EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

The Newsletter of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society

No. 10 Spring 1996
Tenth Anniversary Issue

ECSSS A DECADE OLD!

When a handful of scholars of eighteenth-century Scottish culture founded this society at the meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Williamsburg, Virginia, in the spring of 1986, none of them dreamed it would come to this. On its tenth birthday, the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society is thriving, with hundreds of members from numerous disciplines and countries, exciting annual conferences, an impressive list of publications, and much more. The first issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, published in spring 1987, contained all of three book reviews. The tenth anniversary issue that you see before you includes one book review essay as well as a special 28-page Book Review Supplement which contains feature reviews of 33 titles and briefer notices of nearly a score of other books. This expanded issue is made possible by the continued assistance of New Jersey Institute of Technology and by the gratifyingly large number of members (35, at last count) who elected the Society's new membership category, Supporting Member, by adding 25% to their already increased dues for 1996.

Perhaps this is a good time to acknowledge the contributions of the ten members who have served as president and vice-president, respectively, since the inception of the Society ten years ago, and who have done so much to make it a success—1986-88: Ian Simpson Ross and Roger Fechner; 1988-90: Roger Emerson and Jeffrey Smitten; 1990-92: Andrew Hook and Leslie Ellen Brown; 1992-94: John Robertson and Dedire Dawson; 1994-96: Susan Manning and Kathleen Holcomb. Other members, such as Ned Landsman and Michael Fry, have recently assumed the responsibility for putting together elaborate conference programs. With leadership like this, and with the constant support that so many of the members have provided by regularly writing articles and reviews for this newsletter, presenting papers at conferences, and editing volumes of our publications, how could our first decade have been anything less than superb?

Thanks to all!

JACOBITISM AT ABERDEEN

ECSSS's 1995 conference on "Jacobitism, Scotland and the Enlightenment," held at King's College, University of Aberdeen, from 29 July to 3 August, was a delight from start to finish. Besides being the annual meeting of ECSSS, the conference was also part of the University of Aberdeen's quincentennial celebrations. Additional sponsorship by Drambuie Liqueur Company and the Thomas Reid Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in the Humanities added luster to the affair, as did the support of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies.

For the second consecutive year, the Society was fortunate to have some of the most glorious weather that any conference organizer could ever desire. Against a backdrop of comfortable sunshine, conference directors Joan Pittock Wesson and Michael Fry constructed an extraordinary program. There were some sixty regular papers given in concurrent sessions, covering almost every conceivable Jacobite theme as well as many non-Jacobite Scottish topics. Plenary talks by six leading scholars from as many disciplines added to the mix: Tom Campbell on "'Persisting with Enlightenment Projects': Continuing Themes from Adam Smith"; Breandán Ó Buachalla on "The '45 in Irish Jacobite Poetry"; William Donaldson on "Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity"; Andrew S. Skinner on "Sir James Steuart: Political Economist and Jacobite"; Jeremy Black (appearing in sans-culottish attire) on "Jacobitism: The Military Challenge"; and Alexander Broadie on "The Common Sense of Thomas Reid." There was a splendid recital of Scottish songs by Anne Lorne Gillies in the stately King's College Chapel, and a choice of excursions to Culloden Moor or Dunnottar Castle and the House of Dun. A simultaneous conference on Sir Walter Scott, organized by David Hewitt of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, provided an additional array of papers that ECSSS members could attend.

All in all, the fine weather, excellent program, and gracious hospitality of the University of Aberdeen made for a splendid five days in the Northeast. ECSSS extends particular thanks to the two conference directors, to the principal of the University of Aberdeen—Profes-

sor Maxwell Irvine—,to the director of the Thomas Reid Institute—George Rousseau—, and to David Hewitt and Catherine Mc Inerney of ASLS for making the experience so memorable for everyone attending the conference.

TURNING TEN AT GRENOBLE

The Society will celebrate its tenth anniversary with an exciting conference in Grenoble, France, this summer. Titled "France and Scotland in the Enlightenment," the conference will be held at Université Stendhal under the auspices of the Études Écossaises (CNRS) group there. Conference director Pierre Morère and program director Deidre Dawson have planned a special event that is sure to please everyone in attendance. More than forty-five papers will be presented on a wide variety of topics, as well as two plenary talks: Paul-Gabriel Boucé of the Sorbonne Nouvelle, "Scotland and France in Smollett's *Present State of All Nations*, 1768-69," and David Marshall of Yale University, "The Business of Tragedy: Accounting for Sentiment in *Julia de Roubigné*." The conference sessions will begin at 9 AM on 6 July and will continue through the day. Sunday 7 July will be given over to an excursion to La Grande Chartreuse. The academic portion of the conference will continue on 8 July, extending until lunch on the 9th. In addition, a sumptuous conference banquet will be held on the 8th, partially subsidized by ECSSS as a way of commemorating our tenth anniversary. All conference sessions will take place at the university, but accommodation has been arranged quite reasonably at two Ibis hotels (City Centre and Banlieue de Grenoble).

Members wishing to attend the Grenoble conference should contact Deidre Dawson at the French Department, Georgetown University, Washington D.C. 20057; email: dawsond@guvax.acc.georgetown.edu; fax: 202-687-5712; or Pierre Morère at UFR d'Etudes Anglophones, Université Stendhal - Grenoble III, BP 25, 38040 Grenoble Cedex 09, France; fax: 33.76.82.41.21. Don't miss this very special occasion!

CHICAGO IN 97!

After a period of uncertainty, we can now report with much satisfaction and considerable anticipation that the 1997 meeting of the Society will be held in Chicago, jointly with the Midwestern branch of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. Because the regional branches of ASECS have assigned times for their annual meetings, the conference will definitely be held during October (probably the first half). Other details are not yet set, but Tom Bonnell of MW/ASECS and the conference director, David Jordan of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, are cooking up some terrific things, including a reception at the Art Institute of Chicago. A call for papers with more information should reach members by the end of this year or early in 1997.

UTRECHT & DUBLIN COMING UP

Thanks to the efforts of Wijnand Mijnhardt, Frits Van Holthoon, Kathleen Holcomb, and others, plans for the Society's 1998 meeting with the Dutch Eighteenth-Century Society in Utrecht, The Netherlands, are shaping up beautifully. The conference has been tentatively set for the first week of July. Further details to come!

Andrew Carpenter, who is running the Enlightenment Congress in Dublin in July 1999, has confirmed that ECSSS will be able (indeed encouraged) to hold its annual meeting at the Congress. Tentative plans call for an extended seminar on "Scotland and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," a collaboration between ECSSS and the 18th-Century Ireland Society. Michael Fry will be taking charge of the program for the Society.

BUSINESS, BUSINESS

At the Aberdeen Conference, the Board reluctantly recommended that dues be raised to account for rapidly rising costs for printing and other matters (see the new fee schedule on the back cover). The membership acquiesced in a surprisingly cheerful manner—some insisting loudly that it's *still* a bargain! In other business, the membership approved the Board's recommendations for the sites of the 1998 and 1999 conferences, as well as for a Toronto conference in the year 2000 with the Canadian Society for 18th-Century Studies.

In more recent business, Kathleen Holcomb, with the generous assistance of Jeff Smitten's ASECS staff at Utah State University, is establishing an ECSSS site on the World Wide Web, which she hopes to have up and running this summer. Kathleen can be reached by email (kathleen.holcomb@mailserv.angelo.edu) or fax (915-658-9529) in regard to this project.

1995 PUBLICATIONS

The Glasgow Enlightenment, ed. Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, the fourth volume in the Society's publication series, was published just in time for the Aberdeen Conference last summer. It includes an introduction and twelve original essays by leading scholars (see the review in the Supplement to this issue). A 252-page hardcover volume with 16 illustrations, it can be purchased by ECSSS members for the very reasonable price of $22.50 or £15, postpaid, by sending a cheque or Access/Visa card number and expiration date (with your signature), and of course your address, to Tuckwell Press, The Mill House, Phantassie, East Linton, East Lothian EH40 3DG, Scotland, U.K.

The second 1995 publication with an ECSSS connection is the November issue of *Hume Studies*, including papers from the joint ECSSS/Hume Society conference held in Ottawa in 1993. David Raynor is to be thanked for helping to put together this volume, which ECSSS members can purchase by sending $5 to *Hume Studies*, 338 Orson Spencer Hall, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT 84112, USA.

BURNS BICENTENARY CONFERENCES

International Bicentenary Burns Conf. University of Strathclyde, Glasgow 11-13 January 1996

The seventh annual conference on Burns, this meeting was lengthened to three days to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the poet's death. The principal organizer was Kenneth Simpson, Director of the Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies (Strathclyde); he was assisted by Ross Roy (South Carolina) and Cathleen Wales (Strathclyde). The conference drew over seventy participants from seven countries, as well as a number of contemporary Scottish writers. More than one hundred enrolled, however, including members of local Burns Clubs and other citizens of the area who have always been interested in Burns. It was a lively mix of folk.

A Scottish conference on Burns is like no conference on any other cultural figure. People in Scotland are hardly neutral about him; most are very proud and protective of his fame. This conference was covered daily by the media. One officious reporter from *The Glasgow Herald* asked David Daiches for his paper—before he had even delivered it! There were television cameras everywhere, and participants from outside Scotland were cited in the local papers.

The proceedings received additional publicity partly because Patrick Hogg recently claimed to have found some sixty poems in radical newspapers of the 1790s that he thought might possibly be by Burns. The day before the conference was to begin, he approached Ken Simpson about his material. With a program already set and printed, the organizer could do little more than offer him some time to present his findings. This Mr. Hogg declined, misleading some to question whether he and his material had been given fair consideration. It is to be hoped that he will soon publish his texts and his views so that proper scholarly discussion of these attributions can get under way.

There were many good papers at the conference, more than can be mentioned here.

The usual controversial subjects surrounding Burns occupied many of the participants. Several papers concerned the way Burns was "fashioned," first by himself for the Kilmarnock edition, then by the literati of Edinburgh, and eventually by his country after his death. Horst Drescher's (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) paper on Henry Mackenzie's influential review in *The Lounger* was frequently cited by other speakers who followed. Typical of this concern was Richard Finlay's (Strathclyde) presentation on "The Burns Cult and Scottish Identity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." Under the pressure of rapid industrialization in the early nineteenth century, the Scots began to "reinvent" themselves, as can be seen in Sir Walter Scott's historical fiction, the anti-aristocratic cult of Sir William Wallace, the revival of interest in Highland emblems and plaids, the glorification of rural life (which ultimately led to Kailyard), and the reinvention of Burns as the voice of democratic and nationalistic traditions. David Daiches, in his fine keynote address, explained how Burns, a poet inclined to select roles for himself, seemed to "walk a tightrope" between an identity of gentility and a pose as "heaven-sent ploughman," between high moral sentiments and expressions of a zest for life.

Other papers dealt with the notion that Burns inherited a cultural milieu that could not nourish his genius—a notion first put forth in a "generalist" tradition by G. Gregory Smith in 1919 and continued by Edwin Muir and Daiches. This was deplored in a paper by Gerald Carruthers (Strathclyde); a response to it came from Tom Preston (North Texas), who suggested that Burns saw himself as not undercut by anglicization so much as "dialogical" in discourse, representing a Scottish culture autonomous within a larger British one. Several papers dealt revealingly with influences on Burns's work. Carol McGuirk (Florida Atlantic) treated Burns's interest in Milton; Ian Ross (British Columbia) discussed Burns's interest in both Voltaire and Rousseau; and Walter McGinty (Alloway) read on Thomas Reid. Roger Fechner (Adrian) summarized Burns's reaction to developments in America in a paper giving the background to his "Ode on General Washington."

Margery Palmer McCulloch (Glasgow) discussed the strengths and weaknesses of Catherine Carswell's biography of Burns ("Lawrentian," she called it), recently reprinted by Canongate Classics; Maurice Lindsay added new strength to the traditional assumption that Burns was a poet of the people.

There was plenty of discussion of late-eighteenth century Scottish song—and plenty of singing. Kirsteen McCue (Scottish Music Information Centre, Glasgow) gave in "Burns, Woman, and Song" an astonishing survey of the great number of persons writing Scottish songs in the late eighteenth century besides Burns. Thirty of them (including the gifted Lady Caroline Nairn) were women, writing mostly for a female audience. Other papers compared the collections of Johnston and Thomson, and commented on the difficulty of establishing definitive texts. The group was entertained on several occasions with music, including Burns's songs sung by Ms. McCue and by Shoshana Shay, accompanied by John Davidson (Haverford), as well as by Adam McNaughton's folk-group, "Stramash." Participants were beguiled by the venerable Hamish Henderson recalling his early days collecting folk song in the Northeast, before anyone else took the genre seriously.

And there was contemporary literature. After Friday's dinner Ken Simpson ambitiously arranged a kind of "writer's ceilidh," in which a number of contemporary authors read from recent work. Much sport was made of the tradition of Burns Night Suppers, especially in readings by Iain Crichton Smith and Maurice Lindsay. Other readers included Margaret Elphinstone,

Tam Leonard, Aonghas MacNeacail, Edmund Morgan, and Liam McIlvanney.

Ken Simpson plans to publish most of the papers from this program.

H.L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

Robert Burns and Literary Nationalism University of South Carolina, Columbia 28-30 March 1996

Sponsored by the University of South Carolina, with support from the South Carolina Humanities Council and the Richland, Kershaw, and Lexington County Libraries, this bicentenary conference featured wide-ranging academic papers and an extraordinary exhibition of Burns editions and Burnsiana at the Thomas Cooper Library. There were receptions hosted by the St. Andrews Society of the City of Columbia and the Thomas Cooper Library Society, and a lavish southern tea was provided by members of the Robert Burns Society of the Midlands. Liam McIlvanney attended through the generosity of the Atlanta Burns Club, which funded his travel from Christ Church, Oxford, where he is completing a dissertation on Burns and Presbyterianism. As is entirely appropriate for an event held in honor of Burns, the community joined with the university in affirmation of civic, local, and regional ties as well as poetry and song. Watching native South Carolinians initiating visiting Scots into the mysteries of local cuisine at "The Lizard's Thicket" on Thursday night was one of many pleasant cross-cultural experiences at the conference.

Conference participants agreed that the high point was a quietly delivered plenary address on "Burns and Beirut" given by Tom Sutherland (Colorado State, emeritus), who was Dean of Agriculture at the American University in Beirut when he was taken hostage in 1987, eventually spending almost seven years in captivity. Like so many expatriate Scots, Tom Sutherland had Burns almost by heart, and his talk described Burns Suppers held with fellow-hostages in the dark over pita bread and spoiled cheese, with a deeply interested but bewildered French diplomat-hostage having the vernacular Scots translated in a whisper. He spoke also of attempting to reconstruct in his head all the couplets in "Tam o' Shanter" during six months of solitary confinement, and of the red rose his wife carried to him when they finally were reunited in a hospital in Germany. Tom Sutherland's talk testified to the broad recuperative and symbolic power of this Burns poetry that we literary academics study so closely and sometimes so narrowly.

Not that there was any narrowness in this conference's academic program. From the Makars (addressed by Ronald D. S. Jack) to Hugh MacDiarmid (Robert Hay Carnie; Marjery Palmer McCulloch) to contemporary settings of Burns's songs (Patricia Talbert; Esther Hovey; Robert D. Thornton), the talks placed Burns's writings in useful context. Alasdair Gray's brilliant deconstruction of the Burns myth, from his viewpoint as a contemporary Scottish novelist, was witty and deft. Donald A. Low, looking ahead to new technologies, called for hypertext approaches to Burns; Alexander M. Kinghorn, considering Burns's central role in current Scottish nationalism, discussed the essential radicalism of Burns's political perspective. Jeffrey Skoblow's paper on Burns's resistance to commodification of his songs showed how hospitable Burns is to Marxist approaches, while Rodger L. Tarr's presentation on Carlyle and Burns suggested Burns's contrary appeal as a cultural hero and problematic superman. There was a valuable presentation on Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706) by Harriet Harvey Wood, who has just edited this most influential early song-book for the Scottish Text Society; Kenneth Simpson's and Peter Zenzinger's were among several sympathetic papers on Burns's debt to his too-often-neglected vernacular predecessor Allan Ramsay. As most of the academic panels were double-tracked, I can speak only of half: conference consensus was, however, that there is an encouraging energy in Burns studies today: the bicentenary activities, far from being pro forma, are sparking new approaches and ideas.

There was no ideological agenda—a forum was simply provided for recent work from all perspectives by a range of scholars, from Burns's voluminously learned biographer James Mackay to established scholars nonetheless new to Burns studies; from distinguished emeriti professors of Scottish literature such as Allan H. MacLaine to nearly-finished graduate students and well-informed general readers. Conference co-directors G. Ross Roy and Patrick Scott provided the structure and planning needed to bring these different constituencies into collegial contact, and a number of community organizations and campus groups at the University of South Carolina added their support. The resulting interchange of viewpoints and approaches, along with the warm southern hospitality of the evening receptions, imbued this meeting with a distinctly Burnsian—convivial—ambiance as well as theme.

Of two on-campus and one county-library exhibition drawn from the incomparable Roy Collection of Scottish poetry, I am still smiling over one particular item among the showcases in the Thomas Cooper Library—a letter that features a strategic water-blot, sent by "Sylvander" to his "Clarinda." Burns teasingly asserts that Nancy herself must be the best judge of whether he has been weeping over her last letter—or possibly just fabricating a melodramatic special effect for his own. Despite the two centuries and more that separate 1787 from 1996, the papers given at the South Carolina conference suggest that Burns still poses many a teasing question for his readers.

Conference proceedings will be published in a special issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature*.

Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

OSSIAN AT OXFORD

Macpherson: A Bicentenary Conference
Somerville College, Oxford
28-30 March 1996

This is the bicentennial year for James Macpherson (1736-96) as well as Burns. While the duplicitous Macpherson is a much less lovable figure, he does claim an attention and a respect that he has not always received. His writings have always been a standing challenge to the self-understanding of his readers and critics. The self-same divisions that Ossian provoked in his own time were apparent in the Bicentenary Conference held at Somerville College. Macpherson's poetry is a critical Pandora's Box that many would prefer to dismiss than discuss, though discussed it was in more than twenty papers covering a wide range of themes.

The conference began, inevitably, with the question of authenticity. Derick Thomson reviewed his work on the Gaelic sources, and Hugh Trevor-Roper reviewed his thesis that Macpherson invented Ossian because Scotland lacked a literature. No chairs were thrown. The second day was given over to interpretation: literary, historical, comparatist, interdisciplinary, and cultural. Joep Leerssen gave a learned paper on the sublime; Francis Lamport discussed Ossian in Goethe's *Werther*; Susan Manning mounted a sophisticated presentation of Henry Mackenzie's oeuvre in the light of Macpherson; and Luke Gibbons discussed bardic iconography in Irish nationalism. One had to choose among parallel sessions in the afternoon, which followed Ossian around the globe and across several artistic media. I was much intrigued by Ronald Black's paper on Lachlan Macpherson, reporting that prior to the publication of the *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* in 1760, a group of Highland gentlemen known to Macpherson were attempting an epic in Gaelic. On the final day, Robert Crawford discussed Macpherson's legacy to modernism; George Watson treated the legacy of romantic Celtism in Yeats; Murray Pittock discovered Jacobite imagery in Ossian; and Fiona Stafford probed Miltonic inspirations.

If nothing else, the conference demonstrated the long reach of Macpherson's poetry and its pressing engagement with the themes of identity and difference that preoccupy modern scholars. The quality, variety, and disposition of the sessions bore witness to the organizational skills of the conference director, Fiona Stafford, and some little courage on her part (see the dismissive treatment in the *TLS* of 29 March). I confess to feeling at times that Macpherson's poetry was in danger of being lost in the welter of contexts, though a remedy was supplied for this in an evening of readings to Fingalian melodies performed by Martin Pacey. Perhaps it was the good company, perhaps the single malt, but I for the nonce it was most pleasant to wallow uncritically in songs of the times of old.

A less fleeting pleasure is Edinburgh's new edition of *The Poems of Ossian*, edited by Howard Gaskill, with an introduction by Fiona Stafford [reviewed elsewhere in this issue]. Ossian's reputation has slipped in part because of the lack of a reliable text and apparatus. This scandal has now been remedied, and a firm foundation laid for both academic disputations and melancholy musings. And Macpherson supplies much matter for reflection, given the melancholy climate of present politics. Rogue that he was, this poet deserves anything rather than neglect. If book sales and crowded sessions are any indication, the Macpherson bicentennial is cause to celebrate.

David Radcliffe, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Editor's Note: The event concluded with David Radcliffe's own lecture on "Ancient Poetry and British Pastoral," said by more than one correspondent to be among the highlights of the conference.

ECSSS SEMINARS AT ASECS

Austin in 1996. At the annual conference of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society in Austin, Texas, ECSSS sponsored a seminar on Scottish-Dutch Relationships (28 March). Designed as a kind of trial run for the larger conference that ECSSS will hold jointly with the Dutch Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in 1998, the seminar was chaired by Wijnand Mijnhardt of the University of Utrecht. First, John W. Cairns of the Department of Private Law at Edinburgh University spoke on the Dutch origins of the Scottish law schools. Next, Arthur Legger of the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, discussed connections between the evangelical Enlightenments in Scotland and the Dutch Republic. This was followed by Stefan Bielinski of the New York State Museum, speaking on Scottish intermarriage with the Dutch establishment in colonial Albany (Joyce Goodfriend of the University of Denver was to share her research on Dutch-Scottish intermarriage in colonial New York City, but a death in the family prevented her from attending the conference.) Finally, Michael Fry, currently a research fellow at the Huntington Library in California, commented perceptively on the papers.

Besides the seminar, numerous ECSSS members presented papers at the Austin meeting, including Barbara Benedict, Greg Clingham, Leigh Anna Eicke, Roger Fechner, Anita Gurerrini, Kathleen Holcomb, Laura Kennelly, Carey McIntosh, Alan T. McKenzie, Adam Potkay, John Valdimir Price, Irwin Primer, John Radner, Susan Rosa, Richard B. Sher, Judith B. Slagle, Henry L. Snyder, Janet Sorensen, Janice Thaddeus, and Howard D. Weinbrot (not to mention the master of the entire event, former ECSSS vice-president and current ASECS executive secretary Jeffrey Smitten).

Nashville in 1997. At the ASECS meeting that will be held in Nashville, Tennessee, early in April 1997, Roger Fechner of Adrian College will be organizing an

ECSSS seminar on "Empire Builders: Scots in Eighteenth-Century British America from Montego Bay to Hudson's Bay." The intent of the seminar is to explore various roles that Scots played in Britain's American empire. Roger has already lined up speakers on Scottish royal governors in the West Indies and on Scottish academics in American higher education in the mainland Middle Colonies during the American Revolution. But he is looking for a third speaker to address some topic relating to Scots in Canada for about twenty minutes, and he would also like to secure a chairperson and possibly a commentator. If interested in playing one of these roles, contact him at the Department of History, Adrian College, Adrian, Michigan 49221-2575, USA.

WESTERN ONTARIO SEMINAR

The Interdisciplinary Seminar on the Eighteenth Century at the University of Western Ontario featured talks this spring by ECSSS members Alexander Murdoch on "Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century" and Douglas Long on "Hume's *Imagination*." In addition, Ann Skoczylas delivered a paper that draws upon her doctoral research on the John Simson affair: "The Interface between Politics and Religion in the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1716-1725." As always, the seminar was organized by Roger Emerson.

ADAM SMITH SOCIETY

The Adam Smith Society held a seminar at the meeting of the American Philosophical Association, Central Division, on 25 April 1996. Chaired by Donald Livingston, the seminar included talks by Douglas Long on "Adam Smith on Propriety, Sociality and Justice"; Samuel Fleischacker on "Inventive Philosophers: Smith's Conservative Radicalism"; and Glen Hueckel on "Smith's Uniform 'Toil and Trouble': A 'Vain Subtlety'?" For further information about the Adam Smith Society, contact the Secretary-Treasurer, Henry C. Clark, at Canisius College, Buffalo, New York.

GEOGRAPHY AND ENLIGHTENMENT

The University of Edinburgh will host a conference on this theme from 3 to 6 July 1996. There will be more than a dozen papers on a variety of topics, including one by ECSSS member Charles S. J. Withers on "Situating Paradise: Enlightenment Debates on Language, Natural History and Geography." For more information, contact Peter S. B. Niven, Geography and Enlightenment, UnivEd Technologies Ltd., University of Edinburgh, Abden House, 1 Marchall Crescent, Edinburgh EH16 5HP, Scotland, U.K.

EDINBURGH BIBLIOGRAPICAL SOCIETY

The Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, which was founded in 1890 and thus older than the Bibliographical Society in London, organizes every year a program of six to eight meetings, including visits to private and other libraries in Scotland or occasionally the north of England. The annual subscription at present is £7 (£5 for students), and inquiries should be directed to the Hon. Treasurer, c/o National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW, Scotland.

For their subscription members receive the Transactions at no extra cost, and are also eligible to purchase at a substantial discount one copy each of any other publication by the Society. The Society plans to continue to bring out issues of Transactions roughly every two years, though this program could be accelerated if there is sufficient material available. Contributions for the Transactions are invited in the fields of bibliography (in its widest sense), the book trade, the history of scholarship and libraries, and book collecting. Contributions are by no means restricted to Scottish topics, though of course these will be particularly welcome. Articles should be submitted for consideration to the Hon. Editor, c/o National Library of Scotland.

Nortons' "Hume Library" Available

Beginning as part of its centenary celebrations in 1990, the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society has developed a program of occasional publications. The most recent is David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, *The David Hume Library* (1996, in association with The National Library of Scotland; 156pp., including 8pp. of plates). In this work, the Nortons have traced the path of Hume's books to his brother and sister, then to his nephew, David Hume the Younger (later Baron Hume), and finally to Thomas Stevenson, an Edinburgh bookseller. Working from manuscript sources, including an 1840 catalogue of Baron Hume's library, as well as letters to Hume, the authors identify several hundred titles that belonged to, or probably belonged to, the philosopher/historian.

Copies of *The David Hume Library* are now available at a cost of £16, excluding carriage. There is a special discount for Edinburgh Bibliographical Society members, who may purchase one copy each at £8, plus carriage. To order, send name and address to the Hon. Treasurer (for EBS members) or to Publication Sales, National Library of Scotland (for non-members)—or use the enclosed order form. The book will be sent along with an invoice, to which carriage charges will be added.

Also available: Brian Hillyard, *David Steuart Esquire: An Edinburgh Collector. The 1801 Sale Catalogue of his Library* (1993; 88pp., with 46pp. of plates). £6 (EBS members), £12 (non-members).

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY MSS

ECSSS readers may be interested to learn that the manuscript collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, formerly housed at Queen Street in Edinburgh, has been moved to the Library of the National Museums of Scotland on Chambers Street. Although the bulk of the collection consists of materials from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there are a few miscellaneous items from the eighteenth century. These include the bound collections of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, patron of Robert Burns; illustrated journals and scrapbooks containing many water colour sketches of Scottish scenes; the correspondence of William Smellie (including a number of letters not included in Kerr's edition of Smellie's *Memoirs*); some papers of the Earl of Buchan, founder of the Society of Antiquaries; and a scrapbook of Francis Grose, including sketches by David Allan.

The collections also include the early archives of the Society of Antiquaries, which is housed on their behalf. These are unindexed, but extensive, covering letters, minutes, and accounts from 1780 onward. The general library collections also contain a proof copy of David Hume's *Dissertations*, with annotations by the author and Allan Ramsay, and manuscript volumes of Scottish antiquities illustrated by Adam de Cardonnel.

For further information, contact The Library, National Museums of Scotland, Chambers St., Edinburgh EH1 1JF, Scotland, U.K.

Elizabeth Rowan, Librarian

ENLIGHTENMENT STUDIES AT EU

Under the supervision of Professor John Renwick of the French Department, the University of Edinburgh has launched an innovative interdisciplinary degree and certificate program in Enlightenment Studies. The program leads to the MSc in twelve months, or a Diploma in nine months. In the autumn term, all students take a Methods and Skills course and an introductory course on the Enlightenment. In the spring term, each student selects two specialist modules from among Architecture, English literature, French, German, History, History of Science, and Philosophy. The modules are taught by outstanding scholars, such as John Renwick in French, Howard Gaskill in German, Nicholas Phillipson in History, and Peter Jones and Vincent Hope in Philosophy. The modules in Architecture, German, History, Philosophy, and History of Science contain much material relating to the Scottish Enlightenment (indeed, the German module conducted by Howard Gaskill seems to be focused entirely on Ossian in its international context). Finally, during the summer term students pursuing the MSc proceed to work on their dissertations.

A special feature of the program is its connection with the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities. Not only is Peter Jones, the Director of the Institute, a member of the Standing Committee that administers the degree, but students in the program are given the opportunity to attend seminars at the Institute as part of their autumn program of instruction. A related program at the Institute should ensure that a good supply of eighteenth-century specialists is on hand to deliver these lunch-time seminar papers. A decade after its celebrated Institute Project Scottish Enlightenment (IPSE) attracted scholars from around the world to study the Scottish Enlightenment in depth, the Institute has implemented Institute Project European Enlightenment, which will consist of one hundred non-stipendary fellowships for three- and six-month periods between September 1995 and September 2000, granted to scholars working on various aspects of the Enlightenment in Europe (including, of course, Scotland!).

For further information about the academic program in Enlightenment Studies, contact John Renwick, Department of French, 60 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JU, Scotland, U.K.; Tel.: 0131-650-8418; Email: frejprs@srvo.arts.ed.ac.uk. To learn more about Institute Project European Enlightenment, write to The Director, The Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, The University of Edinburgh, Hope Park Squre, Edinburgh EH8 9NW, Scotland, U.K.; Tel.: 0131-650-4671; Email: iasb@ed.ac.uk.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Henry Abelove was in residence at the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton during 1995-96 . . . **Nigel Aston** is now Lecturer in History at the U. of Luton . . . **Jim Basker** and **Paul-Gabriel Boucé** will collaborate on an edition of *Roderick Random* in the Georgia *Works of Tobias Smollett* . . . **Jerry Beasley**, indefatigable editor of the Smollett edition, has put out a call for nominations to replace the recently deceased Robert Adams Day as editor of Smollett's *Continuation* . . . in February **Barbara Benedict** spoke on "The Book as Object: Materialism and Meaning" at the South Central ASECS conference in New Orleans . . . **Christopher Berry** has been named to a personal Chair in political theory at the U. of Glasgow . . . **David Brown** is now Archivist at the Scottish Record Office . . . **John Cairns** has been promoted to Reader in Law at Edinburgh U. . . . **Pierre Carboni** has a new position as a Lecturer at the U. of Nantes . . . **Jennifer Carter** was honored by the queen with the award of OBE, gazetted as for "services to the University of Aberdeen" (including editing the Aberdeen Quincentennial Studies series) . . . **P. Clarke de Dromantin**'s doctoral thesis of 1992 has been published by Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux as *Les Oies Sauvages: Mémoires d'une famille irlandaise réfugiée en France (1691-1914)* . . . **Greg Clingham** is now Associate Director of Bucknell U. Press, which he plans to convert into a bastion of Enlightenment studies . . . **David Daiches** published a book of poems last year and is contemplating another; "I must say I don't feel 83," he writes, and with his

active schedule during the Burns Bicentenary, why should he? . . . **Jane Fagg** received one of Lyon College's Christian A. Johnson research grants to use the Scottish Record Office this summer, studying Adam Ferguson's role as a "manager" of the Church of Scotland . . . **Roger Fechner** and a colleague at Adrian College earned runner-up honors in the ASECS Teaching Competition for a new course on Representatives and Representations of the "New man" and the "New Woman": Class, Gender and Race in 18th-Century Anglo-American Culture" . . . **Michael Fry** spent the spring term as a fellow at the Huntington Library in California . . . **Anita Guerrini** has been appointed to a tenure-track Assistant Professorship in History and Environmental Studies at the U. of California, Santa Barbara; she was also elected to the Council of the History of Science Society and the Executive Board of ASECS, and she gave birth to her second child (a boy) last summer . . . **Lore Hisky** is retiring from her teaching position at Central High School in Memphis, Tennessee, and will have more time for her Scottish lecture and travel company, Castles and Kings . . . **Thomas Kennedy** is now Chair of the Philosophy Department at Valparaiso U. in Indiana . . . **Leah Leneman** received another ESRC grant to continuing studying divorce in Scotland during the long eighteenth century . . . **Deborah Leslie** has taken a position as Rare Book Cataloguer at the Sterling Library, Yale U. . . . **Raymie McKerrow** is now Professor of Communications at Ohio State U. . . . **Emma Vincent Macleod** (formerly Emma Vincent) has been appointed Lecturer in Modern British History at the U. of Stirling . . . **Carole Meyers** is currently Brittain Fellow at Georgia Institute of Technology . . . **Jerry Muller**'s *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours* has been issued with slight revisions in paperback format by Princeton U. Press . . . **Alexander Murdoch** of the Scottish History Department at Edinburgh U. spoke on "Race and the Highlander" at a conference on Scots and Aboriginal Culture at the U. of Guelph in March . . . **Murray Pittock** has been appointed to the Chair of Literature in the English Studies Department at the U. of Strathclyde . . . **John Pocock** spent this academic year as a Visiting Scholar at Tulane U., writing the critical "four-stages theory" chapter in his book on Edward Gibbon . . . **Adam Potkay** has been promoted to Associate Professor with tenure at the College of William and Mary and is serving as Acting Editor of *Eighteenth-Century Life* . . . **Susan Rosa** is a Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow at the U. of Chicago . . . **Paul Scott** spent much of the year lecturing on Burns, Boswell, Scott, and "Britishness" in Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as Germany . . . **Judith Slagle** is spending this summer collecting and editing the letters of Joanna Baillie as a Research Fellow at Edinburgh U. . . . **Andrew Skinner** is editing a four-volume, variorum edition of Sir James Steuart's *Principles of Political Oeconomy* for Pickering & Chatto Publishers . . . **Hideo Tanaka** will be in Scotland from April to September as a Visiting Scholar studying the Scottish Enlightenment . . . **Ingmar Westerman** is writing a doctoral thesis at the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research on John Millar, James Mill, and the importance of pre-eighteenth-century historical concepts for Scottish philosophical history . . . **Christopher Whatley** is now Head of the History Department at the U. of Dundee . . . **Arthur Williamson** stars in a sixteen-lecture video series on "Apocalypse Now, Apocalypse Then: Prophecy and the Modern World," which includes three lectures spanning the period from Newton to the American Revolution (in the U.S. call 1-800-832-2412 for information) . . . **John Wright** has been elected to a three-year term on the Executive Committee of the Hume Society . . . **Bill Zachs** has resigned his position at the Boswell Papers in order to return to Scotland, where he is a Research Fellow at the U. of Edinburgh.

ECSSS WELCOMES NEW MEMBERS

John Abbott, Literature, U. of Connecticut; **David Randell Boone**, Religion, Presbyterian Church USA; **John J. Burke, Jr.**, Literature, U. of Alabama; **Robert Callergård**, Philosophy, U. of Stockholm (postgrad); **Alison Diack**, Gaelic, U. of Aberdeen (postgrad); **Catherine Jones**, Literature, Emmanuel College, Cambridge (postgrad); **F. Peter Lole**, Art & Architecture; **David Mackie**, Art & Architecture; **Emma Vincent Macleod**, History, U. of Stirling; **J.L.A. Madden**, History, U. of Aberdeen; **David Marshall**, Literature, Yale U.; **Caroline McCracken-Flesher**, Literature, U. of Wyoming; **Bruce Merrill**, Philosophy; **Terrence O. Modre**, History, U. of Edinburgh (postgraduate); **Mary Catherine Moran**, History, Johns Hopkins U. (postgraduate); **Philippe Morbach de Lure**, Art & Architecture, Musée de la Grande Loge; **Jerry Z. Muller**, History, Catholic U. of America; **Shinichi Nagao**, Economics, Hiroshima U.; **William Bowman Piper**, Literature, Rice U.; **David H. Radcliffe**, Literature, Virginia Tech; **Estevão de Rezende Martins**, Philosophy, U. of Brasilia; **Franca Ruggieri**, Literature, U. of Rome; **Tatsuya Sakamoto**, Economics, Keio U.; **Gordon Schochet**, Politics, Rutgers U.; **Kathleen Anne Scholey**, Literature, Lytham, Lancashire; **Kathleen C. Scholey**, History, Lytham, Lancashire; **Christoph Schroer**, History, U. of Munich (postgrad); **Mark G. Spencer**, History, U. of Western Ontario (postgrad); **James Swenson**, French, Rutgers U.; **John A. Taylor**, History, Southern Illinois U.; **Randolph Trumbach**, History, Baruch College, CUNY; **Roger Turner**, History, London; **Ingmar Westerman**, Politics, U. of Amsterdam (postgraduate); **Donald J. Withrington**, History, U. of Aberdeen; **Natalie Zacek**, History, Johns Hopkins U. (postgraduate).

Reflections on Historical Determinism, or, What if the Jacobites Had Won at Culloden?

Daniel Szechi, Auburn University

"What-if" is a parlour-game groups of consenting historians have always loved to play. What if Cleopatra had had a warty nose? What if Napoleon had recalled Grouchy in time? What if Oswald had missed JFK? All good clean fun, but nothing to be taken seriously. Or is it? For I would contend that playing "what-if" can in fact serve a very useful role for professional historians peering into their word-processors as well as provide fun and games in the pub at the end of a seminar. The day of the monocausal determinist is long gone. Our analyses nowadays almost always present a complex of concurrent cultural, economic and political trends and developments as intrinsic to the events we are scrutinizing. Nothing exists in a historical vaccum. Fortunately for humankind, historians also cannot replay the past multiple times, on each occasion adjusting the variables by one or two factors to see how it would change the final result. The only way we can therefore emulate what natural scientists routinely do in their laboratories to test their theories (i.e. interpretations of the data) is to steep ourselves in our sources and try to surmise what would have happened without factors x or y. And thus when we are trying to gauge the significance of any particular moment or event in the larger historical process we are silently edged into imagining the past without that event.

Historians, and the general public, also love watersheds: dramatic moments when a decision (or the lack of one) produces a result from which much that follows in human affairs appears to flow. The Spanish crown's decision to fund Christopher Columbus's dogmatic, unfounded, and irrational proposal to sail westward to Cathay is probably the most enduring example of a watershed in world history, but every history and every era has such hinges in its historiography. In the grand scheme of things they are probably a reflection of historians' own humanity; we have all experienced crucial either/or moments in our lives when our fates seemed to hang in the balance. Consequently, we see them (rightly or wrongly) as occurring in the lives of individuals and the experience of the societies we study.

Which brings us back to the Jacobites. Few would contend that the whole Jacobite phenomenon was so extraneous and removed from the larger economic, social, and political processes unfolding during the course of the eighteenth century that its complete absence would have changed nothing of importance. When it is being conducted without rancour, the debate on the subject thus revolves around questions that relate to Jacobitism's greater or lesser importance at particular moments and for particular groups. And there can be no doubt that the defeat of the last Stuart uprising in 1746 considerably affected the lives and circumstances of a significant number of individuals who potentially could have exercised a great deal of influence on the subsequent course of events bad things turned out differently. What I propose to do for the remainder of this article, then, is to imagine what it would have taken for the Jacobites to win at Culloden in 1746 and what the consequences of such a victory would have been in the long run, all with a view to casting some light on its status as a watershed in Scottish and British history.

By the time the British army actually deployed on Drummossie Moor at midday on 16 April 1746, a Jacobite victory was not a likely outcome, given the weariness and famished state of their Jacobite opponents. There were two moments that day, however, when it is just possible that a lucky confluence of events might have produced a Jacobite victory. The early morning hours of 16 April found the Jacobite army straggling through rough terrain toward the British camp. The staff work necessary to organize an effective night march had not been adequately done; the Jacobite columns started their approach march late, and thus before the Jacobite vanguard could get into position to attack dawn was already breaking and the bulk of the Jacobite army was exhausted and scattered along the line of approach. Despite the protests of Charles Edward Stuart himself, Lord George Murray and his other commanders insisted that the attack be called off. And so the Jacobite army wearily trudged back to its nemesis at Culloden.

What if the staff work had been competently done and the Jacobite army got into position to attack on time? Or what if Charles Edward had prevailed and attacked with just the vanguard while the British army were still tumbling out of their beds in response to the alarm? Given the profound incompetence of the Jacobite adjutant-general, John O'Sullivan, the latter is more likely than the former, but either situation would have put Cumberland's army in a dangerous situation. By the eighteenth century, conventional European armies were little short of unbeatable in formal battle except by others of their own kind (which is one reason why the Jacobite victories at Prestonpans and Falkirk came as such a surprise) because of the murderous weight of firepower the disciplined volleying of their infantry could produce. To achieve that level of discipline, however, it was necessary to suppress the personal initiative of the rank-and-file. Correspondingly, the ordinary soldiers were not at their best when confronted by unexpected crises in which they were suddenly required to think for themselves. Since this would have been the case in the event of an actual Jacobite night attack, the Jacobite army might well have thrown its British counterpart into confusion and rout, in effect preempting its own defeat at Culloden. Likewise, had the 1200-strong

Jacobite vanguard attacked alone at dawn, there is a faint possibility that they might have caught Cumberland's 8000 troops while they were forming up and scattered them before they could effectively respond.

The other occasion on the 16th when the Jacobites might have won is much less tantalizingly plausible, in that it is far more contingent on a lot of other factors going right for them. The moment in question came in the heat of the battle proper, when the Atholl Brigade's charge connected with Barrel's and Munro's regiments on the left of the British line. The Atholl Brigade had been severely mauled by British firepower during its onset, but, inspired by the example of Lord George Murray at its head, charged on and in consequence became one of the few Jacobite units that physically connected with their foes. In a few frantic moments of melee, Barrel's Foot suffered almost one third of its number killed and wounded, was pushed back, and looked as if it was about to break. Hundreds of Jacobite soldiers even broke through and ran into the regiments in Cumberland's second line. At that point it is just possible that a panic might have broken out. It is not often appreciated that the British soldiers at Culloden were cold, hungry, and weary, too. They had been up since before dawn, had marched through rain and mud to Drummossie Moor, and had not eaten since early morning. They were undoubtedly in better condition than their foes, but they were not at the top of their form. In such circumstances, it is conceivable that panic might have set in. Had it done so, and spread to the regiments close by Barrel's, there is a very remote chance that the Jacobite army might have pulled off a hard-won victory in the battle proper.

Assuming, then, that any of these what-ifs had transpired, and the Jacobites consequently won the battle of Culloden, what difference would it have made? In my opinion, very little. By April 1746 the Jacobite army had been backed into a corner. It held a large part of the Highlands, but insecurely, subject to incursions and raids from both Whig clans and the Royal Navy. The vulnerability of their supply base and core area, and the disruption and destruction it had already suffered due to forays by British troops and naval blockade, were already sapping the strength and will of the Jacobite army. This attrition would not have ceased, and might even have intensified, in the event of a Jacobite victory at Culloden. Furthermore, by dint of experience hard learned after British defeats at the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk, the British state was by this time quite good at rebuilding armies beaten up by the Jacobites. It took the Pelham government little more than a month to get their military machine back in order after Falkirk, and we can reasonably assume they could have done the same again after losing another one at Culloden. We can be certain that even if they had won the Jacobites were not going to launch another offensive southward (that moment had definitively passed by April 1746), so they would still have been in much the same location after a win at Culloden. Thus, a Jacobite victory on the 16th would not have ended the affair. More likely the Jacobites would have found themselves facing another British offensive in May and, if they defeated that, another and another and so on, until the war came to an end.

So Culloden most likely could not of itself have been decisive in securing a Jacobite victory in the war. As is well known, the War of Austrian Succession was finally brought to a close by a series of French military successes in the Austrian Netherlands which effectively knocked the Dutch Republic out of the war. Britain could not carry the financial burden of maintaining the Pragmatic Alliance alone even had it been inclined to do so, and by this time it was increasingly at odds with the war aims of its Hapsburg ally. Out of this predicament came the compromise peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Had the British been forced to continue the war in the Highlands, thereby throwing still greater strain on Dutch resources in the Low Countries, the difficulties and losses this would have entailed might have accelerated the process whereby the conflict finally came to an end, and thus forced Britain to make peace with France sooner than actually happened, say in late 1747 rather than 1748. But even then a continuing Highland war is unlikely to have made a dramatic impact on the final peace. The most likely effect of Britain being forced to the treaty table with a Jacobite rebellion still underway there (assuming the Jacobites won not just at Culloden but at several subsequent battles too) is that the French would have insisted on their Jacobite allies being included in the peace treaty.

If the precedent set by similar inclusions in the past was followed, as would probably have been the case, at the end of hostilities those Jacobites who wished to remove themselves to France would have been allowed safe passage and those who wished to remain in Scotland would have been allowed to return unmolested to their homes. Which is as much as to say that the economic and acculturative processes that were ultimately to reshape Highland society so dramatically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—already well in train by 1745-46—would have continued unabated. It also seems highly unlikely that the Scottish Jacobites (at least those who chose to remain rather than go into exile) would have been quite as receptive to the siren-song of another Stuart adventure. Charles Edward lied, shamed, and bluffed many of the clan chieftains into joining the rebellion in July-August 1745; it is unlikely he could have carried off the same stunt a second time. Hence it is probable that even if the Jacobite army had pulled off a series of victories and thus survived to be included in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the '45 would still have been the last hurrah of the Jacobite cause.

So does the imaginative exercise outlined above tell us anything worth knowing? Culloden was never likely to be a decisive battle for the Jacobites unless they were defeated. This is hardly a revelation for anyone who has studied eighteenth-century military history. The battle does not do good service as a social, political, or economic watershed. This will not come as a surprise to many historians of eighteenth- century Scotland. What I think does emerge from reflecting on this moment in the past after this fashion is a better appreciation of the power of the

British state and the sheer difficulty of confronting it in arms with any prospect of success. Doubtless many, if not most, other historians of Jacobitism (and historians of Scotland and Britain generally) will disagree with particular points of my assessment of likely and unlikely consequences in and around Culloden. And because it is merely whimsical contemplation, it cannot make a concrete, scholarly contribution to the sum of our knowledge of the rising and its aftermath. But I would contend that thinking about the last stand of the Jacobite cause (and other "decisive" watersheds) in this way is distinctly helpful in maintaining something that all professional historians must struggle constantly to retain: a keen sense of perspective.

A Scottish Element in Canadian Print Culture: Some Preliminary Questions on Definition and Evidence

Fiona A. Black, Regina Public Library, Saskatchewan

Increasing international interest in book history has resulted in various initiatives to produce national histories of the book. Books are such international objects that to encapsulate the study of them within geographical boundaries poses challenges, and the dissemination of books outside a country's borders compels some introspection regarding the definition of a book's "nationality." In short, when is a book a "Scottish" book? In addition, and related to the issue of definition, what types of evidence are required to support research into the Scottish contribution to the nascent book trade of colonial regions in the eighteenth century? This brief foray into the issue draws on evidence from a particular perspective—the trade to Canada for the latter part of the century. At this early stage in my research, few answers are possible, but many questions can be raised which may be of interest to others.

Active bookselling networks, often involving Scots in London and the American colonies, have been examined in detail by various members of ECSSS who have made use of extant business records. Although the bookselling records of the Scot John Neilson have received considerable attention (though not yet from a Scottish perspective), research in Canada is challenged by a paucity of business records. For example in Halifax, Nova Scotia, widespread and repeated fires have resulted in practically no business records remaining for the period prior to 1830. The type of extant records and their varying levels of reliability regarding proof of a Scottish element necessarily impinge on decisions regarding definitions of nationality. A theoretical definition is of little worth if it cannot be used in practice. The challenge this poses is worth grasping in order to delineate more clearly general impressions of the relative importance of Scots and their products in the Canadian trade.[1]

To date, research on exports from Scottish ports has not addressed the issue of a "Scottish" definition, as the books under review were mainly the products of particular publishing houses, and their "Scottishness" was self-evident.[2] However, a study attempting a broad examination of all books moving from Scotland to Canada must not make unjustified assumptions about the Scottish input into the northern transatlantic trade. The Scottish elements must be defined in order that they can be analyzed with regard to their relative importance in overseas trade as a whole. The elements vary in type and level of Scottish involvement: Scottish author, Scottish printer and/or publisher, Scottish subject, Scottish language. These elements are all inherent in the texts and/or in the books as physical objects. However, there are other elements, such as Scottish booksellers or merchants involved in the mechanics of distribution. Such secondary elements should perhaps be accorded a lesser weight in the analysis of the trade; but they should not be ignored. Indeed, this paper argues that if they are ignored, the picture which emerges of the Scottish input into the early Canadian book trade is not only impoverished but misleading.

Is an English-produced book, widely available through the Scottish circulating libraries and shipped to New Brunswick on consignment from Glasgow, Scottish?[3] If not, why not? If so, Scottish in what way? Culturally, economically, linguistically? If a book can be justifiably defined as Scottish by a number of different criteria, should they all be given equal weight in a study of the export trade?

Items such as Gaelic books might reasonably be considered Scottish linguistically and culturally even if they were published outside the country.[4] In linguistic terms, are books such as the Psalms in Gaelic or poetry in Braid Scots *more* Scottish, in some sense, than the careful anglicized prose of those Scottish-born authors who wished to find success in the market in London and beyond? Where should one draw the line with linguistic and intellectual considerations? The nationality of the author? Indeed, should those who would study the contribution of Scottish books to eighteenth-century Canada concentrate only on books by Scottish authors? Scottish authorship constitutes an indisputable component in a Scottish definition, but even this is not straightforward from a Scottish book trade perspective since some Enlightenment authors, such as David Hume and William Robertson, were published outside Scotland first. Authorship is inherent in the texts, regardless of place of publication. This aspect on its own, however, would paint a distorted picture of the Scottish book trade's contribution to Canadian colonial print culture.

It might be regarded as legitimate within business history to adopt a narrowly economic perspective: what books were shipped from Scotland? If the Scottish book trade is to receive recognition for its crucial contribution

to the dissemination of ideas and of a pervasive culture of print in the eighteenth century, what evidence remains and should be used to assess and possibly to classify the nature of that contribution? The products themselves reveal some levels of a national involvement in production and distribution, but customs records and newspaper advertisements indicating the international trade are of great importance also. In the absence of large numbers of Scottish books with clearly definable provenance in Canadian libraries, they are sometimes the only remaining evidence.

Books were far in advance of other commodities in being governed by a trade requirement that certain aspects of their origin be labeled on each individual item. Bibliography teaches us that one (though by no means the only) method of detecting geographical origin is to use information appearing, almost always by the eighteenth century, on the title page—bibliographers read the imprint. The economic element must be measured from the book as physical object or its representation in a bibliographic tool, such as the English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC). But there is as yet no scholarly consensus regarding the definition of a Scottish book.

It is perhaps reasonable to state that a book published in Edinburgh, with that fact stated at the beginning of the imprint, is a Scottish book in economic terms, regardless of the authorship or the content of the text. Should the line be drawn at such undisputed publication evidence? What of an indication within the imprint of an interest in distribution, even if ownership of shares in the copy is not involved? Such evidence is contained in the second and often lengthy segment of the imprint which has been delineated and explained by David Foxon for the early eighteenth century, and enhanced with further provincial examples by John Feather.[5] Economic involvement in a book could result in those booksellers who were minor, as well as major, copy shareholders being named in the imprint after the all-important words "printed for." There is, however, a further level of economic involvement, which might vary from the wholesaling of hundreds of copies to the retailing of only a few. This centers on the distributors in various towns whose names appear after the phrase "sold by" or "also sold by." The fact that any particular title was, from imprint evidence, distributed in Scotland indicates that a Scottish bookseller decided that the book would find a market in the region. There was, therefore, a level of Scottish interest in the book. Does this interest, however, mean that the book is Scottish for the purposes of an analysis of the export trade?

In *economic* terms, therefore, is any book with at least one Scottish bookseller named somewhere in the imprint a Scottish book? Some would argue that this is indeed the case. This approach requires scrutiny to assess its usefulness as a measure of Scottish input into the distribution of books to Canada. Hundreds of merchants moved London imprints to various locations around the world, from various ports. To follow the above logic, do imprints become Scottish, Irish, or American when they are sent first to booksellers in one of these locations and then reshipped to Canada? Further, are books Scottish, for the purposes of international book history, if the only Scots involved in their distribution are general merchants on both sides the water? This point takes the researcher well beyond using the book itself as evidence, for general merchants were not within the inner circle of the trade and were not mentioned in imprints. To track distribution by general merchants requires the use of other sources, as mentioned: customs accounts (which at the port level include merchant names) and newspaper advertisements.

For exporting, the trade did not have a clearly defined framework regarding the "nationality" of products.[6] It did not need to, since the customs and excise regulations required only that books outward bound from British ports be deemed either "British" or "Foreign." Further, and of especial relevance here, no demarcation within the category of British was necessary. Customs records have sometimes apparently concealed the movement of Scottish books to the regions that eventually became Canada. Giles Barber's meticulous overview of exports, gleaned in part from customs records held at the Public Record Office, London (PRO), includes the following cautious comment: "Hudson's Bay, listed in the records throughout the period, apparently never received any books at all."[7] An examination of records in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives reveals that those fur traders who lived in the forts around the bay most certainly did receive books, including Scottish imprints, from booksellers located mostly in London but sometimes in Scotland.[8] However, as the contents of barrels for the personal use of the fur traders did not have to be detailed on the bills of lading used by the customs collectors, these books are not in evidence at the PRO. One Scottish publication that was a bestseller in the Northwest, perhaps not surprisingly, was William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*. This small example is part of a larger concern with the records at the PRO as the sole source of evidence for the Scottish export trade. My research to date on the quarterly accounts at the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (SRO) has led to the discovery (surely already made by others?) that the records of the PRO and SRO are not compatible. The composite accounts in the PRO often indicate no books moving from Scotland at all, whereas the accounts for Leith or Port Glasgow tell a different story, which is necessary for a fuller understanding of the books outward bound from Scottish ports.

Newspapers are particularly important for early Canadian book history due to the lack of other surviving records. In two advertisements alone, one in 1786 and one in 1799, over 370 distinct titles are listed as being shipped to either Halifax or Saint John from Glasgow or Greenock.[9] These titles include Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, William Robertson's histories of Scotland and America, James Macpherson's Ossian, Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, as well as Scottish works now less well known, such as the *Edinburgh Musical Miscellany*. However, the same shipments included other

works, not so readily identifiable as Scottish, such as Pindar's *Works* and Army Lists. Is it with such items, where proof of Scottish publication is difficult (or, indeed non-existent), that a differential in definition is most required?

Even with a Scottish town as place of publication, eighteenth-centnry Scottish books were not necessarily Scottish in any other sense: cultural, intellectual, or linguistic. In the trade to Canada, as evidenced in advertisements, they included regular shipments of laws, Bibles, schoolbooks, and classics.[10] When the shipment was advertised in merely generic terms (e.g., "A Large Variety of School Books"), is it still worth recording that these books came from a Scottish port, even if, in the absence of any other supporting documentation, it cannot be proved that the books were published, or at least printed, in Scotland? These books moved across the Atlantic in their thousands and formed the foundation for literacy in many parts of British North America. Large numbers of them moved to Halifax and Saint John from London; but in terms of annual output, the Scottish trade involvement may have been relatively more significant than London's.

The value of customs records for Scottish ports and of Canadian newspaper advertisements is enhanced when they are the only surviving record groups to indicate the shipping of books to some locations. This shipping role is of great importance in a description and analysis of Scotland's role in the international dissemination of books in the eighteenth century, but the books shipped were by no means all Scottish publications, or of sufficient cultural interest to have attracted more than a passing economic involvement by a Scottish bookseller. If "Scottish merchant involvement" is worth exploring as a legitimate component of an economic definition of Scottish books, further questions arise. For example, was the movement of books primarily through the impetus of merchants rather than through booksellers in any way different regarding the types of books being shipped? Was the book on agriculture by James Donaldson of Dundee,[11] sold by the general merchants, Johnston and Ward,[12] symptomatic of a pragmatic emphasis on practical works of clear utility in a newly settled colony, rather than a wholesale importing of philosophical and other works which may not have found a sufficiently large market to justify the risks of shipment? Whether such an emphasis held true is worth investigation for the light it may shed on the spread of Enlightenment works by trade distribution, rather than by personal orders from readers or circulating libraries in British North America.

A single definition of "Scottish book," other than the narrow economic one defined exclusively from bibliographical evidence of place of publication, may be beyond reach. Indeed, to restrict an analysis of a Scottish-Canadian trade to such evidence would severely curtail research potential. There is a fundamental difference for researchers of the Scottish-American trade and of the Scottish-Canadian trade for the same period. Relatively vast bodies of documentary evidence support the view that book trade members were key agents (notwithstanding the role of tobacco merchants in the more sparsely populated southern colonies) in the movement of books from Scotland to America.[13] The scant surviving business records which touch on the export of books from Scotland to Canada between 1750 and 1800 suggest a greater role there for general merchants, perhaps because of the smaller population base in the northern colonies and because general merchants could spread their financial risk in ways which those concentrating on narrower ranges of commodities could not do.

There is an inherent difference in the study of the dissemination of Scottish books and the dissemination of books from or via Scotland. Both aspects are worth investigation, but the evidence gathered, the types of analyses performed, and conclusions drawn will tell unique stories concerning the involvement of Scots in the trade of books to Canada in the eighteenth century. General merchants have not yet been accorded their due in the transatlantic book trade and are worth investigation on both sides of the water for their role in the movement of both "Scottish" and "non-Scottish" books to Canada. It could be concluded that a hierarchical classification of the different components that make up a Scottish contribution to the northern transatlantic trade is required. Such a classification could be supported by a scoring system based on the various characteristics of Scottish input discussed in this paper.

Note: The author is writing a dissertation at Loughborough University on Scottish-Canadian book trade connections, 1750-1820, and would appreciate hearing from readers with information on this topic. She is grateful to John Feather, Iain Beavan, Brian Hillyard, and Warren McDougall for sharing their insights on the issues discussed in this article.

Notes

1. See especially George L. Parker, *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada* (Toronto, 1985).

2. Warren McDougall, "Scottish Books for America in the Mid 18th Century," in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1990).

3. For example, the list of 83 titles advertised by the general merchants Campbell and Stewart in the *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* (17 Oct. 1786): 3.

4. Gaelic Bibles were sold in Halifax at the end of the century by Archibald McCall, merchant, who had received them from Glasgow. See, for example, *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (21 May 1801): 3.

5. David Foxon, *Alexander Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, ed. James McLaverty (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-8; John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 59-62.

6. Of course, those dealing in piracies went to endless lengths to conceal the true nationality of the products.

7. Giles Barber, "Book Imports and Exports in the Eighteenth Century," in *Sale and Distribution of Books From 1700*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford, 1982), p. 96.

8. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Public Archives of Manitoba (Winnipeg), A.16/111-113.

9. *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* (17 Oct. 1786): 3, and *Halifax Journal* (2 May 1799): 2.

10. For example, bibles supplied from Glasgow were advertised by James Kidston, *Halifax Journal* (5 May 1796): 3, and by Campbell and Stewart, *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* (17 Oct. 1786): 3.

11. James Donaldson, *Modern Agriculture, or the Present State of Husbandry in Great Britain* (Edinburgh: Printed by Adam Neill and Company, 1795-96), 4 vols. ESTC no. 96464.

12. *Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* (4 Nov. 1796): 1. Hugh Johnston was the "premier" Scottish merchant in the town; T. W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto, 1985), p. 53.

13. The business letters of William Strahan, David Hall, Hamilton and Balfour, and Kincaid and Bell all attest the direct involvement of publishers and booksellers in the movement of books from Scotland to America. None of them mention the movement of Scottish books to the northern colonies.

Braveheart, Rob Roy, and Sir Walter Scott

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow

Throughout 1995 *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* introduced large audiences worldwide to the heroes of Scotland's past. But what today's audiences have been enjoying, courtesy of Hollywood, is, as we all know, no more than a reprise of an old song. By the early nineteenth century, Scottish history—or rather a handful of figures and episodes from the Scottish past—were already being mythologized as part of Scotland's romantic identity. What the success of *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* demonstrates is just how enduring the appeal of this romantic vision of Scottish history has proved to be. Despite all the efforts of modern Scottish historians and cultural critics, nothing seems to have changed since Sir Walter Scott's novels were being devoured by a readership of Hollywood proportions throughout the western world. Indeed, what the comparison between Scott and Hollywood suggests is continuing decline.

Scott in fact never chose to base a novel on the life and times of Sir William Wallace. His characters frequently pay tribute to the greatest of Scottish champions, but there is no Waverley novel about Wallace. (In *Tales of a Grandfather*, the history book he wrote for his grandson, there is a vivid anecdotal account of Wallace and Robert the Bruce and their campaigns.) But an explanation for the absence of a novel is not hard to find. Scott was very familiar with the work that was more responsible than any other for the heroic mythologizing of William Wallace throughout Europe and America: Jane Porter's novel *The Scottish Chiefs*. A bestseller when it appeared in 1810, a standard read throughout the nineteenth century, and still being reprinted in the first half of this century, *The Scottish Chiefs* and its success may well have encouraged Scott to launch his own career as a novelist a few years later. In any event, *The Scottish Chiefs* purports to describe the life of Wallace and the struggle for Scottish independence that triumphs with Bruce at Bannockburn. But Porter's novel is quite ahistorical. William Wallace emerges here as nothing more than a type of ideal eighteenth-century gentleman. Scott recognized exactly this. Jane Porter suggests that Scott sent her some kind of commendation when her novel appeared, and he may well have done so. But his true feelings about the book are described by James Hogg. In his *Familiar Anecdotes of Walter Scott*, Hogg reports a conversation on the subject of Wallace and *The Scottish Chiefs*. Scott, Hogg tells us, "had a great veneration for the character of Sir William Wallace" and he "had often heard him eulogize it." But when *The Scottish Chiefs* appeared he told Hogg he was much disappointed by it: "I am grieved about this work of Miss Porter!" said Scott. "It is not safe meddling with the hero of a country; and, of all others, I cannot bear to see the character of Wallace frittered away to that of a fine gentleman."

This mistake at least Mel Gibson's meddling avoids; the Wallace of *Braveheart* is a democratic hero, a man of the people rather than a fine gentleman. But in other crucial respects Gibson's Wallace remains a Wallace in the Jane Porter tradition. The film Wallace may not be a fine gentleman, but he is learned in both Latin and French. Both film and novel Wallaces are compelled into action, not by any commitment to the political freedom of Scotland, but by the murder of their wives. The apparently extraordinary involvement of Mel Gibson's Wallace with the French wife of the future Edward II is matched by the intrigue of Jane Porter's Wallace with Edward I's Queen Margaret. Porter seems to link Wallace's fate with the doomed enterprise of the eighteenth-century Jacobites, while the film's tartan army bears a surprising resemblance to the conventional portrayal of Bonnie Prince Charlie's Highland army. In the end both Jane Porter and Mel Gibson settle for epic scenes of battles, sieges, and violent derring-do, rather than troubling their audiences with the finer points of historical accuracy or analysis. Scott would rightly regard both texts as Romances, rather than versions of the *historical romance*, combining historical realism with excitement and adventure, which he himself tried to write.

Rob Roy of course he did write. But Michael Caton-Jones and Alan Sharp's film has nothing at all to do with Scott's novel. What Sharp has done is take over the character, whose legendary status as a kind of heroic freebooter had been enormously boosted by Scott's 1818 novel, and recreated him in significantly more heroic guise. Sharp's excellent script is full of verbal energy and a nice line in bawdy eighteenth-century humor. The contrast between the eighteenth-century's aristocratic culture—with its high formality of dress and speech—and an underlying reality of grossness and squalor is beautifully exploited in a variety of ways. Despite this, what a comparison of the two *Rob Roy* texts brings out is the relative simplicity of the essentially romantic attitudes and values that the Hollywood version celebrates. The contrast here between the two texts is quite exact.

From the opening episode of the film, what is made clear is that the driving force behind Rob Roy's actions is his sense of personal honor. He recovers the cattle stolen by the Highland reivers, and kills their chief, because he has given his word to Montrose that his cattle will be protected. All his subsequent actions are of a piece with this opening. When he tries to explain to his young son what he is doing, it is a notion of a man's honor that he tries to get across. Offered a way out of his own and his clan's difficulties if he will bear false witness against Argyle, he of course refuses to do so whatever the cost. And the final challenge to a duel—defeat in which which would destroy both family and clan—has to be accepted. Scott's Roy Roy is equally in his way an honorable man, but Scott's novel in no way endorses the uncomplex code of honor the film is committed to. Scott balances Roy Roy against an alternative hero—Bailie Nichol Jarvie. Jarvie, a Glasgow merchant, is a more modern hero than Rob Roy, reflecting in his person all the economic, political, and social changes in eighteenth-century Scotland that make Roy Roy appear a figure from the past. Jarvie, unlike the corrupt factor Killearn in the film, is an honest businessman, but one who rejects utterly the old notion of individual honor: "I maun hear naething about honour—we ken naething here but about credit. Honour is a homicide and a bloodspiller, that gangs about making frays in the street; but Credit is a decent honest man, that sits at hame, and makes the pat play." For all his expression of such sentiments, Nichol Jarvie is no kind of craven or mean-spirited coward: however canny, he is also brave and ready to act unhesitatingly out of a deep sense of personal loyalty and friendship. These are qualities which he shares with the man who, significantly, turns out to be his cousin: Rob Roy. But as the quoted passage indicates, he also understands how the world of high "honor," to which Rob Roy belongs, may all too readily descend into uncontrollable violence and lawlessness: a perception that Scottish history hardly contradicts.

Perhaps Scott's novels do move at too gentle a pace ever to appeal again to a mass audience. But his profound understanding of Scotland's past raises his art to a level which Hollywood's recent Scottish romances, for all their entertaining virtues, do not even approach.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 1995 - 31 Dec. 1995

I. Bank of Scotland Checking Account (Chambers St, Edinburgh)
Balance 1 Jan. 1995: £934.94
Income: +£983 (dues and book orders: £858; publishers' mailing fee: £125)
Expenses: -£726 (book payments: £322; Aberdeen conference: £334; Glasgow book launch: £70)
Balance 31 Dec 1995: £1191.94

II. Bank of Scotland Savings Account (Chambers St, Edinburgh)
Balance 1 Jan 1995: £2078.65
Interest: +£84.84
Balance 31 Dec 1995: £2163.49

III. Summit Bank Checking Account (Maplewood, NJ)
Balance 1 Jan 1995: $2943.44
Income: +$3678.08 (dues & book orders: $2759.50; book royalties from Mercat Press: $93.75; Aberdeen conference reimbursement: $749.83; publishers' mailing fee: $75)
Expenses: -$2151.41 (printing and mailing: $1515.84; computer & printer supplies: $304.22; office supplies, telephone, & misc.: $241.35; book payment: $75; state of NJ non-profit corporation fee: $15) [Expenses do not include postage provided by New Jersey Institute of Technology.]
Balance 31 Dec 1995: $4470.11

IV. Summit Bank Savings Account (Maplewood, NJ)
Balance 1 Jan 1995: $2119.21
Interest: $67.16
Balance 31 Dec 1995: $2186.37

V. Total Assets as of 31 Dec 1995 [vs. 31 Dec 1994]: $6656.48 [$5062.65] + £3355.43 [£3013.59]

Listen Up, Humanists!
An Economist's View of Ian Ross's "Life of Adam Smith"

David M. Levy, George Mason University

Ian Simpson Ross, **The Life of Adam Smith.** Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. Pp. xxviii + 495.

Ian Ross's loving, fair-minded, and immensely erudite *Life of Adam Smith* could only have been written by a professor of English trained in a time when fidelity to real words on real paper was of paramount concern. Given his previous role as a co-editor of Smith's *Correspondence*, his command of Smith is hardly surprising. If he has missed a scrap of Smith's work, I don't know what it is. The great benefit of this wide reading is that Ross makes as clear as anyone ever has the importance in Smith's work of the machine analogy. For Smith, language is a machine (pp. 90, 216); philosophical systems are machines in imagination (p. 100).[1] So now when we read Smith's account of the productive powers of division of labor, in which he equates philosophers with makers of physical machines (*WN*, p. 21),[2] we have the context. Perhaps, if we called such philosophical systems "models," we might bring out more sharply the relation between philosophical systems and machines.

It is now a commonplace in the philosophy of language that the meaning of words is found in the whole of a language community. Because we cannot infer meaning from reading an author's words in isolation, we have to ask about just what language community provides the context from which to establish meaning. If we get the language community wrong, we are going to get our interpretation of Smith's words wrong. It is not therefore surprising that Ross prefaces his book by expressing concern with the fluidity of interpretation (p. xxviii). What is to prevent, to use Stanley Fish's pointed joke, someone claiming that Faulkner's story, "Rose for Emily," nominally about decay beyond death in the American South, is really about life among the Innuit? The Shaftesburian answer—laughter—seems not to occur to Ross. Judging by this book, Ross is too kind a person to relish instruction by public humiliation. Instead, Ross proposes that we can constrain our interpretation to the historically possible by carefully examining how Smith was read by his living contemporaries. And this exercise Ross illuminatingly carries out. Not only does he quote from the famous correspondence with Hume and Johnson's remarks reported by Boswell, but he finds unpublished diaries (p. 182) and the like to help illuminate how Smith's work was evaluated by his contemporaries.

If we are going to write about Smith's life, then obviously we are going to try to read all we can about Smith's relations with his family, his neighbors, his teachers, his students, his friends and enemies. Ross, as far as I can see, does as well as can be done from the sparse documentary records. We do not know even such simple things as how many copies of the first edition of *Wealth of Nations* were printed. Here Ross takes an informed guess that the number was 500 (p. 270). I should like to mention another such guess which is, I believe, far more enticing than Ross lets on. Although Ross has no details about Smith's mathematical studies, he has discovered what Colin Maclaurin had his Edinburgh students read. Ross tells us that Maclaurin's students read his "solution" to Berkeley's "metaphysical" objections to the contemporary foundations of mathematics (p. 56). If one can take a leap in probability from Maclaurin's students at Edinburgh to Smith at Glasgow, this report suggests that students were paying close attention to Berkeley's attack on infinitesimals. What Ross doesn't appreciate—two centuries of a Whig history of mathematics stand in his way—is that Berkeley's objections are technically correct. If we recognize, (first) as Robinson pointed out, these objections follow from Berkeley's doctrines on perception,[3] and (second) Smith was deeply and explicitly indebted to Berkeley's teaching on perception, it is well for us to keep an open mind about what young students of mathematics might have learned from the Berkeley controversy.

What is important about Smith's life for us is surely his teaching and his writing. Indeed, I cannot imagine anyone reading about Smith's life who was not primarily and secondarily interested in Smith's ideas. If you want to read stories about wonderful romps with a French marquise (p. 213), you've got the wrong guy: go away.

Ross's approach, illuminating the meaning of Smith's work by the writings of his contemporaries, will seem strange to an economist who, perhaps without reflection, believes that the relevant language community in which to evaluate Smith's work is that inhabited by his fellow economists over time. An economist who reads Ross will be surprised that none of the considered judgments of an Edgeworth, a Samuelson, or a Rawls are of interest. Perhaps economists have tacitly known, if only because of the canonical status of the first chapter of the *Wealth of Nations*, of the importance of the "linguistic division of labor." Not everyone in a language community is knowledgeable about what the various words we all use actually mean.[4] Our prejudice is that if one writes about an economist, it is perhaps well to show another economist the manuscript.

Perhaps this is just an economist's prejudice because there is one obvious benefit to Ross's approach which is warranted by Smith's own work. The philosophers of Smith's time—akin to the Highland villagers, who in

Smith's account brewed their own beer, baked their own bread and slaughtered their own cattle (*WN*, p. 31)—were much less specialized than philosophers today. Thus, specialists reading Smith today may well neglect problems which, because of the course of the division of labor, have fallen outside their disciplinary competence.[5] But consider closely the farmers in Smith's Highlands who do all these things. Surely, there mnst be considerable similarity across the farms among the bread making technologies and across the beer making technologies. You just cannot brew beer in an oven. One farmer might therefore take a very active interest in how someone else brews beer. Because the technologies would be similar, small differences in results might be very obvious and very illuminating. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that two philosophers who break bread and drink beer together will use similar tools to solve their shared problems. One philosopher might use mechanical devices; another might use hermetic axioms. It is not apparent to me that a philosopher who finds the revelation of Hermes Trismegistus edifying would be an ideal judge of the finer points of his friend's excursion into moral Newtonianism. Smith's teaching on specialization, we learn by doing, suggests to me that a philosopher we read two centuries after his death will address his chosen problems with a rather small set of very worn tools.

The question of where to find meaning in Smith—his contemporary language community or the language communities which have kept alive the problems upon which he worked?—is surely testable in a competitive market. Let us consider a few topics upon which Ross gives an opinion to see how well he does without the advice of later economists and other specialists.

Is Smith a Utilitarian? Ross is as clear as can be about what his argument is: "Our account stresses the fact, however, that Smith does apply the criterion of utility, formulated by Hutcheson . . . as procuring the 'greatest happiness of the greatest numbers' when evaluating practices, institutions, and systems (including economic ones)" (p. xxii). This "criterion of utility" will be shortened to GHGN. Important evidence that Smith is a utilitarian comes from the fact that such a considerable figure in the utilitarian tradition as F. Y. Edgeworth puts him first in the honor role.[6] Moreover, H. J. Bitterman, in perhaps the greatest *Journal of Political Economy* article on Smith, found him "roughly" a utilitarian.[7] On the other hand, modern specialists in ethics, who are not themselves utilitarians, find it blindingly obvious that Smith is not a utilitarian; rather, he is one of the few important examples of a spectator theorist.[8] Ross's assertion that Smith is a utilitarian who applies the concept of GHGN to judge among social states (pp. 167, 323) is an not an assertion of what Smith says—Ross offers no such evidence—but an inference of what Smith must mean in historical context.

Here is the cutting edge of the difference between humanists—who find the meaning of words in the wide language community at a moment in time—and economists —who find meaning by looking narrowly at specialists over time. Ross's usage is enthroned in that fortress of humanism which towers over us all, the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The *OED* gives the imperative to seek the GHGN as the defining characteristic of utilitarianism.

One difference between humanists and economists is that while humanists study people who talk about public policy without consequences, economists actually propose policies in a competitive arena. One of the properties of competition among ideas is, as Smith explains (*WN*, pp. 769-70), the nonsense gets knocked out.

Thus it is that a humanistic identification of utilitarianism with GHGN will demonstrate to any economist who has been awake in graduate school in the past fifty years what price, measured by books foregone, Ross paid for his wonderful knowledge of contemporary views of Smith. It will also suggest what is wrong with humanistic ventures in general. Although Noam Chomsky's "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously" has entered the language as a compelling example of a well-formed sentence which conveys no meaning, GHGN is surely more interesting. This is what Edgeworth pointed out in 1900:

> The first principle of utilitarianism is not 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' but the greatest quantum of happiness. The more familiar statement has indeed some advantages. That it is more familiar is no small advantage; another is that it emphasizes an essential condition of greatest happiness, that the means of happiness should not be monopolized by a few. The popular, as compared with the exact, formula has only one disadvantage: that it is nonsense.[9]

The problem, as Edgeworth explains, is that the mathematical operation "maximize" is pointed at too many objectives. Since the Edgeworth-type explanations in terms of calculus have evidently not worked, let me give a numerical example where instead of asking the hard problem about the greatest happiness across all possible societies we ask only about the greater happiness between exactly two.

Consider a society with exactly three people. Utilitarianism of any sort requires that we know something about the well-being of individuals across interesting social states. Consider two social states, A and B, each with well-defined levels of individual well-being. We suppose, as is conventional, that the higher numbers we write correspond to higher levels of happiness or well-being that the three individuals experience in states A and B. Suppose in A individual 1 has well-being 10, individual 2 has well-being 2, and individual 3 has well-being 1. This we write as $A = \{10,2,1\}$. Now, let us compare A with another social state B where $B = \{5,4,3\}$. Which of these states has the greater happiness for the greater number?

Suppose we interpret GHGN to be a condition which requires unanimity of well-being before making a judgment of "better." This unanimity condition is very popular among modern economists because it is cheap: we pay very little for it in terms of onerous assumptions needed to weigh one person's happiness against another's. The cost of such fastidiousness is, of course, that we have no reason to believe that the unanimity criterion will be be applicable when we want to use it. Indeed, we cannot use it here to compare A to B because there is one person with higher well-being in A than B, and two people with higher well-being in B than A. Because Smith obviously wishes to compare social states where the unanimity criterion does not hold—the well-being of the employers does not flourish in growing states (*WN*, p. 266)—he cannot actually use a unanimity criterion to judge between them.

If we define the greatest happiness by the sum of individual happinesses, then the happiness associated with A is 10+2+1=13 and that associated with B is 5+4+3=12. So then state A gets a higher mark than B. By assuming the number of people is fixed, we can move between total happiness and average happiness. The average happiness in A is 13/3 while the average happiness in B is 12/3; consequently, asking which of A or B gives the higher average happiness is the same as asking which of A or B gives the higher total happiness.[10]

If we ask what is the greatest happiness for the majority of the people, then we reverse our judgments about the relative merits of A and B. While one person has more happiness in A (10 is bigger than 5), there are two people with more happiness in B (4 is bigger than 2 and 3 is bigger than 1). Thus on a majority rule basis, state B is judged better than A. This result is captured by the simple fact that the median happiness in B is higher than the median happiness in A. There are, then, two perfectly well-defined mathematical constructs which come "close" to satisfying the slogan GHGN when we are willing to assume a fixed population. Thus, no one can work with the concept of GHGN for the same reason that no one can have colorless green ideas which sleep furiously. Of course, one can believe that one works with the GHGN by erroneously falling into coherence. Two mistakes here are better than one. Jeremy Bentham, who surely thought he did work the concept of GHGN, must have reflected long upon the problem because he decided late in his life to drop the GN to focus coherently on the GH. His explanation for this change is precisely because he did not want to maximize the well-being of the majority at the expense of a minority. Unfortunately, his careful, illuminating discussion was not published until 1983, more than 150 years after it was written.[11]

Supposing that Smith is some sort of a utilitarian, which of the two rules—maximizing average happiness or maximizing median happiness—would come closer to catching his philosophy? As the comparison of A and B above suggests, the average is sensitive to the values of extremes, and if there is any thing about which Smith is unambiguous, it is the danger of judging the well-being of extremes. But, I've had my say on this issue recently and will not repeat myself.[12] My argument that Smith works with median estimated well-being may or may not be correct, but he could not have worked with the GHGN because it cannot be worked with.

What is the purpose of this exercise? Ross is certainly not the first, and he will not be the last, to fall into this sort of mistake. The *OED* entry suffices to guarantee that the error will be immortal. The point is that recourse to the meaningless GHGN is an excuse to avoid hard thinking. Maximizing the median well-being points toward a democracy where policy is perhaps decided by majority rule. Maximizing the average well-being does not point in this direction. The ambiguity of GHGN lets us pass a slogan as a counterfeit of hard thinking. This will work only when there is no one interested enough to check the proof.

Plain style. Smith's first job was teaching rhetoric. This simple fact should give a professor of English an immense advantage relative to economists, at least this one, in making sense of Smith's work. When Ross discusses Smith's defense of the "plain style" (p. 89), it is surprising to find that the context of the competition between Latin and English as academic languages is not presented. Smith is, in fact, remembered in the *Oxford Companion to the English Language* in the following way: "The Scottish scholar Adam Smith chose English rather than Latin when giving his lectures."[13] Smith teaches his students that English is not Latin; it does not have a rich set of what linguists call inflections. Meaning in English is conveyed by word order, not by inflections (*LRBL*, p. 225). Reading Smith's rhetoric lectures, I get the impression that Smith is teaching students who are in danger of modeling English on Latin. Smith warns them not to make sentences in which words sound best, but rather, in which the words have unambiguous meaning. Regardless of Smith's own views on the poetic possibilities of inflected languages, he warns his students that in English word order carries meaning (*LRBL*, p. 5). In this context, it is delightful to learn from Ross that Smith's Russian students, when they became professors, were involved in a conflict over Latin instruction (p. 132). Ross is not particularly interested in whether Smith is right or not so he passes no judgment upon Smith's rhetorical advice. For those with different tastes, I'm currently taking bets on whether Smith's advice works.[14]

Learning from America. Ross asks the wonderful question, what did Smith learn from America? Unfortunately, Ross does not provide a particularly wonderful answer because he does not look seriously into Smith's analysis of the role of the American experience with a free market in religion. While Ross does cite Smith's worry in *Theory of Moral Sentiments* about religious factions (p. 255), he does not cite how Smith proposed to solve the

problem in *Wealth of Nations*. Competition among religious sects, too small to have access to state power, will produce toleration. The evidence Smith gives is the Pennsylvania experience (*WN*, p. 793). This section, the invisible rationale behind the American constitutional restriction on an established religion, is mentioned by Ross only for Smith's "entertaining" remarks on religion (p. 283).

Economists who will only smile at the revival of GHGN will find Ross's book a great boon. It teaches us all sorts of wonderful things about Smith's wide-ranging interests and about his contemporaries. I expect, however, that humanists will take Ross's pronouncements on utilitarianism as confirmation of what they already "know" and proceed to build such foundations. This should enliven Smithian scholarship.

Notes

1. But then Ross signs on to a recent interpretation which claims that since Smith bases trade in language, his account of trade cannot be mechanical (p. 428). Ross does not mention the recent experimental economics research which establishes that rats and pigeons have the same preferences orderings as humans. This casts doubt on the economic "theorem" that trade results from preferences and adds credence to Smith's claim that trade requires language. The gory details are found in David M. Levy, *Economic Ideas of Ordinary People: From Preferences to Trade* (London, 1992).

2. References to Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (*WN*) and *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (*LRBL*) are by page in the Glasgow Edition published by Oxford University Press and Liberty Classics.

3. Abraham Robinson, *Non-Standard Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1974), pp. 280-81.

4. The concept was formally introduced by Hilary Putnam as an extension of Quine's doctrine that meaning is defined in the whole of language. Putnam, *Mind, Language and Reality*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1975), 2:274-75: "in giving up my right to be the authority on the denotation of my own words, I give up, often, the ability to give any satisfactory description of my own denotations. I can refer to elms as well as the next man; but I probably couldn't tell an elm from a beech if my life depended upon it."

5. Smith's staggering reputation as an economist may, indeed, have led scholars in other disciplines to overlook his contribution to their field. Gilbert Harman, *Moral Agent and Impartial Spectator* (Lawrence, Kan., 1986), p. 14: "Finally, it is perplexing that Adam Smith's ethics should be so relatively unread as compared with Hume's ethics when there is so much of value in Smith . . . . Is it that Hume also had a metaphysics and an epistemology and that Smith did not? Or is it that Smith was a more important economist than Hume? And why should that matter? I do not know."

6. F. Y. Edgeworth, *Mathematical Psychics* (London, 1881), pp. 97-98: "Quantity of labour, quantity of pleasure, equality of sacrifice and enjoyment, greatest average happiness, these are no dreams of German metaphysics, but the leading thoughts of leading Englishmen and corner-stone conceptions, upon which rest whole systems of Adam Smith, of Jeremy Bentham, of John Mill, and of Henry Sidgwick."

7. H. J. Bitterman, "Adam Smith's Empiricism and the Law of Nature," *Journal of Political Economy* 48 (1940): 727. The *JPE* in this era was edited by that formidable pair: Jacob Viner and Frank Knight.

8. John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); Harman, *Moral Agent and Impartial Spectator*.

9. F. Y. Edgeworth, *Papers Relating to Political Economy* (London, 1925), 2:154-55. The point is made earlier in *Mathematical Psychics*, pp. 117-18.

10. The assumption that the number of people in society is fixed makes the GHGN slogan seem a great deal more coherent than it really is. If this assumption is dropped, there will characteristically be differences between the greatest total happiness and the greatest average happiness. If one, for instance, adds an extra individual with happiness level 1 to either social state A or B, the total happiness will increase but the average happiness will decrease. Thus, to distinguish between social state A and social state A plus 1 requires some hard philosophy. The GHGN slogan won't do it for you. Not surprisingly, therefore, utilitarians are divided on this question.

11. Jeremy Bentham, *Deontology together with A Table of the Springs of Action and The Article on Utilitarianism*, ed. A. Goldworth (Oxford, 1983), pp. 309-10. Edgeworth, *Mathematical Psychics*, p. 117, knows from Bowring's report that Bentham corrected the GHGN but points out that the correction did not appear in Bentham's last published work. Moreover, it is not clear in Edgeworth's discussion that Bentham seems concerned with the difference between average utility and median utility.

12. David M. Levy, "The Partial Spectator in the *Wealth of Nations*: A Robust Utilitarianism," *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 2 (1995): 299-326.

13. Tom McArthur, *Oxford Companion to the English Language* (Oxford, 1992), p. 866. Actually, the word "Latin" is not in Ross's index.

14. It would spoil the fun if you were to read Arthur M. Diamond, Jr. and David M. Levy, "The Metrics of Style: Adam Smith Teaches Efficient Rhetoric," *Economic Inquiry* 32 (1994): 138-45.

Recent Articles and Theses by ECSSS Members

The items below either appear in collections received by the editor or else have been brought to the editor's attention by individual members, many of whom submitted offprints or copies of their work. The list is limited to articles and major review articles that (1) deal with eighteenth-century Scottish topics and (2) were published in 1995, except for items published a year or two earlier that were not included in previous lists. Recent doctoral theses are also included.

David ARMITAGE, "The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture," in *UE*, 97-118.

David ARMITAGE, "The New World and British Historical Thought: From Richard Hakluyt to William Robertson," in *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Williamsburg and Chapel Hill, NC, 1995), 52-75.

David ARMITAGE, "The Darien Venture," in *SA*, 3-13.

Barbara M. BENEDICT, "Consumptive Communities: Commodifying Nature in Spa Society," *The Eighteenth Century* 36 (1995): 203-19.

Barbara M. BENEDICT, "Reading Faces: Physiognomy and Epistemology in Late Eighteenth-Century Sentimental Novels," *Studies in Philology* 92 (1995): 311-28.

Christopher J. BERRY, "Introduction" to James Dunbar, *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages* (Bristol, 1995), v-xv.

John D. BISHOP, "Adam Smith's Invisible Hand Argument," *Journal of Business Ethics* 14 (1995): 165-80.

Brian J. R. BLENCH, "Symbols and Sentiment: Jacobite Glass," in *1745*, 87-102.

Daniel BRÜHLMEIER, "Die Geburt der Sozialwissenschaften aus dem Geiste der Moralphilosophie," in *Schottische Aufklärung: A Hotbed of Genius*, ed. D. Brühlmeier et al. (Berlin, 1995), 23-38.

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Stefan ZABIEGLIK, "O Pojeciu Szkockiego Oswiecenia," *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Gdanskiej*, no. 511 (1995): 77-85 ["A Concept of the Scottish Enlightenment," in Polish].

Stefan ZABIEGLIK, "Estetyka I Etyka Franciszka Hutchesona," *Edukacja Filozoficzna* 20 (1995): 191-203 ["Francis Hutcheson's Aesthetics and Ethics," in Polish].

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Key to Abbreviations

BCWML = *Boswell, Citizen of the World, Man of Letters*, ed. Irma S. Lustig (Lexington, Ky., University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

BN = *Burns Now*, ed. Kenneth Burns (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic, 1994)

G1 = *Glasgow Volume 1: Beginnnings to 1830*, ed. T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

GE = *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, ed. Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995).

JBPI = *James Boswell: Psychological Interpretations*, ed. Donald J. Newman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

SA = *Scotland and the Americas 1600 to 1800* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter Brown Library, 1995).

1745 = *1745: Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites*, ed. Robert C. Woosnam-Savage (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1995).

UE = *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Eighteenth-Century Scotland (ISSN 1085-4894) is published annually by the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society 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. Tel.: 201-596-3377. Fax: 201-762-3039 or 201-642-4689. Email: sher@admin.njit.edu.

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Eighteenth-Century Scotland
Federated NJIT/Rutgers-Newark History Department
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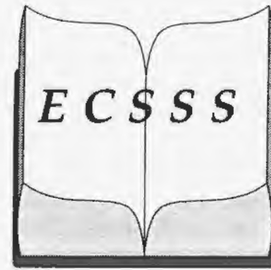

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND, Spring 1996

BOOK REVIEW SUPPLEMENT

John Robertson, ed., **A Union For Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xx + 368.

One of the aims of this book is to "make it impossible for any future general study of the Union [of 1707] to ignore its intellectual dimension" (p. xviii). Only time will tell if this aspiration is realized: on the strength of those of the thirteen essays which comprise this collection which deal with the Union directly, it certainly deserves to be. What this book manages to do is provide a rationale—even a certain dignity—to the events of the early 1700s which culminated in incorporating union. Most writing on the subject in the past couple of decades has emphasized the squalid and the nefarious. Credit for the quality of their political thought and their principled positions has gone largely to opponents of the proposals of 1706, such Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. The possibility that pro-Union arguments had much credibility has been dismissed on the grounds of the corruption of those who propounded them, while Daniel Defoe has been portrayed as simply an English agent, in the pay of Harley.

Until recently the Union has been seen largely in the context of British politics and the emergence of the British state. This volume is a valuable addition to that growing body of work which emphasizes the wider dimension of the British union at a time in European history when the number of independent states was reducing sharply as others, Britain and France for example, expanded. Military conquest was one way in which this could occur. Paths to union could be eased by cultural convergence, the subject of Roger L. Emerson's essay, which reveals the extent to which sections of the Scottish elite after the Restoration were participating at the cutting edge in Europe's learned society, along with their immediate neighbors, the English.

In his opening chapter, John Robertson reminds us that "composite" monarchy was not just a British problem after 1603 but rather the European norm and a matter which had long exercised the minds of several leading political thinkers of the day. The debate which preceded the Union in Britain had therefore a substantial pedigree: in its principles and circumstances, "British union was a thoroughly European event" (p. 35) which can reasonably be interpreted as a marriage of English ambitions for territorial empire both within Britain and overseas—in opposition to France—and Scotland's hopes for an overseas empire. In this sense, then, incorporating union was a "European and imperial event, with an intellectual significance extending far beyond Scotland." This theme is developed in the essay by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, who explore the natural law theories of Pufendorf, Huber, and the Scot Gershom Carmichael as they applied to the relations between states in Germany, the Netherlands, and Britain, respectively. They emphasize the Protestant theological basis of their considerations and their concern that, whatever form union took, sovereign power should be limited.

The strength of the aspiration for empire is powerfully conveyed in David Armitage's chapter on "Scotland's Vision of Empire," which views the Darien scheme in a much more positive light than most historians have been inclined to do. To conclude, however, as Armitage does, that the failure of Darien provided the context in which the Scots came to realize that their hopes of establishing an empire overseas "could only be realised by Union" within a British state is hardly new. Nevertheless, such a conclusion lends support to historians whose concern has been to demonstrate that in spite of its seamy side, in an imperfect world where power and security depended upon so heavily upon the attainment of a "long purse," incorporating union offered Scotland a great deal. One of these—perhaps the main attraction—is highlighted in John Robertson's second contribution, in which he dissects and explains the main arguments concerning sovereignty in the immediate pre-Union period: for Scottish unionists, he concludes, the "overriding justification for Scotland's now associating its sovereignty with England's was that it would make possible Scottish participation in England's markets" (p. 227).

Daniel Defoe was aware of this, as Laurence Dickey shows in a study of the development of Defoe's political thought between 1698 and 1707. As far as his views on the Scottish path to prosperity are concerned, it seems that

these owed less to Harley's purse and persuasion than is usually assumed. The Scots, Defoe was genuinely convinced, had to be persuaded to abandon their commitment to a (poor) martial past and soldiery and become instead a commercial society. Such societies—which included England—had power and enjoyed peace and plenty. In surprisingly modern fashion, Defoe argued (in Scotland) that Scotland's low wage levels would ensure economic success post- 1707, while assuring Englishmen (in England) that Scotland's advantage in this respect would be short-lived and would not pose a serious threat to English interests which would be best served by the political tranquility that union would bring. Katherine R. Penovich's essay on the same subject seeks to draw attention to the Presbyterian religious foundations of Defoe's ideas of exchange: the expansion of commerce (in the British context through union) was "part of the divine order" which Union would protect by maintaining a balance in Europe. International relations are the focus of the chapter by Steven Pincus, who develops his challenge to the view that religion was the main mover: instead, he stresses the role of trade and above all England's concern with France's moves towards a "universal monarchy." Union in this interpretation becomes a means of checking French ambitions. The argument, however, that it was failure in this last regard, rather than his Roman Catholicism, which led to the removal of James fails to convince.

The themes of empire, trade, and prosperity are central to several chapters, as the book's title suggests. Religion and the law are other recurring themes which are also the subject of separate essays. Although few will need to be persuaded that "religion was not peripheral to the Union of 1707" (p. 168), Colin Kidd's dense but ultimately rewarding account of the differing and changing attitudes of Episcopalians and Presbyterians after the Restoration breaks new ground. Kidd argues that the emergence of religious moderation (a tendency not shared by the Covenanters) both north and south of the border, allied to the emergence of a common Protestant interest in opposition to fears of Catholic Bourbon expansionism, formed part of the vital background in which "the elites of Scotland and England could contemplate a Union." Existing Scottish laws too were largely preserved, but what John W. Cairns argues, in a challenging and informative essay, is that the subsequent use of English legal systems and principles was not simply another example of unwanted anglicization but rather a willing step taken by Scots lawyers who, as before 1707, had drawn widely in their efforts to improve the operation of the law in Scotland.

This volume, however, does not set out to be and is not simply another book on the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. Focusing on the writings of William Molyneux, Jaqueline Hill looks at Ireland's failure to obtain a union in the early 1700s, in spite of Anglo-Irish hopes. Paradoxically, she points out, the circumstances which led to Union in 1801 were not unlike those which had led nowhere a century earlier. Ned Landsman looks further afield and demonstrates that the impact of the 1707 Union on the North American colonies was complex but much more significant than has been assumed hitherto, not least in the person of John Witherspoon, who conceived of an imperial union based on ties of trade and affection rather than metropolitan domination. In a wide-ranging and concluding essay, J.G.A. Pocock explores in a characteristically thought-provoking manner the nature of the "British" empire as it affected North America, arguing that the political logic of 1707 made it impossible for Westminster to accept a confederal arrangement with the colonies, and consequently that it was a root cause of the American Revolution.

There is only one serious gripe about this book. If intellectual history is to be interwoven with economic, political, and cultural history in the way that Robertson and his colleagues hope, concessions will have to be made to those whose linguistic apparatus does not include a full glossary of Latin terms or a working knowledge of rarified concepts which surely require explanation for the non-specialist. History—whatever the subdiscipline—has to be comprehensible or it fails in its purpose. There are some fine and lucid chapters in this volume, notably those by Robertson, Emerson, Dickey, Cairns, and Landsman; but some of the others have tested the endurance of this reviewer to the extreme.

Where effort of this sort was required, however, it was usually well worth it. This is an important collection of essays, and one which should be read (selectively) by every serious student of the Union and its consequences. Its appeal should be wider than that, and deservedly so, as it adds yet another contribution to the study of Scottish history in what is properly its British, European, and Atlantic context. The question that remains to be answered is how much all the learned discussion mattered. The "change of spirit" which Emerson observes in the later seventeenth-century poses no problems: the new-found confidence and self-belief of the Scottish elite provides a solid enough attitudinal context in which to understand the more positive forces there were in Scotland for Union. Yet how far and in what ways did the intellectual concerns described in this volume influence members of the Scottish Estates as they cast their votes on the twenty-five Articles of Union in the closing months of 1706? What was the impact of Defoe's tireless efforts to promote what Katherine Penovich has described as a "compelling" vision of a united British nation (p. 241)? Who was genuinely compelled? At present we cannot know for sure, and in any quantitative sense we probably never will. Even the erudite Sir John Clerk of Penicuik had his doubts. What we do know is that party alignment was strong and that in a variety of guises material self-interest did play a part in determining voting patterns. For all his powers of argument, even Defoe accepted that money was a particularly potent form of political currency in Scotland. Yet the strong impression this volume gives is that ideas were circulating, and although not perhaps with the precision with which they are reported in the essays here, the big issues such as prosperity, empire, and trade, and the vexed problems of composite monarchy and sovereignty,

had entered the consciousness of sections of the body politic and were seriously debated. But how were the connections between ideas and political action made, and to what effect? This perhaps would be a project on which historians from a variety of sub-disciplines could join forces to bridge a divide which is unnecessarily wide.

Christopher A. Whatley, University of Dundee

T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, eds. **Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830**. Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed in North America by St. Martin's Press, 1995. Pp. xii + 436.

This book is the product of an exceptionally well qualified team. Members have supplied separate chapters on distinct themes but the whole work is remarkably well held together. It covers the growth of Glasgow from a small burgh, little more than a village with a market, and controlled by the bishop, as James McGrath shows, to the status of the biggest urban complex in Scotland. It also covers the change from an attractive and busy small town as it was in the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century conurbation with the worst physical environment in Britain, a public health disaster area.

Of course, the Clyde was bound to become an important trading area once development began on the east coast of North America. But there is no good geographic reason why the principal city should have come to be on the river, where it was not navigable to shipping of any size. Glasgow had slipped out of episcopal control at the Reformation. It was already endowed with a university. Without being in any way democratic the town gave nearly equal representation on its governing council between merchants and craftsmen. Citizens were ready to experiment with new industries in the seventeenth century, and its merchants to engage illegally in the tobacco trade. By the time of Union with England, business firms were sufficiently capitalized to continue to compete in tobacco, which eventually became the dominant trade. But it is pointed out for various periods by the editors and Roy Campbell that this trade was closely linked with the industries of the town—in this way they correct an unsound generalization made by your reviewer over twenty years ago. Trade and industry were interrelated, and trade included overland business with England and outlets for Scottish products. The dredging of the Clyde in the early nineteenth century made possible the city's transformation into a major industrial area.

Economic development is, rightly, the theme of half the book. It is accompanied by a chapter by Thomas A. Markus, Peter Robinson, and Frank Arneil Walker on physical development as the city changed from a few streets and a river crossing to a complex of streets, vennels, closes, and lands stretching out to the west and north. The new town of Glasgow was less separate from the old than was that of Edinburgh, but it marked an important step in the separation of middle and working class housing. As industry and domestic comfort came to be based on coal, the concentration of works and people in mining and heavy industry contributed substantially to atmospheric pollution and gross overcrowding.

Stena Nenadic offers a view of middle class life derived from tax records. These middle ranks were not numerous or rich, but they increased in numbers rapidly in the early nineteenth century, though the city was still short of really rich families. Both middle and working class lived Scottish fashion in tenements, but within the outer shell the flats of the middle class stretched to four or five big rooms of specialized use, in contrast to the single room of the working class, often containing more than one family. Geographical separation, the vast size of the labour force, and the failure of house building to keep up with population are all important features in the decline in the quality of life for many and the rise of working class involvement in radical politics. Workers and employers, as Christopher Whatley shows, both made illegal combinations to control their industries, with the most ruthless of these to be found in the cotton industry. The city's population had swelled not by natural increase but by the inflow of families from rural Scotland and from Ireland.

The mills of industry in the early nineteenth century relied on the labour of women and children. Whatley raises, but is not yet in a position to answer, the important question of whether opportunities for women widened under industrialization. Certainly the world of industry, like the world of agriculture, saw pauperization in old age as mainly a female feature. The radical organizations of the early nineteenth century did not have a place for women, whereas in the food riots of the eighteenth century women played a big part. The radical years saw many different working groups involved, and if a particularly big place seems to be occupied by handloom weavers, this merely reminds us of how many of them there were, and how exposed to unemployment.

An important chapter by Irene Maver shows the underfunded nature of the city's government. Its revenue was based on poor rates, the cess, fees on entry into incorporations, and the petty customs on market goods. Effectively the council had less than £3000 a year which it could call its own in the 1820s. Still it managed better than many other towns: it did not go bankrupt. The Police Act of 1800 gave it an area of moderately democratic structure, but many matters rested till the 1830s in the hands of the old unrepresentative system. The urban area as a whole suffered from the ability of various suburbs to obtain separate local government status. The enterprise and constructive ability shown by Glaswegians in business matters do not seem matched in the field of local government until the 1860s, so the great city's social needs were neglected.

The chapter by Richard Sher on the Enlightenment stresses the originality of Francis Hutcheson and the pressures on him from hostile Evangelicals. He brings out his enthusiasm for the classics and of the work of his protégé Robert Foulis and the Foulis press in the production of classical texts. Perhaps this devotion to classical learning was responsible for the relative indifference of Glasgow intellectuals to science. Those scientists that the university fostered were nobbled by Edinburgh, where they could get better incomes and a more lively intellectual setting for science.

What is particularly admirable about this book is its unity and completeness. Each chapter reads as if it had been compressed from a wider study, so that what we have is the essence. The authors explore different but interrelated facets of the city's growth, yet it reads as a single hook, a landmark in the quality of the writing of local history, which reveals the links between the local story and the national. What happened in Glasgow of necessity affected the whole of Scotland. The problems in government which the city was conspicuously slow to solve were general problems for the whole country. The issues of representation, the need for care of the environment, the failure to work the old poor law adequately, the growth of class society, the separate achievements of middle and working class, all these are the story of Scotland. Devine ends this book with a short chapter on the urban crisis which explicitly looks at the city in the light of what was happening in Scotland, but all through the book one is aware of the relationship of the city to the nation. The book marks a new high in the significance of local bistory.

Rosalind Mitchison, University of Edinburgh, Emerita

Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, eds. **The Glasgow Enlightenment**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press (in association with the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society), 1995. Pp. xi + 252.

An intriguing feature of much of the interest in the Enlightenment in Scotland has been the assumption that it was chiefly an Edinburgh phenomenon. Glasgow could not be ignored completely in the way Aberdeen was until recently, but its contribution was often regarded, sometimes with faint surprise, as the geographical location of a few great figures whose intellectual contributions could easily be subsumed in the eastern "hot-bed of genius." A classic illustration of such appropriation is Nicholas Phillipson's well-known assertion, over twenty years old but still maintained in some circles, that "the history of the Scottish Enlightenment *is* the history of Edinburgh." The present collection of twelve essays, which originated at a conference held in Glasgow in 1990, is a welcome challenge to this point of view. It does more than draw attention to the need for a wider geographical perspective. It also shows that the substance of the Enlightenment in Glasgow was different. Our conception of the Enlightenment in Scotland must be extended in both ways.

Of course, the great Glasgow figures are bound to dominate, and so they do. Ian Simpson Ross offers a useful account of Adam Smith's days there, based on his definitive biography, which has since been published. Thomas P. Miller shows how Francis Hutcheson used rhetoric to encourage virtuous action but applied it to belles lettres and not to his own system of social science, with, it may be suggested, dire long-term consequences from which the social sciences are now suffering as they become cocooned in an abstract world far removed from the realities of the moral life with which they were once concerned. Hutcheson's influence comes out clearly at a more personal level in Thomas D. Kennedy's study of his protégé William Leechman. John W. Cairns shows how much influence one great individual may have when he examines how John Millar developed the teaching of law as a polite, enlightened discipline, which gave Glasgow an international reputation as a legal school which was lost after Millar's death. Lastly, Gordon Turnbull looks at Adam Smith's influence on James Boswell, a study of a fascinating relationship touched on by several other commentators but surprisingly never before fully developed.

The towering influence of Hutcheson, Smith, and Millar has to be accepted even by those who accord preeminence to Edinburgh, and so it is welcome to have studies of the less well known, indeed in some cases of the neglected. Kathleen Holcomb's work on Thomas Reid is a somewhat narrowly based account of his contribution to the work of the Glasgow Literary Society but brings to life the activities of one of the groups that flourished widely. Paul Wood on John Anderson is a contrast. He suggests that Anderson should be seen as a good, if a somewhat trying, representative of an older Scottish tradition of intellectual versatility which was to be lost in more modern times. H. L. Fulton's essay on the somewhat peripheral figure of Dr. John Moore is a salutary reminder to look beyond the academic community. Like Tobias Smollett, with whom he was closely linked, Moore left for southern pastures as part of a brain drain from Glasgow and Scotland, perhaps in search of more money, but also showing, as Boswell did as well, that there were intellectual attractions furth of Scotland even at the height of its intellectual achievements.

The most important feature of the entire collection, however, lies in the way it draws attention to the need to judge the Enlightenment in Glasgow on its own terms and not merely by reference to what its greatest luminaries may have contributed to the manners and thought of Edinburgh. To understand the difference it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the contrasting social structures of the two towns and to set their respective intellectual lives in their particular historical and institutional frameworks, an approach which intellectual historians are too ready to ignore. It is true that in each case the university had a dominating part to play. Roger L. Emerson's essay

shows how generally innovating the Glasgow professoriate were and that a framework of political intrigue and influence, which would shock modern minds, was not harmful to the achievement of academic excellence. However, the contrast between the two centers was greatest beyond the walls of the universities. In Edinburgh other contributions to intellectual life came from the professional classes, notably from the church and the law, so dominating indeed that some later commentators are inclined to regard them as the only sources of enlightenment, other than the academic community, worth bothering about. Conditions were very different in Glasgow, where the commercial community was busily making the city Smollett's "perfect beehive in point of industry." The personal links between the merchants and the academic community have been recognized and come out clearly in these essays. No one should ever be rash enough to suggest that the commercial community was something apart from, perhaps even hostile to the intellectual life of the city. The Faculty of Advocates was not the only source of intellectual life stimulus and endeavor outside academic circles in Scotland.

More intriguing still is the possibility that the commercial society may have held very different, but equally enlightened views as the professional classes of Edinburgh. Perhaps it is in the two concluding essays that this aspect, the most pioneering of the book, comes out most clearly. The tendency to regard the Moderates, and especially the Edinburgh Moderates, as a linchpin of the Enlightenment has led, at best, to the neglect of the evangelicals, and, at worst, to their denigration and dismissal as harmful to the advance of enlightened orthodoxy. The two concluding essays open up another world, which calls for yet more attention, perhaps at the expense of some of the attention still poured on the Moderates. Ned C. Landsman shows that some of the most far-sighted and innovative groups in the west of Scotland were orthodox evangelicals, and Robert Kent Donovan's detailed study of William Thom, often dismissed because of his irascibility, which rivalled that of John Anderson, links evangelicalism with civic humanism.

Late eighteenth-century Glasgow was a hotbed of genius of its own kind, as well as a beehive of industry. Its economic ferment has been more readily recognized than its intellectual achievement. This book corrects the balance. Richard B. Sher's unusually fascinating essay raises another question. He looks at different poetical images of Glasgow at this period of massive change and provides a useful reminder that change—economic and intellectual—is regarded differently by different people. Were all the achievements to be lauded? It is a telling qnestion with which to end a review of a book which demands that much of the conventional wisdom of the Enlightenment in Scotland should be modified. It is a question which would certainly have been at the center of the thought of the Enlightenment if those studied here were to have seen what was to happen to the surroundings of the Old College in the next century.

R. H. Campbell, University of Stirling, Emeritus

Joe Fisher, **The Glasgow Encyclopedia**. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishers, 1994. Pp. 415.

There could be no more appropriate tribute to the former head of the Glasgow Room of the Mitchell Library, who helped so many of us with our investigations into the history of the city and its leading citizens, than this encyclopedia. It is a massive undertaking, more than 400 pages double-columned, augmented with photographs and tables, covering almost every conceivable topic related to this great city, from Airport and Ballooning to Witches and Zoo, with plenty in between. But Joe Fisher authored the entire volume himself!

The book is arranged topically in a rather general way; instead of locating an entry on Provan's Lordship or Stirling's Library, the reader must look under Buildings or Libraries; for Provost Andrew Cochrane or Professor John Millar, one must look under People or consult the index.

The work is generally useful. Many scholars in our field will be surprised to read that eighteenth-century banks in Glasgow were funded with Edinburgh money, and that burgesses were expected to "watch and ward." One of the better sections locates the earliest neighborhoods and city districts, as well as their parish churches; the enumerations of the earliest maps will be helpful. No eighteenth-century buildings will be found, however, that aren't still standing—and in Glasgow that's not very many.

Unless they are lovers of Glasgow, however, scholars of the eighteenth century will be disappointed by this volume's coverage of their period. Numerous entries slight the period though we know that more information lies at hand—in the Glasgow Room, no less! The section on urban housing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ("all and haill ane tenement of land") has little descriptive to offer on the congestion and squalor that lined the broad streets extending from the Cross. There is little about the improvement in the city's public health, for example the efforts of the municipal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons and their singular success with smallpox variolation; under Hospitals the Touns Hospital is omitted, though for several decades in the eighteenth century it clearly served as an infirmary. By omission Fisher implies that linen and tobacco were the only major industries in our period; there is no mention of the soapworks of the late seventeenth century or the rum and sugar trade that involved so many merchants, making or breaking both. (One might wonder why Fisher omitted an entry on Bankrupts. Not enough space?) We read about the origin of the Ship and Thistle Banks, but nothing of the Ayr Bank disaster of 1772, which ruined local merchants and their firms. Under Heretics (in Religious Groups) look in vain for the Reverend John Simson of the university, prosecuted twice for heretical teaching.

Even if one has over the years come to admire Joe Fisher, it is hard to imagine that any single person was able to compile all of this himself. But the specialist will be assisted more, I think, by a close study of *Glasgow: Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, just published by Manchester University Press [see the review above].

Henry L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

Fania Oz-Salzberger, **Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Germany**. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. Pp. xi + 356.

Adam Ferguson was the most civic humanist of the Scots in the second half of the eighteenth century, calling for activist, republican virtue in commercial society. And yet, as this book shows, he cut a wide swath in Germany in that period as a de-politicized spiritual perfectibilist, redolent with Pietist vocabulary. Translations of his work regularly changed the nuances, tones, and meanings of key language in his texts from political activism to political quietism. Another title for this book might have been: *Taming Civic Humanism: Translating Adam Ferguson in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany*. Readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* will appreciate it as an exploration of the wider influence of Scottish culture abroad.

Isaiah Berlin suggested that some of the Germans who translated Hume deliberately, even maliciously, twisted his meaning. Hans-Georg Gadamer wrote that misreceptions of Scots in Germany were a matter of the absence of "advanced" material conditions. Our author argues that most of the blame can be attributed to the poverty of available vocabularies in the German language at the time (pp. 79-80). Thus, translator Christian Garve, for example, finds himself "in the throes of terminological inadequacy" (p. 197). The best he can do with Ferguson's "rude nations," for example, is *noch ungesittete Völker*, which would translate back into English as "still immoral peoples" (p. 199). Ferguson meant only that they were backward in general civilization, and in fact admired their civic virtue; Garve makes them specifically morally backward.

Poverty of language, of course, has its causes. The first half of this book starts with a careful comparison of the Scottish and German Enlightenments, contrasting the Scots, as a nation that had recently lost political independence, with the Germans, who had yet to claim a political nation (p. 13). So the Scots could appreciate ancient Greek civics, while the Germans only appreciated Greek aesthetics (p. 28). It is perhaps not quite right to speak only of the poverty of the German language at the time: one of the main factors in the shift in meaning that was inadvertently produced was precisely the richness of the German language of Pietism, which had no equivalent in Scotland. When translators drew on it, it carried baggage that was not in the original.

After a survey of the one-way traffic in intellectual influence from Scotland to Germany in this period, the author provides a methodological discussion of theoretical models of misreception. Then a substantial discussion of Ferguson's Scottish contexts is followed by a general overview of Ferguson reception in Germany that explains, *inter alia*, why they thought his best work was the *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (p. 131).

Backing up the book's larger historical and theoretical reflections are close analyses of the vocabulary of translations. We see in some detail how "civil society" loses most of its civic activist connotations in German (pp. 142ff.), how "public action" becomes something like "official action" (p. 157), how Ferguson's willful, active pursuit of political objectives becomes a striving after personal perfection in German (pp. 160ff.).

The second half of the book contains chapters on the reception of Ferguson by Isaak Iselin, Garve, Lessing, the Göttingen scholars, Jacobi, and Schiller. All are carefully written, sensitive to nuance. Some challenge the received views of these figures. Berlin charged that Jacobi was an anti-rationalist; it is fascinating to discover that he was in fact the closest thing to a civic humanist in Germany. There are some grand claims here: "It was Garve, through his misinterpretation of Ferguson, who gave birth to Schiller's idea of human perfectibility" (p. 282). This may be giving Garve and Ferguson too much credit, partly because other sources of Schiller's ideas cannot be ruled out.

Specialists will always have their pet differences of opinion about elements of a large-scale interpretive effort like this one. For example, this reviewer finds a little too much reliance on the received view of German passivity; some recognition of the existence of the so-called "radical enlighteners" might have avoided this tendency. Of course, this point can be taken as an opportunity for further research: is there any evidence for the radicals' appropriation of Ferguson? The author also suggests other opportunities: "the impact of the Scots on the various projects under development in Göttingen at this period has yet to be studied" (p. 234).

This book is a welcome advance in the underdeveloped genre of inter-cultural Enlightenment studies. We have plenty of national Enlightenment studies, whose authors are steeped in one national tradition but care very little about other traditions. We also have what the author calls "flatly cosmopolitan" studies, which cover a wide range of authors as if they all thought and wrote in the same language and with little regard to local conditions. This one shows how fruitful it can be, both historically and theoretically, to follow the fortunes of works written for one culture as they are translated and received into another one. It is a "must read" model for those who are contemplating similar studies of the influence of Scottish ideas abroad, or of foreign ideas in Scotland.

John Christian Laursen, University of California, Riverside

Paul Wood, ed. **Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation: Papers Relating to the Life Sciences**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995, and University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996. Pp. xiv + 274.

This is the latest volume in the Edinburgh edition of the works of Thomas Reid. Paul Wood has, in several articles, revised our view of Reid to encompass his strong scientific interests, and this edition of his scientific papers confirms Reid's importance as a scientific thinker.

Wood's lengthy and excellent introduction (nearly 80 pages with notes), locates Reid in both local and international contexts. He organizes Reid's manuscripts, and his introduction, into the three categories of natural history, physiology, and materialism, but these categories overlap considerably. On the natural history manuscripts, Wood comments, "Reid's manuscripts encapsulate the complex internal structure of eighteenth-century natural history, and they serve to remind us of the broad range of metaphysical, theoretical and empirical issues addressed by natural historians in the Enlightenment" (p. 20). This applies to the other categories as well.

Wood emphasizes Reid's strong Newtonianism and his equally strong Christian beliefs as his guiding principles in both moral philosophy and natural philosophy. Reid's Newtonianism centered on method and the use of hypotheses. Newton's concept of passive matter and immaterial active principles supported, to Reid, the active role of God in the universe. He therefore vigorously opposed any scientific theory which hinted at material causation, whether Buffon's *matiere vivante*, David Hartley's etherial physiology, or Joseph Priestley's frank materialism.

The manuscripts themselves cover a wide range of topics. Wood chose his selections carefully, omitting materials strictly related to teaching and most reading notes. The section on natural history, however, consists mainly of Reid's notes on that seminal text of the eighteenth century, Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, and on Charles Bonnet's *Contemplation de la nature* (1769) and *Palingénésie philosophique* (1770). Reid read the first volumes of Buffon's opus during the 1750s, and his notes indicate his passionate engagement with Buffon's text. The mid-century debates on generation sharpened Reid's perception of the threat of materialism, and he noted with approval Bonnet's criticisms of Buffon's organized molecules.

Reid's interests under the rubric of physiology mainly concerned muscular motion, and in the second section Wood includes the short essay "Of the Involuntary Motions of Animals," which he dates to the 1750s, and the longer treatise "Of Muscular Motion in the human Body," which Reid delivered to the Glasgow Literary Society in 1795. As Wood points out, in the earlier essay Reid is strongly influenced by the theories of Robert Whytt, whose *Essay on the Vital and Other Involuntary Motions in Animals* had been published in 1751. While Reid no doubt approved of Whytt's rejection of mechanical causation, his theory of irritability was not entirely satisfactory. Reid found "considerable difficulties" (p. 102) with the notion that irritability was caused by some stimulus since the term "stimulus" implied a conscious perception, which was not the case in involuntary motion. In the Glasgow essay of some forty years later, Reid states a position Wood terms "nescience" on this and other questions: "These are Mysteries beyond the limits of our Understanding; and all the Attempts made to make them intelligible have been in vain" (p. 118). Where mechanics end only God can enter. At the same time, Reid's ambiguity about the mind-body connection, as Wood points out, left space for the action of free will and individual moral responsibility.

The third and longest section of the edition focuses on Reid's response to the work of Joseph Priestley. Priestley's highly critical 1774 *Examination* of Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* led Reid to examine the work of both Priestley and David Hartley, whom Priestley much admired. Reid's manuscript notes on their works reveal the depth of his concern about Priestley's materialism as well as Priestley's appropriation of the Newtonian banner. These are followed by three discourses on Priestley presented to the Glasgow Literary Society, probably in the late 1780s or early 1790s. Wood tentatively identifies the most substantial of these, "Some Observations on the Modern Theory of Materialism," as Reid's last major philosophical work, hypothesizing that only Reid's illness and death in 1796 prevented its publication. This work particularly took Priestley to task for his misuse of Newton's work.

Wood's editorial hand on the manuscripts themselves has been judicious. He has left alone Reid's eccentric spelling and punctuation, and indicated variants in the notes (it would be nice if these were footnotes rather than endnotes, but you can't have everything). His explanatory notes to the manuscripts are concise and helpful. A chronology of the manuscripts and of Reid's works would have been useful, but the volume overall is well-produced, with a good index. It is an important contribution not only to Reid studies but to our understanding of eighteenth-century science and its contexts.

Anita Guerrini, University of California, Santa Barbara

Paul Russell, **Freedom and Moral Sentiment: Hume's Way of Naturalizing Responsibility**. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. 200.

Paul Russell's book represents the fruit of a number of branches of inquiry with which he has been occupied over the course of his philosophical career. The book is, in the first place, a more powerful, complete and advanced version of his 1986 doctoral dissertation. It also, however, ties together themes and positions developed in the many scholarly articles he has produced. If Russell's book centrally articulates, as its title suggests, Hume's theory of moral responsibility, it also takes up his thoughts on causation and his relationship with Christian theology. In the course of his exposition, Russell carefully distinguishes Hume's positions from those of Strawson, Hobbes, and Smith.

Perhaps the most significant achievement of Russell's crystalline and highly organized text is the holistic view it takes of Hume's moral philosophy. In focusing on Hume's analyses of liberty, too many interpreters have, in Russell's view, cast Hume in among those touting the "classical compatibilist" position. According to the compatibilists, responsibility is (a) essentially bound up with the issue of free will and (b) only attributable to agents who are the cause of their actions. By carefully articulating the relationship between Hume's remarks on liberty and those on causation and moral judgment, Russell undertakes to rectify this error and exhibit the comprehensive integrity of Hume's thought.

Unlike "rationalistic" compatibilists, according to Russell, Hume is not concerned to demonstrate that the problem with liberty is a *logical* or *conceptual* one. Hume's central thrust, as Russell holds, is to develop a naturalistic account explaining how *in fact* our moral judgments work, and work in a way that has very little to do with metaphysical commitments about freedom. Like Strawson, then, Hume maintains that "instead of arguing that we interpret responsibility in terms of the conditions of freedom" we should "understand the conditions of responsibility in terms of an empirically better informed theory of responsibility" (p. 81). It is in this way that, according to Russell, Hume's theory of causation complements his moral theory, and it is in this way that Hume wishes to advance his anti-Christian project. In reorienting Hume scholarship along these lines and in taking a more comprehensive view of Hume's thought, Russell's text offers an important and overdue corrective to the literature.

Russell criticizes Hume on a number of points. Hume, he maintains, fails to provide a sufficiently strong account of the manner in which considerations of freedom actually play a role in moral judgment. As a result, Hume's theory of moral agency is inadequate and fails to exclude the acts of children, animals, and the incapacitated. Hume's "thin" account of moral freedom and agency leads him to oversimplify virtue, speciously reducing it to pleasant qualities of mind. Russell's account of Humean moral virtue is, however, itself incomplete and might be strengthened by fuller renderings of Hume's thoughts on moral deliberation as well as by considering the way in which, as Marie A. Martin has shown, Hume may be read as developing classical notions of virtue. Moreover, the inclusivity of Humean moral theory is, I think, one of its assets—even concerning non-human animals. Russell's charges of inadequacy must also be mitigated in light of the extent to which Hume looks to history, custom, and convention rather than empirical and moral psychology in the determination of moral standing.

Peter S. Fosl, Hollins College

Stephen Copley and Kathryn Sutherland, eds. **Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations: New Interdisciplinary Essays.** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995; distributed in North America by St. Martin's Press. Pp. 204.

The editors of this paperback volume are to be congratulated for putting together such a fine collection of uniformly well written essays on Adam Smith. The book is a treat to read, not the least for its lucidity, something that is rare in a collection that wanders into new territory and upturns some remarkable insights in its exploration of Smith's meaning.

A major purpose of this book is made clear right from its introduction. It is to put Smith's *Wealth of Nations* into its wider context and to rescue the text and its writer from later misconceptions and ideologically motivated misreadings. Thus, Keith Tribe tells us that *Wealth of Nations* was originally conceived as "a discourse upon wealth, virtue and civilization" and shows us exactly how Smith's later interpreters transformed it into an economics textbook. Heinz Lubasz describes the complex human beings that Smith wanted to depict, so different in motivation from the rational followers of self-interest in most econometric models. In Lubasz's essay we discover that Smith's conception of self-interest had more to do with security, competency, and comfort than with the calculation of gain. Andrew Skinner completes the picture by illuminating the imperfections that Smith discovered even in healthy economic systems, and describes the compulsory measures that the so-called apostle of laissez faire felt comfortable advocating to British statesmen.

One of the editors, Kathryn Sutherland, concentrates less upon text than context. She argues that *Wealth of Nations* is a "gendered narrative," dismissing or masking the exploitation of many eighteenth-century female wage earners, including those women who made nails and who approximated Smith's model pin manufacturers. Sutherland, à la Karl Marx, suggests that classical economics obliterated the domestic economy where women toiled. Her comments on the way in which that domestic economy allowed the British working class to live above the

subsistence level and to "manufacture" new generations of laborers constitute a more original critique of Smithian analysis.

Given the fact that Sutherland roams freely through eighteenth-century literature—settling far too sporadically, it might be argued, on the *Wealth of Nations*—it is a pity that she did not peruse Smith's other famous work, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). For it was here that Smith explored the concept of "sentiment," a concept that was arguably much more influential than his labor theory of value and one whose development placed women firmly within a "separate sphere." Given Sutherland's historical breadth and insights on gender, her reflections on this process of "feminization" would have been welcome.

Several of the essays in this volume address another Smithian topic that is too frequently ignored by commentators—agricultural improvement. Ted Benton argues that the peculiarities and commercialization of agrictulture are keys that can unlock a new reading of Smith—one that conforms more closely to the modern environmentalist's concern with preserving nature and limiting growth than to Reaganite or Thatcherite peons. And Kurt Heinzelman concludes the volume with a fascinating analysis of the ways that the *Wealth of Nations* continued the tradition of Virgil's *Georgics* and maintained its didactic style. Heinzelman goes perhaps a little too far for this historian when he refers to agricultural labor as a trope, but the way he couples agricultural and intellectual improvement is certainly revealing.

My major criticism of the essays that discuss agriculture in the *Wealth of Nations* is that they do not go nearly far enough. Their authors tend to suggest that Smith was trying to superimpose a model of commerce on agriculture, or they view Smith's defence of the agricultural sector either as characterized by tension or as adhering to an increasingly anachronistic form of writing and rhetoric. An essay by Noel Parker, for example, posits acute tensions and contradictions between Smith's defense of trade and the division of labor, and his view of agricultural production as more "natural."

A closer reading of the *Wealth of Nations* might make some of that "tension" dissipate. Smith followed the Physiocrats in believing that agricultural production was the fundamental basis of national wealth. The "historical accident" of the towns and conspicuous consumption created a new symbiosis between town and country that enabled nations to generate unanticipated wealth. To be sure, the wealth produced by trade and commerce was real; it enriched nations and allowed them to win wars.

But Smith consistently argued that capital or stored labor should only flow into commerce when it has exhausted its potential on the land. One of the most telling vestiges of our nineteenth-century reading of Smith is how difficult we find it to admit that he gave primacy to agriculture.

Smith's fundamental analytical touchstone wasn't trade and commerce or even the division of labor in urban workshops; it was the rise of the gentry—those capitalistic farmers who had made England great and sophisticated trade possible by enclosing improving agriculture to the extent that it could support those engaged in less "natural" activities.

John Dwyer, York University

Athol Fitzgibbons, **Adam Smith's System of Liberty, Wealth and Virtue: The Moral and Political Foundations of The Wealth of Nations**. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. Pp. viii + 214.

This book presents the reader with a quite unusual spectacle: a bold interpretation of Adam Smith's economic theory grounded squarely in the context of his broader philosophy of knowledge, science, morals, and law, complete with a scathing attack on the anachronistic narrowness of most economists' engagement with Smith (pp. 170ff.)—and all by an author who is himself an economist.

Fitzgibbons sees Stoicism as the key to Smith's overall enterprise. His book contains a stark and running contrast between Hume and Smith on the nature of knowledge, science, morals, law, and society, as he writes at one point that "Smith rejected every one of Hume's major philosophic propositions, including utility, scepticism, the relativity of values, radical individualism, and the rigorous distinction between positive and normative ideas" (pp. 28-29). What Smith believed in instead was a late Roman version of the Stoic vision of a regular, orderly, and providential nature. Stoicism for Smith was among other things "a way of organizing knowledge, an intellectual perspective that preceded his theories and made sense of them" (p. 74). In conjunction with Newton's emphasis on the simplicity of the rules of nature, Stoicism—and not empirical observation, as is often thought—provided Smith with his method of intellectual procedure (pp. 91-92).

Smith's moral theory, on this account, is an attempt to develop a "scientific theory of virtue" that would emphasize good in the active life of this world against the "alienation" that results from Christian otherworldliness (pp. 19, 64, 81, 156). His problem was to reconcile the essentially elitist preoccupations of classical moral theory with the essentially plebeian demands of commercial society. His approach to this problem was not to debunk the "higher" motives, as Hume, Mandeville, and others did, but to "make higher and lower motives compatible, to the benefit of society, by discovering the laws of Nature" (p. 16). The impartial spectator then emerges as Smith's way of reconciling these two, since it promised to "bring human motives towards . . . self-knowledge, as in the

traditional theory of virtue, but by encouraging the moderation and balance, rather than the complete eradication, of the individual's natural desires'' (p. 61).

Fitzgibbons understands better than most commentators the role of the impartial spectator in Smith's concept of natural law. ''[I]mpartiality with respect to others,'' he writes in a particularly suggestive passage, ''was justice, and self-command, which was evidently impartiality towards oneself, was the origin of the higher virtues. The laws were to be derived from what the impartial spectator judged should actually be enforced'' (p. 98). Property rights also derive from this same moral-psychological principle of impartiality (p. 102). Elsewhere, we find the intriguing observation that prudence, as Smith conceives it, also rests on the same capacity to observe oneself imaginatively with an impartial eye through time (p. 146).

More broadly, Fitzgibbons sees Smith as redefining the Stoic virtues of wisdom, justice, temperance and courage into the suitable eighteenth-century equivalents prudence, justice, self-command and benevolence, and as grounding his social theory on these modernized virtues (p. 104). Justice is the indispensable foundation, and is the key to book one of the *Wealth of Nations*. Prudence and self-command are essential for economic growth, the topics of books two and three, which support the critique of the moral deficiencies—the selfishness and partiality—of the mercantilist system, attacked in book four. Book five, finally, shows the role of benevolence and of the public sphere in providing the infrastructure, and especially the education, to ensure that liberalism did not result in ''cultural degeneration'' (p. 153). To see Smith's system as a generalized justification of self-love, Fitzgibbons describes as ''equivalent to attributing Darwin with a theory of evolution that stops at the amoeba'' (p. 152).

The book is by no means perfect. The writing is probably a bit too dry to attract the ''general reader'' that the author seeks. The contrast with Hume is overdrawn: Fitzgibbons strains to find a veiled criticism of Hume's philosophy in a eulogizing letter Smith wrote shortly after his friend's death. He also attributes to Hume the view that ''authoritarian regimes discouraged economic growth'' (p. 118), ignoring Hume's mediating concept of the ''civilized monarchy.'' The evidence throughout, though reliable enough, is sometimes thin and tenuous: not all the Stoic connections, for example, are as tightly and convincingly drawn as one might like. Fitzgibbons' sense of historical context is sketchy and selective; whereas Hume is a constant presence, the Physiocrats and other continental thinkers—to say nothing of the social, political, and economic developments of eighteenth-century Scotland, Britain, or Europe—are all but absent. The research, as reflected in notes and bibliography, is only modest. The copyediting by Clarendon Press is sloppy.

For all that, Fitzgibbons has nonetheless produced a comprehensive outline of Adam Smith's intellectual project that combines a gift for subtle and suggestive insights with a compelling account of the animating principles of Smith's most influential work, and that makes palpable progress toward the elusive goal of a synoptic understanding of that most synoptic of thinkers.

Henry C. Clark, Canisius College

Aylwin Clark, **An Enlightened Scot: Hugh Cleghorn, 1752-1837**. Duns, Scotland: Black Ace Books, 1992. Pp. 334.

The cosmopolitan subject of this absorbing biography had three separate careers. Edinburgh born and trained, Cleghorn was professor of civil history at St. Andrews for fifteen years. During a grand tour of the Continent as bear-leader to the Earl of Home in 1788-90, he advanced confidently into the *realpolitik* of the Napoleonic War. For the next fifteen years, as a supernumerary civil servant-cum-diplomat, he hovered close to the fast-moving orbit of Henry Dundas, secretary of state for war. Having been instrumental in adroitly filching Ceylon from the Dutch in 1795, Cleghorn became secretary of state to the first British governor. Finally, back in St. Andrews, he was converted to ''improving'' (''two cascades and a fine lake all in view''), pouring his resources into an estate purchased in 1806.

The Cleghorn Papers, from which this story is drawn, are a rich archive of diaries, letters, memoranda, lecture notes, and accounts, out of which Alywin Clark has fashioned a lucid and attractively presented narrative. Cleghorn's family connections and acquaintances—he was a greatgrandson of Principal Hamilton of the University of Edinburgh, a nephew of William Cleghorn the Edinburgh moral philosopher, and the pupil and friend of Adam Ferguson—furnish a picture of the Scottish intelligentsia and society of the time, and provide piquant, intimate glimpses of figures such as Ferguson, Dundas, Adam Smith, and Edward Gibbon. Equally important is the account of the role played by Scots in yet another episode of empire-building, and the further light shed on the *al fresco* statecraft and volatile policy maneuvering of a turbulent period. This study of an eighteenth-century professor of politics and government turned man-of-action neatly complements and happily illuminates the scholarship of the Scottish Enlightenment. The text is extensively illustrated, and supplied with excellent maps.

Margaret Steven, The Australian National University

James Macpherson, **The Poems of Ossian and Related Works**. Ed. Howard Gaskill. Introduction by Fiona Stafford (Edinburgh University Press, 1996; distributed in North America by Columbia University Press). Paperback. Pp. xxvi + 573.

In the early 1980s the Arts Faculty of University College Galway embarked on an exciting new venture. Each language department agreed to give up two hours per week of its teaching program, and the extra hours gained were used to design an interdisciplinary course for all the students involved, taught on a team basis by members of the various language departments. It was hoped that such a course would broaden the students' horizons, lead them beyond the narrow confines of each particular subject, and give a European dimension to their studies. Romanticism was the chosen topic for the first interdisciplinary course, and when asked to contribute I readily accepted. Not only did I believe that it was important for the Irish Department to participate in such courses, but the selected topic offered me an opportunity to indulge a longstanding fascination with James Macpherson and do some serious research on him. Even *Time* magazine helped at the time of the Hitler diaries controversy, giving Macpherson pride of place in a feature entitled *Fakes that Skewed History*. The simplistic treatment accorded "the father of Ossian" is readily deduced from the title of the article, but the publicity in itself was most welcome, and not many university courses, however unwittingly, find themselves endorsed by *Time*.

Little did I know of the problems that lay ahead, however. The *Fragments* were virtually unobtainable. Interlibrary loan services eventually came to the rescue, but even then it took a fairly liberal interpretation of the copyright laws to make material available to a large number of students. I even managed to procure an old battered copy of the *Poems of Ossian*, but there was no way it was going to stand up to the rigors of photocopying. J. J. Smart and Bailey Saunders provided biographical material despite the caveats associated with the latter, while Paul van Tieghem was a mine of information for the reception of Ossian in Europe. All this was very laudable but the students were in no way coming into contact with the text itself.

During a period of sabbatical leave in Cambridge I came across the 1971 reprint of Malcolm Lang's edition. A stream of articles from the indefatigable Howard Gaskill provided additional material on the reception of Ossian in Europe, while Fiona Stafford and Paul deGategno contributed new accessible biographies on Macpherson. An intrepid student of mine used her knowledge of French to good effect in order to feign strategic ignorance of the attendant's warnings and take some splendid photographs of the Ossianic paintings in La Malamaison, Napoleon's summer residence - photographs that have since resulted in some very fine slides. A rare stroke of fortune allowed me to prevail on the hardpressed university librarian to purchase a first edition of *Fingal*. But of course a valuable acquisition like this was for the rare books' section and not for the open shelves. While attending a conference in Edinburgh last July, I came across a copy of *The Highland Society of Scotland's Report on the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*, another welcome acquisition for the rare books' section of the library. Still, it was all context and no text.

I could go on but enough has been said to indicate the pitfalls lying in wait for anyone foolish or naive enough to place Macpherson and Ossian on a course syllabus. Foolish enough up to now, that is, because Howard Gaskill's edition of *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works* has placed Ossianic studies on a completely new footing. For the very first time the entire corpus of Macpherson's Ossianic writing is available within a single volume that is accessible to students, teachers, and scholars, as well as general readers. Gaskill's work is based on the 1765 edition of *The Works of Ossian*. While accepting that this edition was officially superseded in 1773 by an extensive stylistic revision that effectively mutilated the text, Gaskill advances cogent reasons for preferring the 1765 edition to that of 1773. It was this earlier edition, for example, that proved most influential on the Continent, the one from which Goethe translated the Ossianic passages in *Werther*, and the one on which the most significant French translations are based.

In addition to the Ossianic texts themselves, Gaskill has included Macpherson's preface to the first edition of *Fingal* and the two dissertations preceding *Fingal* and *Temora*, respectively. One particularly interesting feature of the preface to *Fingal* is Macpherson's anticipation of the charge of forgery, which he ingeniously repudiates with the following disclaimer: it would be a very uncommon instance of self-denial in me to disown them, were they really of my own composition. Also included is Hugh Blair's *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*. The first edition appeared in 1763 in identical format to *Fingal*, with which it could be bound if the reader so wished. An expanded version, complete with an authenticating "Appendix," appeared in the middle of 1765. Both *Dissertation* and Appendix were included in the second volume of the *Works of Ossian*, and the *Dissertation* without the Appendix was contained in most subsequent editions. Blair's stature as a literary critic was an important element in the reception of Ossian. He elucidates Ossian's faithfulness to the laws of epic as prescribed by Aristotle, noting one important difference, however. Whereas Aristotle studied nature in Homer, Homer and Ossian both wrote from nature, thus enabling Blair to account for such a close level of agreement and conformity between the two poets.

Gaskill's edition is enhanced by a most judicious introductory essay, in which Fiona Stafford deftly places Mapcherson's literary work in its proper historical and cultural context. She underlines as well the values of recent cultural theories such as colonialism, cultural imperialism, and postcolonialism in reassessing the importance of

Ossianism, and notes that the resources of other disciplines such as feminist literary theory and form criticism have still to be exploited.

Vain and arrogant though he was, James Macpherson would have been justifiably proud of this splendid production. As we commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of his death, this volume is an ideal tribute to the Highlander who, according to Sir Walter Scott, made "an enthusiastic impression on every mind of poetical beauty" and gave "a new tone to poetry throughout Europe."

Mícheál Mac Craith, University College Galway

Adam Potkay, **The Fate of Eloquence in the Age of Hume**. Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1994. Pp. xii + 253.

This is the third book in Cornell's new "Rhetoric and Society" series, and an important event for all those interested in writing in eighteenth-century Scotland. Potkay's elegantly written monograph is based on his recent Rutgers University thesis; more than the exigencies of Ph.D.-writing might have been expected to permit, the book's case and mastery of argument are admirably adapted to its subjects of eloquence and polite conversation. Taking as a starting point Hume's much-revised essay "Of Eloquence," the author elaborates a crucial tension between "classical eloquence" (persuasive, actuating) and the "polite" (stabilizing, placatory) style of conversation; the changing symmetry of this equation runs—so he argues—through writing of the second half of the century in works as diverse as *The Dunciad*, Gray's "Elegy," *Tristram Shandy*, and the *Poems of Ossian*. All, he suggests, stage a dialogue between these antithetical modes; cumulatively, they advance polite style as the necessary and desirable condition of contemporary discourse while situating eloquence in honorable retirement through nostalgia and rhetorically indulged elegaic celebration. This of course culminates in the backward-looking cult of "eloquent" epic heroism embodied in *Ossian*, which Potkay places particularly persuasively in relation to his argument. Hume and James Macpherson emerge, in a nice twist of the argument, in unlikely but perfectly harmonious alliance on rhetorical terms.

Potkay's literary analysis is carefully contextualized in party-political divisions ("Of Eloquence," for instance, emerges as an Opposition comment on the decline of virtue and liberty under Walpole's regime), and alert, through recent work on the history of the body, to gender implications. The "polite style" which, so Potkay argues, came by the third quarter of the century largely to supplant the "swelling" masculinism of classical eloquence, was a "disembodying" mode felt to be more suitable to the feminized expression of Sentiment. "Politeness" developed as a "middle style" appropriate to, and appropriated by, a newly dominant elite of the drawing room and the study. As such, it cut against the democratic classical ideals of "eloquence," but (as the author indicates in his Introduction, referring to J.G.A. Pocock) politeness could become in its own way a levelling discourse, flattening the distinctive idioms against which it was deployed. This strand of the argument receives some interesting refinement in the discussion of eccentricity as licensed deviancy from polite norms in *Tristram Shandy*. Potkay is excellent, and delightful, on the changing class implications of "eloquence," as he is on the way that "Passion" could in a sentimental culture take on the persuasive role anciently assigned to eloquence. I was, however, disappointed with the small amount of discussion devoted to Henry Mackenzie—"Our Scottish Addison," as Sir Walter Scott would dub him—as the arbiter of polite style in Scotland through his novels and (preeminently) through the *Mirror* and the *Lounger*.

The book's scholarly strengths in these and other areas are also the source of my few reservations about the effectiveness of its approach to the subject. Potkay works broadly in the tradition of what he calls the "developing eighteenth-century school of New Historicism." His arguments are subtler than many, and more attentive to tone and nuance (he is particularly good on the shifting, often unplaceable, complexities of Hume's prose), but the New Historicist's creation of a densely interesting network of cultural interactions as generating meaning in literary works perhaps inevitably underplays (where it does not obscure) value judgments about the outcome. Deeply unfashionable as these are, they nonetheless tend inconveniently to arise. One tantalizing example comes when Potkay's claim, early in *The Fate of Eloquence*, "to address the age of Hume *on its own terms*" is set alongside his own assertion that the power of *Ossian* derives not primarily from its "aesthetic effect" but rather from its ability to reconcile, for the eighteenth-century reader, contradictions between eloquence and politeness. This sounds very much as though he would not wish to claim literary *quality*—as distinct from literary *significance*—for *Ossian*. However, the "aesthetic effect" of the epic was undoubtedly paramount for its contemporary audience: were the original readers, then, simply mistaking "cultural value" for "aesthetic value" when they adjudged it as good as or better than Homer? Larger issues are of course involved than can be addressed here, or than have yet been addressed by New Historicist criticism at large in relation to value; though Potkay's book does not resolve them, it has the virtue of not submerging them completely.

My other reservation concerns the relative neglect of the religious and the national dimensions to Hume's and Macpherson's style and argument (and those of the many other Scottish writers cited in relation to the book's thesis). ECSSS readers in particular may feel it a pity, if not a shortcoming, that Potkay's argument does not consider Hume more specifically as a Scottish, or even a North British writer. Distrust of rhetorical color and elo-

quence in favor of teachable norms of "correctness" and *politesse* have been seen by previous scholars as in part a legacy of puritanism to provincial self-consciousness. One would have liked to have seen Potkay engage this reading with his own. Hume's rhetorical inheritance is divided, to a greater extent than is here allowed for, between classical allegiances and Augustinian, Calvinist influences which continued to exert a strong pull across the language and structure of his prose. Similarly, Potkay's illuminating references to J. Q. Adams's Boylston Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory don't indicate how heavily Adams—and his fellow American university shapers—were indebted to republican adaptations of the Scottish rhetoric of Hugh Blair and others, also within a broadly puritan-derived rhetorical context. Hume's statement, "I am an American in my Principles," is richer and more teasing than it at first appears.

However, it is niggling to point to omissions where so much is achieved. Potkay has written a fine book, and one which should be read; he makes a case that quite changes the way we shall read this literature in the future.

Susan Manning, Newnham College, Cambridge

Charles Jones, **A Language Suppressed: The Pronunciation of the Scots Language in the 18th Century**. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1995. Pp. ix + 278.

Sylvester Douglas, one of the eighteenth-century Scots grammarians surveyed in this useful book, wrote that "minute discussions concerning pronunciation or phraseology, are of a dry and forbidding nature . . . The task is as difficult as it is uninviting" (p. 50). For this non-specialized reader (a literary scholar, not a linguist), Jones's highly technical later chapters were at times dry and forbidding indeed. Yet Jones's survey of eighteenth-century Scottish spelling books and treatises on language provides much fresh information on a subject of strong interest to members of ECSSS: attitudes toward the Scottish dialect following the Union of 1707. The often-described split between those Scots who welcomed not only political but also cultural union with England and those who were committed to a separate Scottish cultural identity is recapitulated in the writings of eighteenth-century Scottish grammarians.

"Scots in the 18th Century," an introductory chapter, surveys writers of grammars and spelling books, defining two major groups. "On the one hand, there was a highly organised and influential group of grammarians and linguistic commentators who were seeking after what can only be described as a 'language death' situation. . . . the Scotch method for pronouncing English was seen not merely as a social inconvenience but as a barbaric relic of a backward society" (p. 1). Among this first group were the most "important teachers of English in England itself"—the Scotsmen James Elphinston and James Buchanan. Their concurrence with such eminent Scots as Tobias Smollett, Adam Smith, William Robertson, and Hugh Blair is mentioned by Jones only in passing, as his primary focus throughout this work is on eighteenth-century spelling books and grammars. Jones' second group, which he calls the "Let Our Language Alone" contingent, included John Callander of Craigforth, Alexander Geddes, and Sylvester Douglas (whose *Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland* has been edited recently by Jones). Callander speaks eloquently for this second group: "we, in Scotland, have preserved the original tongue, when it has been mangled, and almost defaced, by our southern neighbors" (p. 15). Jones argues that this second group still sought to define norms for correct pronunciation—these were, after all, grammarians and teachers of elocution—but they sought a regional standard based on the language-usage of the leisure and professional classes in Edinburgh rather than London. Henry Mackenzie (Sir Walter Scott's admired "Scottish Addison") is among these proponents for a regional standard set by polite usage in Edinburgh; Mackenzie praises "pure classical Scots [as] spoken by genteel people" in Edinburgh as "very agreeable; it ha[s] nothing of the coarseness of the vulgar *patois*" (p. 20). An impassioned grammarian in this second group, the English-born Jesuit James Adams, even argues that all efforts to diminish or standardize regional accents "would be as vain, and the prejudice as unjust, as to attempt to change the green colour of the eyes in the natives of the Orknies" (p. 10). Adams shrewdly traces the eighteenth-century prejudice (in Scotland) against the Scottish accent to the cultural dominance of the English Bible: "How, in the name of wonder, can Scotch Schoolmasters teach poor children to read their Bible printed the English way? They use no other. Hence every word is a stumbling block and, from early youth, the Scotch are taught *that our pronunciation is anomalous and capricious*" (p. 21).

Following two solid and informative introductory chapters surveying the array of spelling textbooks, essays on language, pronouncing dictionaries, and specialized orthographies with which Jones will be working, the book is organized entirely by sound-characteristics, with separate chapters on "Palatal Vowel Segments," "Labial Vowel Segments," "Sononant Vowel Segments," "Diphthongal Sounds," "Non-Vowel Segments," and "Suprasegmentals." Methods of transcribing language sounds were very various in the eighteenth century, including diacritical marks, alternative orthographies, accents, and complex numbering systems, and occasionally the detailed account of each grammarian's methods for sound-transcription distract Jones from the matter of pronunciation itself. These explications also introduce some repetition, as the methods employed by Jones's major figures are briefly recapitulated in defining the characteristic sounds considered in each chapter.

What Jones provides is thus as much a history of varying phonological transcription methods in eighteenth-century Scotland as a guide to pronouncing eighteenth-century Scots words. Having said that, I should add that

readers in search of specific directions on how to pronounce (for instance) eighteenth-century Scots dialect poetry can easily extract this information from the sources so plentifully excerpted by Jones. Among the three appendices, for example, is a letter of 1779 by Alexander Scott ("Aulaxaunder Scoat of Cleidbaunk") that parodies, and incidentally preserves, the contemporary regional accent: ". . . whoever mescheevous wroang amoolatione moast pruv, reght amoolatione, leik doimont oan doimont, shaul haiv proaper affack en poaleshen swit freenshep" (p. 249) [Translation: "however mischievous wrong emulation must prove, right emulation, like diamond on diamond, shall have proper effect in polishing sweet friendship"]. *A Language Suppressed* documents the contributions (and overall language-attitudes) of a group of grammarians not among the usual suspects rounded up in the standard histories of eighteenth-century Scottish culture. The many well-chosen excerpts from primary eighteenth-century sources are likely to be of especial interest and value.

Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

Marshall Waingrow, ed. **James Boswell's Life of Johnson: An Edition of the Original Manuscript in Four Volumes. Research Edition Life of Johnson: Volume 1: 1709-1765.** Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994. Pp. xxxix + 518.

In his Preface to the first modern edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, George Birkbeck Hill commented that "of all my books none I cherish more than these. In looking at them I have known what it is to feel Bishop Percy's 'uneasiness at the thoughts of death'." The late James L. Clifford, Samuel Johnson's twentieth-century Boswell, was deflected from a career in engineering after having encountered an edition of the *Life* while teaching in Arizona. Such responses could be compounded, and it would be easy to illustrate, even in an era of the decentered and expanded canon, that Boswell's masterwork remains central. This fact is more in evidence with Marshall Waingrow's publication of the first of a four-volume research edition of the manuscript of the *Life*, in the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell.

Waingrow's volume shows that while the *Life* has been traditionally evaluated as a printed text, the real measure of Boswell's achievement must be referred as well to the manuscript that led to text. The *Life* was issued in 1791, followed by subsequent editions, the third emerging as the edition of choice for the major editorial treatment that Hill provided in 1887. With further editorial contributions by L. F. Powell and later J. D. Fleeman, the *Life* appeared to have achieved a stability that would have closed discussion of text had it not been for one of the most remarkable literary discoveries of the twentieth century. At Malahide Castle in Ireland and Fettercairn House in Scotland between 1927 and 1940, and variously in an ebony cabinet, a croquet box, and a stable loft, the original manuscript of the *Life*, in some one thousand leaves, was discovered. When these are assessed along with a roughly equivalent body of material, the so-called "Papers Apart," the *Life* is seen not simply as a finished *product* defining Samuel Johnson but the *process* by which the fullest account of Johnson was achieved. The literary textual arrival of an eighteenth-century masterpiece must be understood in the context of the manuscript journey that shaped it.

Some general observations hardly do justice to a volume everywhere defined through meticulous detail, though they may orient readers to the terrain of Waingrow's work. If ideally in the making of a book, a manuscript moves to print with no more than the usual frustrations, Boswell's *Life* suggests a radically different reality—a wrenching of literary cosmos out of chaos. Boswell imposed horrendous conditions on his printer, asking him to decipher a manuscript laced with revisions at the same time he had to incorporate shards of additional material—excerpts from books and magazines, original letters and copies, and Johnsoniana from contributors. While Boswell physically attended the composition of his book, neither he nor Edmond Malone read the proof sheets against the manuscript. While this and other oversights did not make the printed life a literary equivalent of Magritte's famous pipe (the printed *Life* is still the life), Waingrow's printing of the manuscript of the *Life* will reorient readers to the work in ways not seen since the appearance of the Hill-Powell edition. He accomplishes this through an editing *tour de force* as he successfully superimposes on the familiar printed text the manuscript of the *Life*. One is able to read for the first time, then, the point-counterpoint of manuscript and text: the printed version of the *Life* shaped some years ago by Hill-Powell is simultaneously enriched by the manuscript, and both are consistently defined by the virtuoso notes and appendices provided by Waingrow. In this combination we are made aware not only of technical matters—the numerous errors unwittingly transmitted from manuscript to text—but also potentially more interesting literary issues. Waingrow's volume will make possible a re-examination of the way Boswell constructed Johnson's conversations so central to the originality of the *Life*. Even more important, perhaps, the volume will encourage a review of Boswell's literary artistry, apologists for the latter finding abundant evidence that in sifting through a universe of material defining Samuel Johnson, his biographer tried consistently to satisfy the demands of literary form as well as of biographical content. While this project will continue in the capable hands of Bruce Redford, Waingrow has conclusively added his name to Boswell's finest editors and has set a standard by which future ones will be measured.

John L. Abbott, University of Connecticut

Pat Rogers, **Johnson and Boswell: The Transit of Caledonia**. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. Pp. 245.

After years of benign neglect, Samuel Johnson's and James Boswell's travels through Scotland in 1773 are again attracting attention, thanks largely to the knowledgeable and indefatigable Pat Rogers. Recently he gave us *Johnson and Boswell in Scotland: A Journey to the Hebrides* (Yale University Press, 1993)—a handsome edition of Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) and Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785) in parallel texts. The book under review here, an outgrowth and companion piece, is a substantial, wide-ranging discussion of these travel accounts with emphasis on their biographical and cultural context. Much of the background information Rogers provides will be familiar to those of us in the field, but we can marvel at the ingenuity with which he brings together material from different sources and, even more, at the unexpected connections he suggests.

Rogers focuses primarily on Johnson in the first part of the book and on Boswell in the second, but beyond that remains quite flexible in his choice of topics. Thus he begins with the question of why and in what mood Johnson undertook his journey, emphasizing his feeling of being, at sixty-three, on the brink of old age and impelled to take the long-planned trip while he still had the strength. Then, instead of continuing in this biographical vein, Rogers turns to the implications of travelling to the North. He dwells on the differences between the traditional grand tour—south, to Italy, the heartland of classical culture—and what he punningly calls "the grand detour" (pp. 32-67)—north, to primitive, rustic, supposedly uncivilized places. Developing this contrast, already mentioned briefly in his earlier volume, Rogers cleverly finds a polar opposite to Johnson's and Boswell's experiences in Goethe's Italian journey of 1786-88.

Rogers again shows his penchant for introducing parallel yet contrasting figures by linking Johnson with other travellers writing in the 1770s. Noting the recent public interest in Captain Cook's and Joseph Banks's voyages of discovery to the South Seas, Rogers suggests that Johnson and Boswell could be regarded as undertaking a comparable voyage of discovery to the North. In a still more imaginative leap, Rogers even links Johnson's experiences in Scotland to those of the Tahitian "noble savage" Omai in London, both of them strangers who were unjustly regarded as "primitives" by their hosts. Playing with unexpected similarities and attendant contrasts is, of course, squarely in the tradition of wit, but it can lead to exaggeration, as when Rogers sees Omai's position in England as a "mirror image" of Johnson's in Scotland (p. 104).

Rogers also considers the *Journey* in its own right by comparing the published version to the letters Johnson sent to Mrs. Thrale during his travels and later used in composing his book. Rogers had already drawn attention to these letters by including them in his previous book; here he discusses each letter in turn. Several interesting insights emerge: for instance, that Johnson deliberately omitted passages that might hurt Boswell's feelings and that he toned down negative-sounding comments about the Scots (who, as we know, took offense anyway). Moreover, Rogers finds material in the *Journey* that is not in the letters, notably references to Scottish emigration from the Highlands that Johnson apparently added later to emphasize this social problem. Unhappily, though, the lengthy survey of the letters primarily confirms the expected: that the published version is more generalized and dignified than Johnson's first reports to Mrs. Thrale, and that the *Journey* is not a spontaneous account but a literary construct. Perhaps it is just as well that Rogers did not undertake a similar comparison of Boswell's private journal and his *Tour to the Hebrides*.

The chapters on Boswell delve more deeply into Scottish affairs. The most ambitious not only reviews the itinerary as arranged by Boswell but also reveals what Rogers considers its subtext: Boswell's wish to follow the footsteps of Prince Charles Edward Stuart after Culloden. To buttress this intriguing interpretation, Rogers dwells on the extended interpolated description of the prince's flight in the first edition of the *Tour*, and notes that Boswell repeatedly arranged visits to places associated with the prince in preference to more popular sites associated with Ossian. Here as elsewhere, Rogers also plays with the notion of "transference"—Boswell's imaginative merging of himself with Prince Charles Edward as well as the merging of the prince and Johnson, the two coming together for Boswell in Flora Macdonald's bed on Skye. Moreover, in keeping with our current interest in the Jacobites, Rogers takes the opportunity to clarify Boswell's feelings about the Stuart cause and to emphasize the complexities of his position: "He was a Scot, but a Lowlander; one who flirted with a sentimental Jacobitism whilst seeking favour and advancement in the public world, dominated . . . by pragmatic Hanoverians" (p. 209). Not content with this rich material, and attracted yet again to an unexpected parallel, Rogers even develops the idea that Boswell was attempting to recapture the excitement and idealism of his youthful Corsican tour when he embarked on his later trip North with Johnson.

Rogers then focuses on another subject well worth pursuing, Boswell's and Johnson's attitudes towards Scotland. For Boswell, he concentrates on matters of language, particularly Boswell's misgivings about his Scots accent and Scotticisms in writing, for which Rogers finds parallels in Hume and other compatriots. For Johnson, he faces the more fundamental issue of British hostility towards the Scots in the second part of the eighteenth century and then tries to determine just how Johnson gained his reputation for anti-Scottish prejudice. Rogers argues that this reputation was exaggerated and shows how it was fed by one or two writers in the wake of the Macpherson brouhaha.

Oddly enough, Rogers's "Conclusion" is not a conclusion at all but an attempt briefly to extend the scope of the book by mentioning Enlightenment thinkers not considered up to this point. In a free-wheeling discussion of "overlaps" (p. 221) in the treatment of civil society, poverty, primitive life, luxury, and early literature—and unhampered by any constraints of chronology—Rogers finds "numerous premonitions" of Johnson's *Journey* in Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767); calls the *Journey* "a proleptic response" to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776); and even brings in Diderot's *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (circulated in manuscript after 1773 but published only in 1796) for its resemblance to Johnson's anti-Rousseauistic appraisal of primitive living (pp. 216-22). Lord Kames, hardly mentioned by Johnson or Boswell in their travel books, is discussed because he is a significant Enlightenment figure and was well known to Boswell; on the other hand, Lord Monboddo, who indeed played a part in the tour and stands in an interesting relationship to Johnson, Boswell, and Scottish culture in general, is treated separately in an appendix. Not as well developed as the rest of the book, this section comes as an anticlimax.

To end on a more positive note, we can appreciate Rogers's gift for recuperating memorable phrases from his sources. His subtitle, "The Transit of Caledonia," is taken from Boswell's description of Johnson's stately progress through Scotland, a jocular phrase that also, Rogers suggests, alludes to "the passage of the planet Venus" that Cook set out to observe on his first voyage of discovery (pp. 68-69). The term "the grand climacteric," which had particular significance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Rogers shows, sonorously expresses Johnson's late-life crisis. Best of all, the chapter heading "The Rambler and The Wanderer" hauntingly combines Boswell's epithets for Johnson and Charles Edward Stuart by assonance as well as sense.

All in all, this study does much to refresh our interest in Johnson's and Boswell's tour—and in its many detours gives us the pleasure of observing a lively, witty, erudite scholar at work.

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Irma S. Lustig, ed. **Boswell: Citizen of the World, Man of Letters**. Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995. Pp. xvii + 270.

Donald J. Newman, ed. **James Boswell: Psychological Interpretations**. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995. Pp. xviii + 222.

As the titles indicate, these two collections of essays published in the bicentenary year of Boswell's death approach their subject from different perspectives. Irma Lustig's *Boswell: Citizen of the World, Man of Letters* looks at Boswell from the outside in—that is, as a man who moved beyond "provincial borders both geographically and intellectually" (p. 1). Donald Newman's *James Boswell: Psychological Interpretations* considers Boswell more from the inside out, as a man whose many paradoxes are "the visible features of an inner topography capable of interpretation" (p. xii). Was Boswell an enlightened thinker? A cosmopolitan man? Did he suffer from genuine mental disorder? What bearing did his complex psychological makeup have on his writing? These are some of the questions implicit in the essays presented. Both collections offer a rich sampling of the current scholarship on a figure whose stature as a writer continues to grow—a growth that would seem increase in proportion to the number of volumes (more than twenty thus far) published in the Yale editions.

One hundred years ago George Birkbeck Hill took the occasion of the centenary of Boswell's death to note the dearth of serious critical attention paid to a man who had written what many even then regarded as the greatest biography in the English language. Since the recovery of Boswell's papers in the first half of this century all that has changed. Boswell is of interest not only to Boswellians and Johnsonians but to scholars in many diverse fields and to the general reader. Whether you are into theoretical discourse (psychological, or otherwise) or are more of a fact-seeking traditionalist, you will find in these two volumes many excellent essays. Some have been written by critics long associated with matters Boswellian, others by newcomers to the field.

The division of *Citizen of the World, Man of Letters* into two parts—"Boswell and the Enlightenment" and "The Life of Johnson"—does more to describe the interests of scholars than it does to confirm the editor's assertion that the *Life* is "a great repository of the Enlightenment in its various strains" (p. 8). An essay on this topic would have been interesting in its own right. That said, Irma Lustig's introduction succeeds in drawing out the various strands in Boswell's life—beyond that of "citizen" and "*literatus*"—and then describing their interplay.

In the first article Marlies K. Danziger travels with Boswell as he seeks out some of the less well known Enlightenment figures in northern Europe. (Just what the Enlightenment is or what it means to be "enlightened" is another implicit theme of the volume.) By comparing these experiences with Boswell's legendary encounters with Rousseau and Voltaire—the leading representatives of a more radical southern European Enlightenment—Danziger clarifies the origins and peculiar blend of Boswell's cosmopolitanism. "Personalities, not theory, continued to be the focus of Boswell's interest," she suggests (p. 30). With Europe still the scene of action, Peter F. Perreten cogently analyzes Boswell's response to landscape— landscape in this context being of two basic kinds: the natural (mountains etc.) and the "improved" (gardens). Though no profound commentator, Boswell left a record on the

subject that has enabled Perreten to clarify the factors (literary or otherwise) which influenced Boswell and other continental travelers when they saw remarkable sights. The pieces by Richard B. Sher on Lord Kames, Thomas Crawford on politics in the Temple correspondence and John Strawhorn on estate management give us a sample of what we can expect to glean from the material in the volumes these scholars are editing for the Yale Research Edition. Those by Crawford and Strawhorn are expected to appear very soon.

The first three essays in the "*Life of Johnson*" section of *Citizen of the World* place Boswell and his great work under close scrutiny. Cary McIntosh's "Rhetoric and Runts: Boswell's Artistry" requires more knowledge of rhetoric as a technical discipline than most Boswellians may possess. More accessible is an examination of metaphor by William P. Yarrow, who reads his text closely and argues convincingly that "the progress and extent to which Boswell makes himself 'Johnson' in the *Life of Johnson* is of great thematic importance in coming to terms with the literary structure of the text" (p. 177). This kind of study makes one realize the usefulness for scholars of the recently published (alas, too late for Yarrow's piece) first volume of the manuscript edition of the *Life of Johnson* (see preceding review).

Boswell and Virginia Woolf make engaging if unlikely companions in Isobel Grundy's analysis of the ways in which a biographer (or life writer) deals with those modernist notions "uncertainty." Her argument leads to the assertion that Boswell's "probing of his own behavior in interaction with Johnson is the source of much that is tentative . . . in his biographical portrait—paradoxically, since his own need is clearly implicated in the degree to which he makes Johnson monolithic or ever-fixed" (p. 190). This essay and the others which follow make it clear not only how rich and enduring the *Life of Johnson* is, but also how much that complex document is interwoven with the mass of Boswell's other writings and inevitably with Boswell himself as an author and as a character in his text.

As a physical object, *Citizen of the World, Man of Letters* is nicely produced and well edited (though there are one or two unfortunate factual and typographic slips). Illustrations are always welcome, but instead of the all too familiar gallery of portraits (Boswell by Willison and Reynolds, Ramsay's Rousseau, Opie's Johnson, etc.), I would have preferred to see some images relating to the less well known subjects of the different essays. This said, the photographs of the gardens Boswell visited (described by Perreten) and the endpapers showing a map of the Auchinleck estate are happy exceptions to a minor criticism.

Most of the essays in *Psychological Interpretations* fall into two general categories: those framed by particular theoretical viewpoints (psychological, post-modern, or otherwise), with generous applications of jargon and references to the purveyors of those theories; and those which take a more straightforward historical approach, assisted rather than directed by the interpretive tools of psychology and psychoanalysis. The former can be good, but they require some familiarity with the critical approach at hand and consequently speak to a smaller audience. The pieces by Elaine Perez Zickler, Eric F. Labbie, and Brian Evenson in different ways all share the assumption that we can probably know Boswell better than he knew himself. Even if few men have left such a complete record of "the self," the psychic portrait to be discovered is, however, not an altogether healthy one, though it is certainly rich in interpretive possibility. Zickler's essay, "Boswell's *London Journal*: Binding a Life," is all the more provocative when one considers that the journal itself from 1762-63 (unlike the majority of other journals Boswell kept) exists only in unbound sheets, recollected and revised from the notes and memoranda he habitually kept.

Among those articles written in a more straightforward manner, three deserve to be noted. Donald J. Newman's probing exploration into the earlier part of Boswell's life shows the ways in which Addison's *Spectator* became a model through which Boswell was able to construct his identity—literary and otherwise. Newman admits to the conjectural nature of many of his ideas but builds his argnment in a convincing manner. "Only in language," Newman concludes (that is, in writing and in writing in particular modelled on the structure of the *Spectator* "did he [Boswell] feel he could create and maintain a self acceptable to himself and others" (p. 22). While Newman's later article explaining the reasons Boswell failed to develop as a poet has its insightful moments and fits in well chronologically with the *Spectator* piece, it is not quite as successful.

John B. Radner's "From Paralysis to Power: Boswell with Johnson in 1775-1778" is another excellent and accessible study. Radner takes great care to describe Boswell's relationship with Johnson— a relationship in which Boswell struggled from dependency to (or at least toward) autonomy with his literary progenitor and sometime surrogate father. Reading this piece, one cannot help but wish that the missing correspondence between Boswell and Johnson—some 200 letters—would come to light. The relationship between Johnson and Boswell receives further attention from Sanford Radner, who provides a succinct analysis of the unconscious motivations that led Boswell to wait seventeen years between writing his first major work, the *Account of Corsica* (1768), and his second, the *Tour of the Hebrides* (1785), which appeared one year after Johnson's death. The psychologically grounded explanation of why Boswell renounced his quest for literary fame during Johnson's lifetime is reinforced by Radner's insightful analysis of two Johnsonian dreams Boswell recorded.

Two other pieces merit comment. Greg Clingham's intellectually demanding, thoroughly theoretical, and perhaps overly referenced account of sexuality and its relation to the "erotics" of narrative stands in contrast to the more orthodox studies of the *Life of Johnson* found in *Citizen of the World*. Nevertheless, the determined reader is rewarded with compelling insights into the dynamic relationship between sexuality and textuality. As

Clingham remarks: ''By unsexing Johnson in the *Hebrides* and the *Life*, Boswell's narrative has the effect of appropriating Johnson's sexuality to himself, affirming a mythic conception of Johnson and thereby producing the culturally and ideologically acceptable relationship between the two'' (p. 194).

Philip E. Baruth cleverly yokes together the political and the literary in analyzing the influences that were evidently in play when Boswell wrote the *Letter to the People of Scotland* of 1785. Baruth concludes that ''in a political climate in which political 'subjects' were highly suspect, Boswell's infamous oddity and queerness [a fictional self modeled partly on Sterne] argue persuasively for his complete [political] independence'' (p. 102). This important though problematic pamphlet, long regarded as overly exhibitionist, has never been so well explained.

Like Baruth's, a number of the articles in this collection take as a point of departure the observations of Frederick Pottle and Frank Brady in their seminal biographies of Boswell. The same is true, though to a lessor degree, in *Citizen of the World* (see Sher's essay, for example). Nothing can compensate for the almost absolute familiarity both Pottle and Brady had with Boswell's private papers, and surely all who study Boswell should aspire to their comprehensive knowledge. At the same time, much more remains to be said. The collections at hand illustrate the richness and creativity of the directions in which the Boswellian project as a whole is headed. Boswell, who relished the interest others expressed in himself perhaps more than any other man, would welcome the present offerings.

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Thomas Somerville, **My Own Life and Times 1741-1814** (1861). Introduction by Richard B. Sher. Pp. 397.

The Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831, ed. Harold William Thompson (1927). Introduction by John Dwyer. Pp. 303.

Peter Williamson, **French and Indian Cruelty: Exemplified in the Life, and Various Vicissitudes of Fortune of Peter Williamson** (1762). Introduction by Michael Fry. Pp. 147.

John Jackson, **The History of the Scottish Stage . . . Interspersed with Memoirs of His Own Life** (1793). Introduction by Donald Campbell. Pp. 470.

John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, **Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century**, ed. Alexander Allardyce, 2 vols. (1888). Introduction by David J. Brown. Pp. 554/568.

Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of William Smellie, ed. Robert Kerr, 2 vols. (1811). Introduction by Richard B. Sher. Pp. 504/488.

Congratulations to the Thoemmes Press for making available six more texts that are indispensable to anyone with a serious interest in eighteenth-century Scotland. The pages of Ramsay of Ochtertyre, rich with details about Scottish society in the Highlands, the Lowlands, the cities and the universities, has frequently been mined by historians and biographers, but its new presentation as part of a collection of ''Contemporary Memoirs'' invites reassessment, and recognition of the work as a literary form as well as a historical source. In his brief but useful introduction, David Brown draws attention to the achievement of Alexander Allardyce, the nineteenth-century editor who was responsible for shifting and arranging Ramsay's manuscripts into the now familiar form. The memoir thus emerges as an intrinsically collaborative genre, developing as a result not only of the dialogue between the author and his subject(s), but also between the manuscripts and the editor, with his late nineteenth-century audience (the decision to include Ramsay's sections on ''Scottish ladies'' or ''Lord Monboddo. His men with Tails,'' for example, may owe something to the climate in which Allardyce was working).

In the case of Henry Mackenzie's notes, which were fashioned into the invaluable *Anecdotes and Egotisms* by Harold Thompson, the influence of earlier memoirs—those of ''Jupiter'' Carlyle—also contributed, as John Dwyer points out in his illuminating introduction. Mackenzie's admiration for the autobiography of Carlyle (''a man about my age [four score]'') reveals another recurrent feature of the genre: its association with old age. Both Mackenzie and Thomas Somerville conclude with reflections on their own approaching deaths, while their texts, for all the liveliness of the anecdotes and reminiscences, are motivated by an urgency muted, at times, by melancholy. In all the texts, however, the writers' abundant sense of their own signficance, as well as that of their age and their contemporaries, comes across with force.

The interplay between memoirs and history is demonstrated explicitly in John Jackson's *History of the Scottish Stage* which, according to the author, began as a ''narrative'' of his ''own personal transactions,'' but turned into a history as he felt compelled to defend his profession against ''the very unpleasing estimation in which it has been invariably held.'' The fascinating personal anecdotes are thus set within a chronological framework that in turn offers extraordinary insight into the role of the theater in Scotland, and the difficulties experienced by those involved

during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Throughout, the lively narrative, which frequently breaks into theatrical dialogue and quotation from the various plays under discussion, is ballasted by the inclusion of ledgers, details of wages and ticket returns, to bring home to the reader the economic realities on which the stage so often seemed to be foundering. Popular politics also enter through the descriptions, such as that of the 1749 riot in the Canongate theater, when the musicians were forced by opposing factions in the audience to play both "Culloden" and "You're welcome Charles Stuart" on the anniversary of the battle.

The precariousness of life in eighteenth-century Scotland is even more apparent in Peter Williamson's lurid autobiography, which begins with an account of the author being kidnapped as a boy in Aberdeen and sold as a slave in America. Worse is to follow, as he describes in graphic detail the horrors experienced as a prisoner of a tribe of Native Americans. Far from being reserved for polite reminiscence, then, the eighteenth-century memoir can also serve as adventure or captivity narrative, and provide a vehicle for sensationalism, racisim, and xenophobia.

Indeed, Williamson's self-construction could hardly be more different from Robert Kerr's *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of William Smellie*, which consists largely of the letters written and received by that phenomenally able Edinburgh printer. As Richard Sher observes, "Kerr comes across more like an editor or compiler of Smellie's letters . . . than a true biographer. In the main, Smellie speaks for himself." And he is certainly worth listening to, whether it be his thoughts on the reproduction of snails, or the inferiority of quartos to folios. Contemporary ideas float across his mind only to be jotted down with a matter-of-factness that often startles reflection on more lengthy treatises, as when he makes a brisk contribution to the debate on originality:

> It is a capital object with an author, whatever be the subject, to give vent to all his best thoughts: when he finds a proper place for them, he is peculiarly happy. But rather than sacrifice a thought he is fond of, he forces it in by way of digression, or superfluous illustration . . . An abridger, however, is not subject to these temptations. The thoughts are not his own: he views them in a cooler and less affectionate manner; he discovers an impropriety in some, a vanity in others, and a want of utility in many . . . This is by no means an easy employment: To abridge some books requires talents equal, if not superior to those of the author.

This appeared in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1:388), under the heading "Abridgement," which Smellie defines as the "art of conveying much sentiment in few words" and "the happiest talent an author can be possessed of." It certainly makes salutary reading for book reviewers.

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T. M. Devine, **The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy 1660-1815.** Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994. Pp. xiv + 275.

In Scotland, as in England, recent historians have become accustomed to abolish the "Agricultural Revolution" along with its industrial equivalent. Where previous generations saw fundamental social and economic change in the late eighteenth century, we are today content to describe the "age of improvement" as an insignificant blip on the chart of long-term agrarian trends. T. M. Devine offers in this important study a finely nuanced challenge to this orthodoxy. He examines the development of agriculture in Ayr, Lanark, Fife, and Angus—the belt of country running across the Lowlands, pulled by Glasgow in the west and Edinburgh in east—over the course of the long eighteenth century. He is particularly concerned to assess the process through which the market came to govern land and labor, with private property and cash replacing rights of runrig and commonty, obligations of thirlage and carriage, and rents in kind. He concludes that either in terms of this process, or relative to yields, agricultural concentration, crops, and techniques, the period after 1770 saw "a structural change" in the economy and society of the Lowlands, not merely simply in extension of older patterns. The key to understanding this rupture, and indeed also Scotland's enjoyment of relative social peace in the midst of such rapid agrarian change, lay in the parallel growth of cities and manufacture after the Seven Years War.

Devine concedes that rural Scotland was transformed, in part, only gradually, with the tempo of change already picking up in the first decades of the eighteenth century. In 1695 the Scottish Parliament created the legal instruments which facilitated the consolidation of lands lying in runrig, the division of commonties, and the eviction of tenants. He notes, however, that these were rarely used until after 1750. Urban speculation in agriculture was also scarcely novel, and c.1700 absentee tenants of the Hamilton estates included merchant, surgeons, booksellers, goldsmiths, and a professor of oriental languages at Glasgow College. But subtenants, who were the direct exploiters of the land, usually paid rents in kind for shared rights to cultivate, and thus their farming technique was poorly disciplined by supply and demand. Even in 1800 some tenants would still be required by their lease to provide service or butter, eggs, cheese, linen, poultry, or oats. However, by the 1750s these obligations represented a negligible part of the rents, which in the case of almost 60 percent of Lowland tenants required a cash payment in exchange for single tenancy. These changes were significant, but much of the old agrarian order—rig cultivation, infield-outfield divisions, and areas of common land—still prevailed in the Lowlands. At the base of

this were the cottars, the dependents of the subtenants, and of which a contemporary wrote: "[their] slavery is incredible and what is worse they are likely to be turned out at the Master's pleasure" (p. 14).

After 1760 the pace of change increased dramatically. Central to this was the population explosion, particularly in the cities: between 1755 and 1820 the Scottish population rose by two-thirds. Agricultural improvement, for Devine, was driven to a great extent by new demand for food, raw materials for wool and linens, and, literally, for horsepower (which meant in practice oatpower). On the supply side, Scotland's large landowners were eager to increase their cash incomes, as they were attracted to urban luxury. From two directions, the market thus turned patrician Scotsmen, who had long looked with interest at English capitalist agriculture, into enthusiastic drainers, road and canal builders, and enclosers. Scotland, most crucially, had probably the most concentrated pattern of landownership west of the Elbe, witb its great proprietors owning, for example, 50 percent of the land in Angus and 44 percent in Fife. Devine shows that these magnates, who had the power to effect great things quickly, were central to the new tide of agrarian change. Parallel to enlarging their estates, ending runrig and dividing commonties, they imposed "improving leases," which required tenants to cultivate particular crops using prescribed techniques. Liming and grass sowing became common, and seasonal laborers from Ireland, the Highlands, and the cities replaced the cottars. One index of change came in the rapid rise of rental income, which trebled on many estates after the 1750s, and once or twice again on the tide of Napoleonic war inflation. This was associated with startling increases in output and efficiency: while in the second half of the century English yields increased by about 50 percent, in Scotland they doubled and trebled. Devine also uses the Sheriff Court records of evictions of tenants, as they have been used in the Highlands, to provide a rough guide to the chronology of estate reorganization. The replacement of small tenants and cottars by sheep and cattle was visible during this era in the landscape as the cottars' houses were destroyed and the stone then employed in the new fences and dikes which marked the frontier of enclosure. Devine cautions, however, against any hasty comparison of these "Lowland Clearances" with later events in the Highlands. At the worst, he suggests, not more than a quarter of tenants were displaced, and these often without much coercion: in the Hebrides between 1846 and 1852, for example, there were fourteen times the average annual sample of writs of removal served by the late eighteenth-century Lowland courts at their most active. The subtenants and cottars took the brunt of the social cost of "improvement," and many contemporaries did complain about an increase in vagrancy, but they were easily absorbed in nearby towns and cities by the cotton, wool, or linen manufacture, sugar refining, coal mining, or other urban employment. This explains the absence of significant protest in an era of rapid agricultural concentration.

This explanation for the absence of cottar unrest is reasonably plausible. But readers of this monograph may wonder, justly, why the broader politics of Scotland are absent from his analysis. The context for the 1690s legislation is unexplained, while the impact of 1707, or of Jacobitism, is unexplored. Devine promises a discussion of the agrarian implications of the Act of Union (pp. 19-20), but seems content later on to imply its importance through discussion of the role of new markets and the migration of "improving" fashion. Ideology and culture, similarly, are never given center stage, although Devine temptingly alludes to the magnates' shared "ideological mission to improve and modernize Scottish society" (p. 65). Lastly, and surprisingly for the author of *The Tobacco Lords*, he misses the opportunity of placing Scottish agriculture into its ultimate context. The explosion of "demand" over the eighteenth century, so important for his argument, had much to do with the most distant pull of African slaving posts and American plantations on Glasgow and Edinburgh. The impact of imperial expansion on city and country, so implicit in this study, is perhaps the most important continent of Scottish history still to be explored. We may hope that Devine, who is better qualified than any for the task, will now consider undertaking this journey.

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John Sibbald Gibson, **Lochiel of the '45: The Jacobite Chief and the Prince**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994. Pp. xii + 207.

Murray G. H. Pittock, **The Myth of the Jacobite Clans**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995. Pp. viii + 164.

Sir James Fergusson once suggested that so many books had been written about the '45 that there ought to be a law against further publication on the subject. His meaning was clear: there was nothing further that could usefully be said. Such a sin against the spirit of Clio invited a comeuppance; it gets it in these two books.

Both are revisionist, though they differ dramatically in terms of their aims and agenda. Gibson is a classic revisionist in tbat his book revolves around the discovery (by Alice Wemyss, herself researching a new biography of Lord Elcho) of a hitherto unknown source that demands an adjustment of current historical orthodoxies. Pittock, by contrast, is concerned with the roots of modern mythistory. His aim is to force first the historians of modern Scotland, and ultimately the popular writers who shape the public's historical consciousness, to confront their erroneous conceptions of what Jacobitism was, and signified, in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Gibson's narrative of Lochiel's part in the '45, based on the chieftain's own account, confirms much that we already know. The Scots Jacobites' reluctance to rise at all; their intense dislike of Charles Edward's Irish confidants Sir Thomas Sheridan and George Kelly; the clan chieftains' admiration for Lord George Murray—these facets of our understanding of the rising are all reinforced. Likewise the determination of the Jacobite army to fight on after Culloden is now pretty well established, though Gibson does a valuable service in covering the five weeks that followed that defeat in some detail. The real revelation in Lochiel's account, however, concerns an offer of terms sent him by the Duke of Cumberland while he was regrouping his clansmen after the battle.

Cumberland proposed to "use his good offices in their favour if they would only resolve in good faith to lay down their arms" (p. 174), which in the circumstances was a moderately generous proposal. Even if, as Gibson suggests, Cumberland was forced into it by the deteriorating military situation on the Continent, such terms invited a truce that would have terminated the horrors being inflicted on the Highlands. Lochiel and his peers' rejection of the duke's overtures in the mistaken belief that the long hoped-for French invasion was finally about to arrive thus becomes the penultimate source of the nemesis visited upon them and their people. W. A. Speck's lonely effort to rehabilitate Cumberland certainly receives a significant boost from this episode, and correspondingly the shadow cast by Charles Edward's endless, lying promises of imminent French reinforcement deepens.

Gibson's portrayal of Lochiel is generally convincing, and the new material he has deployed will need to be absorbed by other historians working in the field. The only aspect of his treatment that strikes a slightly false note is his wholehearted acceptance of the legend of the "Gentle" Lochiel. Donald Cameron was well liked by contemporaries and this is reflected in the sources. There are nonetheless moments in his life which suggest another Lochiel. He was an Angliciser, a hard-nosed improver, and a severe judge when it came to punishing his own people over matters such as cattle-reiving. When he came across one of his own clansmen looting on the march to Edinburgh in 1745, Lochiel personally shot him on the spot. In March 1746 he also threatened to hang one Campbell prisoner for every Cameron or other Jacobite household burned by Campbell militia forces raiding the Great Glen. There was clearly more to the man than the "Gentle Lochiel" that legend would suggest.

By contrast with John Gibson's quiet adjustment of our perception of the '45, Murray Pittock's assault on the historiographically entrenched forces of the whig ascendancy is revisionism at its most challenging. Pittock is more concerned with modern mythistory than the '45 per se, though he clearly knows the evidence very well indeed.

Pittock's central contention is that a particular perception of the Jacobite army in 1745 has allowed the historiographic marginalization of Scottish Jacobitism. Since the mid-eighteenth century, first the Anglicising intelligentsia of Scotland, and subsequently the whig historical establishment and their heirs, have sought to play down the seriousness of the '45 and its predecessors in order to prove that the victory of the new order, of which they were enthusiastic proponents, was inevitable and good for all concerned. By doing so they hoped to limit the divisiveness of the history of Anglo-Scottish relations and open the way to the creation of an inclusive (but ultimately Anglocentric) identity that would support Britain's status as a global imperial power. A key component of their discourse was that all support for the Jacobite cause stemmed from socially, economically, and culturally marginal elements in Scottish society: the Highland clans. The dumb loyalty of the poor downtrodden clansmen in following their turbulent, selfish chieftains' impulsive decision to rebel once more in 1745 thus became a poignant romantic counterfoil to the businesslike Scottish middle class and their improving aristocratic leaders firmly putting an end to the Highlanders' foolishness once and for all.

Though Pittock paints his picture of this mythistory in primary colors, it is one that is immediately recognizable and familiar. Logically, he therefore attacks it by reiterating and drawing together various pieces of evidence that are equally familiar to historians who have worked chronologically in or around the '45. Using well-known printed muster lists, intelligence reports, and the hitherto ignored 1963 Ph.D. thesis of Jean McCann, Pittock demonstrates, by counting heads, that the Jacobite army was no alien horde of Gaels, but in large part (over 40%) composed of Lowlanders from northeast and central Scotland. Moreover, they were drawn from all ranks of society and the nascent Scottish middle class supplied a substantial proportion of their numbers. Finally, by comparing the numbers raised by the Jacobites with those raised by the Covenanters, Pittock argues that, given the fact that they never enjoyed the kind of control of the localities enjoyed by their seventeenth- century predecessors, the Jacobites did remarkably well to raise as many as they did in 1745-46. All of which proves that Jacobitism was a national movement (albeit with shallow roots in some areas), not a sectional, Gaelic excuse for revanchism.

Though he does overegg his pudding on a couple of occasions (few would accept his categorization of Lord George Murray and William Murray, Jacobite Duke of Atholl, as "Lowlanders"), and does not give the Whig regime sufficient credit for having put down real roots within Scottish society by the 1740s, Pittock makes a good case for a fundamental reorientation of our perception of the Jacobite army. What follows from that is the need for a renewed debate on the significance of Jacobitism for the whole course of Scottish history since 1689, and Pittock accordingly rounds off his argument by offering a trenchant preliminary essay in the mutuality of nationalism and Jacobitism in early eighteenth-century Scotland. There is undoubtedly more to be said on this subject, but those who still wish to dismiss the late efflorescence of Jacobite support in Scotland in 1745-46 are going to have to meet Pittock's challenge in order to rebuild their case.

Like many others, this writer has been guilty of Sir James Fergusson's sin. It was thus a peculiar pleasure, but a pleasure nonetheless, to be shown the error of one's ways by these two books. Gibson's is not the kind of book that other scholars will attempt to refute so much as build upon; Pittock's is a nailing of theses to a church door. Both, it is to be hoped, will draw other historians into re-examining the evidence and their own assumptions. Out of this process, will we nil we, must come a deeper understanding of eighteenth-century Scotland.

Daniel Szechi, Auburn University

Robert C. Woosnam-Savage, ed., **1745: Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites**. Edinburgh: HMSO, 1995. Pp. xv + 128.

Michael Hook and Walter Ross, **The Forty-Five: The Last Jacobite Rebellion**. Edinburgh: HMSO, 1995. Pp. ix + 144.

According an article by G.V.R. Grant in Lesley Scott-Moncrieff's *The 45: To Gather an Image Whole* (1988): "One of the great peculiarites of Scottish history is the extremely strange way that Scots have treated it. Understanding what really happened hardly ever gets beyond the old traditional myths that have been trotted out for many years" (p. 23).

On Culloden Moor two hundred and fifty years ago, it took less than an hour of an April day for the Duke of Cumberland's army to dispatch Prince Charles Edward Stuart's rebel army. Did "one of the world's great romances come to grief" in the prince's "hopeless piece of gallantry," or did a "wretched, rash intruding fool" bring despair and ruin to generations of Scots? "A haze of almost impenetrable romance has been cast round the Rebellion of '45, so that everything that happened in those not too distant times seems to shine with an epic splendour." So wrote the eminent traveler H. V. Morton in *In Scotland Again* (1932), describing a visit to Glenfinnan (p. 183).

In two and half centuries there have been several notable attempts to penetrate the romance and mythology of the '45 and look at what happened with a clear, objective eye. Among these are A. J. Youngson's *The Prince and the Pretender* (1985) and the previously mentioned collection of essays edited by Scott-Moncrieff. And now two books from HMSO merit inclusion in the relatively short bibliography of consciously objective studies. It is with these two profusely illustrated and thoroughly documented works that students new to the '45 should begin their studies. Michael Hook and Walter Ross present the cadences of the '45 from an assessment of the political background through the prince's arrival and recruiting activities, his unopposed march in Edinburgh, his quick victory at Prestonpans, his round trip to England, his victory at Falkirk, his defeat at Culloden and, of course, the aftermath. The appended summary of the histories of the '45 is useful as well. In a relatively small space Hook and Ross are able to point up many of the complexities attendant upon the Rising—who came out and who didn't, and why; the decision-making at Derby; and the conflicts among the Jacobite commanders, for example.

In *1745*, Robert C. Woosman-Savage has collected from unimpeachable sources eight essays that take readers through and beyond Charlie's Year. Bruce Lenman places Prince Charles in the Jacobite tradition thus: "His combination of vigour and stubbornness, plus support from long-standing Scottish loyalties, aided by a unique international situation, enabled him to carve out a permanent niche in romantic history in a year" (p. 13). Murray Pittock strikes through the familiar romantic mask as he identifies the variety and detail of three main threads of Jacobite culture. In a companion piece, Brian Blench, too, looks at Jacobite symbolism in his study of the glasses with which the Jacobites toasted their king over the water. Allan Macinnes characterizes the immediate aftermath of the '45 as "marked by genocidal clearance . . ., by banditry as a form of social protest, and by cultural alienation" (p. 103). He draws a provacative analogy between the Jacobite clans of the '45 and the Southern Confederacy of the American Civil War.

Morton, again: "The more one knows about the rebellion and the deeper one delves into the plotting, the lying, the jealousy, the self-seeking and the indifferent leadership, the more one doubts the romance; and yet—and yet . . . " (p. 183). Both books contain frequent references to romance and myth, but though the emphasis in both books is on the Jacobites, objectivity seems to prevail. Romance aside, over the years the Jacobites have had more ink. Theirs, after all, is the better story; they, as Allan Macinnes notes, have better songs. Recurrent in their stories and songs, of course, is Culloden. Whatever it is that Culloden ended or began, whatever Culloden evokes, it is worth noting, as Woosnam-Savage does, that Culloden was "a battle no British army regiment has amongst its honours" (p. ix).

John J. Toffey, Great Barrington, Massachusetts

Robert Clyde, **From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995. Pp. 201.

If I had been writing this review for a newspaper, I would have given it the headline *Reinventing the Wheel* (and a pretty crude version at that).

The subject of the book is obvious from its title. The treatment is thematic, as per the six vague chapter titles: "Whig Polemicists," "Improvers," "Civilisers, Educators, and Evangelisers," "Travellers," "Romanticists," and "Militarists." In less than two hundred pages of actual text we gallop backward and forward through everything from the Forfeited Estates through the Clearances through Ossian and Sir Walter Scott, largely via printed primary source material.

In 1979, when I researched and wrote my M.A. dissertation, "The Creation of the Highland Image in Lowland Scotland 1745-1830," this was relatively unexplored territory—though only relatively, as William Donaldson's thesis on Jacobite song was already completed. Since then, apart from my own publications on Ossian and on the romanticization of the Jacobite Highlander, there has been Donaldson's book, Murray Pittock's perceptive studies of the Jacobite image, a whole volume (at least) on Ossian, not to mention much additional work on Scott. None of this—*none* of it—finds its way into this book. Nor is there even the slightest attempt to present such key concepts as "sublimity," essential in providing a new way of looking at the Highlands. Were it not for the odd footnote reference to a recent publication on something peripheral, I would have believed the manuscript had been languishing in a drawer for the past twenty-five years, and only now submitted for publication.

One might have understood (not forgiven, but at least understood) if the book had appeared under the imprint of some English publisher, but there can be no such excuse for John Tuckwell, who has been publishing in Scotland for decades. Who on earth were the readers who advised him to print this? I have tried to think of anyone to whom I could recommend the book. There is lots of good printed primary source material utilized, all of it footnoted, so could it perhaps be used for teaching, as an easy introduction to a complex subject? But how can you teach from a book that fails to incorporate any of the research and ideas published on the subject over the past twenty years? No, I really think not.

Leah Leneman, University of Edinburgh

Paul Scott, **Defoe in Edinburgh and Other Papers**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995. Pp. vii + 252.

There is an amusingly dated and familiar feel about this volume. Where before has this reviewer read worthy, self-righteous, endlessly repetitive, simple-minded stuff about the value of independence, the evils of a semi-colonial connection, the linked need for control and self-esteem? This is the language of nineteenth-century nationalism, and Scott's consistent reading of Scotland past and present is readily comprehended in such terms, although he seeks to align nationalism with the "common civilisation of humanity" by foreseeing an independent Scotland playing a role part of what the oft-praised Andrew Fletcher sought, "a European system of small, autonomous but interlocking states." It is all so innocent. The recent experience of such states in the Balkans does not appear to trouble Scott, nor does he consider the difficulties of achieving his goals: European and international cooperation and national identity and renewal. Of course the English connection and the quislings within the gates provide targets that serve as a substitute for analysis.

Scott's reading of the eighteenth century is of a piece. The Union is vilified, Fletcher praised, and the "Boswell syndrome" of looking to London criticized and held responsible for the "sordid mess" of Boswell's last decade. There is a useful piece on John Macky that throws much light on his career, praise of Sir Walter Scott, who unlike Boswell, "was firmly rooted in his Scottish background," and a more detailed and worthwhile account of his politics, a brief and very positive note on Hume and a well-written lecture on Adam, Boswell, and Smollett as travellers in Italy that ignores the extent to which Smollett wrote his account in England, fails to differentiate between travel literature and tourist accounts, and neglects the appropriate of classical Rome by eighteenth-century Britain. On the Union it is more appropriation to turn to Chris Whatley's brief but judicious *Bought and Sold for English Gold?: Explaining the Union of 1707* (1994), which argues that in 1706 Scotland probably had no choice but to accede to the broad thrust of English proposals. The economy was in a total mess. In steering a way towards an agreement which would not arouse English ire, but would also make sufficient concessions to their countrymen, Whatley suggests that court politicians, especially the earl of Mar, managed brilliantly, and he claims that nationalist historians have failed to acknowledge the achievements of the Scottish politicians of the period.

Scott's approach is disappointing because his topics are generally important. The Union clearly was central, and cultural and other relations with England and the English could involve difficult compromises. However, Scott's clearcut stance is not suited to the nuances of the past, and he also fails to provide a comparative context. More seriously, the polemical reading of the past in terms of the politics is fundamentally ahistorical. All nationalist movements reflect, sustain and create mythical renditions of the past. It is regrettable but this reviewer can only place Scott in that category. His is not scholarship as I understand it.

Jeremy Black, University of Exeter

Ted Ruddock, ed. **Travels in the Colonies in 1773-1775: Described in the Letters of William Mylne.** Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1993. Pp. viii + 127.

In the autumn of 1773, Scottish architect William Mylne went to America, taking, among other things, fishing tackle, a gun, "some books," and his dog, Mungo. Mylne left Scotland because of a serious business failure: in 1769 his unfinished bridge on Edinburgh's north side had partially collapsed, killing five people. The shock of this incident, and the resulting lawsuit and debts, sent Mylne packing. He traveled to Charleston, South Carolina, settled outside Augusta, Georgia, then went overland to New York just before he returned to Britain in 1775. Most letters in this volume were from and to Mylne during his period of failure and withdrawal; some are from the years after his return.

The letters contain interesting information on the colonies but, because of Mylne's concern over his crisis, his mind was not fully on America. It is therefore somewhat difficult to predict which scholars will gain from reading this correspondence. Those who already know Mylne and his work will find some useful material, though there is actually little on architecture. The letters relay impressions of America, especially of the southern colonies, but they are similar to observations many other travelers made. Mylne gave no sign that he encountered any prejudice, negative or positive, against Scots, so he conveys little information about cultural relations between Scotland and America.

The most interesting part of Mylne's correspondence concerns class relations and status. His sojurn in America represented an ongoing tension between the elite status his profession gave him and the social simplicity his poverty necessitated. Mylne lacked the funds to travel as a cabin passenger and ended up in steerage; the captain nevertheless treated him with consideration. He lived in a rough log cabin near Augusta, yet moved with Georgia's elite. He was respected as an expert in the survey of lands that the Cherokee ceded in 1773, but he lamented that he would never be able properly to entertain the gentlemen who had treated him as a peer. Lacking the capital to start a plantation in Georgia, he went north, where he thought his profession, alone, could establish him as a man of property. But because of his reluctance, as a loyal Briton, to stay in America after 1775, Mylne went home and later reaffirmed his architectural abilities by designing Dublin's water works. Neither a true immigrant nor a mere traveler, Mylne was an interesting observer of the competition between respect for education and obsession with wealth that already marked American culture in the late colonial period.

Joyce E. Chaplin, Vanderbilt University

Scotland and the Americas, 1600 to 1800. Providence, RI: John Carter Brown Library, 1995. Pp. xix + 138.

ECSSS members who were present at the Society's 1994 annual conference, hosted by the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, will certainly recall the fine exhibition of the library's holdings relevant to the conference theme of "Scotland and the Americas." They will, however, probably also recall that, at the time of the conference, the promised book-length catalogue of the library's exhibition had yet to be published. Well, late in 1995, appear it finally did: launched in suitably grand style, at the Forbes Magazine Galleries in New York City, with David Armitage, Michael Fry, Ned Landsman, Bruce Lenman, and James McLachlan among the contributors in attendance.

The catalogue is a handsomely produced volume. Available in both soft- and hard-bound formats, it is packed with excellent, high-quality illustrations: maps, title-pages (lots of these), cartoons, portraits. (Many of the illustrations would make ideal hand-out or visual aid material for anyone teaching in this area.) But the catalogue's main body consists of eight chapters bringing together different aspects of the exhibition under such headings as the Darien Scheme, Immigration and Settlement, Trade, Religion, Education, Warfare, and the American Revolution. In each case the chapter consists of a brief scholarly introduction to the topic, followed by detailed comments on particular revlevant items on exhibition. The one chapter I have not mentioned differs in the sense that it has a somewhat sharper focus. But "Scots in Georgia and the British Floridas" proves particularly fascinating in its account of what is called the "scotchification" of native Indian clothing: Amerindians in these areas apparently took to adopting tartan and other Scottish styles in their costumes.

The catalogue ends with a bibliographical Appendix providing details of the fifty-seven works selected and alluded to by the authors of the previous eight chapters. Additionally, it selects another ninety items from the John Carter Brown Library's holdings in the Scottish-American field. Even here, however, one is struck by the focus on North America and the American colonies. By choosing the title "Scotland and the Americas" there was clearly an original intention to be all-inclusive: Central America, South America, the West Indies, would feature as well as the more obvious areas of Scottish-American contact. But what the evidence assembled here suggests is that after the failure of the Darien scheme, North America absorbed almost all of Scotland's attention.

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow

David Hancock, **Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community 1735-1785**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xxii + 477.

James Boswell liked to call himself a citizen of the world, but I wonder whether he would have agreed in granting the accolade to the men so described by David Hancock in this fascinating book. It happened that one of them, Richard Oswald, became a neighbor of Boswell's, using a fortune from trade to buy the estate of Auchincruive and commission the Adam brothers to design a new house for him there, not far from Auchinleck. The pair met socially, in London and no doubt in Ayrshire too, but I would not mind betting that the notoriously snobbish Boswell continued to look down on Oswald. The man was after all a mere son of the manse from Caithness, a parvenu merchant who for all his collection of old masters—a Rembrandt, a Rubens, three Teniers, two Canalettos, and seventy-four others—gave himself away by vulgarly botching the classical purity of the Adams' design. He may have been richer than Boswell, but was he as polite?

Hancock argues, however, that Oswald and others like him belonged to a "practical Enlightenment" with achievements to its credit as worthy as the Enlightenment we usually think about, which was indeed often notably impractical, not least in the person of Boswell. The luminaries of the practical Enlightenment became "as caught up in innovative, investigative efforts, and as confident of the possibilities of humau reason and endeavour in controlling the environment as those in the intellectual sphere." In particular, the merchants forming the subject of this study "carved out a new place for enterprise and entrepreneurs in the world."

This seems to me a very American kind of conclusion, even though mediated through the majesty of the Department of History at Harvard. To be sure, political economy appears today as the one enlightened project to have survived in reasonable shape, standing now at the portals of the millennium relatively unafflicted by doubt. Without the personal success of Oswald and his ilk over two hundred years, that would have been impossible.

In one sense, then, Hancock's conclusion is indisputable. The subjects he has chosen, a fluid circle of merchants in London during the mid-eighteenth century, seized the chances offered them in the emergent British Empire. They were independent of one another, but associated often enough in various ventures to give their story shape and coherence. It would have been convenient for the author if they had confined their activities to London. In fact, they trafficked from the East Indies to the West Indies, finally leaving traces in more than one hundred archives and fifteen countries. Hancock has heroically uncovered them all. Their prosperous but humdrum careers were never thought worthy of record, not even by themselves, yet the book does a superb job of piecing their lives together. It is essentially economic history, but by consciously leavening commercial data with biography Hancock truly illumines a lost world.

He picks out especially the associates' partnership in a slaving station at Bance Island, in the modern Sierra Leone. There they built not just a fort and factory but also a golf course; a game on it witnessed by a traveler in 1773 equips the book with its splendid opening metaphor of an Atlantic world being brought together by commerce. They all made a great deal of money, from traffic in slaves and non-human commodities, even more from commissary business, the supply of the armed forces, and finally from financial investment.

They were still not great men, nor particularly interesting ones. But before they became rich and tedious, they had at least had to claw their way up from obscure backgrounds. Beside Oswald, another central figure in the group was a Scot, Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey, of a family ruined by Jacobitism. So, almost, was a third, Augustus Boyd, a connection of the noble house of Kilmarnock shattered by the same allegiance, which was why he had been born in Irish exile. The fourth main associate, John Sargent, was a provincial Englishman, son of an itinerant supplier to the navy.

With their wealth, their social station rose. They got to dine with people like Boswell, and sometimes with far grander personages. They entered Parliament. Oswald played a crucial role in the great crisis for the British state of the lost American war. Because of his wide contacts and friendships in the thirteen colonies, including Benjamin Franklin, he was appointed a negotiator for the peace. Despite the deep hostility to the rebels which he shared with most Scots, Oswald manfully did his considerable best to bring about the settlement.

Even so, neither to him nor to any of his associates did their country grant its ultimate reward, to render their social position hereditary. Though they rose high, they also tended their roots, and in two cases that I happen to know about their success was for their families essentially the way into a provincial elite. The Grants of Dalvey remain at Dalvey to this day. Oswald's posterity were great men in Glasgow, where a statue of one of them still adorns the northeastern corner of George Square. So, while Hancock is right to describe their historical function as integrative, in the sense of having deepened and broadened the links within the British Empire, there were also limits to the integration: it did not yet merge the merchant with the governing elite. Whatever the new place they carved out for entrepreneurs, in Great Britain it remained some way below the top.

Hancock admirably blends a story rich in detail with more general reflections. While I do not agree with everything he concludes from them, he has made me think hard why, and one cannot expect a historian to do more.

Michael Fry, University of Strathclyde

Books Briefly Noted

Roger Craik, **James Boswell 1740-1795: The Scottish Perspective**. Edinburgh: HMSO and the Faculty of Advocates, 1994. Paperback. Pp. ix + 195.

Handsomely produced, with dozens of illustrations, this book is a bit of an odd duck. Mostly it is a narrative summary of Boswell's life in Scotland, adding little that is new. Certain aspects of the story, such as JB's youthful "Harvest Jaunt," are covered quite fully, while others of seemingly greater import, such as his relationship with Auchinleck (man and place), receive relatively little attention. The book makes its biggest contribution by including valuable photographs and drawings of Scottish architectural sites with which JB was associated.

Mr. Boswell Dines with Professor Kant. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1995. Paperback. Pp. vi + 25.

This reprint of a pamphlet first published by Lewis White Beck in 1979 is great fun. Boswell's account of the only meeting he (never) had with Immanuel Kant is reproduced in its entirety, following its discovery among the Muck Manuscripts in 1979. Somehow, Frank Brady missed the whole thing!

Collecting and Recollecting James Boswell 1740-1795: A Bicentenary Exhibition from the Collections of Yale University and Four Oaks Farm. New York: The Grolier Club, 1995. Paperback. Pp. xvii + 44.

This exhibition catalogue describes more than a hundred items displayed in the marvelous show that ran at the Grolier Club in New York City from 12 September to 17 November 1995. The curators, William Zachs and Mary Eccles, put the same kind of loving care into the catalogue as the exhibit itself, and it shows. In addition to extraordinary literary items, Lady Eccles's Four Oaks Farm, one of New Jersey's greatest treasures, contains some unusual artifacts that were displayed in the show, such as Margaret Boswell's silk purse and a cloth specimen given to JB by Sir Joseph Banks. JB's famous ebony cabinet is also there, but visitors to the exhibit had to settle for viewing a photograph.

Giancarlo Carabelli, **On Hume and Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics: The Philosopher on a Swing**. Trans. Joan Krakover Hall. New York: Peter Lang, 1995. Pp. ix + 222.

When John Christian Laursen reviewed the original edition of this work (*Intorno a Hume*, or "Around (or about) Hume") in this newsletter (no. 7, spring 1993, pp. 19-20), he liked the book but complained that it deserved a better title. Well, here's an edition with a better title, and in English, too.

M. A. Stewart, **The Kirk and the Infidel**. Lancaster, 1995. Paperback. Pp. 29.

Although the story of David Hume's unsuccessful bid for the Edinburgh moral philosophy chair in the mid-1740s has been told before, by M. A. Stewart among others, Stewart introduces valuable new materials and new insights in this, his inaugural lecture as Professor of the History of Philosophy at Lancaster University. Particularly interesting is an appendix containing a letter or speech delivered by Hume's leading opponent, Principal (and Reverend) William Wishart, deciphered by Stewart from Wishart's speedhand. A copy of the pamphlet can be obtained by sending £2.50 to the Philosophy Department at Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YG, U.K.

Passioni, interessi, convenzioni: Discussioni settecentesche su virtù e civiltà. Ed. Marco Geuna and Maria Luisa Pesante. Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1992. Paperback. Pp. 493.

Italian readers will find much here that relates to Scottish studies. Indeed, practically the entire volume is directly or indirectly about Scottish moral philosophy, political economy, and philosophical history, with particular attention paid to Hutcheson, Hume, Ferguson, and Smith Smith, as well as that honorary Scot, Gibbon.

Adam Ferguson, **An Essay on the History of Civil Society**. Ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Paperback. Pp. xxxv + 283.

Ferguson's *Essay* (1767) passed through seven British editions during the author's lifetime, the last of them in 1814. Incredibly, there was not another until the edition that Duncan Forbes edited for Edinburgh University Press in 1966—a true milestone in Scottish Enlightenment studies. Thirty years later, however, Forbes's edition is in some respects dated (e.g., its bibliographical note lists only five modern sources that deal with Ferguson), and it is reportedly no longer available in paperback. In North America the Edinburgh University Press edition never was available in paperback—or rather it was (and still is) available only in a bastardized edition published by Transaction Books, which uses (without acknowledgment) the Edinburgh text, list of variants, and index, but replaces Forbes's brilliant Introduction with a more sociological one by Louis Schneider.

Fania Oz-Salzberger's new edition is therefore most welcome. Besides a new Introduction, it adds a chronology of Ferguson's life, some brief biographical notes on eighteenth-century figures, and an updated bibliographi-

cal guide. In addition, Forbes's list of variants, which compared only the 1767 and 1814 editions, has been greatly improved by the addition of references to the specific editions in which revisions first appeared. Best of all, the widespread global availability and reasonable price of titles in this popular series will ensure increased access to Ferguson's work.

Adam Ferguson, **Collection of Essays**. Ed. Yasuo Amoh. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1996. Pp. xxxi + 333 (available outside Japan from Japan Publications Trading Co., Ltd., 1-2-1, Sarugaku-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 101, Japan).

Ever since David Kettler listed the titles of Ferguson's thirty-two unpublished essays in *The Social and Political Thought of Adam Ferguson* (1965), pp. 79-80, scholars have known about the existence of the writings transcribed by Yasuo Amoh in this volume. Accessibility, however, remained a problem. Except for two essays in dialogue form that were popularized (but not published in their entirety) in articles by Ernest Mossner during the early 1960s, Ferguson's essays were little read until Amoh himself recently began publishing some of his transcriptions (including two, one co-edited by Jane B. Fagg, that appeared in previous issues of this newsletter). Even researchers who were able to spend time in Edinburgh University Library, where the manuscripts are housed, soon found that they were not easy to read, and a 1986 typescript transcription by Winifred Philip was unsatisfactory in regard to accuracy, readability, and accessibility.

Amoh's work is better on all counts. Although the Introduction and notes to this edition provide far less philosophical analysis and historical context than many readers would wish, the transcriptions themselves appear to be accurate, consistent, and readable—at least to the extent that the rough, unfinished, and sometimes damaged manuscripts allow. Those disappointed by the surprisingly unphilosophical character of so many of the letters in the recently published *Correspondence of Adam Ferguson* (to be reviewed in the spring 1997 issue of *ECS*) will be pleased to find that in these essays philosophical issues reign supreme. The editor has added three additional unpublished items by Ferguson in the appendixes, including one—a memorial on the American crisis of the late 1770s—that is also reproduced as an appendix to the *Correspondence*.

The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment. Ed. John W. Yolton et al. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991; paperback ed., 1995. Pp. ix + 581.

A "companion" is not quite an encyclopedia and not quite a dictionary. This one mixes capsule biographies, useful only for the most fundamental information such as birth and death dates and a couple of major titles, with longer, often very interesting thematic articles on topics such as "civil society," "*Encyclopédie*, "publishing," and "urban planning." A very few major figures, such as Hume and Smith among the Scots, get a bit more space than the others. There is an article on "Scotland" (i.e., the Scottish Enlightenment) by John Christie, but in general coverage of Scottish topics is so inconsistent as to appear almost arbitrary. Thus, Edinburgh gets a short article, but Glasgow and Aberdeen are passed over; there is an entry for medical professor John Rutherford, but none for John or James Gregory; Hugh Blair and James Macpherson appear, but Robert Burns and Henry Mackenzie do not. It's an uneven companion, then, but one you won't mind having around.

Daniel Gordon, **Citizens Without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789**. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Pp. viii + 270.

In arguing that the French Enlightenment was principally about sociability, Daniel Gordon's book complements another valuable work that was published in 1994 by another of Keith Baker's students, Dena Goodman's *The Republic of Letters*. But *Citizens Without Sovereignty* will be of particular interest to members of this society for its attempt to connect the Scottish and French Enlightenments in a chapter entitled "Sociability and Universal History: Jean-Baptiste Suard and the Scottish Enlightenment in France" (pp. 129-76), which focuses on French interest in Ossian and the writings of William Robertson and David Hume.

Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser, eds., **James Craig 1744-1795: 'The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh'**. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1995. Paperback. Pp. x + 134.

This beautifully illustrated little book is a fitting tribute to the man whom James Boswell immortalized in the phrase used as the book's subtitle. Despite Boswell's sentiments, and the praise that has been lavished on the Edinburgh New Town for the last two centuries, remarkably little has previously been written about Craig's life and architectural career. The nine essays in this book (to which the text of Craig's *A Plan for Improving the City of Edinburgh* [1786] has been appended), published to commemorate the bicentenary of Craig's death, make a good start toward supplying this need.

John Butt, **John Anderson's Legacy: The University of Strathclyde and Its Antecedents 1796-1996**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, in association with the University of Strathclyde, 1996. Paperback. Pp. 264.

Make no mistake: this is a booster book, commissioned to commemorate the bicentenary of the founding of what has become one of Scotland's major universities. Nevertheless, some of our members will benefit from perusing the first two chapters—"John Anderson (1726) and His Will" and "From Institution to University, 1796-1830"—and there are several striking color illustrations in this attractive, large-format paperback.

The Universities of Aberdeen and Europe: The First Three Centuries. Ed. Paul Dukes. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1995. Paperback. Pp. viii +174.

This little volume in the Quincentennial Studies in the History of the University of Aberdeen series contains five essays on aspects of Aberdeen University in the early modern period. All will be of interest to students of the history of Scottish universities, but ECSSS members will want to know about Dimitry Fedosov, "A Scottish Mathematician in Russia: Henry Farquharson (c.1675-1739)" and especially Paul B. Wood's excellent overview of the rise to European prominence of Aberdeen's two colleges, "Aberdeen and Europe in the Enlightenment."

Maisie Steven, **Parish Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: A Review of the Old Statistical Account**. Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1966. Paperback. Pp. xi + 180.

The *Statistical Account of Scotland* that Sir John Sinclair forged in the 1790s was a great publishing feat in its day and is still a primary source of information about Scottish cultural and economic life at the close of the eighteenth century. But its huge size (21 volumes), its geographical organization by parishes and regions, and its general inaccessibility make it extremely difficult to use effectively. Taken for what it is—a summary of select materials by theme, with little analysis and almost no historical or historiographical context—this little book can be helpful for finding out what the parish accounts throughout Scotland were saying about fishing, games and amusements, food, agriculture, poverty, emigration, and other important topics.

John Strawhorn, **The Scotland of Robert Burns**. Darvel, Ayrshire: Alloway Publishing, 1995. Paperback. Pp. ix + 164.

The low price and simple look of this book, especially the illustrations by Christy Danielles, indicate that it is a publication meant mainly for children. But the author happens to be the leading expert on eighteenth-century Ayrshire, and the text turns out to be a deceptively rich and detailed, yet quite readable, account of the Burns country, organized by topic (e.g. daily life, the gentry, the lower orders, industry, commerce) and bursting with energy. Delightful!

A.J.S. Gibson and T. C. Smout, **Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550-1780**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xv + 398.

It looks to be authoritative on its topic, and it contains dozens of charts, tables, and maps showing price and wage variations over time, across space, and among different classes and occupations. But this highly technical book is strictly for specialists in economic history, or at most for occasional reference by the rest of us. Very dry.

Gilbert Schrank, **An Orkney Estate: Improvements at Graemeshall 1827-1888**. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995. Paperback. Pp. xii + 131.

Although this tale of "premature improvement" is set in the nineteenth century, the context in which the Graemes attempted to carry out their ill-fated agricultural reforms was the traditional system that prevailed in the Orkneys during the eighteenth century and before, and one of the protagonists in this thoroughly researched case study was Walter Scott's childhood friend John Irving.

James Thompson, **Models of Value: Eighteenth-Century Political Economy and the Novel**. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996. Pp. viii + 271.

James Thompson's interpretation of changing conceptions of value in the eighteenth century hinges on a basic distinction between political economy and the novel: the former reconceptualizes wealth symbolically, as capital rather than money (whether specie or paper), whereas the latter reconceptualizes value in human terms that are played out through courtship narratives and romance. This dichotomy is gendered, for political economy comes to define the public, financial world of male values, whereas the novel speaks to the private, emotional world of female values. Although all of the novelists discussed in this clever book are English, the political economists are mainly Scottish (Sir James Steuart and Adam Smith)—a potentially significant difference that the author does not explore.

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