled, unless by the death of their cattle, or the birth of their children. To such a state of dull uniform repose, give me, a thousand times in preference, the world as it now stands, with all its beautiful variety of knowledge and ignorance,—of languages—of manners—customs—religions and superstitions—of cultivated fields and wide-extended deserts—and of war and peace.

Your affectionate Brother,  
THOMAS MUNRO.

The first point to be made about Munro's letter concerns the light it sheds on the nature and influence of Scottish thought. Although no references to Adam Ferguson appear in the published sources, Munro's aggressive, warlike spirit bears a close resemblance to Ferguson's ideas. Scottish intellectuals provide much of the common background for both Munro and Malthus. David Hume had already noted that the ill-consequences of the abolition of property were such that property would soon be reinstated; James Mackintosh had emphasized the importance of general causes in the explanation of historical events, particularly referring to the French Revolution.<sup>2</sup> Those aspects of Scottish life emphasized by the Man of Feeling, Henry Mackenzie—as discussed by John Dwyer in *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980)—evidently had little charm for Munro. But those are the themes that appear in Malthus's attack on the charms of communism. As we put the pieces together, the world-view of Malthus appears almost as a byproduct of the Scots. The general knowledge of Scottish life provided by Munro suggests a look at a few further facts of Munro's life.

Munro's ideas are not out of line with the general conservatism of Scotland at the time he grew up, but in view of his father's refusal to let him enlist in the army during the American Revolution they are quite strong. In addition to indicating anti-revolutionary arguments prevalent in the early 1790s, Munro's letter arouses our curiosity about the intellectual climate of the 1780s and 1790s. How did Munro get to write such a letter from South India in 1795?

Munro had once been fairly well read—he refers to Adam Smith and David Hume in some of his letters, and he even indicates more than passing knowledge of the psychological tendencies of some authors. Despite his own complaints about idleness (Gleig, *Life of Munro*, 1:513), Munro obviously tried to keep up with recent thought. Although he had been away from Britain for sixteen years, his thoughts appear to be entirely in the same groove as his countrymen at home.<sup>3</sup> Were the channels of communication so fluid as to keep Munro *au courant*?

The argument of the *First Essay* of 1798 has two important aspects. First, with his contentions about the speed of population growth, Malthus showed that an anarchic utopia was unstable and hence infeasible;<sup>4</sup> secondly, he argued that the claims for a new society made by philosophical anarchists like William Godwin were actually arguments against diversity and variety, and hence undesirable.<sup>5</sup>

What was original about the first part of the argument, the instability of utopia? The idea that population would grow with "good" political regimes, and would eventually grow faster than the available food supply, was clearly and definitely established by Robert Wallace. However, Wallace was afraid only of the distant future. In his *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy* (1767), Sir James Steuart applied the analogy of a loaded spring to the food-population nexus in order to emphasize the fact that some adjustment was always taking place. Rev. Joseph Townshend's *Dissertation on the Poor Laws* (1786) applied the food-population argument to a predator-prey model and emphasized how the poor bred rapidly with the encouragement of the Poor Laws. So we may safely take it that the eventual infeasibility of utopias was generally accepted by educated opinion in the 1780s and thereafter. The anarchists wanted "good" government, but they realized that this would lead to a rapidly growing population and eventually "standing-room only." This tension is clearly visible in the quotes from Mary Wollstonecraft provided above. Godwin recognizes these problems and refers to solutions that the anarchic utopia will have to find for itself. By his background and education, Malthus would have been fully conversant

with the existing state of opinion; and the first part of the *First Essay* has overtones of an argument between friends, in which Malthus gently points out a flaw in their common cause.

Munro may not have had all of Malthus's background, but he "should" have read Wallace and Steuart. He is not explicit about the speed of population growth but, in view of the Wallace-Steuart background, this would be the only point of his bringing in the growth of a Jacobin population as an objection. Munro's argument implies the speed of population growth but nowhere states it. On the whole, Munro can be considered an adumbrator of the first part of the *First Essay* only by a generous, and perhaps illegitimate, interpretation of his words. This is not at all the case with Munro's attack on the undesirability of Jacobin equality. Munro spells out carefully his disdain for the homogeneity and flatness of an egalitarian life, and much of the significance of his letter lies herein.

In *Revolution, Economics and Religion: Christian Political Economy, 1798-1833* (Cambridge, 1991), A.M.C. Waterman writes that even though Jacobinism was no longer a force by 1798, Godwin occupied the high moral ground (p. 25). To destroy this high moral position, more was necessary than the infeasibility of utopia. Godwin had noted that several continents needed to be filled, and he claimed that while this process was going on the ardor of sex would diminish in the new society. To be conclusive, therefore, one had to show that a communist society was unattractive as well as infeasible. In some respects, Munro does this just as effectively as Malthus. Munro's letter suggests that the communism of radicals had become unattractive by 1795 and makes it unlikely that Malthus's *First Essay* was particularly influential against Jacobinism.

How necessary was Malthus's attack of 1798? Munro had already stated the destructive aspect of Malthus's thesis. What Malthus adds is an explicit statement of the mechanism by which overpopulation would come about and an insistence that overpopulation is an immediate, and not a remote consequence; Munro only hints at this. Malthus also explicitly notes how the misery of overpopulation would lead to a return to the rule of private property; Munro merely records his pleasure at the thought that those who invent weapons of death would be benefactors in the overcrowded Jacobin world. In other words, both Munro and Malthus agree upon the final effect of French ideas—enormous population growth—and upon their intense dislike of such a world, particularly since it seemed to them incompatible with leisure and culture. Only the details of the process differ.

Malthus came from a politically liberal family, so it would have been natural for him to read, and receive stimulation from, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Scandinavian Letters*. Indeed Malthus himself was to make a tour of the same countries in 1802 and 1803. Was he following his original inspiration? There is an intriguing possibility that Malthus may have seen Munro's letter to his sister. We know that Munro's father was so proud of his son's accomplishments that he inserted several letters in various newspapers. As some of these could be directly traced to him, Munro warned his father to be discreet. Nonetheless, it is possible that Munro's other correspondents, such as his sister, saw no bar to the publication of their letters. This is a slim possibility, but it will be interesting to see whether future research uncovers such a letter or letters in British newspapers that Malthus can be reasonably supposed to have read.

## Notes

1. *A Wollstonecraft Anthology*, ed. Jane Todd (Oxford, 1989), p. 161.
2. I have elaborated upon the argument of this paragraph in "The Essay on Population and the European World-View," presented at the HES-session of the AEA Meetings, New Orleans, 1991.
3. Most impressive in this regard are the detailed notes he made on Ricardo's *Political Economy* in 1820. (Gleig, *Life of Munro*, 2:282-307). Apart from two points—one where Munro is not clear about why a rise in wages will not lead to a rise in prices (p. 288) and another where he believes farmers cannot be taxed only if gold is domestically mined (p. 302)—the notes serve to clarify Munro's understanding of Ricardo. He was not an entirely reliable source on economic issues since he changed his mind on Hindu consumption habits and claimed to have access to land records that no one else could discover (see Stein, *Thomas Munro*, pp. 68-70).
4. The influence of local events in the writing of the *First Essay* is explored in B. Stapleton, "Malthus: The Origins of the Principle of Population?" in *Malthus and His Time*, ed. M. Turner (New York, 1986), pp. 19-39.
5. There is some ambiguity about the role of the *First Essay*. Whereas Patricia James, *Population Malthus* (London, 1979), notes the interest of the reviews in the attack on Godwin, T. H. Hollingsworth thinks Godwin had little popular influence. See Hollingsworth, "The Influence of Malthus on British Thought," in *Malthus, Past and Present*, ed. J. Dupaquier (London, 1983), pp. 213-21, esp. p. 213.
6. This is also indicated by Malthus's choice of the well known liberal-radical, Joseph Johnson, as his publisher.
7. The Malthus Library Catalogue (1983) contains an entry for Mary Wollstonecraft's *Posthumous Works*, edited by W. Godwin.

## George Thomson and Robert Burns: With Friends Like These . . .

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Kirsteen McCue has taken up a demanding and crucial project in working on George Thomson's collections of song (*Eighteenth Century Scotland*, no. 8 [1994]: 11-14). But surely her arduous and much-needed bibliographical research can be conducted—and the significance of Thomson's editorial career be reassessed (or rather, as she rightly says, be fully assessed for the first time)—without resurrecting J. Cythbert Hadden's chestnut of a thesis, in a biography written a century ago, that Thomson was Burns's "friend."<sup>1</sup> McCue complains that Burns critics have provided a "history of misrepresentation of Thomson's work and his editorial procedure" (p. 11). It is true that as yet we have very incomplete information, and she is also quite right to reject dismissals of Thomson rooted only in reverse snobbery and nationalist prejudice: in hiring major European composers to provide art settings for Burns's folksongs, Thomson was not necessarily committing an offense against taste and even decency.

We must consider the match between music and lyric in individual cases. And if Thomson had his failures (including, I would say, Haydn's strutting, busy setting for "Scots wha hae," which turns one of Burns's greatest songs into what sounds like the national anthem of Munchkinland in Oz), he also had many successes: to name only one, Beethoven's gorgeously smoky setting for "The Bonnie Lass of Inverness" (using Thomson's suggested air, not Burns's). But Thomson's settings for Burns's songs are not the main reason he has been criticized so harshly. Thomson earned his bad reputation by his mutilation of the poet's letters and (in his unsigned obituary) his destruction-by-innuendo of Burns's reputation.

Burns's correspondence with Thomson—the poet's own fifty-six letters and also Thomson's replies—fills an entire volume in Dr. James Currie's four-volume *Life and Works of Robert Burns* (1800), the first collected edition. Currie, a kindly Scottish expatriate practicing medicine in Liverpool, was a notably hesitant and reluctant biographer. He felt especially unsure of his judgments concerning Burns and Scottish song, and between 1796 and 1800 Thomson became his most trusted consultant on editorial matters. Thomson also acted as Currie's agent in Edinburgh, acquiring Burns's letters to William Nichol for Currie's edition but failing to convince Robert Ainslie to part with his.<sup>2</sup> Currie's gratitude for Thomson's activities is evident in his decision to print Thomson's letters along with those of the poet: as the correspondence was devoted to the discussion of Scottish song, publication of Thomson's letters to Burns helped to establish George Thomson's credibility as a (if not the) leading contemporary authority.

No one quarrels with Thomson for editing his own letters to the poet, though it is very unfortunate that the originals no longer exist.<sup>3</sup> But, as G. Ross Roy writes, Thomson also used black ink to "score through" those "passages in Burns's letters which did not show him, Thomson, in as favorable a light as he wished. He also deleted passages about James Johnson [Thomson's rival editor]. . . . Thomson appears to have been jealous of [*Scots Musical Museum*, Johnson's songbook series] . . . and doctored Burns's letters so that the name [of Johnson] does not appear. The ink used by Thomson has faded, leaving most of the passages legible . . . [but] a few are still indecipherable."<sup>4</sup> Presumably, Thomson feared that Currie might consult Johnson, whose crudely printed *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803) published some 177 songs by Burns, by far the majority published during the poet's lifetime. To be sure, Johnson, who could hardly spell, was more printer/publisher than "editor," suggesting his usefulness to Currie would have been limited. But Thomson saw to it that Currie never acknowledged in print Burns's cordial and productive correspondence with Johnson. The one reference to *Scots Musical Museum* in Currie's edition is actually used to promote the "greater work" of George Thomson: "In his communications to Mr. Johnson, to which his name was not in general affixed, our Bard was less careful than in his compositions for the greater work of Mr. Thomson" (4:369). In his manipulations of Currie's edition, then, Thomson effectively "disappeared" the man who was really Burns's major song publisher.

Currie's expensive *Life and Works* (the price of the four-volume set was one pound eleven and six, compared with three shillings for the Kilmarnock edition and five shillings for the first Edinburgh) established the Burns canon and also secured prominence for George Thomson as the chief authority on Burns's songs. The invaluable publicity Currie's *Burns* provided George Thomson is acknowledged in a letter of 1 September 1801 from Thomson to Currie: "I ought long ago to have thank'd you not only for the superb copy of Burns's works but for the very handsome & friendly manner in which you brought me forward as the Bard's Correspondent. This was indeed an act of kindness which it is equally impossible for me ever to forget or repay" (Cowie Collection, Mitchell Library).

Thomson also usurped James Johnson by asserting that he, Thomson, held sole copyright to Burns's songs after the poet's death, accepting praise for "surrendering" it to Cadell and Davies for the benefit of the poet's



widow and children when the poet had never assigned it away from them in the first place. For the deed of assignment printed by Thomson in *Select Collection* (1798-99) deletes the sentence in which Burns reserved to himself "the power of publishing these songs at any future period & in any manner I think proper" (*Letters*, 2:227). There is no evidence that Thomson sought financial profit from his claim to the copyright. He wanted prestige and power—the monopoly on musical publication of Burns and the clout to drive rival songbooks (especially the struggling *Scots Musical Museum*) out of competition.

Another matter that raises ethical questions is Thomson's unsigned obituary of Burns, which appeared in *The London Chronicle* (28-30 July 1796).<sup>5</sup> Although they corresponded for three years, Burns and Thomson never actually met, a fact never acknowledged in Thomson's obituary, which presents its author (as Thomson subsequently did to James Currie) as privy to intimate details of Burns's private and professional life in Dumfries. The obituary's general level of accuracy is perhaps best suggested by its description of the Kilmarnock edition as "a coarse edition of [Burns's] poems . . . published at Dumfries."<sup>6</sup> Thomson reports rumors as fact: "At last one of his patrons procured for him the situation of an Exciseman, and an income of somewhat less than £50 per year. . . . Probably he was not qualified to fill a superior station to that which was assigned him. We know that [Burns's] manners refused to partake the polish of genteel society, that his talents were often obscured by excess. . . . Like his predecessor Fergusson, though he died at an early age, his mind was previously exhausted" (Low, p. 100).

Now George Thomson had received from Burns some 114 songs, including "Is there for honest poverty" and "Scots wha hae," since 1793; the final parcel, containing the text of "Fairest maid on Devon banks," was mailed eleven days before the poet's death. One matter on which Thomson was undoubtedly an authority was Burns's continuing productivity toward the end of his life. Yet Thomson's obituary chooses to emphasize second-hand and inaccurate gossip. (Securing promotion within the Excise was not within the power of patronage in Burns's day, for one thing: like Fanny Price's father in *Mansfield Park*—a "Lieutenant of Marines"—Burns's "profession was such as no interest could reach.") In the final sentence from the obituary quoted above, there is also innuendo in the reference to Burns's affinities with Robert Fergusson: it was widely believed that Burns's vernacular predecessor had died in the Edinburgh madhouse at twenty-four, afflicted with syphilis as well as alcoholism. Donald Low concludes of Thomson that he "did much harm to Burns's reputation by insinuating. . . in his obituary, which was often reprinted, that alcoholism caused the poet's early death" (p. 99). Low is generously overlooking Thomson's egregious hints at insanity and syphilis to boot, but both were obliquely if vaguely repeated by the impressionable Dr. Currie in his *Life of Burns*, by far the most influential early biography: "He who cannot escape the pollution of inebriation, how can he escape other pollution?" (1:214-15).

Any defense of Thomson as a "friend of Burns" must at some point address (presumably, certify) Thomson's allegations about Burns's final years in Dumfries. Similarly, the estimable but tendentious scholarship of Robert D. Thornton in *James Currie, the Entire Stranger, & Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1963) can only vindicate Dr. Currie—who in fact got much of his negative "information" from Thomson himself—by insisting that Currie must have been right about the poet. The damage done by Thomson's obituary of Burns is now irreparable, because there is no way to "prove" that somebody who died two hundred years ago was not insane or alcoholic. (At least syphilis has been ruled out: a lock of the poet's hair was recently tested for evidence of mercury treatments for syphilis: results showed higher than normal levels, but not high enough to suggest mercury taken as medication.) Most modern biographers think that Burns died at thirty-seven because of the progressive destruction of his heart valves by bacterial endocarditis, a sequel to rheumatic fever during his teens. Yet the myth of decline initiated in Thomson's obituary of the poet persists. Let me just repeat that Thomson's insistence on creative exhaustion is belied both by the number and the quality of the songs written between 1793 and 1795. There were fewer songs in the last year of Burns's life, but among them were "O wert thou in the cauld blast," "Charlie is my darling," "It was a' for our rightfu' king," and "Last May a brow wooer."

Some of the songs Thomson rejected are now counted among the poet's best. Others have been blunted by Thomson's editing, which sometimes obscures or contradicts the poet's meaning. One example of the latter is "The Gallant Weaver," a Burns song published in James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* in 1792 and extant in the Hastie MS. In making the hero of his song a "gallant weaver" rather than the military man conventional in lyrics equating courtship with conquest, the poet sidesteps a cliché while implicitly saluting the activism of that often revolutionary group of Scottish artisans. (We also see a sly reference to town-dwelling weavers as free spirits in "The Holy Fair.") Thomson prints the song in *A Select Collection* in 1798, two years after the poet's death, but he neutralizes Burns's covert, if exceedingly mild, political commentary. Burns had requested the air "The Weaver's March, or 21st of August," but Thomson substitutes "The auld wife ayont the fire," a tune without political and fraternal associations. For Burns's title in *Scots Musical Museum* ("The Gallant Weaver"), Thomson substitutes a first-line title ("Where Cart rins rowin to the sea"). The title change is explained by the stanzas, for there is no longer any weaver at all in the song, whose hero is now a "gallant sailor." We have no

manuscript in which the poet makes this improbable change, and it seems fair to conclude that Thomson assiduously (and silently) restored the same stale convention the poet had been attempting to renovate.

Thomson's micro-editing—his tiny emendations that nonetheless result in the introduction of false notes—is evident also in *A Select Collection*'s text for "Is there for honest poverty" ("A man's a man for a' that"). The stanzas, written in January 1795, appeared in several newspapers before Burns's death, and the song was already popular when Thomson published his variant version in 1805, ten years after Burns had submitted the song to him. First, Thomson changes the title to "The Honest Man The Best of Men." (The poet did impose the unforthcoming title "A Song—" on almost every lyric he wrote, which drives most of his editors to invention.) Thomson then sets to work on line one: "The Editor has taken the liberty to alter the first two words of this Song, for the sake of the Music, and because there is an ellipsis in the line as it stands . . . which, in *singing* at least, has not a good effect."<sup>8</sup> By "ellipsis" Thomson evidently means rhetorical compression or lyric displacement (the soul of poetry), as a note by Thomson explains more clearly than his printed explanation: "The first verse of this Song is obscurely worded, and therefore I think the Song sh. begin with 2d verse" (Kinsley, 3:1467). Burns's compressed opening ("Is there for honest poverty/That hings his head") unpacks to something like this: Is there anyone here who, honest but poor,/Wrongly stands abashed? Thomson's emendation ("Where's he, for honest poverty") is less clearly rhetorical, introducing the risible possibility that the singer will actually swivel his head looking for a culprit. In printing this song, Thomson rejects Burns's choice of air, "For a' that," a tune long associated with bawdy and Jacobite lyrics: such music itself seems to have made him nervous, even when the poet had supplied Thomson with non-subversive "drawing room" lyrics.<sup>9</sup> Thomson substitutes "Up and warn them a', Willy," a tune set to counter-revolutionary lyrics that warn Jacobites that continued rebellion is inadvisable ("We'd do nae good at a', Willie": Burns's version is printed in Kinsley, 1:401-3). In this instance, substituting Thomson's choice for the air Burns requested introduces incongruity, for the stanzas' repetition of the phrase "for a' that" merely draws attention to the tune *Select Collection* is not using.

In setting "Scots wha hae," Thomson rejected Burns's chosen air, "Hey tuttie taitie," because he thought the ancient tune (usually matched with drinking stanzas) lacked "grandeur." He requested Burns rewrite the final line in each stanza to include the extra syllables needed to fill the phrases of "Lewis Gordon," a song written—or perhaps recently refurbished—by Burns's friend Bishop Geddes. (His regard for Geddes may explain the poet's compliance.) Thomson printed the superior original stanzas in 1803; they had already become more popular than the version he favored, though Thomson's note to the song says only that he has changed his mind about "Hey tuttie taitie." Several of Burns's stanzas are given below, with the "Lewie Gordon" revisions, requested by Thomson, in brackets. The bluster introduced at Thomson's instigation shows the collaboration at its worst:

Now's the day, and now's the hour:  
See the front o' battle lour,  
See approach proud Edward's power—  
Chains and slaverie! [Edward! Chains and slaverie!]

Wha will be a traitor-knave?  
Wha can fill a coward's grave?  
Wha sae base as be a slave?—  
Let him turn and flie! [Traitor! Coward! Turn and flie!]

By Oppression's woes and pains,  
By your sons in servile chains,  
We will drain our dearest veins  
But they *shall* be free! [But they shall be—shall be free!]<sup>10</sup>

Thomson's note to this song shows that he continues in 1803 to be anxious about the poet's republican fervor, as well as his use of idiomatic Scots: "By changing *wha* into *who*, *hae* into *have*, *wham* into *whom*, *aften* into *often*, and *sae* into *so*, the following song will be *English*; and by substituting GALLIA for EDWARD and BRITAIN for SCOTLAND, it will be adapted to the present time" (McGuirk, p. 281).

Thomson's resistance to the concluding stanza of Burns's anti-war song "Logan Water" offers another example of the editor's timid de-fusing of strong lines:

O wae upon you, men o' state,  
That brethren rouse in deadly hate!  
As you make mony a fond heart mourn  
Sae may it on your heads return!  
Ye mind na, mid your cruel joys,  
The widow's tears, the orphan's cries!  
But soon may peace bring happy days,  
And Willie hame to Logan braes! (McGuirk, p. 176)

Thomson's note objects to line 5 above: "cruel not good." Typically, maddeningly, the line Thomson finds objectionable is the best in the stanza. Evidently fearing the song's social criticism, Thomson declined to print the song as submitted. Burns wrote Thomson two further letters requesting that the editor commit himself to publication; finally, the poet changed the offending line to "How can your flinty hearts enjoy," a change that makes the line less vigorous, less poetic (the expressive near-oxymoron "cruel joy" is eliminated), less original ("flinty hearts" is a cliché), and even less Scottish ("ye mind na" is homogenized into "how can your").

Let me conclude by conceding that there is no evidence that during their collaboration Thomson oppressed Burns's creative spirit. When Burns wrote a song that he knew Thomson would dislike—and he instantly knew this about one of his best songs, "A Red, Red Rose"—he merely sent it to James Johnson instead; or, in the sole case of "A Red, Red Rose," to Pietro Urbani, a rival editor more prestigious than Johnson. Robert Burns knew well enough how to make George Thomson squirm. Pestered by Thomson to furnish ever more anglicized neoclassical ear-candy for *A Select Collection*, Burns sent in January 1795 a scatological parody of the typical magazine "Ode to Spring." The burlesque incarnates Burns's relationship with his editor, bringing to life the pastoral lists favored by Thomson—here a stream, there a flower; here a grove, there a shepherd and a nymph—by forcing them into violent comic contact with a human (and linguistic) bottom-line:

Yon wandering rill that marks the hill,  
And glances o'er the brae, Sir,  
Slides by a bower where many a flower  
Sheds fragrance on the day, Sir;  
There Damon lay with Sylvia gay,  
To love they thought no crime, Sir;  
The wild birds sang, the echoes rang,  
While Damon's a-se beat time, Sir. (McGuirk, p. 180)

It is also untrue that Thomson could have much alleviated the misery of Burns's final months. He sent promptly a five pound note—and Thomson was not a rich man—in response to a piteous letter from the poet written on 12 July 1796, nine days before his death. Burns in all received £10 from Thomson for over one hundred songs, but the fact is that Burns refused payment for his songwriting. The poet denounced lyric work-for-hire as "downright Sodomy of Soul!" in a letter responding to Thomson's tentative £5 sent after receiving an early parcel of songs. (Characteristically, when the letter appeared in Currie's edition, Thomson had denatured this phrase, changing it to "prostitution of soul").

But Burns refused payment for his songs because he saw them as his own: the wording of the copyright assignment he gave Thomson shows that he did not consider himself as transferring property to Thomson for value received, but rather as conferring *gratis* the favor of exclusive permission to publish and republish—and only those songs actually sent to and accepted by Thomson. This makes Thomson's claim that he "owned" Burns's songs truly reprehensible. The great Burns scholar J. DeLancey Ferguson wrote in *The Burns Chronicle* in 1929 that "it is no longer possible to regard [Thomson] merely as a well-meaning but silly meddler. [In his mutilation of Burns's letters, his campaign against rival editor James Johnson, and his efforts to secure sole copyright for Burns's songs by altering the poet's documents, he] stands convicted not only of childish vanity, but of petty meanness and of a deliberate disregard for the dying wish of the poet who had devoted time and energy, without material recompense, in furthering his schemes." Ferguson's verdict is no "misrepresentation," as McCue states, but rather a conclusion drawn from study of the primary documents he consulted in preparing the first Clarendon edition of the poet's letters.

### Notes

1. J. Cuthbert Hadden, *George Thomson, the Friend of Burns* (London, 1898).
2. Cf. Thomson's letter to Currie dated 26 July 1799 (in the Cowie Collection, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow): "Mr Ainslie positively refuses to give up the original letters of Burns. . . . I urged your reasons for wishing to have them, to no purpose, he will not part with them; --after he had broke open the packet containing his own letters, I of course caused him [to] seal it up again, and they will be returned." Ainslie for once was being prudent: few correspondents who sent Burns's letters ever got the originals back from Currie's family (the editor himself died in 1804).
3. *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. G. Ross Roy and DeLancey Ferguson, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), 2:485.
4. G. Ross Roy, "Editing Burns's Letters in the Twentieth Century," in *The Life and Works of Robert Burns: Twentieth Century Perspectives*, ed. R. H. Carnie (Calgary, 1993), pp. 21-27, quoting p. 23.

5. I cannot accept James Mackay's argument in *RB: A Biography of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1992) that the author of this unsigned obituary was Henry Mackenzie. The very piece of evidence Mackay summons—the inaccurate description of the Kilmarnock edition as “coarse” and as appearing at Dumfries—would be likelier coming from Thomson than Mackenzie. Mackay knows that Mackenzie owned a copy of the Kilmarnock *Poems* (Mackenzie had written the most influential review of the volume) but argues that the reference to Dumfries is “a deliberate error to throw the reader off the scent” (p. 637). But why?

Edinburgh-based Thomson probably had never seen the Kilmarnock edition, which had sold out within a month of publication in 1786. When Thomson began to write to Burns in 1793, the Kilmarnock was ancient history, having been superseded by two Edinburgh editions that reprinted the early poems and added newer ones. Thomson might well have heard that the Kilmarnock was “coarse” (it was somewhat more cheaply printed than the two Edinburgh editions, and Hugh Blair had also blue-pencilled some of the harsher epigrams that Burns had used as space-fillers in the Kilmarnock edition). I think that Thomson, who never met Burns, slipped and referred to a non-existent early “Dumfries” edition because he had forgotten that Burns was not from the Dumfries area, where the poet had resided during the years of their correspondence.

6. Donald Low, *Robert Burns: The Critical Heritage* (London, 1974), p. 100.

7. Cf. my essay “The Politics of the Collected Burns” in *Gairfish 2: Discovery*, ed. W. N. Herbert and Richard Price (Bridge of Weir, 1991), pp. 36-50; reprinted in *Selected Essays on Scottish Language and Literature: Essays in Honor of Allan MacLaine*, ed. Steven McKenna (New York, 1992).

8. *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. James Kinsley, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1968), 2:762.

9. Another example is “Mary Morison,” an early Burns song written probably in 1781 but sent to Thomson in 1793. These delicate stanzas were designed to be set to “Duncan Davison,” a scatological song. In James Currie's edition—bear in mind that Currie's song-consultant was George Thomson—the musical text is given as “Bide ye yet.”

10. *Robert Burns: Selected Poems*, ed. Carol McGuirk (London, 1993), pp. 177-78; Kinsley, 2:707.

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## ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 1994 - 31 Dec. 1994

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

Balance 1 Jan. 1994: £763.65

Income: +£786.79 (dues and book orders)

Expenses: -£615.50 (book orders: £379.50; general expenses: £236)

Balance 31 Dec 1994: £934.94

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

Balance 1 Jan 1994: £2001.92

Interest: +£76.73

Balance 31 Dec 1994: £2078.65

### III. Summit Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)

Balance 1 Jan 1994: \$4086.05

Income: +\$2876.22 (dues & book orders: \$2525; book royalties from Mercat Press: \$351.22)

Expenses: -\$2518.83 (printing: \$1286.43; computer hardware: \$533.30; computer software: \$203.95; Providence conference expenses: \$130; supplies, incl. laser printer cartridges: \$240.97; clerical services: \$50; bank fees and adjustments: \$44.18; state of New Jersey non-profit corporation fees: \$30)\*

Transferred to savings account: \$1500

Balance 31 Dec 1994: \$2943.44

\* 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 1994: \$579.43

Transferred from checking account: \$1500

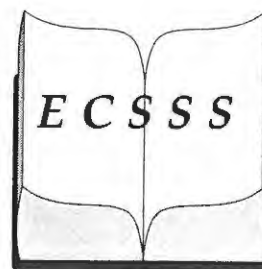
Interest: \$39.78

Balance 31 Dec 1994: \$2119.21

V. Total Assets as of 31 Dec 1994 [vs. 31 Dec 1993]: \$5062.65 [\$4665.48] + £3013.59 [£2765.57]



# BOOKS in REVIEW



M. A. Stewart and John P. Wright, eds. **Hume and Hume's Connexions**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 1994. Pp. xvi + 268.

In the Introduction to this work, the editors make a case for why analytic philosophers and their successors need historians of philosophy, but the point applies beyond the discipline of philosophy, and most of the members of this society will find a fair number of the twelve essays printed here obligatory reading. Someone (Russell?) said that a pedant is someone who likes his statements to be true. This collection is well suited to help anyone who has occasion to make statements about Hume and likes those statements to be true. If the contributors do not definitively settle the issues they raise, they at least alert one to complexities.

The essay that might most try the patience of philosophers is a fine piece in which Roger Emerson discusses how Hume's reputation for heterodoxy was only a complicating factor in his failure to attain the university posts he sought in 1744-45 and 1751-52. Emerson details how the candidacies were caught in the crossfire of patronage competitions between two Whig factions. An implication is that Hume's infidelity was not so notorious then as to disqualify him from posts that he and his advocates knew would require him to sign the Westminster Confession and lead students in prayer. This fact raises the question of how Hume viewed what elsewhere I have called incredulous conformism, something that both Academical Sceptics and Swift would have recommended to him. I have often thought that the best way to silence Hume's criticisms of religion would have been to procure him one of those posts.

James Moore's and Stephen Darwell's essays have in common their treatment of Hutcheson as a crucial figure behind the form the *Treatise* took. For both commentators, he was important as an *adversarius* against whom Hume defined his position. Moore sees their differences as profound, opposing Hutcheson's Stoical tendencies to Hume's Epicurean and Sceptical affinities. This perspective adds resonance to both Hutcheson's opposition to Hume's 1745 candidacy for the Edinburgh chair of moral philosophy and to Hume's revisions to *Treatise*, bk. 3, which emerge as an attempt to minimize their differences. Less revelatory, Darwell traces the road to Bentham's utilitarianism (normative ethics wielding a criterion of maximum happiness) back through Hume's metaethics (sentimentalism directed by agreeableness and utility) to Hutcheson's exhortatory ethics (sentimentalism decidedly not based on non-moral qualities such as agreeableness or utility).

Like Darwell, Pauline Westerman sees Hume's metaethics as a step in the evolution of ethics: the fact that Hume could use natural-law *topoi* while pursuing goals alien to Grotius and Pufendorf indicates the extent to which natural law had become moribund. For them natural law was a norm justified by reference to human nature or God's will; for Hume a law of nature was a principle determining human psychology. For Hume justice was not a foundation for natural law; the laws of human nature were the foundation for the artificial construction of justice. Putting Westerman and Darwell together, then, we see Hume distinguished from the natural lawyers before him and utilitarians after by his lack of concern to justify moral norms, either with reference to a natural moral order or to the non-moral criterion of maximum happiness.

John Wright and David Owen focus on particular Humean tenets. With help from Bishop Butler, Wright imports Hume's doctrine of custom into his moral theory from his epistemology. The most interesting revelation is the process by which repeated experience of a "violent passion" (e.g., desire) accustoms one to it, decreasing its emotive effect and allowing it to assimilate to one's character and metamorphose into a conative "calm passion" (e.g., enlightened sense of self-interest). Directly challenging analytic philosophers, Owen argues that commentators on what supposedly was Hume's problem of induction have superimposed the modern deductive/inductive dichotomy onto the demonstrative/probable one that Hume employed. The result has been to mistake either induction or rationalism for Hume's target when actually Hume was critiquing Locke's account of probable reasoning from within a Lockean understanding of cognition. This understanding, for both demonstrative and probable

reasoning, involves chains of ideas rather than formal validity, and it is in terms of this ideational orientation that Hume examines probable reasoning itself and its underlying principle of the uniformity of the future with the past. The problem with Locke's account was the supposition that one could verify the principle of uniformity through additional probable reasonings. Owen focuses on this particular problem, but if he is correct we need to reread all of Hume's discussions of reason, even of those concerning quantity and number, in terms of the "way of ideas" without recourse to entailment. His Hume is, with Locke, very much in reaction against syllogistic notions of reasoning.

Locke's role in providing Hume with a point of departure is also illustrated in M. A. Stewart's discussion of Hume's normative calculus for the credibility of testimony concerning miracles. Stewart situates this calculus at the end of a Reformation debate culminating in Locke's application to it of his theory of probability. Stewart's other contribution, a skillfully edited transcription of a recently discovered fragment by Hume on the problem of evil, is of capital importance. Stewart speculates plausibly that the fragment was a portion of the *Treatise* that Hume excised before presenting the manuscript to Bishop Butler. As such the manuscript provides an intriguing point of intersection between that work and the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. In his essay, Michel Malherbe reconstructs the generic taxonomy and poetics of the dialogue and places the examples in the *Enquires* in a different class from that of the *Dialogues*. In the latter, Shaftesburian class, there is no thesis and the author disappears from the literary artifact, which serves a heuristic function for readers. Consequently, attempts to infer Hume's views from the *Dialogues* are misguided.

In P. B. Wood's essay, Thomas Reid's criticism of the way of ideas, and hence of Hume, turns out to be made within a shared natural-historical approach. The gravamen is over how far physiology can be made to account for our ideas. Christopher Bernard uses principles of imagination and passion expounded in the *Treatise* to gloss Hume's later discussions of religious psychology. Manfred Kuehn treats Kant's critique of Hume's epistemology as a facet of a larger endeavor to show that, contrary to Hume, reason guides us to a religious faith. To do so, Kant combines the attenuated theism sometimes attributed to Hume with a case that morality presupposes a *sum-mum bonum* harmonizing goodness with happiness, and that this harmony requires a morally purposive creator.

I cannot do justice here to the authors. My criticisms are too minor to displace as much summary as I could fit into this review. Some authors accept a false dilemma, in which Hume's works must be either "easy and obvious" or "accurate and abstruse." Sometimes authors do not cite predecessors as one expects, and occasionally an author says something that seems odd or debatable. But the authors are never less than competent in making their cases; the level of scholarship is high; and, if ordonnance is sometimes loose, the writing is generally as clear as the subjects allow.

M. A. Box, University of Alaska Fairbanks

David Fate Norton, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Hume*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xiii + 400.

This handsome collection in the Cambridge Companion series consists of an introductory general essay by the editor plus ten other essays on specific aspects of Hume's thought. Hume's two autobiographical sketches are given in an Appendix and there is a useful, though rather idiosyncratic, bibliography. The essays are wide ranging, including an essay on Hume's "Principles of Political Economy" by Andrew S. Skinner and an essay, "David Hume, 'the Historian'," by David Wootton, as well as the more usual topics that one would expect to find in a collection of essays directed primarily to a philosophical audience. The other essays are on Hume's philosophy of mind (John Biro), his philosophy of science (Alexander Rosenberg), his skepticism (Robert Fogelin), his moral psychology (Terence Penelhum), the foundations of morality (David Fate Norton), his political theory (Knud Haakonssen) his aesthetics (Peter Jones), and his philosophy of religion (J.C.A. Gaskin).

There is a marked imbalance in the essays in the volume. Those on Hume's political theory, his political economy, his moral theory, for example, are historically well informed and attempt to throw light on his work by putting it in the context of writings of his own day. The three opening essays, on the other hand, which focus on his philosophy of mind, his philosophy of science, and his skepticism, make no such attempt, and indeed show no insight into the actual historical context in which Hume dealt with these topics. This, in itself, does not invalidate their results. I believe that the opening paper by John Biro, who argues that Hume's project of establishing a foundational science of mind anticipates the approach and even some of the results of late twentieth-century cognitive science, shows real insight into Hume's own theory of the understanding. But it does result in the fact that, while the historically informed essays nicely complement each other in the areas of overlap (I was particularly struck in this respect by the essays on Hume's political theory by Knud Haakonssen and Hume as historian by David Wootton), those written from a contemporary standpoint present irresolvable differences. Unfortunately, there is no warning of this for the uninitiated reader.

To take the most obvious example, while Biro argues that Hume calls our attention to the “remarkable . . . fact that from the rather limited stock of impressions that come my way, I am able to construct an edifice of beliefs that goes far beyond those impressions and the ideas traceable to them” (p. 40), the second essay in the collection—Alexander Rosenberg on “Hume and the Philosophy of Science”—ascribes to him a “verifiability criterion of meaning” (p. 66) which limits legitimate beliefs to those based on impression-derived ideas. Rosenberg entirely misconstrues Hume’s important footnote to *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, which defends Newton’s hypothesis of an “etherial active fluid,” ignoring the term “active” and arguing that it is a mechanical hypothesis based in sense impressions. The confusion is compounded in the Introduction to the volume, where David Norton claims that “Hume gave the ‘way of ideas’ a kind of phenomenological turn” (p. 8). Apparently agreeing with the interpretation of Rosenberg, Norton argues that, according to Hume, “we do have the ideas of space and time”; we have the idea of space “as something like continuous, unbounded, or unlimited extension in every direction, regarded as void of matter, or without reference to matter” (p. 31, n. 19). But this is precisely what Hume argues that we do not have: he writes that “’tis impossible to conceive . . . a vacuum, and extension without matter” (*Treatise of Human Nature*, Selby-Bigge ed., p. 40). The truth is that, as he tells us in his Appendix, Hume was quite willing to allow the veracity of the Newtonian doctrine of absolute space and time, though he denied that we can have any clear and distinct idea of it. Hume’s account of the imagination-derived belief in absolute space and time in *Treatise*, bk. 1, pt. 2, sect. 5, is not the account of the legitimate impression-derived general idea of sections 2-4, as Norton seems to believe.

The radical viewpoint espoused by Hume, as John Biro correctly argues, is that both the beliefs of common sense and those of experimental science do not have their source in distinct ideas, but rather in what Hume, using a technical term of the day, sometimes refers to as a “fiction.” It is this thesis which, in its fullest expression, underlies Hume’s skepticism. It has its most important expression in Hume’s explicit claim in the *Treatise* that we have “no idea of a power or efficacy in any object” (p. 168). There is some irony in the fact that even those, like Robert Fogelin, who argue that Hume held a radical form of skepticism, insist that he thought the object of our basic beliefs must be intelligible (p. 111). Biro shows much more insight into Hume’s philosophy when he argues that the central “overall aim of Hume’s philosophy” is to separate the “fictions” which are forced on our nature from those “resulting from philosophical speculation floating free of common sense” (p. 42). What is missing in this collection is an informed account of the Newtonian, Lockean, and Cartesian backgrounds, which is needed to understand just why Hume rejects the distinct contents of our minds as a basis for objective belief.

The volume does illustrate quite clearly the fruitful and useful contextual work which has come to characterize Hume scholarship in the last fifteen years. It is good to see this research being made available to a general philosophical readership. To readers of the newsletter I would particularly commend the fine essays by Haakonssen, Norton, and Wootton, and the essays by Peter Jones and Andrew Skinner. My own favorite essay in this collection is that of Knud Haakonssen, which uses Hume’s views on superstition and enthusiasm to throw light on a wide range of his writings on political theory.

John P. Wright, University of Windsor

Marvin B. Becker, *The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century: A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland and France*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 1994. Pp. xxiii + 164.

Marvin B. Becker, professor of history at the University of Michigan, is a voracious reader of secondary literature on all aspects of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cultural and intellectual history and, not least, of the better weeklies in which such literature is pre-digested. Becker has chewed it once more and given us a book that would seem to be his polished-up reading notes. It reads somewhat like an extensive syllabus for an all-purpose course on early modern cultural history. It is the sort of dusky prose in which all intellectual cats are gray. With so many opinions available and such endearing willingness to receive them all, it is amazing what the author can manage in some 130 pages of text. Here is absolutely everything, from changing attitudes in child-rearing to the distinction between perfect and imperfect rights; from Highland migration to the transformation of Machiavellian virtù into Shaftesburyian virtuosity; from the professionalization of musicians to Hegel’s distinction between understanding and reason.

In view of such riches, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the author has forgotten to deal with France, despite the promise of the title. Scores of French moralists are of course referred to—they have after all figured well in recent scholarship—but there is plainly no systematic, or unsystematic, discussion of “the emergence of civil society” in France. The focus is on England and Scotland.

On top of everything else, the book has a Thesis. This is set forth in the clearest and most economical prose of the whole performance, that of the dust jacket: “the emergence of civil society marks the tilt from familiarity

toward impersonality, from public toward private, from social solidarity toward self-interest. . . . The result projected a notion of society as an abstract entity with a life of its own, independent of personal ties of duty and obligation." Heard it elsewhere? So has Marvin Becker.

Knud Haakonssen, Boston University

Vincenzo Merolle, *Saggio su Ferguson: con un saggio su Millar*. Rome: Gangemi Editore, 1994. Pp. 202.

Dr. Vincenzo Merolle has been devoted for many years to the study of the Scottish Enlightenment. He has published a book on Adam Smith and has edited two works by John Millar. More recently he has concentrated his attention on Adam Ferguson and will shortly be publishing an edition, in English, of Ferguson's correspondence. Meanwhile he has written a long "essay" (in fact a sizable book) giving a distinctly original view of Ferguson's thought, together with a shorter essay on Millar. His interpretation of Ferguson is of particular interest not only for the novelty of its approach but also because it draws on the manuscripts of unpublished lectures and essays as well as Ferguson's published works.

Merolle begins by recalling a statement of W. C. Lehmann that Ferguson should be considered, "in matters of general policy, a moderate liberal; sometimes, like Burke, a philosophical conservative." Merolle's own view does not differ essentially from this assessment; rather, it explains what sort of a liberal Ferguson was and how he could at the same time be a conservative.

But Merolle does differentiate his position from two other views which have acquired some vogue. First, there is the claim of Marx (apparently revived and elaborated recently by an Italian scholar) that Ferguson anticipated Marx with a theory of alienation and historical materialism. Merolle has no difficulty in showing that Marx's evidence rested on slight knowledge and on misunderstanding of what he did know. Second, and much more important, there is the view of David Kettler, Richard Sher, and John Robertson that Ferguson was a firm conservative, even a reactionary at times, and fearful of innovation. Merolle agrees that Ferguson had a strong conservative streak, that he shows a "Burkean tone," but he thinks that highlighting this aspect alone comes from undue attention to Ferguson's stance on current political issues; consideration of the whole of his thought, including his historical sociology but with an eye to its philosophical dimension, shows that his conservatism goes along with a very definite liberalism.

What sort of liberalism? This is where the originality of Merolle's approach comes out. He views Ferguson's thought in the context of the history of European liberalism and notes especially resemblances to Benjamin Constant and anticipations of de Tocqueville. The main point, however, is a sharp contrast between this kind of liberalism and the liberalism of the Enlightenment. According to Merolle, typical Enlightenment thinkers believed in deliberately contrived innovation; they were "projectors," "visionaries," who supposed that the path of progress lay in displacing a defective regime by an ideal system. Ferguson was certainly not a liberal in this sense. The alternative sense is of someone who learns from history that social institutions can and do change for the better, in a process of slow development that is not simply the result of a deterministic play of impersonal forces. The actions of individuals are important, but progress comes about by gradual impulsion from the bottom, not by regulation from the top. The idea of activity and choice is indeed central to the liberal's conception of a human being, as Ferguson insists in his strictly philosophical works. He also stresses the value of diversity among human beings, and in this he differs from Enlightenment thinkers, who aim at uniformity according to Merolle, quoting the criticism of Constant. An appreciation of diversity leads one to see, as Montesquieu saw, the value of a separation of powers in politics, and to fear, as de Tocqueville feared, the tyranny of the majority.

Ferguson was of course greatly indebted to Montesquieu, as he himself acknowledged. Merolle claims that he also built upon the thought of Montesquieu, bringing it up to date. He related the balance of separate powers to the virtues of representative democracy. He appreciated the importance of social classes and valued the non-coercive action of civil society. His form of liberalism is chary of giving a great deal of power to the State and therefore supports a limited State, unlike Enlightenment thinkers, who want the State to be interventionist. Merolle attaches special importance to these observations of Ferguson, which make him a significant figure in the history of liberalism.

It can now be seen how a genuine form of liberalism can go along with conservatism. Merolle, drawing on language used by Gramsci (the subject of Merolle's first book), calls the relation between the two "a dialectic of conservation-innovation, or revolution without revolution, which is a constant of liberal moderate thought, thought which sees history in continuous, uninterrupted movement." Merolle does not deny that Ferguson's attitude to contemporary political events was markedly conservative, sometimes even "mean," and he ends the essay by noting the partial similarity, as well as difference, between himself and Richard Sher in their views of Ferguson. He says that he originally thought of his view as supplementing rather than replacing Sher's, but the supplement turned out to be very substantial and, to my mind, impressive.



I am not competent to comment in detail on the shorter essay about John Millar because I know little of Millar's writings at first hand. I have read only his *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*. Merolle's knowledge of Millar's work is exceptional—and expert in that he has edited the *Letters to Crito* and *Letters to Sidney*. His purpose in the essay is to consider how far Millar's thought reflects concerns of the eighteenth century and how far it foreshadows ideas of the nineteenth. He deals with Millar's views of economics, sociology, and politics as well as jurisprudence and history. He shows that Millar's well-known radicalism appears only in his early work while a more enduring attachment is his respect for natural rights, understood as products of the common law.

Potential readers of the book who have little or no knowledge of Italian should not think that they can get nothing from it. Merolle has thoughtfully provided a long summary in English of each essay, and in the Ferguson piece many of the quotations, given in Italian in the text, are reproduced in the original English in notes. Readers who are seriously interested in Ferguson at least will find, I think, that this taste of the flavor of the work will lead them to want more and to seek help from colleagues who know Italian.

D. D. Raphael, Imperial College, University of London

John Adams, *Curious Thoughts on the History of Man; Chiefly Abridged from the Celebrated Works of Lord Kaimes, Lord Monboddo, Dr. Dunbar and the Immortal Montesquieu* (London, 1789). Introduction by Alice E. Jacoby. Pp. 360.

William Alexander, *The History of Women from the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time*. 3rd ed. (London, 1782). 2 vols. Introduction by Jane Rendall. Pp. 936.

James Dunbar, *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages*. 2nd ed. (London, 1781). Introduction by Christopher Berry. Pp. 456.

John Logan, *Elements of the Philosophy of History, Part First* (Edinburgh, 1781) and *Dissertation on the Governments, Manners, and Spirit of Asia* (London, 1787). Introduction by Richard B. Sher. Pp. 224.

Samuel Stanhope Smith, *An Essay on the Causes of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*. New ed. (Edinburgh, 1788), and David Doig, *Two Letters on the Savage State, addressed to the Late Lord Kames*. (Edinburgh, 1792). Introduction by Paul B. Wood. Pp. 268.

Gilbert Stuart, *A View of Society in Europe, in Its Progress from Rudeness to Refinement*. 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1791). Introduction by William Zachs. Pp. 434.

These six titles are the latest tranche of the remarkable series of reprints produced by Thoemmes Press of Bristol. They are a mini-series, planned by Richard B. Sher under the general heading "Conjectural History and Anthropology." The series works on the assumption that you already know or have access to the works of Smith, Millar, Ferguson, Kames, and Robertson—whose collected works are, incidentally, to be published by the same house next year under its Thoemmes-Routledge imprint. In fact the texts seem to have been chosen to illustrate the ways in which minor and very minor Scots—or, in the case of Stanhope Smith, men of Scottish extraction—reacted to the work of the masters.

The best known and possibly the most influential of these texts is Gilbert Stuart's *View of Society in Europe* (1778), a sharply-focused, personalized attack on William Robertson's celebrated account of European feudalism which attempted to construct a whig view of the ancient constitution that was sensitive to the principles of modern Scottish historiography. The most ambitious text is William Alexander's enormous and diffuse *History of Women* (1779), which comes across as an attempt to write a Scottish version of A.-L. Thomas's *Essai sur les femmes*. Alexander drew copiously and uncritically on Millar, Kames, and Robertson without apparently realizing that they had significantly different views of stadial history; he succeeded in writing a book which is far from coherent but which, according to Jane Rendall, helped to open up questions about power between women and men to a much wider audience. The least ambitious text is John Adams's flaccid *Curious Thoughts on the History of Man* (1789), an unashamed compilation of contemporary Scottish thought and Montesquieu which is interesting for showing how the vocabulary of stadial history was finding its way into popular literary journalism.

The remaining titles—James Dunbar's *Essays* (1780), John Logan's *Elements* (1781) and his *Dissertation on oriental despotism* (1787), Stanhope Smith's *Causes* (1787), and David Doig's *Two Letters* (1792)—read like intelligent responses to the works of greater masters. Dunbar's work is fairly well known. He was the only Aberdonian to have published on the subject and is interesting for having clearly seen that the roots of Scottish stadial history lay in a theory of sociability which had built-in problems for theologians. As Paul Wood points out,

Stanhope Smith also entered contemporary debate about the savage state for theological reasons. He was rightly troubled by Kames's polygenism and seems to have realized that Robertson had fudged crucial questions about the origins of humanity in his *History of America*. Logan is interesting for having developed a broadly Smithian and Robertsonian approach to a question Montesquieu had made very much his own, the principles of consent on which oriental despotisms were founded.

In general, this mini-series shows a literary world digesting a revolution in historical thinking which culminated in the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. It shows how readily contemporaries responded to a form of history rooted in the study of manners. It betrays nervousness about its theological implications and apprehensions about the future prospects for the progress of civilization which seem to have been expressed in the terms of Rousseau and Ferguson rather than of Smith. It is worth saying that the short introductions are invariably scholarly, up-to-date, and well written. Those by Jane Rendall, Paul Wood, Richard Sher, and Christopher Berry are very good indeed.

Nicholas Phillipson, University of Edinburgh

**Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology.** Ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron et al. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd., and Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993. Pp. xx + 906.

To review a cooperatively produced work such as this is a presumptuous undertaking in which the reviewer must appear expert in more topics, fields, and periods than anyone can hope to command. Still, it seems worthwhile to comment on this new and well-produced volume, which we will all find useful. First, some general comments.

The editors have drawn signed contributions from about 250 scholars whose names and addresses are given in the preliminary pages. We have here a useful list of those who work on Scottish church history and related topics. Their entries in *Dictionary of National Biography* format are cross-referenced to other articles so that it is possible to trace and relate people and themes through time and to other topics. Most of the entries run to about a third of a column, roughly two hundred words, but some topics have been given three thousand words. About a third of the volume is devoted to topical essays, the rest to biographies. These articles keep the general reader in mind but such readers will have occasional difficulties with some no doubt technically correct but jargon-filled pieces—e.g. Arminianism is “a denial of divine monergism in regeneration and an assertion of human moral ability to cooperate savingly with God’s grace (‘synergism’).” The *Dictionary* is sometimes curiously incomplete in the sense that many doctrines, events, and people find no place here. Judging from the entries, Scotland had no Arians or Pelagians, and all its Socinians are found under “Unitarians.” The latter include Moderates with unitarian tendencies such as John Simson, Frances Hutcheson, and William Leechman—a tendentious judgment which eighteenth-century Glaswegians would not all have accepted. Most of the entries have short, up-to-date bibliographies, some of which list manuscript locations. The editors tell us that the book is biased toward “the Reformed tradition” (p. vii), as it is manifest particularly in the Established Church of Scotland and The Free Church. A sampling of the articles suggests that about half the text deals with nineteenth-century materials, with perhaps seventeen percent of the space devoted to the eighteenth century. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries together get about as much attention as the twentieth. The book has an evangelical cast as well, as shown by the relatively small number of entries on Roman Catholics and perhaps by the space allotted to topics. We find about 11.5 columns given to “Atonement,” 7.5 to “Bible,” 5 to “Baptism” and “Justification,” 2 to the “Lord’s Supper” and “Assurance” but curiously none to Faith, Hope, or Charity or to Hell and Damnation. “Calvinism” at 4.3 columns is about twice the length of “Episcopalianism,” but “Roman Catholicism” gets 6. There are substantial articles on unexpected topics such as “Archaeology” (5.5 columns) and “Architecture, Scottish Church” (11 columns)—both informative and pointing to many other works. Church finances are noticed in a few pieces such as “Stipends” and “Fiars’ Prices,” and “Whigs” and “Jacobites” are described, but politics is less in evidence in this volume than it should be. “Moral Philosophy” gets an entry, but natural philosophy is not adequately treated under “Science and Religion.” Neither Thomas Reid nor James Beattie get entries, but there is an article on “Scottish Realism” (2.5 columns) and one on James Oswald. Using the *Dictionary* one could piece together a history of Scotland’s kirks but not of its ecclesiastical historians: George Grub gets an entry, but where are Hew Scott and Nathaniel Morren? Other biographical entries seem eccentric. Do we need Grizell Baillie and Andrew Carnegie when we lack George Cheyne, the Chevalier Ramsay, and other Scots who worked outside Scotland? The more important Scots colleges have entries, as does “Princeton University” (about which the bibliography lacks L. A. Loetscher’s 1983 book, *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism*). Some biographical entries seem rather out-dated, such as that on Robert Wallace, which fails to note Nora Smith’s work or more recently M. A. Stewart’s. But clearly we have a new starting place for many inquiries.

What does the *Dictionary* do for eighteenth century Scottish studies? All the major religious writers are here, including David Hume, but many important ecclesiastical politicians are missing: we look in vain for Thomas Tulidelph, John Stirling, and Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll, or his *sous ministre*, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton. Most of the clerical literati who wrote on religious topics are included but not all. Neither Adam Ferguson nor Robert Watson makes it in but John Home and Alexander Carlyle do—the latter as a “visible model to the Moderate clergy who could reconcile participation in the Enlightenment and interest in creative (particularly theatrical) literature with the exercise of Presbyterian calling.” There is no hint that Carlyle was a faithful pastor and a pioneer of the Sunday school movement even before it became legal. The *Dictionary* tends to perpetuate the view that the Moderates were really rationalist Arminians or secret Socinians verging on deism. Casual references to their laxity are too common, although the orthodoxy (or nominal orthodoxy) of men like George Campbell and George Hill is conceded. Henry Sefton’s “Moderates,” however, is one entry all should read. The eighteenth-century *causes célèbres* are all duly noted. The biographical entries tend to fall in the period c. 1690-1750, so we have much better coverage of those who suffered and triumphed than of the Moderates and dissidents who inherited their world. Of 101 teaching principals and professors of Hebrew, church history, and divinity active between 1690 and 1800, only thirty are noticed, of whom nineteen were born before 1700. Given space limitations, these entries are generally good, although there are a few errors and omissions. James Hadow was born on 13 August 1667; W. L. Brown became principal of Marischal College in 1796 not 1790, and George Campbell, never a Royal Chaplain, resigned his divinity chair not his principality in 1795. Alexander Gerard taught in 1750 but held no professorship until 1752. William Carstares’s biographers say he died on 28 (not 23) December 1715. James Smith (b. 1681) was an associate not of “Lord Hay” but of Lord Ilay. William Wishart, Jr. (b. 1692) probably studied in Leyden in 1718. Andrew Hunter’s membership in the Newtonian Society was membership in a student club of 1760 and should not be confused with a later Newtonian Club. Neither group was a predecessor of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Dugald Stewart did not spell his name with an “o.” Some of these errors are due to nodding over proofs; others suggest the hurry with which this volume seems to have been compiled. But these errors are predictable in a work of this sort and, as with the *DNB*, they will in time be corrected. We should be grateful for this book but not repose in its entries absolute trust, for the works of fallen men are always flawed.

Roger L. Emerson, University of Western Ontario

Roger A. Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Pp. xiv + 323.

A sure sign that a relatively new field of historical inquiry has reached maturity is the establishment of a canon and the generation of controversy. *Scots and Britons* demonstrates that the study of early modern Scottish political thought has achieved just such coherence and fertility. Since the initial surveying expeditions of J. H. Burns in the 1950s, the map of Scottish political thought between the age of James V and the signing of the Covenant has been mostly drawn by Roger Mason (in a series of lucid essays) and Arthur Williamson (in his *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI*), and these three authors together provide a third of the essays in *Scots and Britons*. Mason has done most to put the politics back into Scottish political thought, Burns to link it to continental developments, and Williamson to recover its debt to Protestant apocalyptic, and each builds on their earlier work in their respective chapters. No unitary image of the Scottish polity or its conceptualization emerges necessarily from their work, though a clear canon of early modern Scottish political thought underlies their inquiries. That canon is now a matter of record, and includes at least John Mair, Hector Boece, John Knox, George Buchanan, James VI, Sir Thomas Craig, and Samuel Rutherford. By affirming the coherence of that canon, and by attending to its various institutional and interpretative contexts, *Scots and Britons* marks the coming of age of the historiography of early modern Scottish political thought.

The ambiguity of the book’s title—does that “and” distinguish Scots from Britons, or proclaim them to be simultaneously Britons?—immediately raises the central problems tackled by the majority of the essays, if not by the majority of Scottish political thinkers. When the propaganda produced at the time of the “Rough Wooing” appealed to the idea of Britain, it was assumed to imply English overlordship over Scotland; when James VI (as James I) wanted to be king of Great Britain, he was in a minority of one because his idea of Britain implied neither superiority nor submission; and when—a century and a half later—George III gloried in the name of Briton (or was it “Britain”?), he was suspected of being under the heel of Lord Bute. “Britain” passed from being an explicitly English aspiration to an implicitly Scottish plot in the course of two centuries, with only James holding fast to it as a way to split the difference in a composite monarchy (as Jenny Wormald shows in a characteristically witty assessment of his own mounting disappointment). Many of the volume’s essays imply that the institutions which gave Scottish political thought its distinctiveness were also those which resisted the creation of a unitary Britain—a Presbyterian church born of popular rebellion, a unicameral Parliament in which the king could sit as

an estate, an aristocracy unsure whether a new role as service elite was a fair exchange of the loss of its baronial power and a monarchy which had increasingly gone native in England after 1603, but which (Keith Brown convincingly argues) made little attempt to fashion itself as the key British institution. Brian Levack also suggests that the differences between the structures of Scottish and English law may have been exaggerated—as also may Scots law's dependence on Roman law—though even his account of the paucity of legal reflection by Scots reveals the lack of intellectual energy put behind the idea of Britain in the century after the Scottish Reformation.

However, the bulk of the volume indicates that the most pressing problems faced by Scottish political thinkers were those they faced as Scots, not as putative Britons, and that those problems were the commonplaces of post-Reformation European political discourse—sovereignty, the structure of the godly commonwealth. Buchanan overshadows Knox here, in his three incarnations as neoclassical humanist (in a wide-ranging assessment by Rebecca Bushnell), as intellectual sparring partner of James VI, his second most distinguished pupil (after Montaigne), and as antagonist of the anti-monarchomach Scottish exiles Barclay, Winzet, and Blackwood. This does not mean that the distinctive religious context for Scottish political thought is slighted, whether in Roger Mason's paradoxical treatment of the anti-imperial (that is, anti-caesaropapal and anti-incorporationist) thrust of Scottish reformed thought, or in Arthur Williamson's characteristically brilliant and individual attempt to bring Scotland into the world of Renaissance magic by way of its mythic origins and on the path to an apocalyptic future. However, this context does fall away in the volume's two discussions of the Covenant—Edward J. Cowan's rather speculative account of the political ideas of Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll (which is more suggestive on the possible Gaelic background than convincing in proposing the influence of Althusius) and John D. Ford's rigorous unravelling of Samuel Rutherford's remarkable reconciliation of patriarchalism with popular sovereignty.

Did Scots become Britons in the eighteenth century because it paid to do so, as Linda Colley has suggested? Or did they in fact fail to become full-throated Britons because they had done such a good job of deconstructing their distinctive Scottishness, as Colin Kidd has more subtly argued? The answers *Scots and Britons* might provide to such questions are equivocal because they spring from reading the intellectual history of the period as idiomatically Scottish, rather than insufficiently anglicized or even proleptically Anglo-British (to use Roger Mason's helpful neologism). J.G.A. Pocock here concludes that “there was, and still is, no ‘British history’ in the sense of the self-authenticated history of a self-perpetuating polity or culture.” The robust independence of early modern Scottish political thought revealed by this volume suggests that to create such an integrationist British history, post-Reformation Scots may have had more to lose intellectually than to gain economically from becoming Britons.

David Armitage, Columbia University

Christopher A. Whatley, “‘Bought and Sold for English Gold?': Explaining the Union of 1707. Dundee: Economic and Social History Society, 1994. Pp. 59.

This short and useful work provides a long-overdue survey of the historiography of the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. According to its author, the pamphlet's purpose is “to make some sense of the controversies which surround the Union and assess the various arguments which have been developed to explain why it happened” (p. 8). Whatley offers a measured assessment of the major secondary sources on the treaty, from James MacKinnon's *The Union of England and Scotland* (1896) to Colin Kidd's *Subverting Scotland's Past* (1993) and John Morrill's “The English, the Scots and the British” (in P. S. Hodge, *Scotland and the Union*, 1994).

The pamphlet's organization reflects the preoccupations of the major historians of the Union: it is divided into two main sections, one of which deals with political, the other with economic causes. The first describes the challenge offered to the “whig” view of Union by patriotic historians such as William Ferguson and neo-Namierites such as P.W.J. Riley. The second discusses the enduring notion, best represented by the work of T. C. Smout, that the Scots exchanged sovereignty for free trade, and assesses the counter-arguments of, among others, the Scottish nationalist writer Paul Scott. Whatley, a social and economic historian, is at his best when discussing trade; his reappraisal of the various economic incentives and disincentives which operated before and during the Union negotiations is detailed and convincing.

The author steers a steady course between the various interpretive extremes of “whig” history, neo-Namierism, Scottish nationalism, and economic determinism, which have dogged histories of the Union. His “new synthesis” consists of the sensible, if unexciting, conclusion that the treaty was the outcome of both long-term “background” considerations and short-term political and economic imperatives. There was, in other words, a certain logic to the Union, but as James VI discovered in 1604, reasons are not causes. While Whatley's focus is understandably on the Scottish side of the story (until recently, most of the serious contributions to the debate have come from Scottish historians), he also does well to remind the reader that a major shift in English attitudes was a prerequisite to the success of the treaty.

What Whatley sets out to do, he does nicely. This is not, however, a work calculated to please a historian of ideas; the author's attitude to political discourse is apparent from his introductory remarks about the historian's need to dodge the potholes of contemporary partisanship. This begs the question. How can we understand a historical event other than through the rhetoric of the actors who were themselves attempting to make sense of it? Whatley cites Daniel Defoe, that favorite whipping boy of patriotic Scottish historians, as an example of the inherent untrustworthiness of contemporary histories. But Defoe's status as a spy, while it obviously needs to be noted, is less interesting than the fact that his history of the Union is still one of the best accounts around. It is difficult to see how Whatley can reconcile his ostensible aim of "explaining the union" with his apparent indifference to the efforts of those involved to explain it to themselves.

Whatley's inability to take intellectual history seriously is the major weakness of the work; he reads the few contemporary texts he cites not for meaning but for clues about causation. Unfortunately, it is at least arguable that the motives of the Scottish politicians and the politico-economic "causes" of the Union are the least interesting things about it. Had the author had access to, among other things, the new collection edited by John Robertson, *A Union for Empire* (1995), he might have thought to point out how far the historical debate has moved away from the narrow preoccupations of the early historians. But his cursory treatment of an earlier article by Robertson and Kidd's book suggests that he has simply fallen prey to the very tendency he bemoans, "for historians to divide into camps determined partly by their scholarly predilections." This pamphlet not only implicitly accepts those divisions. By limiting itself to two schools of history—political and economic—and operating solely within the parameters that these sub-disciplines have laid down, it guarantees its own failure to transcend the divide.

One last and perhaps carping criticism. This pamphlet is designed for undergraduates and senior secondary school students. They will find it very difficult to read, not because Whatley is a bad writer—he is not—but because in a work that is essentially a literature review, the Harvard system of referencing is impossibly intrusive. With the advent of computerized publishing, there is no excuse to continue using this clumsy and misleading form of referencing in disciplines for which it was not designed.

**Bridget McPhail, University of Auckland**

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, *History of the Union of England and Scotland*. Ed. Douglas Duncan. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1993. Pp. x + 217.

The bulkiest monument to the erudition of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik is his manuscript history "De Imperio Britannico" of c. 1724-30 (Scottish Record Office, GD 18/3202/1-6), here excerpted, translated, and introduced by Douglas Duncan. This is the first edition of any part of the work, and it joins Clerk's *Memoirs* and his "Observations on the Present Circumstances of Scotland, 1730" among the publications of the Scottish History Society. Duncan has deftly filleted Clerk's account of Anglo-Scottish relations up to 1706 from the first five books of the manuscript, and he has translated the account of the Union negotiations from the sixth and final book. His even-handed introduction treats the fate of the manuscript and Clerk's use of sources, and assesses the work's place in the shift from humanist to "polite" historiography in eighteenth-century Scotland. Three appendices reprint further Clerk manuscripts which treat the material for the history and his autobiographical afterthoughts on the Union from 1744. Though Duncan modestly declines to judge the evidential value of Clerk's portrait of the Union proceedings, his useful and elegant translation will greatly help others to place the incorporationist Clerk's voice in the contemporary historical and political debates *de imperio Britannico*.

**David Armitage, Columbia University**

R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh 1660-1760*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. Pp. 443.

*Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment* is a book that may prove useful for those who are looking for an engaging history of Edinburgh. R. A. Houston is a lucid writer who takes his readers on a tour of the streets and wynds of Scotland's capital city during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. He disentangles the peculiar hodgepodge of jurisdictions and the reciprocal, combative, and occasionally ambivalent relations of their inhabitants. And he illuminates some of the urban tensions which developed as Scotland strove and stumbled toward modernity.

Much of the detail which Houston provides is intrinsically interesting. Having worked on the culture of eighteenth-century Edinburgh for nearly two decades, I was still able to discover a great deal of useful information on relationships between the city's town council and incorporations, the day-to-day operation of poor relief and

the treatment of vagrancy, and the shifting patterns among Edinburgh's rich variety of human settlements and markets.

The author's fascination with his home town is clearly reflected in this book and, as he himself puts it, he needed "no other reason for writing about it." Fair enough. There is a fundamental problem with this book, however, and it is that the author and his publisher make several other claims about the work's significance which are not tenable. The book is not really an analysis of the way in which urban life was transformed; nor is it a powerful argument about social change in the age of Enlightenment. It simply cannot be viewed, to cite the author's own words, as an exploration of "changing attitudes, one manifestation of which were the ideas of the Enlightenment." One has to look very hard through the pages of this book for anything like explicit linkages between the social context of Edinburgh life and the Enlightenment to which it helped to give birth.

This failing is all the more serious because there exists a large secondary literature on the Scottish Enlightenment, which the author infrequently cites, and then only selectively. The primary literature he rarely discusses at all. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, which provides a treasure trove of description and analysis that is not only germane to the transition from a pre-market to a market society but is also a revealing treatment of the problematic nature of the urban environment and its merchant elites, is cited very oddly and superficially, to say the least.

Such criticisms may appear churlish from someone who claims to have learned much from Houston's book. But they relate to a profound disagreement about what Scottish history is and what it should do. If the reader simply wants description and admittedly valuable information, Houston supplies these in abundance. But his argument and analysis leave much to be desired.

In the first chapter, for example, the author assures us that Edinburgh was a real community characterized by different levels of belonging. Most of the evidence he supplies, however, suggests conflict and confusion rather than a tangible sense of identity. Houston clearly wants us to believe that belonging is as much an attitude as a set of specific social arrangements. Yet he provides little in the way of cultural support. He doesn't tell us anything about the content of Edinburgh newspapers, periodicals, sermons, and entertainments, which were the primary cultural vehicles for the construction of urban identities. The newspapers and periodicals, incidentally, contain a much richer vein of tombstone literature than Houston is able to provide in the opening to his book.

The second chapter deals with urban space and social distancing. It contains some interesting bits and pieces of information, but it also reveals very sloppy analysis. For someone who wants to argue that Edinburgh was a complex hierarchical society, Houston throws around terms like middle class, upper bourgeoisie, middling sorts, middling classes, mercantile and professional elites, and upper ranks with a reckless abandon that is quite shocking in a social historian.

Houston's claim in chapter three that the Scots did not make a moral distinction between rural and urban society beyond a "mild preference for country air" (p. 150) is, if anything, more astonishing. It quite simply runs in the face of a considerable body of work on Scottish culture that deals with the tenacity of civic humanist ideals, the seriousness with which educated Scots regarded Rousseau's critique of urban politeness, and the prevalence of agrarian values among the legal elite and literati of Edinburgh. Statements like these suggest that Houston simply is not familiar with the literature.

Even in terms of strictly sociological—as distinct from intellectual or cultural—analysis, some of Houston's choices are puzzling. Why on earth would one begin a rather unrevealing discussion of urban anonymity by referring to the work of George Simmel and Max Weber, but ignore these seminal thinkers on the issues where they could have provided critical insights—i.e., the concepts of community, sociability, status, hierarchy, and class? Yet that is precisely what Houston does, suggesting that he views themes, trends, generalizations, and theories solely as useful pegs upon which to hang tidbits of information.

If, as Houston repeatedly suggests, attitudes and definitions of identity were determining factors in the development of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Edinburgh society, then why does he not make a greater effort to look at what historians of Scottish culture have to say about such beliefs? On the issue of religion alone, there is a wealth of material which Houston does not seem to have read. The debate over Church patronage—to cite but one manifestation—illuminates very different visions of the future of Scottish society and had practical implications for social control and differentiation.

My hunch is that, despite his occasional nods to European theorists, Houston's real allegiance is to a venerable school of Scottish antiquaries who would far rather describe what they love than beat it to death with analysis. In its rightful place, that is perfectly understandable practice. I just don't think it's the sort of scholarly enterprise that professional historians of Scottish society should be engaged in or that university presses should be promoting.

John Dwyer, York University

David Daiches, *Robert Burns: The Poet*. Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1994 (orig. 1950). Pp. 334.

Thomas Crawford, *Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs*. Edinburgh: Canongate Academic (now Tuckwell Press), 1994 (orig. 1960). Pp. xix + 400.

Kenneth Simpson, ed. *Burns Now*. Edinburgh: Canongate Academic (now Tuckwell Press), 1994. Pp. xxv + 221.

In the final sentence of *Robert Burns: The Poet*, David Daiches finds Burns to be "assaulted on all sides by old traditions and new gospels." This generous and delicately written book, first published in 1950, takes Burns's side against all who would misinterpret his life and work. The book is founded on the premise that at the close of the eighteenth century the use of Scots as a literary language brought about a troubling, if fruitful, schism within the psyche of the writer. It is thus possible to ascribe an absolute value to individual poems and songs according to the degree to which they sit decorously within, or are troubled by, their place on the Scots/English linguistic map. Giving a chronological account of the poet's works, Daiches posits that "History . . . will help us to account for their characteristic qualities and to see them for what they really are" (p. 11). Within the terms he establishes, Daiches succeeds: his observations on the literary traditions to which Burns had access are acute, humorous, and apposite.

Daiches's erudition and passion are clear: the longevity of this text attests to that, and to a closely argued defense of his initial proposition. What must be questioned, however, is the continued critical validity of any work which begins with the untroubled assertion of the "genius of Burns" (p. 24) and which continues to use "genius" as an organizing principle for an argument simultaneously based on what now seems a tenuous distinction between Scots and English as literary languages. Daiches concedes that "to explain his development as a poet and the forces that helped to condition this development, I have been drawn to some degree into biography" (p. 5). Biography cannot, however, function as critique, and at its worst the book draws upon what appears, in today's critical climate, to be an anachronistic biographical causality. Its assertion that "Burns was essentially a family man whose flesh was weak" (p. 76) is an example of such a tendency, surely being an inadequate account of how the poems and songs took shape.

With this book, we have an account of Burns's life and work which exemplifies the insights of a critical practice concerned with the transmission of literary archetypes. It remains a worthy *object* of study in itself, even though its *modus operandi* is now dated. Thomas Crawford's *Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs* would build upon and significantly revise Daiches's ideas. It is Crawford's book that remains the staple critical fare for students and enthusiasts of Burns alike, and its reissue in paperback format confirms this judgment.

From the time of its initial publication in 1960, no student of Burns could avoid the conclusions of Crawford's book, and thirty-five years later no critical work can avoid drawing upon it. It provides copious footnotes where Daiches provided few. It draws upon, as the author notes in the new Introduction to this edition, the insights of Marxist and Saussurean ideas about literature. Like Daiches's book, it is generous and well written—a delight to read and free from complex critical terminology. In this respect the book serves its intended audience of "a new generation of ordinary readers" (p. xix) well.

Both Daiches and Crawford set up a strong distinction between poetic agency and milieu. "What I was concerned with was a special case of the contradiction . . . [between] individual instinctive man as he is born—and Nature" (p. ix), writes Crawford. On this basis, the distinction between linguistic traditions that propels Daiches's work can be subsumed under the much broader binary distinction between Man and Nature. The first criticism of this approach is that it operates within the very terms that it would subject to criticism. The distinction between linguistic traditions and that between Man and Nature troubled the eighteenth century long before they appeared to provide key terms for Daiches and Crawford. Both texts are seduced by the very poetic and intellectual difficulties that they would explain. Burns the historical character retains profound importance for such analysis; however one characterizes his personal relationship with his society, nature or language, the principal, inescapable, and final point of reference is going to be the (reconstituted) subjective experience of the poet.

Once more, then, we are led back to the figure of Burns and his inexplicable "genius" that was shaped by Nature. The conditions which made the phenomenon of Burns a possibility will remain obscured as long as we allow the identity of Burns to go unchallenged. Put another way, any attempt to "explain" Burns will fail if the exegesis depends upon the poet himself for its vocabulary of binary opposition and does not investigate how that vocabulary, as an object of study, itself generates the fiction of "genius." On the way to his conclusion, Crawford brushes against fascinating material: the leads that he suggests are by no means exhausted. Nevertheless, the central critical presuppositions of both Daiches and Crawford seem challenged by current critical methodologies. Whilst for academic study their approaches may be found wanting, their conclusions flawed, it is

indicative of the longevity of the foundations which they laid that the newest critical work on Burns should still be influenced by their arguments.

That work, *Burns Now*, is a collection of twelve essays edited by Kenneth Simpson and designed to appeal to a wide audience. With the exception of the essay contributed by Donald Low, Simpson presents a collection of papers presented to the annual Burns Conference held at the University of Strathclyde since 1990. The contributions range from Iain Crichton Smith's lighthearted parody of the language of Bardolatry and Donny O'Rourke's look at Burns in a televisual age, to Carol McGuirk's study of "Burns and Nostalgia," which is a useful supplement to her full-length work, *Burns and the Sentimental Era* (1985). In the first essay in the book, Edwin Morgan writes of Burns "as the possessor of imagination, bodying forth the forms of things unknown" (p. 12), an assessment which recalls the difficulty that Crawford and Daiches had when approaching Burns's "genius." John Strawhorn's essay follows, and considers "Everyday Life in Burns's Ayrshire" in an attempt to contextualize the poet's work. Despite the undoubted importance of this largely neglected material, Strawhorn still takes the figure of the poet as an organizing principle: would we be interested in everyday Ayrshire life were it not for the uncommon presence of Burns?

McGuirk's contribution is the longest and provokes the most questions. By dealing with the reception of the poet's work following his death, and by attempting an analysis of how images of Burns and his poetry have been constructed by the reading and publishing public, McGuirk is able to sidestep the issue of genius altogether. Considering the frontispieces that accompanied editions of the poems, for example, allows us to recognize that the figure of the poet is gradually confused with the figuration of the poems. Tableaux are cast in which the image of Burns is placed alongside representations of scenes from the poems themselves. McGuirk's essay implies that Burns, as we know him, is a construction brought about by nearly two centuries of interpretation: every age abstracts what it needs from the poet and his work.

In "Burns's Songs: A Singer's View," Jo Miller recalls the important distinction between the song as performed item and as read text. Complementing this, Donald Low's essay draws attention to the way in which Burns could use a song to talk about the themes of love and money, reminding us that songs can contain a contentious propositional element. Christopher Whatley's piece on "Kirk and Community" provides new evidence that we should read much of Burns's work against specific times in the social calendar when social license was allowed and tacitly encouraged. Talking as the essay does of the "forces of social control" and the "orchestrated festivities" of the eighteenth century, behind Whatley's approach lies, perhaps, influences as varied as those of Bakhtin and Foucault. On the evidence of this essay, there is much to be gained from the appropriate application of such theoretical work to the study of Burns's corpus.

Ken Simpson's own study centers around how Burns deployed various personae and gave them a powerful rhetorical ability, while both R.D.S. Jack and Andrew Noble carry forward the investigation of how subsequent generations have used Burns for their own ends, reading Burns against Wordsworth and Pope on the one hand, and against nationalism on the other. This method of approaching Burns through a secondary medium is employed by G. Ross Roy, in his study of how the nineteenth century edited Burns's work. Again, the strength of this approach is that it points out how the Burns that we have received has been subject to constant interpretation and change.

As we prepare to commemorate in 1996 the bicentenary of Burns's death, perhaps it is time to build upon this work and—knowing how Burns's image has been manipulated—return to the conditions that made the poems and songs possible. This would involve rather more original research than is contained within this collection of essays, and would require us to reconsider the conditions in the eighteenth century which gave birth to such a fascinating poetic corpus. Perhaps it is time to address the chimera that is Burns's image and ask how and why his identity and "genius" assumed the forms they did in his lifetime and afterward, rather than stating yet again, as happens in the Introduction to the latest published work on Burns, that "as such, he deserves to be seen for what he is" (p. xvi). The same volume suggests that only when we accept that what he "is" has little to do with what he *was*, can we begin to fashion a new response: an appropriate return to a poetic subjectivity that, when interrogated, has told us more about ourselves than about its own being.

Hamish Mathison, University of Aberdeen

H. Lewis Ulman, *Things, Thoughts, Words and Actions: The Problem of Language in Late Eighteenth-Century British Rhetorical Theory*. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994. Pp. [ix] + 241.

Ulman's title comes from a 1973 essay by Richard McKeon calling for "a philosophy of discovery and creativity," not of "proselytizing and conversion among marked-off heresies and dogmas" (p. 34). This would be, according to McKeon, "a pluralistic philosophy" rediscovering the commonplaces of invention and memory, "things, thoughts, actions, and words" (pp. 34, 33).



Chapter 1 points out the centrality of things, thoughts, actions, and words in Locke's *Essay*, and draws on Kenneth Burke to make a case for these four as "generating principles" in an analysis of eighteenth-century and twentieth-century rhetorics. Chapter 2 sets out to "identify central social and theoretical problems of language study" in the eighteenth century, with things, thoughts, actions, and words as "legend" to the map (p. 24). What this entails is a brief discussion of standardization and literacy in the period, a summary of reviews of various publications in "language theory" 1756-76, and a survey of perspectives on language theory in Locke, Berkeley, Reid, Blair, Kames, Priestley, and Burke.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 deal, respectively, with "Words as Thoughts" in Campbell's *Rhetoric*, "Words as Things" in Blair's *Lectures*, and "Words as Actions" in Sheridan's *Lectures*. This orientation focuses on Campbell's distinctive way of linking faculties of mind to modes of evidence, style, "verbal criticism," and usage. In this chapter Ulman's "mapping" works quite well; his analysis of how books 1, 2, and 3 in the *Philosophy of Rhetoric* prepare for and build on each other is very useful: logic and grammar lay the foundations for "eloquence" (the "adaptation of discourse to the ends of speaking"), which in Campbell is largely delegated to the verbal critic, "the man who seasonably notifies the abuses that are creeping in" (p. 80).

A problem for chapter 4 is Ulman's lack of sympathy for and knowledge about the Scottish context within which Blair wrote. In my opinion, the narrowness of focus in this book, though it produces several truly helpful analyses, undermines its usefulness as history. Blair was, of course, in the thick of Scotland's struggle to haul itself by sheer talent and industry out of proud, faction-ridden poverty and isolation into the "modern" world of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Ulman reads Blair's concern with speech as "the great instrument . . . for the improvement of thought"—that is, Blair's idea of correct English as a means to the emancipation of those who had not had the privileges of an Oxford education, who had not been born with access to the central British networks of power—as "smug satisfaction with the language of literate, polite society" (p. 180). I don't think that is fair, given how hard Blair and his colleagues were working to achieve literacy, and given the number of illiterate, impolite citizens the Scots had to reckon with.

Chapter 5 gives Thomas Sheridan's *Lectures on Elocution* a more respectful and sympathetic hearing than they had in Wilbur Samuel Howell's magisterial *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric* (1971). This is good. Ulman brings into play here some of what has been discovered in recent years about orality, that is, about the distinctive properties of speech as opposed to writing. Chapter 6 calls for "a creative interplay of philosophies" of rhetoric in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, based on pluralism and on "conditions of uncertainty under which rhetoric as I have defined it becomes possible and, indeed, necessary" (p. 194).

Sections of this book that I think are valuable include: archival research on the Aberdeen Philosophical Society (pp. 63-70); the analysis of logical structure in Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (pp. 79-85); the account of how Campbell reconciled various intellectual antinomies (pp. 110-113). I have some reservations about the "things, thoughts, action, words" schema on which much of the organization of this book depends. It might work well when applied to systems and documents that define these four terms in the same ordinary-language way as Ulman. But eighteenth-century thinkers did not. Locke makes subtle distinctions among "body," "extension," "matter," and "substance": how does the word "thing" relate to these? "Thought" in the eighteenth century was close kin to "reason," "knowledge," "idea"; and it was known and studied frequently in branches speculative and practical. Such distinctions are important in the history of ideas; they do not enter into Ulman's analysis.

Ulman's book is narrow in another sense: it does not take into account a number of contexts that played an important role in the work of Campbell and Blair and late eighteenth-century rhetoric in general. I have mentioned Ulman's apparent lack of awareness of a national context for Blair's obsession with politeness. Moreover, the Scottish Enlightenment took place as a dialogue among thinkers both British and European, many of whom are never mentioned in Ulman's text or cited in his notes: Rousseau, Hutcheson, and Shaftesbury, for example, or the Adam Smith of *The Wealth of Nations*. Ulman discusses Blair on "progress" without reference to Hume, Kames, or Ferguson.

It is certainly a good thing that the Scots rhetoricians of the eighteenth century are getting attention from specialists in rhetoric, as recent books by Warnock and Johnson make evident. Nevertheless, it seems to me that rhetoric specialists cannot afford to approach eighteenth-century rhetoric as if it were unrelated to the contexts I have mentioned. The literary contexts for rhetorical doctrines are also crucial. Blair knew a great deal about the literary dimensions of "sensibility," style, the sublime. Ulman seems not to. Discussing these and other "literary" terms, Blair was agreeing and disagreeing with such authors as Johnson (who does not appear anywhere in Ulman's book), Dennis, Addison, Shaftesbury, Rollin, Hutcheson, Gerard, Burke, and Kames. Even Alexander Pope's ideal of civilization (the *Essay on Criticism* is a "progress poem") is relevant here, as are the various meanings and evolving roles in the eighteenth-century literary scene of the hierarchy of genres, conversation, familiar letters, "ut pictura poesis," and taste.

Carey McIntosh, Hofstra University

### Other Books by Members – Briefly Noted

Murray G. H. Pittock, **Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Pp. xiii + 254.

The master of Jacobite literary culture has struck again, this time with a fascinating examination of connections between Jacobite poetry and politics in the eighteenth century. There is much here on the general patterns of thought that dominated Jacobite ideology, including an emphasis on a view of history as “recurrence and renewal,” as well as on national variations in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Readers of this newsletter are likely to be particularly interested in the longest and most detailed chapter, entitled “Jacobite Political Culture in Scotland.”

Fiona J. Stafford, **The Last of the Race: The Growth of a Myth from Milton to Darwin**. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. Pp. 326.

This highly original book belongs to the genre of history of ideas in the Lovejoy sense, as it treats two centuries of thought about concepts of the single individual who brings his line of people to an end. Although Scottish thinkers don't figure largely in this work, there is a section on James Macpherson's Ossian (pp. 101-8) and very brief discussion of John Home and Adam Ferguson.

Joyce E. Chaplin, **An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation & Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815**. Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. Pp. xviii + 411.

One might not think so from the title, but this study of social and agricultural history contains an interesting discussion of the uses to which Scottish Enlightenment history and theory of progress were put by the land- and slave-owning class in the American South.

Barbara M. Benedict, **Framing Feeling: Sentiment and Style in English Prose Fiction, 1745-1800**. New York, AMS Press, 1994. Pp. 261.

Although principally English, this book devotes one chapter to the sentimental novels of Henry Mackenzie and part of another chapter to a parody of sentimental miscellanies by the Edinburgh bookseller William Creech.

Thomas A. Markus, **Buildings & Power: Freedom & Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types**. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. Pp. xx + 343.

If Foucault had written an architecture textbook focusing on Britain, this would have been the result. It's a beautifully illustrated, richly argued book, filled with brilliant insights into the social meaning of buildings during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is surprisingly little on Scotland, however.

David Hume, **Political Essays**. Ed. Knud Haakonssen. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Pp. lxvi + 346.

This collection of twenty-seven of Hume's essays is well suited for use by students in classes with an emphasis on politics and political economy. Excepting “Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations,” all of the essays on those topics have been included, and there are also excerpts from Hume's *History of England* dealing with political and ecclesiastical history. A good introduction, helpful textual notes, a chronology of Hume's life, a biographical glossary of names cited in the essays, and a bibliography combine to make this edition extremely user-friendly. Some may take issue with the editor's decision to reproduce the 1772 text of the essays, rather than the standard 1777 edition which incorporated Hume's final corrections, but that is a small point for an edition intended chiefly for the classroom.

James Holloway, **The Norie Family**. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1994. Pp. 32.

This pamphlet in the Scottish Masters series manages to pack twenty-eight illustrations into a work of scarcely that many pages. The text is brief but provides much information about one of eighteenth-century Scotland's most productive families of artists.

Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt, **Historic New Lanark: The Dale and Owen Industrial Community since 1785**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993. Pp. ix + 245.

By focusing on New Lanark's entire history in the context of the textile revolution in Britain, rather than merely New Lanark as a function of Robert Owen, this book achieves a novel and quite welcome perspective. Plenty of illustrations and a readable paperback format make it a volume suitable for the classroom.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

## Scotland's Smaller Scholarly Presses

Richard B. Sher

Some of the best-kept secrets in Scottish scholarly publishing are the titles issued by a number of small Scottish presses. If you don't usually hear about these publishers or their books, you're not alone; *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* often fails to review their eighteenth-century titles because these presses don't always send the editor review copies and catalogues. If I haven't seen it, I can't review it.

What follows is based on the latest information available to me at press time. I can't vouch for it all being up to date, and it certainly isn't all-inclusive. As far as I know, **Scottish Academic Press** is still in business though not discussed here, and **The National Library of Scotland** regularly produces fine volumes based on its exhibits, such as *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671 to 1717* (1993).

### **John Donald Ltd.** (138 St. Stephen St., Edinburgh EH3 5AA)

Although it is now but a shadow of what it was in the 1980s, when it dominated Scottish scholarly publishing under the direction of John Tuckwell, John Donald continues to put out occasional titles of eighteenth-century interest. An example is Jennifer Carter and Donald J. Withrington, eds., *Scottish Universities: Distinctiveness and Diversity* (1992). Relevant contributions include essays by Christine Shepherd and Colin McLaren on seventeenth-century developments, and Deborah Brunton, Lawrence Williams, and A. Allan McLaren on aspects of the eighteenth century. Just before going to press I received a paperback reissue of James Michael Hill's 1986 work, *Celtic Warfare 1595-1763*, which includes two timely chapters on the '45.

### **Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd.** (7 Albany St., Edinburgh EH1 3UG)

In some respects the class of the small Scottish presses, Mainstream produces a limited number of titles but does them well. *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History*, edited by Paul H. Scott (1993), is a case in point. It's a handsome volume of more than four hundred pages, nicely illustrated and printed on sleek paper. Scott has deliberately defined this book not as a work of reference but as a work "to be read straight through" (p. 13). There are some twenty-three essays on particular topics, each by an expert in the field: Alexander Broadie on philosophy, Derick Thomson on Gaelic literature, Duncan Macmillan on art, Neil MacCormick on law, and so on. Each chapter is structured historically, with the result that every essay (excepting a handful that deal with strictly modern topics, such as Rock Music) treats the eighteenth century from the perspective of the development of its particular subject. As one would expect in such a work, the results are uneven, but the expertise of the contributors and the diligence of the editor ensure that most of the essays provide interesting and informative surveys of their topics.

### **The Mercat Press** (James Thin Ltd., 53-59 South Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1YS)

Mercat Press is the publishing arm of the Scottish bookselling firm, James Thin. Although it has published relatively few new titles, Mercat offers a most impressive list of eighteenth-century books, thanks chiefly to its having bought up most of the stock of the now defunct Aberdeen University Press. Appropriately enough, the list is particularly strong in regard to the cultural history of Aberdeen and the Northeast—e.g., Jennifer J. Carter and Joan H. Pittock, eds., *The Aberdeen Enlightenment*; R. L. Emerson, *Professors, Patronage and Politics: The Aberdeen Universities in the 18th Century*; P. H. Wood, *The Aberdeen Enlightenment*; and William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song*. It also offers some excellent series, such as the four-volume *History of Scottish Literature* edited by Cairns Craig (which includes volume 2 on the period 1660-1800, edited by Andrew Hook); the four-volume *Edinburgh History of Scotland* edited by Gordon Donaldson (which includes William Ferguson's *Scotland: 1689 to the Present*); and the *Scottish Writers* series (which includes David Daiches on Robert Fergusson, Donald Low on Robert Burns, Tom Crawford on Walter Scott, and P. H. Scott on John Galt). All these series are available in paperback editions at very reasonable prices that do not exceed £15 per volume.

There are also some valuable old hardback titles in the same price range, such as a reprint of Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland 1779* that was done by Melven Press of Perth in 1979 (unfortunately, it is the third edition (Warrington, 1774), which does not include some important appendices, but at £8.95 who's complaining?); Mercat's own 1979 reprint of A. Logan Turner's *The Story of a Great Hospital: The Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh 1727-1929* (1937); and Mercat's 1988 reprint of the Edinburgh 1856 edition of Henry Cockburn's *Memorials of His Time*. Of course, Mercat is also the publisher of ECSSS's *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, ed. John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher, but our members can purchase that one directly from us for even less than Mercat charges the general public (the Society receives royalties either way).

**Polygon** (22 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LF)

Polygon serves as the popular (as opposed to academic) branch of Edinburgh University Press. Of all the presses surveyed in this article, it proved to be the least cooperative, and several of their relevant titles will not be mentioned here simply because review copies were never received despite repeated requests.

One of the most interesting of Polygon's recent forays into Scottish history is *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, edited by Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley (paperback, 1992) as part of a Scottish series with a typical Polygon title: *Determinations*. As defined by the editors, the laudable intent of this volume is "to examine how Scotland's history has been treated, how some of the myths and received wisdom have evolved, and to show how Scottish history is now being largely rewritten" (p. 1). Where the eighteenth century is concerned, the results are generally positive. Christopher Whatley, "An Uninflammable People?" successfully assesses and demolishes the myth "that the Scots were characteristically quiescent" by showing the extent and persistence of popular turbulence. In "The Whig Interpretation of Scottish History," Michael Fry explodes the myth of Scotland as a place with no political history and argues powerfully for making political history the centerpiece of any future quest for understanding Scottish identity. Ian Donnachie, "The Enterprising Scot," takes on the myth of the clannish Scot who ruthlessly claws his way to the top by showing, among other things, that this Scottish stereotype was applied to other minorities and that most ambitious Scots achieved failure rather than success. Joy Hendry's "Snug in the Asylum of Taciturnity" cleverly argues that the traditional neglect of women in Scottish history stems from a general failure to ask the right questions and look in the right places (such as kirk session records and sources relating to the private rather than the public sphere). And in a characteristically learned and balanced essay, "The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands," Charles Withers traces the manufacture of the Highlands to the combined effects of geographical, intellectual, and aesthetic forces in the period following the '45. These five essays are lively and "popular" in the best sense. Unfortunately, Angus Calder's ill-informed and badly dated essay, "The Enlightenment," is a dismal failure by any standards and therefore out of place in this collection. But then, five out of six ain't bad.

Polygon has also issued a revised paperback edition of David Daiches's compilation, *The New Companion to Scottish Culture* (1993; originally published by Edward Arnold in 1981). It's a spotty work, and printed with microscopic type that is hard on the eyes. But it's also a useful reference book with contributions by several outstanding scholars. Nicholas Phillipson's "Scottish Enlightenment" is a little gem, as are Steven Shapin's "Science," F. W. Freeman's "Vernacular Movement," Derick Thomson's "Macpherson and Ossian," R. H. Campbell's "Industrialisation," and David Johnson's "Music in the Scottish Lowlands, 1700-1800," among many others.

**Saltire Society** (9 Fountain Close, 22 High St., Edinburgh EH1 1TF)

For quite a few years now the Saltire Society has been issuing pamphlets on various aspects of Scottish thought and culture, but recently the Society has become much more ambitious. For one thing, it has joined the trend toward reissuing paperback editions of recent titles that have gone out of print, including some of rather substantial size. Books of this kind include David Daiches, *Robert Burns: The Poet* (1950, 1994), which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue; William Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (1977, 1994); and John Sibbald Gibson, *Deacon Brodie: Father to Jekyll & Hyde* (1977, 1993). With Rosalind Mitchison's little collection, *Why Scottish History Matters* (1991), the Saltire Society takes on something a bit more controversial: a nationalist call to historiographical arms intended for students and general readers. Bruce Lenman and Tom Devine provide concise coverage of the eighteenth century.

**Scottish Cultural Press** (PO Box 106, Aberdeen AB9 8ZE)

As noted above, if there is a common trend among the small presses highlighted in this article, it is to reissue attractive paperback editions of recent but out-of-print titles that deserve a wider readership. Little Scottish Cultural Press has wisely followed this path by publishing two excellent (and in this year of the 250th anniversary of the '45 uprising, highly appropriate) books by Bruce Lenman: *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (1995; originally published by Eyre Methuen, 1980) and *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen 1650-1784* (1995; originally published by Methuen, 1984). I don't know what this press is all about, but at least some of the personnel seem to be former employees of AUP. It's good to know that the presses are rolling again in Aberdeen!

**Tuckwell Press Ltd.** (superseding Canongate Academic) (The Mill House, Phantassie, East Linton, East Lothian EH40 3DG):

Mention has already been made of this important newcomer (see pp. 4-5 above), and two of its books on Burns, issued under the Canongate Academic imprint, are reviewed elsewhere in this issue (see pp. 32-33). In May 1995 TP published its first title under the new imprint with strong eighteenth-century content: a paperback collection of fifteen of T. M. Devine's essays entitled *Exploring the Scottish Past: Themes in the History of Scottish Society*. Although these essays have all appeared before, it is useful to have them all together in a single volume, and the packaging is as handsome as any now on the market.

## Recent Articles by ECSSS Members

The items below either appear in collections received by the editor or else have been brought to the editor's attention by individual members, many of whom submitted offprints or copies of their work. The list is limited to articles and major review articles that (1) deal with eighteenth-century Scottish topics and (2) were published in 1994, except for items published in 1992 or 1993 that were not included in last year's list.

Misericordia ANGLES, "Sentit comú i vida practica: un esclarament de la multiplicitat significativa de la noció 'sentit comú'," *Convivium*, no. 3 (1992): 23-38.

David ARMITAGE, "'The Projecting Age': William Paterson and the Bank of England," *History Today* 44 (1994): 5-10.

Paul G. BATOR, "The Unpublished Rhetoric Lectures of Robert Watson, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at the University of St. Andrews, 1756-1778," *Rhetorica* 12 (1994): 67-113.

M. A. BOX, "How Disturbed Was Hume by His Own Skepticism?" *1650-1850* 1 (1994): 295-316.

Leslie Ellen BROWN, "The Idea of Life as a Work of Art in Scottish Enlightenment Discourse," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 24 (1994).

Daniel BRÜHLMEIER, "Nach dem Verlust der Tugend, Halt an der Tradition? Eine Debatte mit Alasdair MacIntyre" [on his treatment of Hume], *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 47 (1993): 434ff.

Deborah BRUNTON, "Edinburgh and Philadelphia: The Scottish Model of Medical Education," in *Scottish Universities: Distinctiveness and Diversity*, ed. Jennifer Carter and Donald Withrington (Edinburgh, 1992), 80-86.

D. J. BRYDEN, "James Watt, Merchant: The Glasgow Years, 1754-1774," in *Perceptions of Great Engineers: Fact and Fantasy*, ed. Denis Smith (London, 1994), 9-21.

D. J. BRYDEN, "John Gedde's Bee-House and the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 48 (1994): 193-213.

John C. CAIRNS, "From 'Speculative' to 'Practical' Legal Education: The Decline of the Glasgow Law School, 1801-1830," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis (Legal History Review, Dordrecht)* 62 (1994): 331-56.

John C. CAIRNS, "Adam Smith and the Role of the Courts in Securing Justice and Liberty," in *Adam Smith and the Philosophy of Law and Economics*, ed. Robin Paul Malloy and Jerry Evensky (Dordrecht, 1994), 31-61.

Leith Ann DAVIS, "'Bounded to a District Space': Burns, Wordsworth, and the Margins of English Literature," *English Studies in Canada* 20 (1994): 23-40.

Gordon DESBRISAY, "Quakers and the University: The Aberdeen Debate of 1675," *History of Universities* 13 (1994): 87-98.

María ELÓSEGUI, "Comunitarismo Versos Liberalismo," *Anuario de Filosofía del Derecho* 11 (1994): 619-32.

María ELÓSEGUI, "Le rôle du juge: Hume et les théories contemporaines de l'interprétation juridique," *Revue interdisciplinaire d'études juridiques* 32 (1994): 163-89.

Roger L. EMERSON, "The 'Affair' at Edinburgh and the 'Project' at Glasgow: The Politics of Hume's Attempts to Become a Professor," in *HHC*, 1-22.

Jane B. FAGG, "'Complaints and Clamours': The Ministry of Adam Fergusson, 1700-1754," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 25, pt. 2 (1994): 288-308. [on the father of Adam Ferguson, philosopher and historian]

Peter S. FOSL, "Doubt and Divinity: Cicero's Influence on Hume's Religious Skepticism," *Hume Studies* 20 (1994): 103-20.

Peter S. FOSL, "Empiricism, Difference, and Common Life," *Man and World* 26 (1993): 319-28.

Howard GASKILL, "Ossian in Europe," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 21 (1994): 643-78.

N.E.S. Griffiths and John G. REID, "New Evidence on New Scotland, 1629," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 49 (1992): 492-508.

Anita GUERRINI, "Chemistry Teaching at Oxford and Cambridge, circa 1700," in *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. P. Rattansi and A. Clericuzio (Dordrecht, 1994), 183-99. [deals with John Keill and James Crawford]

Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "Introduction," *The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart* (reprint, Bristol, 1994), 1:v-xiv.

I. Maxwell HAMMETT, "James Burnett, Lord Monboddo," *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (London and Aberdeen, 1993).

I. Maxwell HAMMETT, "James Burnett, Lord Monboddo," *Lexicon Grammaticorum* (1994).

R. A. HOUSTON, "Popular Politics in the Reign of George II: The Edinburgh Cordiners," *Scottish Historical Review* 72 (1993): 167-89.

- R. A. HOUSTON, "Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh," *History* 78 (1993): 373-92.
- R. A. HOUSTON, "The Military in Edinburgh Society, 1660-1760," *War & Society* 11 (1993): 41-56.
- R. A. HOUSTON, "The Economy of Edinburgh, 1694-1763: The Evidence of the Common Good," in *Conflict and Identity in the History of Scotland Ireland from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Preston, 1993), ed. S. J. Connolly, et al., 45-62.
- R. A. HOUSTON, "'Bustling Artisans': Church Patronage at South Leith in the 1740s and 1750s," *Albion* 26 (1994): 55-77.
- R. A. HOUSTON, "Fraud in the Scottish Linen Industry: Edinburgh Charity Workhouse, 1745-1758," *Archives* 21 (1994): 43-56.
- R. A. HOUSTON, "Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies: Out of the Laager?" *Scottish Historical Review* 73 (1994): 64-81.
- Thomas JEMIELITY, "Teaching *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*," in *Approaches to the Teaching of Samuel Johnson*, ed. David R. Anderson and Gwin J. Kolb (New York, 1993), 99-106.
- Frank A. KAFKER, "William Smellie's Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 315 (1994): 145-82.
- Colin KIDD, "The Canon of Patriotic Landmarks in Scottish History," *Scotlands* 1 (1994): 1-17.
- Manfred KUEHN, "Kant's Critique of Hume's Theory of Faith," in *HHC*, 239-55.
- Colby H. KULLMAN, "Appreciating Gall: Boswell's Frank Wit," *1650-1850* 1 (1994): 369-80.
- Ned C. LANDSMAN, "The Provinces and the Empire: Scotland, the American Colonies and the Development of British Provincial Identity," in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London, 1994), 258-87.
- Leah LENEMAN and Rosalind MITCHISON, "Acquiescence in and Defiance of Church Discipline in Early-Modern Scotland," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* (1993): 19-39.
- Bruce P. LENMAN, "Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity," *Colonial Williamsburg* (1993): 40-48. [on Scottish origins of Freemasonry in colonial Virginia]
- David LEVY, "Metrics of Style: Adam Smith Teaches Efficient Rhetoric," *Economic Inquiry* 32 (1994): 138-45.
- Marie A. MARTIN, "Hume as Classical Moralizer," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 34 (1994): 323-34.
- Keith MASON, "A Loyalist's Journey: James Parker's Response to the Revolutionary Crisis," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (1994): 139-66.
- Michael MACCRAITH, "From Morven to Oostende: The Fate of Macpherson's Ossian," *Europa van de dichter* 13 (Leuven, 1991): 246-61.
- Kirsteen MCCUE, "Weber's Ten Scottish Folksongs," *Weber Studies*, ed. G. Allroggen and J. Veib (Mainz, 1993), 163-72.
- Carol MCGUIRK, "Burns and Nostalgia," in *Burns Now*, ed. Kenneth Simpson (Edinburgh, 1994), 31-69.
- James MOORE, "Hume and Hutcheson," in *HHC*, 23-57.
- Shigemi MURAMATSU, "On William Seton's 'The Interest of Scotland in Three Essays'," *The Review of Kumamoto University of Commerce* (1993). [in Japanese]
- Mark A. NOLL, "Revolution and the Rise of Evangelical Social Influence in North Atlantic Societies," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll et al. (Oxford, 1994).
- Susan O'BRIEN, "Eighteenth-Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Transatlantic Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism* (see above).
- Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Sources and Dates for the Jacobite Song," *Archives* 20 (1993): 25-29.
- Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Jacobite Images of Womanhood" (long abstract), *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 304 (1992): 841-44.
- Irwin PRIMER, "Lord Forbes of Pitsligo and the Maxims of La Rochefoucauld," *1650-1850* 1 (1994): 347-68.
- Susan PURVIANCE, "What Makes Utility the Moral Quality of Actions?" *History of Philosophy Quarterly* (1994).
- D. D. RAPHAEL, "Adam Ferguson's Tutorship of Lord Chesterfield," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 323 (1994): 209-23.
- David RAYNOR and Andrew SKINNER, "Sir James Steuart: Nine Letters on the American Conflict, 1775-1778," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 51 (1994): 755-76.
- John ROBERTSON, "Union, State and Empire: The Britain of 1707 in Its European Setting," in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London, 1994), 224-57.

Ian ROSS, "Adam Smith and the 'Modern Genius of Italy'," in *Il passaggere italiano: Saggi sulle letterature di lingua inglese in onore di Sergio Rossi*, ed. Renzo S. Crivelli and Luigi Sampietro (Rome, 1994), 421-36.

Ian ROSS, "Adam Smith and the 'Noblest Prospect'," in *Literature in Context: Festschrift for Horst Drescher* (Frankfurt, 1992), 35-51.

Kenneth B. E. ROXBURGH, "The Scottish Evangelical Awakening of 1742 and the Religious Societies," *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 5 (1994): 260-73.

Gilbert SCHRANK, "Crossroad of the North: Proto-Industrialization in the Orkney Islands, 1730-1840," *Journal of European Economic History* 21 (1992) [1993].

Richard B. SHER, "From Troglodytes to Americans: Montesquieu and the Scottish Enlightenment on Liberty, Virtue, and Commerce," in *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society, 1649-1776*, ed. David Wootton (Stanford, Ca., 1994), 368-402.

Richard B. SHER, "Clubs and Societies, Eighteenth Century," *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron et al. (Edinburgh, 1993), 191-92.

Donald T. SIEBERT, "Catherine Macaulay's *History of England: Antidote to Hume's History?*" *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 303 (1992): 393-96.

Andrew SKINNER (see David RAYNOR)

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

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Special thanks to the College of Science and Liberal Arts at New Jersey Institute of Technology for providing special services support.

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